

Fortifications of Enez (Ainos) and Urban Morphology: Architectural, Historical and Epigraphic Evidence Revisited

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Abstract

The ancient city of Ainos in Enez, modern Turkey, was a fortified settlement starting from Classical Antiquity. It kept this characteristic also during the Middle Ages. In this context, its present castle that dominates the site is undoubtedly the most prominent monument today. Moreover, recent studies argued the underground discovery of Hellenistic city walls, which once surrounded the triangular peninsula of Ainos before the Aegean Sea. However, since certain deficiencies are noticed in the literature, this paper critically reconsiders the architectural, historical and epigraphic evidence for the Late Medieval urban morphology of Ainos in comparison to its fortifications and also the topography, as fundamental delimiting elements. The outcomes suggest that a triangular fortification system existed until the late 13th century, which was most probably formed during refortification of a significant urban center of the Thrace region in Late Antiquity, and was eventually replaced by the Castle of Enez.

Keywords

Architectural History, City Walls; Epigraphy, Fortifications, Urban Morphology

Introduction

Enez, formerly Ainos, is a harbour town of Turkey in Thrace by the Aegean Sea, more precisely next to the embouchure of River Maritsa. The main physical elements that shaped the morphology of Enez city center can be mentioned as the triangular peninsula surrounded by two lagoons called Dalyan and Taşaltı, two river reaches, and also fortifications (Fig. 1). Although Ainos has been the subject of many studies that particularly focused on its monuments from the Byzantine Period, the Castle of Enez was superficially interpreted as a 6th century reconstruction by origin, which then had supposedly partial alterations during the Late Middle Ages. Moreover, recent studies further argue the discovery of Hellenistic city walls of Ainos through geophysical applications around the perimeter of its triangular peninsula, which formed a basis for hypothetical urban reconstructions for Ainos until the end of Late Antiquity. Yet, it can be said that the longue

durée urban morphology of Ainos in relation with its fortifications was not elaborated from an interdisciplinary perspective centered around proper urban and architectural studies, accompanied by a careful reconsideration of the related primary sources. Therefore, this paper aims to track its Late Medieval morphological changes with a particular focus on former and present fortifications. For this reason, a thorough research was carried out and in addition to critical comparisons with the literature, primary sources like historical testimonies and mural inscriptions were consulted. Architectural history of the castle was also elaborated together with the inner castle and its spatial chronology in relation to nearby monuments area, from an urban point of view. According to the findings, a predecessor triangular fortification system was present actually until the late 13th century and the overall architecture of the present

castle with two main phases corresponds to the Late Middle Ages. The testimony of Procopius and epigraphic evidence imply that the supposedly Hellenistic walls were in fact the ones built by Justinian I and further inscriptions display that the Late Medieval castle on the hillside then secured coastal areas in part with some defensive additions, during the naval supremacy of the Genoese (Gattilusio) period.

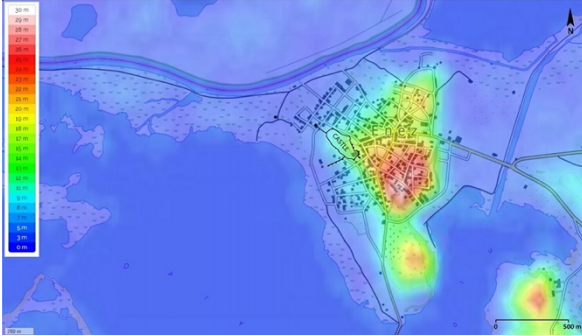


Fig. 1. Topographic map of Enez city center and its surroundings (Sağlam, 2022)

The Castle of Enez and Former City Walls of Ainos

The Castle of Enez has a northwest – southeast orientation with a concentrated, elliptical layout on a hillside near the coast that remains 350 m in the northwest of the central height of the triangular peninsula with an altitude of nearly 30 m, and it remains roughly 200 m away from the shoreline today. Due to the steep position of the castle, its elevation changes around 8-17 m above the sea level from the west to the east, respectively (Fig. 1). Body walls of the main enceinte are between 2-3 m thick and have a maximum height of 25 m. The inner castle area is approximately 260 x 120 m and 2,4 ha. The wall circuit along its perimeter is roughly 740 m long in total, which is supported by 16 irregularly arranged towers with different forms, though the ones towards the coastline are rather solid bastions due to sharp elevation difference (Başaran, 1998, p. 3). Exterior façade of a palatial residence forms a small part of the northeastern wall course of the main enceinte. The southeastern tip that partially surrounds Hagia Sophia (Fatih Mosque) was heavily fortified with a group of rectangular towers at close intervals. One of them has a crooked protrusion of 30 m towards the hilltop (Fig. 2).

Two courses of maritime walls extend towards the coast from the castle. The northern one is 80 m long and has a large, rectangular tower at its end, with dimensions of 17 x 17 m. The southern maritime walls, being 130 m long, has five irregular towers that the last one is slightly larger than the rest with its floor dimensions of 6 x 10 m. In addition, there is a freestanding defensive tower in the west of the northern maritime walls, 240 m away. The main gate of the

castle as a secured bent entrance faces the northeast and is also flanked by two towers. A stepped secondary gate is in the northwest, next to the maritime walls. It links the inner castle and the former coastline. Another postern was on the southern maritime walls, near its junction with the main enceinte, and is now in a ruined state. It provided entrance only to the coastal area between the maritime walls (Fig. 2).

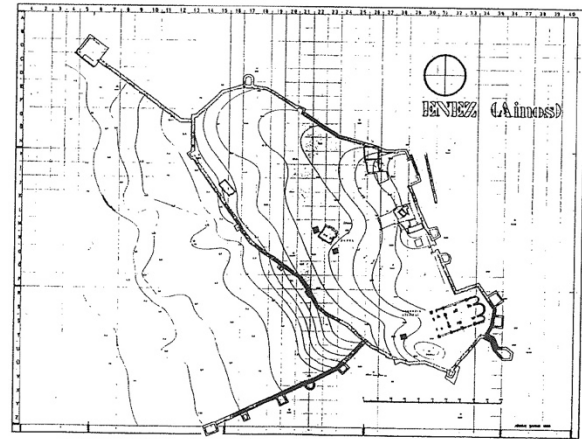


Fig. 2. Plan of the Castle of Enez (Başaran, 1998, p. 4)

Concerning the architectural history of the Castle of Enez, no comprehensive study was found in the literature. During this research, two fundamental construction phases and some repairs were detected with regard to masonry techniques. Speaking generally, the main enceinte is built of middle – small sized, roughly shaped and mixed stones that form more or less regular, longitudinal courses all along the body walls as well as the towers. Small brick pieces and rubbles were frequently inserted between irregular joints, mainly horizontally. Spolia materials are somewhat common, notably at lower parts, for example on a bastion with adjoining walls in the center of the southwestern wall course, and the southeastern tower with inscription, where large limestone blocks were hastily put together with rubbles (Fig. 3-5). On the other hand, the maritime walls, the freestanding tower, the palatial residence, the section around the main gate, and seemingly also the section around the secondary gate and walls next to the circular northwestern tower have a combination that is consisted of middle – large sized and relatively better reworked spolia materials at lower parts with rather distinguishable and tighter joints, while much smaller and roughly shaped mixed stones at upper parts. The courses are fairly regular, where joints were occasionally filled by bricks, rubbles and also flat stones, both vertically and horizontally (Fig. 6-8). The main difference between these phases can be generalized as the quality of the workmanship, particularly at lower levels. One of the repairs with a rather local extent includes very small, mixed rubbles with irregular courses, seen mainly on two collapsed sections on the southwestern wall course facing the

coast. Two adjoining retaining walls with inclined forms and fairly better workmanships were attached also there, against further collapses. Crenellation levels with mixed rubbles around the main gate are likely from later periods, including modern restorations.



Fig. 3, 4, 5. Towers from the NW, SE, and NE parts of the castle, respectively (Sağlam, 2016)



Fig. 6, 7, 8. Towers from the gate and the N and S maritime walls of the castle, respectively (Sağlam, 2016)

The inner castle is currently unoccupied and separated from the modern Enez settlement. The monuments situated there can be listed as Hagia Sophia (Fatih Mosque) fundamentally from the 12th century with later additions; Hagios Gregorios Neokaiserias from the 12th-13th centuries; and Theotokos Chrysopege dated 1422-1423. Outside the castle, there are the so-called Kral Kızı Basilica from the 6th-9th centuries next to the southeastern coastline; Hagios Ioannis Prodromos from the 13th-14th centuries in the Yeni Quarter in the north; the rock cut chapel of Panagia Phaneromene / Agia Triada from the 14th century next to the southern maritime walls; Hagios Euplos (Has Yunus Bey Mausoleum) from the 14th-15th centuries near the cemetery in the south; and an undated Byzantine basilica in the Gaziömerbey Quarter in the east (Eyice, 1963, pp. 150-152; 1969, pp. 348-354; Başaran, 1998, pp. 6-10; Ousterhout & Bakirtzis, 2007, pp. 23-44).

According to Başaran (1998, p. 3), the stepped foundation of the tower at the end of the northern maritime walls belongs to the Hellenistic Period, where double rows of large, rectangular blocks were used with small rubbles in between. However, the brief dating of this technique could not be confirmed during this research, since the tower in question is overall a Medieval structure with significant mortar and brick usage. Any distinguishable Hellenistic masonry was not seen elsewhere on the castle and such stepped foundations are actually common. In this case, a certain date of groundbreaking for the castle is so far undetermined in the literature, though archaeological excavations inside the castle proved continuous occupation since Prehistory and especially during the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman times (Başaran, 1998, p. 1-3; Ousterhout & Bakirtzis, 2007, p. 21). Nevertheless, common scholarly tradition briefly attributes the castle overall to the 6th century as a (re)construction on the former “acropolis” by Justinian I, after the testimony of Procopius, which had further improvements during the 13th-15th centuries with respect to various mural inscriptions (Hasluck,

1909, p. 250; Eyice, 1963, p. 142; Başaran, 1998, p. 2; Ousterhout & Bakirtzis, 2007, pp. 21-22).

Then, once again supposing that the extant Castle of Enez as a whole is essentially a 6th century work by Justinian I, and with the help of a geoscientific multi-proxy methodology based on geophysical, sedimentological and also brief analogical analyzes, a recent scientific research argued that massive city walls equipped with several towers once protected Ainos starting from Hellenistic times, particularly along the southwestern perimeter of the triangular peninsula and partially through consolidated swampy areas, though the Hellenistic Period in question was actually determined as a terminus post quem for the construction age of the discovered city walls under the ground, without a proper archaeological excavation and proof yet (Seeliger et al., 2018).

Following studies about Ainos continued to consider the aforementioned hypothesis about Hellenistic city walls and even improved it again with the help of geophysical methods, and eventually suggested that starting from the Hellenistic Period and until Late Antiquity, in fact the whole peninsula of Ainos was surrounded by triangular city walls with long, zigzag courses and strong towers along a sloping route that remains slightly inland from the coastline, since the area between the maritime walls was already silted up during Classical Antiquity. Correspondingly, it has been briefly presupposed once again that the extant castle on the former “acropolis” that fortifies a much smaller area is fundamentally a 6th century construction by Justinian I (Dan et al. 2019; 2020).

Ainos and its Fortifications in Primary Sources

According to the supposedly mid-4th century BC Periplus of Pseudo-Scylax, Ainos in Thrace was a harbor city at that time and its citizens possessed some certain fortresses (Αἴνος πόλις καὶ λιμὴν, τείχη Αἰνίων ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ) that conjecturally included also the walls that protected the city itself (Müller, 1882, p. 55). Diodorus Siculus listed Ainos as a fortified city by the end of the Third Macedonian War (168 BC) (Dindorf, 1855, p. 495). Near the Via Egnatia, it had been a significant administrative center also starting from Late Antiquity. An inscription documented as spolia at the main gate of the Castle of Enez indicates that a praetorium was constructed there around the 5th-6th centuries, namely the official residence of a Roman governor (Kaygusuz, 1982, p. 288). Similarly, the 6th century Synecdemus of Hierocles listed Ainos as one of the seven cities of the Rhodope Province in Thrace (Burckhardt, 1893, p. 2). Meanwhile, Procopius stated as of the mid-6th century that (Dewing, 1971, pp. 304-305);

“Beyond the Chersonese stands the city of Aenus ... The circuit-wall of this place was easy to capture not only because of its lowness, since it did not rise even to the necessary height, but because it offered an exposed approach on the side toward the sea, whose waters actually touched it in places. But the Emperor Justinian raised it to such a height that it could not even be assailed, much less be captured. And by extending the wall and closing the gaps on every side he rendered Aenus altogether impregnable.”

Afterwards, in the De Thematribus of Konstantinos VII by the mid-10th century, Ainos was still one of the primary settlements of the Rhodope Province (Bekker, 1840, p. 47). On the other hand, from an ecclesiastical perspective, Ainos appeared as an autocephalic archbishopric under the Rhodope Province in the 7th century Ekthesis of Epiphanius and also the Notitiae Episcopatum from the 9th-10th as well as 12th centuries continued to mention it in this context (Gelzer, 1900, pp. 536, 551, 585). In the anonymous Fatimid cosmography known as The Book of Curiosities dated 1020-1050, the city was mentioned as a fortified settlement (حصن عامر) next to a shore towards the west (Savage-Smith & Rapoport, 2014, pp. 102, 484). The anonymous Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris about the Third Crusade defined Ainos as “a prosperous city ... surrounded on every side by the sea except one entrance” (opulentam civitatem ... que undique mari preter unum aditum ambiebatur) by 1189 (Tauschinski & Pangerl, 1863, p. 44).

Ainos was an administrative as well as commercial center also during the 13th century, since the Partitio terrarum imperii Romaniae dated 1204 in the context of the Fourth Crusade included it as a “katepanikion” together with its warehouses (Catepanicum Aeni, cum apothecis / Τό κατεπανίκιον Αἴνου σύν ταῖς ἀποθήκαις), namely a small province as an administrative subdivision (Tafel & Thomas, 1856, pp. 484, 492). The Pisan portolan Liber de existencia riveriarum et forma maris nostri Mediterranei dated circa 1200 referred to Ainos several times along different maritime routes, as one of the principal harbor cities of Thrace (Gautier-Dalché, 1995, pp. 112, 137, 142). This was the case also in Lo Compasso de navegare dated 1296 as another Italian portolan, where Ainos was a certain harbor in the North Aegean (Motzo, 1947, p. 44). In the context of a successful siege laid by Tatars and Bulgars to Ainos in 1264, the city was mentioned as a “fortress” (Αἴνου φρούριον) by Georgios Pachymeres, a contemporary witness (Bekker, 1835, p. 235). The slightly later testimony of Nikephoros Gregoras included also a similar expression (Αἴνου πολίχνιον) (Schopen, 1829, p. 101)

(for further information about Ainos in Byzantine times, see: Soustal, 1991, pp. 170-171).

Two correlated mural inscriptions in Greek provide information about a significant defensive work in Ainos. The first one, consisted of five rectangular blocks and being significantly long, was documented on the protruding southeastern tower of the castle, which was removed in a later time. The partially deciphered contents of it as follow (Asdracha, 2003, p. 255);

“+ ... ανόμων αιμοχαρών βαρβάρων
Ταταροβο[υλγάρων] ... τα πομπών μεγίστων δεινών
ύπεραλγών | [Δούκας Ἄγγελος Κο]μνηνός
Παλαιολόγος τούτον ὁ πάντα λ[ύων χρόνος] ... και
κλήσις Γεώργιος αὐθις δομεῖται | ... σχήμα τρίγωνον
μεταμείβοι ὀρισαμ[ενος] ... μων δουλ [Α]νδρονίκου
γαμβρός Παλαιολόγου | ... μου Μιχαήλ και Μαρίας ὠν
κλάδος ... σώτερ ἀκρόγῶνε πίστεως λίθε | [εις αἰῶ]νας
φύλατται ἀτελευτήτους + ετου[ς] ...”

“... iniquitous, bloodthirsty barbarians, Tataro-Bulgarians ... feeling too much pain, Doukas Angelos Komnenos Palaiologos, this one, time that solves everything ... the named Georgios builds again, ordering change of the plan into a triangle (or, the change of the triangular plan into) ... son-in-law of Andronikos Palaiologos ... being a branch of Mikhail and Maria ... Savior, cornerstone of faith ... preserve to infinite ages + In the year ...”

The second mural inscription, consisted of six rectangular blocks and essentially being as long as the previous one, is still on the rectangular tower adjacent to the aforementioned protruding tower but only “... in the year 1284/1285 +” (... Ἐτ[ους] ,Ϛψηγ +) could be read because of excessive wearing over time. Moreover, it has also been argued that further two, relatively brief inscriptions in Greek most probably commemorated some repairs done to the castle in 1307/1308 and 1356. The position of the first, later disappeared one was not documented and the second one was seen actually as spolia in a rather hidden, rear position on the castle (Asdracha, 2003, pp. 256-259).

Ainos was the capital of a dynastic lordship founded by the noble Genoese family of Gattilusio in the late 14th century. Its members set close diplomatic as well as family relations with the imperial Palaiologos dynasty and eventually obtained certain territorial concessions within the Byzantine Empire. The Lordship of Ainos was a regional naval power, which also expanded to nearby islands like Samothrace, Thasos and Imbros. After a prosperous period for the city, the lordship lasted until 1456 (Wright, 2014). Abundant epigraphic evidence in Latin as well as in Greek that remained from this period show that the castle had several alterations under the Gattilusio rule in Ainos. The earliest mural inscription

in this context is located on the single tower of the northern maritime walls. The white marble slab has two rectangular compartments with the Gattilusio and Doria coat of arms and a one-line inscription in Latin engraved above them (Fig. 9). Its date was read either 1382 or 1385 in the literature (Hasluck, 1909, p. 255; Asdracha, 2003, pp. 259-260; Ousterhout & Bakirtzis, 2007, pp. 21-22). Yet, 1385 was proved after a close examination. In any case, it is from the founder as well as the first ruler of the lordship, Niccolò Gattilusio (r. 1376-1409). The inscription as follows;

“+ M · CCC · LXXXV · DIE · PRIMO · MADII >”

“1385, on the first day of May.”

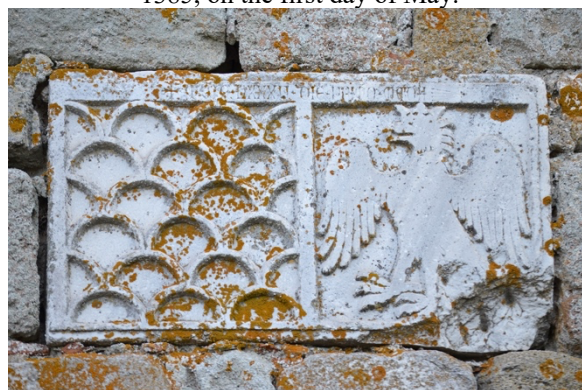


Fig. 9. Mural slab with inscription (1385) on the tower of the northern maritime walls (David Hendrix, 2020).

The second mural slab is on the well-preserved central tower of the southern maritime walls. The rectangular yellowish marble with dimensions of 0,75 x 1,05 m is consisted of the pattern of the Gattilusio coat of arms with a one-line relief inscription in Latin, right above (Fig. 10). Dated 1413, it is from the time of the second lord, namely Palamede Gattilusio (r. 1409-1455) (Hasluck, 1909, pp. 255-256; Asdracha, 2003, pp. 260-261). The inscription as follows;

“+ M CCCXIII : DIE PRIM AGV?TI :”

“1413, on the first day of August.”



Fig. 10. Mural slab with inscription (1413) on the tower of the southern maritime walls (David Hendrix, 2020)

In addition, two lost mural inscriptions in Greek probably commemorated some repairs done to the

castle. The first one was seen somewhere on the northwestern wall course that only its year was read, as 1416/1417. The second one with a large cross and combined Gattilusio-Palaiologos coat of arms was documented in a niche with a pointed brick arch above a tower on the northeastern wall course of the castle, which provided the year 1421/1422 and the name Dimitrianos Trimon as the person who assisted (Παραστεκάμενος) the work in question (Asdracha, 2003, pp. 261, 263-264).

Discussion

Speaking generally, Byzantine fortifications of the 5th-6th centuries had distinguishing masonry as well as layout characteristics, such as very regular courses of homogeneous, relatively large-sized fine ashlars, well cut to square or rectangle, and with fairly narrow joints. With considerably regular plans, angles and straight wall courses, on one hand they intended to protect larger areas with settlements as a whole, sometimes fronted by outer walls and moats, and had tiny inner citadels as last resorts. On the other hand, there were small military outposts across frontier zones. Frequently arranged towers with tall, massive forms provided crossfire. They were quite advanced military works from both architectural and strategic perspectives, which reflected vast sources of the empire by the 5th-6th centuries (Pringle, 1981; Foss & Winfield, 1986; Crow, 2013). Yet, Byzantine fortifications starting from the 12th century had more or less regular, roughly shaped and middle-sized stonework, often alternated by rather frequent, thin brick courses, and with shelter coat mortars in joints. Notable usages of rich cloisonné and decorative brickworks of this period gradually declined until the 14th century, first to desultory use of brick and eventually to plain, regular masonry of small, coursed stones. The towers had varying forms and other than restoring older walls, the 12th-13th century Byzantine fortifications of reduced cities were relatively small scaled and had considerably irregular layouts in accordance with the topography, on strategic and sometimes even isolated positions that are easier to defend. They were rather shelters at optimum requirements (Foss & Winfield, 1986; Crow, 2017).

In this case, it can be clearly questioned that with its mediocre size, irregular plan, concentrated defensive form, and above all inferior masonry technique, actually no part of the main enceinte of the Castle of Enez resembles the Late Antique Byzantine fortifications at all, and is overall a reminiscent of much later *kastron* examples of the empire. Moreover, as the enceinte walls perfectly encompass the 12th century Hagia Sophia (Fatih Mosque), it sets *terminus post quem*, therefore the layout of the castle must

belong to a period later than the church. Hence, the inscriptions dated 1284/1285 seemingly commemorated the fundamental construction of the extant castle. Also, one of the 14th century inscriptions in Greek was perchance for the rough rubble repairs on the steep southwestern course.

Throughout the Byzantine and Gattilusio periods, Ainos was a “fortified settlement” in broad terms. However, the long inscription from 1284/1285 not only referred to the defeat of 1264, as Pachymeres and Gregoras recalled, but also mentioned a significant “building again” by a certain Georgios, who either changed the plan into a triangle or changed the triangular plan (σχήμα τρίγωνον) into something else, according to the missing line. Since the layout of the castle that the inscription was placed has nothing to do with a triangular form and is obviously elliptical, the second option mentioned above comes to the forefront. Thus, it can be said that when this predecessor, unknown “triangular plan”, perhaps could not be well-maintained in time, eventually failed during the siege of 1264, it was changed in 1284/1285 and replaced by a shrunk castle. If this was the case, a certain “triangular plan” existed in Ainos until the late 13th century, which was presumably the 6th century work of Justinian I.

The testimony of Procopius was only superficially considered by the literature and its details were ignored. In the context of a defensive incapacity, the pre-6th century walls of Ainos were not only low but also “offered an exposed approach on the side towards the sea, whose waters actually touched it in places.” What kind of enemy threat would cause a defensive concern regarding this second circumstance? It was probably the siege engine *sambuca*, where a suspended drawbridge to be dropped on top of maritime walls, was mounted on a ship to be rowed inshore, and allowed direct deployment of troops atop. The response of Justinian I included heightening the walls, surrounding the city properly, and also “extending” (ἐπεξαγαγών) the walls, namely lengthening them, according to a modern edition of Procopius (Dewing, 1971, pp. 304-305). If the extant Castle of Enez is that “extended” work of Justinian I, the predecessor, namely Hellenistic walls would cover a much smaller area than even the castle itself, rather than the whole triangular peninsula. However, in another modern edition of Procopius, the action quoted above appears slightly different, as “withdrawing” (ὕπεξαγαγών), therefore was translated as “*a mari paulum seductis*” (Dindorf, 1838, p. 303). It makes even more sense when considered the aforementioned “exposed approach” risk from the sea, so that the walls were probably needed to be withdrawn from the coast, rather than an extension. The supposed course of the

triangular Hellenistic walls that Seeliger et al. (2018) and Dan et al. (2019; 2020) argued their underground discovery, remains slightly inland, on slopes of heights 3-4 m, and consolidated swamps in part, therefore they do not correspond to the pre-6th century walls that Procopius described, which were washed by the sea in places at that time and allowed direct landing. Thus, it can be argued after Procopius that the supposed triangular walls around the city were actually the ones Justinian I rebuilt with a withdrawn / extended and properly surrounding layout, and the former Hellenistic walls, which must have encompassed a much smaller area and touched the sea, are perhaps still waiting to be discovered.

From an urban perspective, for instance, as a densely populated walled urban area in the Late Medieval context, if the average population density of Paris between the 14th-16th centuries is taken as reference, which was roughly 800 p/ha (Musée Carnavalet, 2021), the Castle of Enez could accommodate less than 2000 people, which remains quite less for a central province near the Via Egnatia with administrative, military, commercial and ecclesiastic importance from Late Antiquity. As the castle is architecturally a Late Medieval work and since there were significant extramural monuments even in the 12th-15th centuries, it perchance served as a castle rather than proper city walls, to provide shelter in case of a threat. In terms of defensive strategy, as the southeastern corner tower protrudes towards the main hilltop of the peninsula, which posed a potential enemy encampment, it appears as an independently fortified tower; a concept discussed by Holmes (2012, pp. 180-188) that such towers were especially promoted by Philippe II Auguste (r. 1190-1223) and used elsewhere in Europe -verifying the proposed late 13th century layout of the castle- where a large tower was moved out of the enclosure from its weakest landward corner and had a direct combat role against enemy siege engines. If a castle of a similar size would be built on the dominant hill mentioned above, it would be isolated and easily besieged, therefore keeping a foot in the harborfront was obviously a priority, either for supplies or to escape. By this means, also swamps and the coastline became parts of the defense, since a relatively small portion of the castle faced the direction of potential land attacks from the ridge towards the bent main gate, where the primary boulevard of modern Enez is positioned (Fig. 11).

The later architectural phase of the castle with a rather superior masonry technique was commemorated by the Gattilusio mural inscriptions. The ones dated 1416/1417 and 1421/1422 were seemingly for partial improvements around the circular tower and the secondary gate in the northwestern section, and also the

main gate section that the latter, lost inscription was perchance on the ruined rectangular tower there. Then, around 1385-1413, coastal lands of the harborfront were secured through maritime walls extending from the castle, during the naval supremacy of the Gattilusio period. It is possible to find similar Gattilusio masonry techniques with large blocks and regular courses on the Chora Castle, Samothrace (Androudis, 2013); the citadel of the Mytilene Castle (Kalakallas, 2014); the Tower of Büyük Maden Island, Ayvalık; and the Tower of Mardaliç Island, Dikili (Sağlam, 2018).

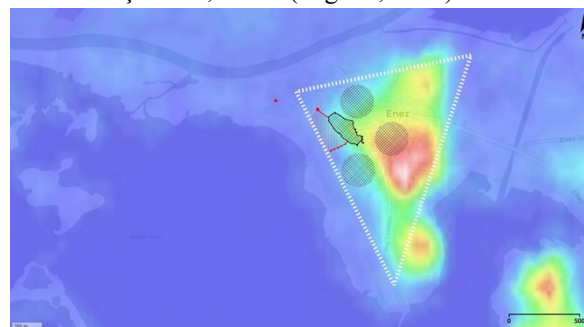


Fig. 11. Suggested Late Medieval urban morphology of Ainos: Pre-1284/1285, probably 6th century triangular fortification system (hypothetical) (white); Byzantine castle dated 1284/1285 with contemporary extramural neighborhoods (black); Gattilusio additions dated 1385-1413 and secured coastal lands (red) (Sağlam, 2022).

Conclusion

Ainos was a fortified settlement since Classical Antiquity that recent studies discovered its former city walls and briefly dated them to the Hellenistic Period, which supposedly surrounded the triangular peninsula. However, a careful reconsideration of available architectural, historical and epigraphic evidence suggests that they can be in fact the 6th century work of Justinian I, and the present castle is overall a late 13th century monument, which replaced a certain predecessor triangular fortification. The castle had significant repairs and coastal additions during the Gattilusio rule that those defensive works and the topography fundamentally affected the Late Medieval urban morphology of Ainos.

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