



Byzantine fortifications and defensive system in the west Black Sea area

Περίληψη :

To some extent, the Byzantine fortifications along the west coast of the Black Sea inherited the Late Roman network of fortified coastal towns. In the 5th-6th c., a system of fortified sites with combined civil and military functions developed along the north part of coast, securing the supply of the garrisons along the easternmost part of the Danube limes. After the 7th c., the Byzantine coastal fortresses remained intact only to the south of Haemus, yet being contested by Byzantines and Bulgarians until the 14th c. Since then the Ottomans acted as a dominant factor finally establishing their control over the west coast after 1453.

Χρονολόγηση

4th-15th c.

Γεωγραφικός εντοπισμός

West coast of the Black Sea from the estuary of the river Danube to the Bosphorus

1. State of research

The study of the Byzantine fortifications along the west coast of the Black Sea constitutes a part of the broader topic of the Byzantine fortifications and defensive system in the Eastern Balkans. In fact, however, no single monograph has been written on the Byzantine fortresses along the entire length of the coast.¹ The majority of the studies done until now, cope either with the administrative division of the coastal area throughout the Late Roman and medieval period, or with the modern division of the west coast between Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey.

Thus, one can clearly outline a large group of studies dealing particularly with the Byzantine fortifications and defensive system in coastal Dobrudja that belonged to the Late Roman province of Scythia between the late 3rd and early 7th c. The high concentration of fortified sites there led to the idea that a particular defensive system, "West Pontic limes", had been established along the coast already in the time of the Principate.² In a recent monograph the existence of the "West Pontic limes" has been convincingly contested and instead the fortifications along the coast of Dobrudja have been analyzed in the context of the changing of the defensive strategy in the province of Scythia in the Late Roman/Early Byzantine period.³

Two other compendious studies dedicated to the Early Byzantine fortress on the present-day territory of Bulgaria provide also concise comments on the Early Byzantine fortresses along the Bulgarian part of the west Black Sea coast (from Durankulak to Rezovo).⁴

Much higher is the number of studies that deal with the Byzantine fortifications in general along the south part of the west coast of the Black Sea (from Emona to Bosphorus). They can be divided into two main groups with respect to the particular area they cover. Thus, one group is comprised by the studies dedicated to various categories of coastal sites, including fortresses, along the Bulgarian part of the coast (from Emona to Rezovo).⁵ The other group includes works where one can find more or less comprehensive statements on the Byzantine fortifications along the Thracian coast in Turkey (from Iğneada to Bosphorus).⁶

2. Byzantine fortifications along the west coast of the Black Sea 4th to 7th c.

With respect to the functional and typological characteristics of its components, the defensive system along the west coast of the Black Sea went through two main periods of development.

The first period, the late 3rd-the mid 5th c., can be defined as a period of establishment and gradual abandonment (most likely in the second quarter of the 4th c.) of the Late Roman model of military organization, according to which the majority of the fortified sites



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appeared for military-strategic reasons (Fig. 1). Thus, though the ancient Greek colonies of a «polis» type along the coast (e.g. Histria, region of mod. Istria, Tomis, mod. Constanța, [Callatis](#), mod. Mangalia in Romania, Dionysopolis, mod. Balčik, [Odessos](#), mod. Varna in Bulgaria) had already been fortified by the 3rd c. Nevertheless, large scale fortification works (e.g. expansion of the fortified territory, construction of towers) had been attempted in some of them (Histria, Tomis and Dionysopolis) at the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th c. During the reign of [Constantine I](#) (r. 324-337), one must also note the appearance of a new fortified polis such as Constantiana (Enisala-I, region of mod. Tulcea, Romania) as well as the fortification of civil settlements such as Argamum (near Unirea, region of Tulcea, Romania) and Tirissa/Acres (cape Kaliakra, Bulgaria). Particularly typical for that period were the fortified sites with police-military functions, such as the [burgi](#) of Enisala-II (region of mod. Tulcea), Palazu Mare (region of mod. Ovidiu, Romania), and Stratonis (cape Tuzla, region of Constanța), the [turris](#) of Constanța-Telpeș (region of Constanța), and the control and observation posts (castella) of Ovidiu-I (region of Constanța) and Caria (cape Šabla, Bulgaria). In addition, in the late 4th c. appeared the so-called “settlements-citadels” such as Aphrodision (village of Topola, Bulgaria) which marked the transition from fortified settlements to refugia (castles).⁷

The disintegration of the Late Roman defensive system in the Balkans was the main result of the invasions of Goths and Huns in the last quarter of the 4th c. and the first half of the 5th c. For instance, after the middle of the 5th c., some of the military fortresses along the west coast of the Black Sea, such as Enisala-II, Palazu Mare, Stratonis, Constanța-Telpeș, and Ovidiu-I were abandoned. The large scale construction program attempted by Anastasios I (r. 491-518) in fact marked the beginning of the second (i.e. Early Byzantine) period of development of the provincial system of fortification including the coastal fortified sites (Figs. 2 and 4).⁸ While in some cases reinforcement of the existing fortresses had been made (e.g. Histria, [Mesembria](#), mod. Nessebăr, [Agathopolis](#), mod. Ahtopol, Bulgaria)⁹ the general trend was the construction of new fortified sites along the coast. This fact must be explained with the exclusive role played by the Black Sea by that time in providing the most secure food supply and logistics for the military units in the provinces of Haimimontos and Scythia. Only few of the newly founded fortified sites, however, were initially charged with military functions (Timum, village of Bălgarevo and Balčik-Horizont, Bulgaria). Instead, the majority of them were founded as civil fortified settlements— Istria (Romania), Kamen brjag-Jaylata (region of Kavarna), Sv. Nikola (region of Kavarna), Bizone (Kavarna), Škorpilovtsi (region of Varna), and Derkos (mod. Terkos or Durusu, Turkey).¹⁰ Some of the ancient *poleis* were also supplied with new fortress walls (i. e. Mesembria, [Sozopolis](#), mod. Sozopol, Bulgaria¹¹ and Medeia, mod. Midye or Kiyköy, Turkey¹²).

The next sufficient contribution to the development of the defensive system was made by [Justinian I](#) (r. 527-565). More precisely, that was the construction of a network of fortresses (castella), similar in plan and size, along the coast, in the middle of the 6th c. (Fig. 3): Ovidiu-II, Carea (cape Šabla), Kamen brjag-Toprak kale (region of Kavarna), Timum-West (village of Bălgarevo) and Balčik-Tuzlata.¹³ In addition, both in light of written evidence and archaeological data, Justinian I paid attention to the fortification of the old coastal *poleis*. Thus, according to Procopius, the emperor fortified entirely ancient [Anchialos](#) (mod. Pomorie),¹⁴ while the archeological excavations revealed partial reconstructions of walls and towers by that time in Constantiana (Enisala-I), Argamum, Tomis, Callatis, Acres, Bizone, Balčik-Horizont, and Mesembria.

The second half of the 6th c. was the period of the last efforts in maintaining the defensive system along the west coast of the Black Sea. That was the time when some of the coastal fortresses (e.g. Histria, Acres, and Balčik-Horizont) survived partial repairs. By that time the earthworks (dykes and moats) appeared as a kind of innovation in the fortification of some of the sites (Histria, Argamum). The final breakdown came with the intensive Avaro-Slav incursions in the 580s. The lack of a permanently active military unit in the region that might have had stopped the raids over the Danube *limes* and coordinated the resistance against the invaders doomed the fortified sites both along the north part of the coast (from the Danube delta to cape Emona) and inland to abandonment at the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th c. Perhaps the maritime hegemony of Byzantium in the Black Sea enabled the survival of some coastal *poleis/castra* in the province of Scythia, such as Histria, Tomis, Callatis, and Balčik-Horizont until the late 7th c.¹⁵ At the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th c. from the region to the south of cape Emona, repairs of the fortress walls have been attested only in [Mesembria](#), while in the course of the Avaro-Slav raid in Thrace in AD 584 Anchialos was captured and for a short period of time became a residence of the Avar khagan.¹⁶



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To the list of the Early Byzantine fortresses along the west coast of the Black Sea some more sites can be added, though no definite evidence, written or archaeological, allowing their more precise dating is available until now: the fortresses on a small cape northeast of Varna (in modern governmental residence of "Evksinograd"),¹⁷ on cape Emine, on the peninsula of Atija (Antheia), on cape Talasakra, and on cape Kestrič (Kanstrizion), all on the territory of modern Bulgaria.¹⁸

3. Byzantine fortifications along the west coast of the Black Sea 8th to 10th c.

The establishment of the Bulgarian state to the south of the Danube in the late 7th c. led to a radical change in the demographic and strategic appearance of the Eastern Balkans in general affecting also the entire area of the west coast of the Black Sea. The [Bulgarians](#) did not employ the advantages of the coast and did not develop navy and commercial fleet.¹⁹ Yet, as stated by [Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos](#) (r. 945-969) while describing the route of the Russian merchants to [Constantinople](#) by the Black Sea in the middle of the 10th c., the Bulgarians managed to keep under control the coastline from the Danube estuary down to the estuary of the river Kamčija (Ditzina).²⁰ In other words, there is no reason to believe that any Byzantine fortress along that part of the west coast of the Black Sea remained active between the end of the 7th and the late 10th c.

Much different, however, was the situation to the south of Haemus (Stara planina) ([Fig. 5](#)). As a unit of [theme](#) of Thrakia (the end of the 7th c.) and theme of Macedonia (the end of the 8th c.), Mesembria remained under Byzantine control governed by an [archon](#).²¹ During that period it served as a primary naval and military base for mustering the Byzantine troops in campaigns against Bulgaria.²² On the 4th of November 812, the troops of the Bulgarian khan Krum seized Mesembria but not for a long. Most likely, it was recaptured by the Byzantines in 864, in the course of the campaign of Michael III (r. 842-867) against Bulgaria by land and by sea. An inscription found in Mesembria notes a restoration of the city "from its foundations" by [Basil I](#) (r. 867-886). Indeed, some of the repairs of the city walls accomplished with bricks are dated to the last quarter of the 9th c. and might be related to the rebuilding activity of Basil I between 879 and 886.²³ It is generally considered that Mesembria came into the hands of the Bulgarians as a result of the military campaign of tsar Symeon (r. 892-927) in 894-904, when repairs of the city walls were attempted again, but it probably returned to byzantine hands at some point during the 10th century, as the seals of the [kleisourarchs](#) of Mesembria indicate.²⁴

Similar was the faith of Anchialos. Throughout the 8th c., the port of the fortress and its surroundings became an arena of frequent clashes between the Byzantine army (land troops and navy) and the Bulgarians. The fortress was captured by kahn Krum in 812 and annexed to the Bulgarian territory according to the Byzantine-Bulgarian peace treaty from 815. Similarly to Mesembria, Anchialos was regained by the Byzantines in 864 and lost to the Bulgarians in the military campaigns in 894-904. The last mention of the coastal fortress in the 10th c. is related to the harsh battle between the Byzantine and the Bulgarian troops in 917, at the river Acheloos (mod. Aheløj) in the vicinity of Anchialos.²⁵ Despite the defeat of the Byzantines, there are not clear information in the sources on who kept the control over the fortress until the end of the 10th c.

Until 812-813 Sozopolis was also under Byzantine control when, as a result of the victorious wars of Krum, it became a part of the Bulgarian territory. However, according to the peace treaty of 815, Sozopolis was returned to Byzantium since the boundary was traced from [Debeltos](#) to the surroundings of Adrianople. Nevertheless, it is disputable whether the Byzantines maintained actual control over the fortress, or rather it remained under Bulgarian domination. Certainly, Sozopolis was annexed to Bulgaria after the battle at Acheloos in 917, and its status was confirmed by the Byzantine-Bulgarian peace treaty of 927.²⁶

It is considered that Agathopolis must have been also among the fortresses captured by Krum in his campaign in 812 and remained under Bulgarian control until the Byzantine occupation of the eastern part of the Bulgarian territory in 971, perhaps with a break between 864 and 894.²⁷ However, the arguments for such a conclusion are based on circumstantial evidence in the written sources. More definite evidence can be found about Medeia: in 8th- and 10th-c. sources it is referred to as "a fortress (*kástron*) near Bulgaria" used mostly for exile of prominent Byzantines.²⁸



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4. Byzantine fortifications along the west coast of the Black Sea 11th to 12th c.

The campaign of [John I Tzimiskes](#) (r. 969-976) against the [Rus'](#) led to the Byzantine occupation of the eastern territories of medieval Bulgaria (mod. Northeastern Bulgaria, Dobrudja, and Northeastern Thrace) in 970-971. After the revival of the Bulgarian power up to the Danube under Tsar Samuel (r. 997-1014), Emperor Basil II (r. 976-1025) completed the total subjugation of Bulgaria in 1018. The Byzantines managed to keep the Danube as an effective frontier of the Byzantine Empire until the 12th c. In 1185, the revolt led by the Bulgarian noblemen and brothers Asen and Peter led to the restoration of the Bulgarian state.²⁹

Throughout all that period the Byzantines dominated entirely the west coast of the Black Sea ([Fig. 6](#)). However, between the Danube estuary and cape Emona only one fortress has been founded. That was the fortress of Varna which occupied a part of the area of ancient Odessos, namely the southeastern part now called the Greek quarter. In light of the sigillographic evidence this might have happened after 1050s when a [strategos](#) of Varna (στρατηγός Βάρνας) had already been appointed.³⁰

The strategic role of Mesembria in the naval and military campaigns of the Byzantines in the Northern Balkans throughout the 11th c. led to its development into an independent [katepanate](#) during the 1060s-1070s.³¹ By that time the walls of Mesembria were repaired as witnessed by an inscription mentioning the name of [Constantine X Doukas](#) (r. 1059-1067) and his wife Eudokia.³²

In the 1080s [Alexios I Komnenos](#) (r. 1081-1118) appointed Sias (turk. Çaus), a Seljuk Turk by origin, as "dux of Anchialos". Indeed, in the last two decades of the 11th c. the fortress played an important role in Alexios's campaigns against the [Pechenegs](#) and [Cumans](#).³³ In the 12th c., the fortress appeared in the sources as a place of exile and a point of transfer of troops in the course of the campaigns of [Manuel I Komnenos](#) (r. 1143-1180) against the Cumans in 1148 and Isaac II Angelos (r. 1185-1195) against the Bulgarian revolt headed by Asen and Peter in 1187-1190.³⁴ In 1190 the Bulgarians managed to seized Varna and Anchialos; yet soon after, in 1193, Isaac II Angelos and the Byzantines regained control over them, fortified Anchialos with towers and dispatched garrisons there.³⁵

The rest of the fortresses along the west coast of the Black Sea were of much lesser importance for the strategy of the Byzantine defense. Sozopolis was a preferable place for exile in the late 11th and 12th c.³⁶ The name of Agathopolis appeared only in relation to the rebellion of Asen and Peter and more precisely, to their camp arranged in the vicinity of the city in the spring of 1187.³⁷ Perhaps a garrison was sheltered in the fortress of Derkos, as implied by the mention of two soldiers there in the *Vita* of St Cyril Philoteos.³⁸

5. Byzantine fortifications along the west coast of the Black Sea 13th to 15th c.

As a result of the restoration of the Bulgarian empire in the late 12th c. and the establishment of the [Latin Empire of Constantinople](#) in 1204 the Byzantines lost their power over the west coast of the Black Sea. The fortress of Varna was destroyed by the Bulgarian tsar Kaloyan (r. 1197-1207) in 1201 and remained under Bulgarian control until 1389, when it was captured by the troops of the Ottoman sultan Murad I (r. 1361-1389).³⁹ The fortresses to the south of Haemus (i.e. Mesembria, Anchialos, Sozopolis, Agathopolis, Kanstritzion) were administered by the Bulgarians until the end of the [Latin occupation](#) of Constantinople in 1261 ([Fig. 7](#)).

Yet the restoration of the Byzantine Empire did not let to the restoration of the Byzantine domination in the West Black Sea area. In the second half of the 13th c. Mesembria, though administratively and military controlled by the Byzantines, turned to a primary maritime commercial centre for [Venetians](#) and [Genoese](#). Mesembria, Anchialos, Sozopolis and Agathopolis were contested by Bulgarian and Byzantine forces throughout the first half of the 14th c. These towns enjoyed particular prosperity under Bulgarian tsar Ivan Alexander (r. 1331-1371), until they were conquered by crusaders led by Amadeus VI, Count of Savoy in 1366 and handed back to Byzantium.⁴⁰ In some of the fortresses (e.g. Mesembria, Medeia) repairs of the walls in the late 13th and 14th c. have been attested.⁴¹



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In 1396 Mesembria was captured for the first time by the Ottoman Turks and remained under their control until 1403. During the first half of the 15th c. the fortresses along the west coast to the south of Haemus were contested between Ottomans and Byzantines. Short before the [fall of Constantinople](#) in 1453 all of them were finally seized by the Ottomans.⁴²

6. Topography, layout, and elements

Due to their settlement history, the Byzantine fortifications along the west coast of the Black sea differ in topography and size. Thus, while the ancient fortified cities and some of the ancient fortified settlements (e.g. Anchialos) were situated in relation to the comfortable bays enabling both naval and commercial navigation, the newly founded fortified sites occupied steep and rocky hills, peninsulas and capes cut into the sea (e.g. Aphrodision, Sv. Nikola, Kaliakra, Agathopolis). Respectively, the size of the fortified area varies from 60 ha (Tomis) and 30 ha (Odessos) in the ancient cities to roughly 1 ha in the military fortresses (*burgi, castella*).⁴³

As regards their layout, one can distinguish two types of fortified sites. To the first type belonged the sites where the walls enclose the entire area following the specifics of the terrain (e.g. Enisala-I, Enisala-II, Aphrodision, Balčik-Horizont, Mesembria, Antheia, Talasakra), while in the rest of the cases only the side/sides providing access to the fortress had been defended by a wall (e.g. Argamum, Histria, Tomis, Callatis, Caria, Carea, Kamen brjag-Jaylata, Kamen brjag-Toprak kale, Sv. Nikola, Tirissa/Acres, Timum, Timum-West, Bizone, Balčik-Tuzlata, Anchialos, Agathopolis) ([Fig. 8-9](#)).

The main element of the fortification of all categories of sites is the curtain. One of the basic requirements for the construction of the Early Byzantine fortresses in general was the sufficient depth of the substructure of the walls. That was especially important for the majority of the Byzantine fortresses along the west coast of the Black Sea since most of them were placed on steep terrains thus risking slipping down. Thus, for instance, the substructure of the walls of the fortress of Sv. Nikola was laid to a depth of 3-3.5 m. The average thickness of the walls varied between 1.5 and 3 m, while the height reached roughly 10 m. (e.g. the walls of Mesembria are preserved to a height of 8 m). Some of the walls were additionally enforced by means of buttresses (Bizone).⁴⁴

The fortresses from the 5th-6th c. were usually supplied with a single gate. As for their arrangement, one can distinguish several groups among the coastal fortresses. The first group is characterized by the arrangement of the gates in accordance with the Roman tradition, with their passage defended by two flanking towers (e.g. Mesembria and Odessos). The second group includes fortresses defended by a single tower arranged in its proximity (e.g. Sv. Nikola). Another group is exemplified by gates defended by towers arranged above the passages (e.g. Kamen brjag-Jaylata ([Fig. 9](#)), Škorpilovtsi). In addition to the main fortress gates, some of the fortresses were supplied with secret exits (poterna). Most frequently they were arranged in the walls of the pentagonal and triangular towers (Mesembria).⁴⁵

The development of the siege engines in the Early Byzantine period led to the rise of the importance of the towers. The rectangular towers, typical for the previous period, were still in use, yet more frequently they had irregular layout and varied in size and position along the walls—at the corners (Caria), along the curtain (e.g. Argamum, Histria ([Fig. 8](#)), Callatis, Kamen brjag-Jaylata ([Fig. 9](#)), Sv. Nikola),⁴⁶ or flanking the gates (e.g. Tomis, Balčik-Horizont). Most frequently, the rectangular towers were combined with round, polygonal and U-shaped towers (e.g. Tirissa/Acres ([Fig. 10](#)), Sozopolis). In fact, in the 5th-6th c. the round, U-shaped, triangular and polygonal towers gradually replaced the rectangular towers at the corners (Balčik-Tuzlata), along the curtain (e.g. Balčik-Horizont), and in flanking the gates (Mesembria). More precisely, the pentagonal towers marked the final phase in the development of the polygonal towers in the middle of the 5th c.⁴⁷ Usually they were arranged along the curtain, projecting 5 to 10 m in front of it (Mesembria, Medeia). The towers of Mesembria were vaulted and poternas were cut in their lateral walls. They projected 11.80 m in front of the curtain which made them very effective in active defense.⁴⁸

The stairs providing access to the platforms of the curtain and the towers were also an element of the active defense. Such stairs, tightly attached to the inner face of the walls, can be found in the fortresses of Bizone, Balčik-Horizont, Sv. Nikola.⁴⁹ The guard rooms usually attached to one of the gate towers must also be added (e.g. Tirissa/Acres, Bizone).



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It must be noted that the **proteichisma**, a very specific element of the Byzantine fortresses in the 5th-6th c., was not applied in any of the fortresses along the west coast of the Black Sea. Instead, some of the fortresses were supplied with moats and dykes (e.g. Enisala –I, Argamum, Balčik-Tuzlata).

The employment of the Early Byzantine fortresses in the later centuries did not add much to the development of their elements. Rather the repairs of the walls, gates and towers made in technique different from the original construction, provide evidence for the maintenance of the fortifications throughout the centuries.

7. Construction techniques

Three types of techniques had been applied in the construction of the Early Byzantine fortresses along the west coast of the Black Sea: *opus latericium* (brick technique), *opus implectum* (stone technique) and *opus mixtum* (stone-brick technique).

The majority of the fortresses were built in *opus implectum* (Argamum, Histria, Tomis, Callatis, Caria, Carea, Kamen brjag-Jaylata, Sv. Nikola, Balčik-Tuzlata). Originally, only the fortress of Mesembria was built in *opus mixtum* and only the curtains and towers of the fortress of Medeia were brick-built.⁵⁰ Brick technique was employed in the repair of the curtain next to the gate of Mesembria at the end of the 9th c., while in the repairs of the curtains of Carea was employed *opus pseudo-mixtum*.⁵¹

8. General characteristics

In light of the written sources and the archaeological investigations, the Byzantine fortresses along the west coast of the Black sea can be divided into three groups, which passed through different stages of development between the 4th and the 15th c.

To the first group belonged the Greco-Roman cities of a different rank, most of which had been fortified already in the 3rd c. (Histria, Tomis, Callatis, Dionysopolis, Odessos, Mesembria, Sozopolis). Though keeping more or less their urban lifestyle, from the late 4th c. onwards they developed primarily as fortresses. With the exception of Mesembria, however, they did not manage to survive the Avaro-Slav and Bulgar invasion in the 6th-7th c. Some of the cities situated to the north of Haemus were replaced by new fortresses in the 11th c. (Odessos-Varna).

The second group is comprised by ancient settlements along the coast, which were fortified in the late 5th and 6th c. The majority of them are concentrated to the south of Haemus (Anchialos, Agathopolis, Antheia, Talasakra, Medeia) and kept functioning until the 15th c. After a long break, from the beginning of the 7th to the 13th c., the fortress of Bizone on cape Čirakmana was reoccupied and restored in the 13th-14th c., and became known under the name of Kavarna/Karnava, until the Ottoman conquest at the middle of the 15th c.⁵²

The third group includes the fortified sites founded in the 5th-6th c. as a result of the importance of the [sea route](#) along the west coast of the Black Sea for assuring the logistic support of the Byzantine garrisons. With respect to their function and style of habitation, those sites can be divided into fortified settlements and fortresses with military and police functions. Similarly to the *poleis* in the first group, the majority of them, and especially those situated to the north of Haemus, remained in tact to the late 7th c. at latest.

1. The only exception yet written rather early and thus providing not very precise information in some of the cases, are the two articles by K. Шкорпил, "Стратегически постройки в Черноморската област на Балканския полуостров" *Byzantinoslavica* 2 (1930), pp. 197-230; *Byzantinoslavica* 3 (1931), pp. 11-32.

2. Al.-S. Ștefan, "Nouvelles recherches de photo-interprétation archéologique concernant la défense de la Scythie Mineure," in J. Fit (ed.), *Limes*:



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Akten des XI. Internationalen Limeskongress (Szekesfehervar, 30.08.-6.09. 1976), (Budapest 1976), pp. 451-465; C. Scorpan, *Limes Scythiae. Topographical and stratigraphical research on the late Roman fortifications on the Lower Danube*. BAR Int. Ser. 88 (Oxford 1980); Al. Suceveanu, "Die römischen Verteidigungslagen an der Küste der Dobrudscha" *Bonner Jahrbücher* 192 (1992), pp. 195-223.

3. Two main arguments have been raised against the "limes thesis". According to the first argument, the Roman coastal road in Dobrudja ran rather far from the coast due to the number of fiords and large bays that indented the coast there by that time. Therefore, the coastal road could not have had functioned as an element of the defensive system. The second argument is based on the fact that in light of the epigraphic data from Histria, Tomis, Callatis, and Dionysopolis the officers there had police rather than military functions: C. Торбатов, *Укрепителната система на провинция Скутия (кр. III-VII в.)* (V. Turnovo 2002), pp. 442-451. For a full list of the Late Roman/Early Byzantine fortifications along the coast of Dobrudja supplied with the available written, epigraphic and archaeological data, see C. Торбатов (2002), pp. 166-270.

4. Д. Овчаров, *Византийски и български крепости V-X век* (Sofia 1982), pp. 7-77; В. Динчев, *Ранновизантийските крепости в България и съседните земи (в диоцезите Тракия и Дакия). Разкопки и проучвания XXXV* (Sofia 2006).

5. К. Шкорпил, Х. Шкорпил, "Черноморското крайбрежие и съседните подбалкански страни в Южна България", *Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина* 4 (1891), pp. 102-145; P. Soustal, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 6: Thrakien (Thrakē, Rodopē und Haimimontos)*, (Vienna 1991). See also, B. Dimitrov, "Beobachtungen über die antike Topographie der südlichen Schwarzmeerküste", *Studia Balcanica* 10 (1975), pp. 11-19; P. Soustal, "Die südliche Bulgarische Schwarzmeerküste in Spätantike und Mittelalter" in R. Pillinger, A. Pülz, H. Vetters (eds.), *Die Schwarzmeerküste in der Spätantike und im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna 1992), p. 59-67.

6. F. Dirimtekin, "Explorations in the environs of Istanbul and in Thrace", *Ayasofya Müzesi Yilligi* 5 (1963), pp. 13-64; S., Eycie, "Trakya' da Bizans dervine ait eserler", *Belleten* 131 (1969), pp. 325-358; A. Pralong, "Remarques sur les fortifications Byzantines de Thrace Orientale", in H. Ahrweiler (ed.), *Geographie historique du monde Méditerranéen*. Byzantina Sorbonensia 7 (Paris 1987), pp. 179-200; Y. Ötügen, R. Ousterhout, "Notes on the monuments of Turkish Thrace", *Anatolian Studies* 39 (1989), pp. 121-49; E. Kountoura, "New fortresses and bishoprics in 8th century Thrace", *Revue des Études Byzantines* 55 (1997), pp. 279-289.

7. С. Торбатов, *Укрепителната система на провинция Скутия (кр. III-VII в.)* (V. Turnovo 2002), pp. 408-417.

8. С. Торбатов, *Укрепителната система на провинция Скутия (кр. III-VII в.)* (V. Turnovo 2002), pp. 424-5.

9. Iv. Venedikov, "Histoire des ramparts Romano-Byzantines" in V. Velkov (ed.), *Nessebre I* (Sofia 1969), pp. 125-163; В. Велков, *Градът в Тракия и Дакия през късната античност* (Sofia 1959), p. 49; P. Soustal, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 6* (Vienna 1991), p. 355.

10. С. Торбатов, *Укрепителната система на провинция Скутия (кр. III-VII в.)* (V. Turnovo 2002), pp. 173-174 (Istria), 220-223 (Kamen brjag-Jaylata), 223-226 (Sv. Nikola), 2420-250 (Bizone); Д. Овчаров, *Византийски и български крепости V-X век* (Sofia, 1982), p. 25 (Škorpilovtsi); Ath. Găitanu Gianniu, "Eparchia Derkōn" *Thrakika* 12 (1939), p. 193

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24. Yet, in the above cited passage from *De administrando imperio*, of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos mentions that the dangerous travel of the Russians ended in "the district of Mesembria" (ἡ εἰς Μεσημβρίας μέρη) which implies that, by the middle of the 10th c., Mesembria was most probably again under Byzantine control. Moreover, the seals of the *kleisourachs* of Mesembria indicate that, in the first decades of the 10th c. at latest, the *kleisoura* of Mesembria contributed to the negotiations when disputes arose on the settling of the border between Byzantines and Bulgarians: Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. G. Moravcsik, transl. R. J. H. Jenkins. CFHB 1 (Washington D.C. 1967), p. 56; Iv. Jordanov, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, 1. *Seals with geographical names* (Sofia 2003), pp. 119-120, no. 47.1-3.

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40. See the relevant articles on the sites in В. Гюзелев, Ал. Кузев (eds.), *Български средновековни градове и крепости, Том I. Градове и крепости по Дунава и Черно море* (Varna 1981), pp. 325-383, 388-408, 412-427; P. Soustal, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 6 (Vienna 1991), pp. 168-169; 175-179; 355-359.

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42. В. Гюзелев, "Chronicon Mesembriae (Бележки върху историята на българското Черноморие в периода 1366-1448 г.)", *Годишник на Софийския университет, Исторически факултет* 46.3 (1975), pp. 147-192.

43. Enisala-I (1.7 ha), Argamum (2.5 ha), Kamen brjag-Jaylata (0.45 ha); Sv. Nikola (0.7-0.8 ha), Aphrodision (1.0 ha): С. Торбатов, *Укрепителната система на провинция Скития (кр. III-VII в.)* (V. Turnovo 2002), pp. 166, 170, 217, 224, 253.

44. Д. Овчаров, *Византийски и български крепости V-X век* (Sofia 1982), pp. 34-35.

45. Д. Овчаров, *Византийски и български крепости V-X век* (Sofia 1982), pp. 37-38, 43.

46. For instance the fortress of Kamen brjag-Jaylata is supplied with three square towers (2x2 m) situated 12-13 m from each other, while the two rectangular towers (ca. 4 x 5 m) of the fortress of Sv. Nikola are situated to a distance of 33 m from each other: Д. Овчаров, *Византийски и български крепости V-X век* (Sofia 1982), p. 44.

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48. Д. Овчаров, *Византийски и български крепости V-X век* (Sofia 1982), pp. 44-47.
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51. С. Торбатов, *Укрепителната система на провинция Скития (кр. III-VII в.)* (V. Turnovo 2002), p. 209.
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Γλωσσάριο :

	archon
	Term that designates a governor in general. When it is not used in a technical sense, it denotes members of the aristocracy, high officers of the byzantine empire and it is even used for independent princes.
	burgus
	(lat., pl.: <i>burgi</i>) Roman watch-tower; small fortified site with lesser military functions.
	katepano
	(from "epano", "above") Governor of a katepania. Title that from the end of the 10th century characterized the commanders of large provinces as Italy or Mesopotamia and from the 11th century, it was used also in the regions of Bulgaria, Antioch etc.



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	kleisourarch
(and <i>kleisouriarch</i>) a Byzantine term denoting the commander of a <i>kleisoura</i> or a <i>kleisarchy</i> . These were military units responsible for the defence of mountain passes; the term is also used to designate an administrative unit smaller than the theme.	
	limes
The latin noun <i>limes</i> (pl.: <i>limites</i>), meaning the boundary line or marker, usually denotes a fortified frontier or border defence system along the boundaries of the Roman Empire.	
	Principate
The Principate is the first period of the Roman Empire, beginning with the monocracy of Augustus (r. 27 BC - AD 14) and extending the 3rd century and the crisis that brought about the Tetrarchy of Diocletian. The Roman Emperors of the Principate strived to preserve the illusion of the formal continuance of the Roman Republic.	
	proteichisma (forewall)
The <i>proteichisma</i> or forewall was an outer wall, smaller than the actual wall curtain, which strengthened the fortifications in plain sites. The forewalls were designed especially against highly organized attackers, who could construct siege-ramps and bring big machines into action against the defences. Defences provided with <i>proteichismata</i> were constructed in the late Roman and Byzantine periods. The most impressive and best preserved example still standing is the land wall of Constantinople.	
	strategos ("general")
During the Roman period his duties were mainly political. Office of the Byzantine state's provincial administration. At first the title was given to the military and political administrator of the themes, namely of the big geographic and administrative unities of the Byzantine empire. Gradually the title lost its power and, already in the 11th century, <i>strategoí</i> were turned to simple commanders of military units, responsible for the defence of a region.	
	turris
lat. for the tower; fortified city.	

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Byzantine fortifications and defensive system in the west Black Sea area

Παραθέματα

Justinian I fortifies Anchialos

Πόλιν δέ τινα ἐπιθαλασσίαν οἰκοῦσι Θράκες παρὰ τὴν ἡϊόνα τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου, Ἀγχίαλον ὄνομα, ἥσπερ ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ μνησθείημεν ἄν, περιηγούμενοι τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης χωρία... τειχήρη τοίνυν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεποιημένος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, ἀκίνδυνον διεπράξατο σφίσι τὴν ἄκεσιν εἶναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν γῆς τῆς ἐφάας, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ Ἀρμενίας καὶ Τζανικῆς ὀχυρώματα καὶ τὰ γε ἀμφὶ τὸν Εὐξείνου πόντον, τῇδε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἰργασται.

Procopius, *De aedificis* III.7.18,23-25, ed.-transl. H.B. Dewing, *Procopius VII. Buildings* (London 1940), p. 218

The travel of Rus' to Constantinople on dugouts through Bulgarian land

Ἀπὸ δὲ τὸν Σελινὰν οὐ φοβοῦνται τινα, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς Βουλγαρίας γῆν ἐνδυσάμενοι, εἰς τὸ τοῦ Δανουβίου στόμιον ἔρχονται. Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Δανουβίου καταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς τὸν Κωνοπάν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κωνοπᾶ εἰς Κωνσταντίαν *** εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Βάρνας, καὶ ἀπὸ Βάρνας ἔρχονται εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὴν Διτζίναν, ἅπερ πάντα εἰσὶ γῆ τῆς Βουλγαρίας. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Διτζίνας εἰς τὰ τῆς Μεσημβρίας μέρη καταλαμβάνουσιν, καὶ οὕτως μέχρι τούτων ὁ πολυώδυνος αὐτῶν καὶ περιόφορος, δυσδιέξοδος τε καὶ χαλεπὸς ἀποπεραίνεται πλοῦς.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, transl. R. J. H. Jenkins. CFHB 1 (Washington D.C. 1967), p. 56.

The flee of the Bulgarian leader Sabin to the Byzantine castle of Mesembria (766)

στάσεως δὲ γενομένης, φεύγει Σαβίνος ἐν τῷ κάστρῳ Μεσημβρίας καὶ προσερχὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ. ἔστησαν δὲ οἱ Βούλγαροι ἕτερον κύριον ἑαυτῶν, ὀνόματι Παγάνον.

Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, vol.I (Leipzig 1883, repr. Hildesheim 1963), p. 433

Isaac II Angelos' fortification works at Anchialos

a. Ὡς δὲ τὰ κατὰ δύσιν χειρόνως εἶχον αἰεὶ καὶ οἱ Βλάχοι ληϊζόμενοι μετὰ Κομάνων καὶ δηοῦντες τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ἐπήεσαν συνεχῶς, ἔξαισιν αὐθις ὁ βασιλεὺς κατ' αὐτῶν. καὶ δὴ τὴν Ἀγχίαλον παραλλάξας ἐκ περιελεύσεως τὸν Αἶμον εἴσεισι. μηδὲν τι δ' ἔχων παρουσίας βασιλέως ἄξιον διαπράξασθαι δυσι μῆσι τὴν ἐκστρατείαν ἀφώρισε. τὰ γὰρ ἐκεῖσε φρούρια καὶ πολίχνια ἰσχυροτέραν τῆς προτέρας εὖρε περιβεβλημένα ἰσχὺν καὶ τείχεσι νεοδημητοῖς καὶ ἀρτιστεφέσι προσδιειλημμένα βάρεσι

Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J. A. Van Dieten. CFHB, 11.1 (Berlin and New York 1975), p. 428

b. 1193/6107 (Ind. 11) Sommer ca.

ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰσαάκιος ὁ Ἄγγελος ἐπύργωσε τὴν Ἀγχίαλον καὶ τὴν Βάρναν, ἃς ἐξεπόρθησαν οἱ Βλάχοι ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας.

Schreiner, P. (ed.), *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken* 1.Teil: *Enleitung und Text*. CFHB 12.1 (Vienna 1975), p. 319