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The Bulgarians and the Avar Chaganate, 6th-9th c. A.D.

Българите и Аварският хаганат, VI–IX век

Статията е посветена на българо-аварските контакти и взаимоотношения през периода от VI до ранния IX век. До началото на VII век българите съставляват важна част от войските на Аварския хаганат. Авторът е на мнение, че именно от кутригурите аварите са усвоили обсадното изкуство. Българското влияние върху аварите има и културни измерения, включително в областта на християнството и християнските символи. След договора от 716 г. търговските и политически контакти между Византия и Аварския хаганат продължават с посредничеството на България и това е състоянието на нещата поне до войните на Константин V. В началото на IX век ролите вече са разменени: аварите са подчинени на българите и участват във войските на българския владетел Крум срещу Византия.

The relations between the Avars and the Bulgarians form one of the most important parameters of the history of the Avar chaganate which concerns as well the center as its surroundings. Moreover, the relations between the two peoples were not limited to the political level; they also had cultural dimensions, which were due mainly to their coexistence within the geographical limits of the Avar chaganate.

The first mention of the Bulgarian-Avar relations occurs in *Priscus* and is related to the realignments in Central Asia in c. 460 A.D. The expansion of the Avars in the area caused conflicts between Hunnic and Bulgarian tribes (Saragurs, Urogs, Onogurs and Sabirs) who migrated towards the West¹. About one century later (550–555), Zacharias Rhetor mentions Bulgarian tribes living north of the Black Sea². The Avars, who rather wrongly are mentioned among these peoples, deserted Central Asia between 552 and 555, after having being defeated by the Turks³. In 558 the Avars sent their first embassy to Constantinople and took part in an alliance with Byzantium. The emperor Justinian I turned them against the Antes and the nomad tribes North of Caucasus and the Black Sea (Onogurs, Zaloi, Sabirs) who were subjugated to the Avars⁴. The Byzantine Empire had installed these peoples in these areas in order to defend its interests in the South

Russian steppes and to control nomadic raids against the Byzantine territory. Christianization, trade, rising people against one another, and alliance treaties were among the means used by the Byzantine diplomacy to approach them, mainly during the reign of Justinian I⁵. During the Avar march there is no mention about the Kutrigurs, who were the most dangerous enemy of Byzantium among the steppe peoples. About the time of their subjugation, some scholars consider that it took place between 558 and 561/62⁶, whereas others believe that the Kutrigurs maintained some autonomy at least until 568, when they attacked Dalmatia as part of the Avar army⁷.

In 568 the Avars, after the collapse of the Gepidic kingdom and the departure of the Lombards to Italy, established a chaganate in the Middle Danube, where Bulgarian tribes were living among other peoples.⁸ The subjugation of the Bulgarian tribes was one of the Avars' arguments when they tried to obtain an annual tribute from the Byzantines. In 568⁹ as well as in 569¹⁰ the Avar legate Targitius asked from the emperor Justin II the annual tribute which Justinian used to pay to the Kutrigurs and the Utigurs before their subjugation to the Avars.

Being under the Avar rule, the Bulgarian tribes followed the Avars in their campaigns. In the sources' testimony there are many examples for their participation and first of them is the Kutriguric attack against Dalmatia, after the siege of Sirmium in 568. As W. Pohl notes, this is the last mention of the Kutrigurs in the sources and indeed they were either assimilated by the Avars or they were not distinguished from the other Bulgarian tribes, as the sources use the name "Bulgarians"¹¹. The participation of Bulgarian troops as allies of the Avars against the Byzantines is recorded also in 594 in the area of the Lower Danube¹², in 599 in Thrace¹³, in the siege of Thessalonike in 618¹⁴ and in the siege of Constantinople in 626¹⁵. Moreover, we should consider that Bulgarian troops took part in many other military operations where the Byzantine sources mention the allies of the Avars as "barbarian" troops¹⁶.

The Bulgarian tribes possibly played a very important role in the development of the Avar art of war, particularly in the siege engines. *Theophylactus Simokattes* refers that the transmission of the art of siege to the Avars is due to the treason of Bousas, a Byzantine officer, who had been captured by the Avars¹⁷. This testimony has rightly been disputed and is considered as a *common place*¹⁸. It appears from other earlier sources that the art of siege was familiar to the steppe peoples, as for example in the sieges of Naissus in 442¹⁹ and Aquileia in 452²⁰ by the Huns. In 551 the Sabeiroi Huns, allies of the Byzantines, created three siege engines during the siege of Petra (Caucasus), using some techniques unknown to the Byzantines and to the Persians²¹. Moreover, *Agathias* informs that during the siege of Chersonesus in Thrace by Zabergan (558/59), the Kutrigurs used ladders and siege engines²². From the above mentioned testimony we could conclude that the nomadic tribes, among them the Bulgarians too, transmitted the art of siege to the Avars when they were subjugated to them²³.

Except of their participation in the Avar campaigns, the presence of Bulgarians within the Avar chaganate also had a cultural dimension, since they were in some way a

“bridge” for the transfer of Byzantine art patterns to Pannonia. The presence of Bulgarian tribes (Kutrigurs and Utigurs) in the area of the Black Sea, which were in earlier times Christianized by the Byzantines, brought them in contact with the Byzantine civilization. Even if they didn’t adopt Christianity, the use of Christian symbols, which are noticeable as ornament patterns in the Avar chaganate, could be partially attributed to cultural elements that the Bulgarian tribes brought when they were subjugated to the Avars and followed them to Pannonia²⁴. Moreover, there are some assumptions among the scholars about stirrups and weapons of “Kutriguric” character in the Avar chaganate²⁵.

The defeat of the Avars in 626 caused many internal conflicts to the Avar chaganate, which weakened its political and military power. The first consequence of this crisis was the conflict between the Avars and the subjugated Slavic tribes, which broke out after the destruction of the Slavic fleet to Constantinople²⁶. Some years later, in 631/32, the disruptive movements in the chaganate became more intensive, as the Bulgarians, under Alciochus, disputed the Avar rule. This crisis led to a hard civil war which seriously threatened the cohesion of the Avar chaganate. *Fredegarius* informs that Alciochus claimed a leading role for his people, taking rather advantage of the weakening of the Avars after their defeat in Constantinople. The Avars won the civil war and Alciochus, followed by some 9.000 Bulgarians, fled from Pannonia to the West. Although the king of the Franks Dagobert I allowed them to spend the winter in Bavaria, he ordered later the Bavarians to slaughter them. Only Alciochus with 700 men escaped to *marca Vinetorum* (Slovenia and Carinthia) where the Slavic duke Valuk accepted him²⁷. This small Bulgarian population was settled in c. 663, by the Lombard king Grimuald (662–671) in Italy, between Isernia, Sepinum and Bovianum, and was put under the duke of Benevento Romuald²⁸. The testimony of *Paulus Diaconus* on the settlement of Bulgarians in Italy should not be related to the testimony of *Theophanes* about the migration of the fifth son of Kubrat, after the collapse of the “Great Bulgaria”, because Pentapolis of Ravenna is referred as settlement space and, on the other hand, these Bulgarians were put under the Byzantine suzerainty²⁹.

Almost simultaneously with the episode of Alciochus, *Nikephorus*, Patriarch of Constantinople, informs that Kubrat revolted against the Avars and liberated the Onogurs from the Avar rule³⁰. The success of Kubrat led to the formation of the “Great Bulgaria”, which had as its center the areas around the Sea of Azov and expanded to the steppes between the rivers Dniepr, Don and Kuban³¹. The years 630³², 635³³ or sometimes between 635 and 641 are suggested for the date of the revolt³⁴, which was considered to be the consequence of Emperor Heraclius’ policy towards the Avars and was ascribed to active involvement of Constantinople³⁵. The Emperor Heraclius (610-641), obviously prone to enforce the position of the Empire at the strategically important area of the South Russian steppes, approached the Onogurs during the first decade of his reign. In 619, the Onogur ruler Orhan visited Constantinople with his young nephew Kubrat, where they were Christened. Orhan obtained the title of *patrician* and Kubrat remained in Constantinople for a longer time³⁶. In c. 635, after his revolt, Kubrat sent an embassy

to Byzantium. Heraclius accepted the conclusion of alliance with Kubrat and offered him the title of *patrician* along with rich presents³⁷. Another indications of Kubrat's contact with the Byzantine civilization are the findings from the treasure of Malaja Perescepina, mainly two golden rings with the inscription *Kubratos patrikios*, which are dated to the middle of the seventh century A.D.³⁸

The main question about Kubrat's revolt concerns the people against whom he revolted. Having as only source the *Short History* of Patriarch Nicephorus, it was generally accepted that Kubrat shook off the Avar supremacy and formed the chaganate of "Great Bulgaria" with the support of Constantinople. Nevertheless, this view was disputed by some scholars who, scrutinizing the events in the South Russian steppes during the second half of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century, concluded that Kubrat revolted against the western Turks³⁹.

After their victorious march between 558 and 562⁴⁰, the Avars moved westwards and the areas north of Caucasus came after 567 under the dominion of the western Turks, who subjugated the peoples living between Volga, Don and Caucasus. In c. 571, the Onogur ruler in the Lower Volga was already a subordinate of the Turkish chagan⁴¹ and in 576 the chagan of the western Turks Turxanthos, together with the ruler of Utigurs Anageus, occupied the Byzantine city of Bosphorus (nowadays Kerch) in Crimea.⁴² *Menander Protector* quotes the discussion of Turxanthos with the Byzantine embassy before the Turkish attack against Crimea⁴³ as well as the meeting of the Byzantine legate Valentinus with Anageus⁴⁴. *Menander's* testimony confirms that after the flight of the Avars in 562, the western Turks imposed gradually their supremacy to the north of Caucasus and possibly between 567 and 576 subordinated the Ogurs, the Onogurs and the Alans, who remained under Turkish rule until the revolt of Kubrat⁴⁵. Moreover, the military operation of the Avars against the Antes in 602⁴⁶ was related to the Byzantine-Avar conflicts in the Lower Danube and had no impact for the peoples living to the east of the Antes, as the Bulgarian tribes or the western Turks. Consequently, Kubrat's revolt doesn't concern the frame of the Bulgarian-Avar relations, as Kubrat liberated his people from the supremacy of the western Turks.

Although the beginnings of Kubrat's hegemony wasn't related to the Avars, its dissolution during the reign of the emperor Constans II (641–668), because of internal conflicts and the expansion of the Khazars⁴⁷, opened a new phase to the Bulgarian-Avar relations, as Kuver, the fourth son of Kubrat, was moved to the Avar chaganate⁴⁸. After a rather short time spent in Pannonia, Kuver clashed with the Avars and was moved to the south at the head of a mixed population, "Romans", Bulgarians, Avars etc. This population (the "Romans" were descendants of captives transferred from the Avars in Pannonia) maintained its "Roman" conscience, remained faithful to Christianity and desired the return to the land of their ancestors⁴⁹. Kuver's people settled under the Avars in the wider area of Sirmium (the author of the *Miracles* calls them *Sermesiano*⁵⁰) in Lower Pannonia. The *Sermesiano* revolted for "about sixty years" after their transfer to Pannonia by the Avars⁵¹, and, according to the scholars, the revolt either took place in 678⁵², or between 680 and 685⁵³.

The permanence of Kuver's Bulgarians into the Avar chaganate was very important from a cultural point of view. During the Middle Avar period (c. 665–710), some changes are to be noticed in the material culture which derived mainly from the settlement of the Onogurs in Pannonia in c. 670⁵⁴. Simultaneously with this migration, the expansion of the Avar cultural elements took place in Central Europe, as Avar populations were moved to the north and the west, in the area of modern Slovakia and Austria⁵⁵.

The main characteristic in the archaeological findings of the Middle Avar period is the wide use of bronze casting in metalwork, a well-known technique in the area of the nomads from Hungary to the Altai Mountains. The Onogurs who migrated to Pannonia possibly used this technique, and, as an outcome, the cast technique in the metalwork gradually replaced the pressed one⁵⁶. While in the Early and Middle Avar period almost only the buckles had been cast, by the end of the Middle Avar period cast strap-ends and fittings mainly with geometric ornaments appeared⁵⁷. Some Byzantine decorative elements, that were first seen in the area north of Caucasus and to Dniepr during the reign of Heraclius (belt decoration with pressed vegetal ornaments, necklaces made in precious metals, crosses made with gems, pseudo-buckles) and were later found in the Avar chaganate during the Middle Avar period (Bocsa, Igar, Ozora-Totipuszta, Dunapentele, Dunapatai, Kimbakhaza, Kiskoros) could be attributed to the Onogurs' migration.⁵⁸ Some of the Christian symbols in the Avar chaganate could also be attributed to this migration, as the Onogurian rulers had already christened in Constantinople⁵⁹.

After the collapse of the "Great Bulgaria", the Bulgarian-Avar relations also had implications in the Balkans. Having left his homeland, the third son of Kubrat, Asparuh (635/640-c. 700), beat off the army of the emperor Constantine IV in Dobrudza and in 681 formed a new hegemony between Haemus and Danube with center in Pliska⁶⁰. According to the testimony of the *Armenian Geography* (seventh century), Asparuh clashed with the Avars, possibly between 680 and 685. The Avars were driven out from the area south of the Lower Danube and the western boundaries of the Bulgarians reached the Iron Gates, restraining the territories of the Avar chaganate⁶¹. Concerning the Slavs of Moesia, *Theophanes* informs that the Bulgarians settled the Severeis at their frontiers with Byzantium, close to the mountain pass of Veregava (nowadays Ris) and they moved the so-called "seven tribes" to their frontiers with the Avar chaganate⁶². The establishment of the first Bulgarian state on the Balkans led some scholars to the assumption that it caused the interruption of the contacts between Byzantium and the Avars, because the Bulgarians had cut off the ways of communication of the Empire with Pannonia⁶³. On the other hand, an assumption exists that the Bulgarian settlement had no negative impact on the Byzantine-Avar relations at all⁶⁴.

Taking into account the space of the Bulgarian settlement, and in comparison with the network of the Roman and early Byzantine era, it seems clear that the Bulgarians occupied a territory in which important inter-Balkan roads passed through, linked Constantinople and Thrace to the areas north of Haemus and Danube river. The most important of them were the road from Nicopolis ad Istrum to Adrianople through Beroe;

the so-called “way of Trajan” from Oescus to Philippopolis; the roads linking Marcianoupolis to Anchialus and Odessus to Mesembria respectively; the coastal road from Odessus to Tomis; the road Noviodunum-Marcianopolis; the so-called “Danube road” from Singidunum to Ad Stoma, and the road from Naissus to Ratiaria⁶⁵. On the other hand, some important inter-Balkan roads existed outside of the Bulgarian settlement, as the Roman *Via Militaris*, known later as *Vasiliki Odos*, which linked Singidunum to Constantinople through Viminacium, Serdica, Philippopolis and Adrianopolis⁶⁶, the *Via Egnatia* (from Dyrrachium to Constantinople)⁶⁷ and two navigable ways, the valleys Morava-Axios (Vardar) and Escus-Strymon⁶⁸. Independently from the location of these roads, it is most likely that the Byzantines could not use the network within the Balkan area after the massive settlement of the Slavs in the first decades of the seventh century, during the reign of Phokas and Heraclius, when the Byzantines lost their control over almost all of the Balkan provinces⁶⁹.

The treaty of 716 between the Emperor Theodosius III (715–717) and the Bulgar chagan Cormesius (716/21–738), which settled the question of the frontiers as well as the trade relations of the Empire with the Bulgarians, was very important for the restoration of the Balkan internal communication.⁷⁰ The fourth term of this treaty determined the development of trade relations between Byzantium and Bulgaria. Except for the regulations on the activity of the merchants between the two states and the official character of their trade relations, the Byzantines possibly obtained the right to transfer goods through Bulgaria to other areas, either north of the Danube, to the Avar chaganate, or even to the West.⁷¹ We could assume that the establishment of the first Bulgarian state, with the imposition of a state power on the northeastern part of the Balkans, facilitated the re-establishment of the official trade relations of the Byzantine Empire with the areas north of the Danube through the ancient network (when the Byzantine-Bulgarian relations were good), as the merchants had certified documents and defrayed dues.

The treaty of 716 re-established after almost one century the inter-Balkan trade activity, which had been interrupted because of the disaster of many urban centers in the area of the Danube and the interior of the Balkans during the first quarter of the seventh century⁷². Having the Bulgarian territory as a communication way, the Byzantines renewed their trade relations with the Avars for the next four decades, until 756, when the twenty years war of the emperor Constantine V (741–775) against the Bulgarians broke out⁷³. In the period between 716 and 756 it seems that many of the Byzantine ornamental motives, particularly iconoclast, entered in the Avar chaganate, through the inter-Balkan network.⁷⁴ The archaeological findings from Bulgaria testify that the area between Haemus and Lower Danube soon became an intermediate cultural space for the Balkans and the Eastern Central Europe. Some early Bulgarian findings, as the belt from Madara, ornamented with granulation and geometrical motives, or the strap with enamel decoration from Varna indicate cultural relations with Byzantium and show similarities with the findings of the Avar space. Despite its small political influence during the eighth century, it is likely that the Avar chaganate was not culturally isolated but was

maintaining relations with Italy, the Balkans and the Black Sea⁷⁵. These cultural influences should be partially attributed to the trade activity of the Avars themselves. According to the *Sudas Lexikon*, one of the reasons for the decline of the Avar chaganate was that the Avars “were all merchants and cheating each other”⁷⁶.

One issue of cultural interest, mainly connected with the eighth c. A.D., is the attribution of the so-called “treasure of Nagyszentmiklos” (a toponym to the area of the river Aranka in Banat) to the Bulgarians⁷⁷. The treasure, the most important of the Late Avar period (c. 710–805/10), where Byzantine influences are also to be noticed, consists of 23 golden vessels, earrings and one Byzantine cross. The most of the vessels of better quality are dated to the seventh and eighth century, and some to the ninth century. On the vessels there are inscriptions with Greek or Turkic runic characters, or mixed, as well as decoration with mythological motives, centaurs, fights between animals, riders etc. Although the typology and the ornament of the treasure is related to the Avar material, it shows that they are products of various workshops and testify the coexistence of many cultural elements, as Byzantines, Nomad and late Sassanian, too⁷⁸.

The last mentions in the Byzantine sources of the Avars in the early ninth century concern the subjugation of the eastern part of the Avar chaganate to Krum, after the march of the Bulgarian ruler east of the river Tisza in 803/04⁷⁹. These Avars some years later were used as part of Krum’s troops and participated in the destructive for Byzantium battle of 811⁸⁰ as well as in the campaign of Krum against Constantinople in 813⁸¹.

Summarizing the Avar-Bulgarian relations, we could notice that the subjugated Bulgarian tribes in the sixth and early seventh century A.D. enforced the military power of the Avar chaganate as the Bulgarians were maybe the most important part of the auxiliary troops in the Avar army. Moreover, we could attribute with proper level of certainty the transmission of the art of siege to the Avars by the Koutrigurs. In the cultural level, the Christian symbols which occur in the archaeological findings of the Avar chaganate could be partially attributed to the Bulgarian tribes. The cultural influences continued during the seventh century, mainly because of the migration of the Onogurs under Kouver to Pannonia. On the other hand, the civil war of 631/2 and the flight of the Bulgarians had a long-term impact for the Avar chaganate, as it never became again such a power as it had been until 626. On the Balkan parameter of their relations, despite the conflict between the two sides after the establishment of the first Bulgarian state, the Bulgarian territory became soon the passage for the communication of Byzantium with areas north of the Danube. We should also note the “change of roles” for some of the last Avars, who were subordinates of Krum and followed the Bulgarians in their campaigns, as earlier the Bulgarian tribes followed the Avar chagans.

ENDNOTES

¹ **Priscus**. *Fragmenta*, ed. Blockley, R. C. (The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire, vol. II, Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus). Liverpool: 1983, 40. 1, 345: *At this time the Saraguri, Urogi and the Onoguri sent envoys to the eastern Romans. These tribes had left their native lands when the Sabiri attacked them. The latter had been driven out by the Avars who had in turn been displaced by the tribes who lived by the shore of the Ocean. In the same way, the Saraguri, driven to search for land, came into contact with the Akatirian Huns and, after engaging them in many battles, defeated that tribe. The Saraguri then approached the Romans, wishing to win their friendship, and the Emperor and his courtiers received them in a kindly manner, gave them gifts and sent them away.* **Czeglédy, K.** From East to West: The Age of Nomadic Migrations in Eurasia. – *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, 1983, 3, 100–103. **Bálint, Cs.** Die Archäologie der Steppe. Steppenvölker zwischen Wolga und Donau vom 6. bis zum 9. Jahrhundert. Vienna – Kilonia: 1989, 147.

² **Zacharias Rhetor**. Church History, ed. Brooks E. W. (CSCO, Scriptorum Syri 6/II) Luvain: 1924, XII, 7, 144–145: *Unaghur populus qui in tabernaculis habitant, Oghor, Sabhir, Burgar, Kortrighar, Abhar, KSR, DYRMR, Sarargur, B'GRSYQ, KWLS, Abhdel, Ephthalita, hi populi tredecim in tabernaculis habitantes, et carne pecorum et piscibus vivunt et feris et armis,* **Czeglédy, K.** Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor on the Nomads. *Studia Turcica*, ed. L. Ligeti Budapest: 1971, 133–148. **Haussig, H. W.** Die Quellen über die Zentralasiatische Herkunft der Europäischen Awaren. – *Central Asiatic Journal*, 1956, 2, 21–22. **Pohl, W.** Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa, 567–822 n. Chr. Munich: 1988, 22. **Gjuzelev, V.** The Protobulgarians. in: Gjuzelev, V. *Medieval Bulgaria, Byzantine Empire. Black Sea – Venice – Genoa*. Villach: 1988, 20–21.

³ **Euagrius**. Church History, ed. Aris M. A. et al. (Evagrius Scholasticus *Historia Ecclesiastica*), vol. I–II. Turnhout: 2007, E 1, 552.

⁴ **Menander**. History, ed. Blockley R. C. (The History of Menander the Guardsman). Liverpool: 1985, fr. 5. 1–3, 48–50. **Euagrius**. Church History, E 1, 552. **Kollautz, A.** – **Miyakawa, H.** Geschichte und Kultur eines völkerwanderungszeitlichen Nomadenvolkes. Die Jou-Jan der Mongolei und die Awaren in Mitteleuropa, vol. I (Die Geschichte). Klagenfurt: 1970, 155–158. **Avenarius, A.** Die Awaren in Europa. Amsterdam – Bratislava: 1974, 44–51. **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 18–19, 39–40. **Gjuzelev, V.** Protobulgarians, 23–24.

⁵ **Chrysos, E.** Byzantine Diplomacy, A.D. 300–800: means and ends. in: *Byzantine Diplomacy: Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, Cambridge, March 1990, ed. Shepard J. - Franklin S.: London: 1992, 25–39. **Noonan, Th. S.** Byzantium and the Khazars: a special relationship? in: *Byzantine Diplomacy*, 117–123. **Mazal, O.** Justinian I. und seine Zeit. Kolonia – Waimar – Vienna: 2001, 182–193, 244–251. On the Christianisation as part of the sixth century foreign policy to Caucasus, Crimea and Danube, see **Patoura-Spanou, S.** Christianity and Globality in early Byzantium. From Theory to Practice (NHRF/IBR Monographs 10). Athens: 2008, 231–273.

⁶ **Avenarius, A.** Europa, 49–51. **Waldmüller, L.** Die ersten Begegnungen der Slawen mit dem Christentum und den christlichen Völkern vom 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert. Die Slawen zwischen Byzanz und Abendland. Amsterdam: 1976, 85. **Bóna, I.** Das erste Auftreten der Bulgaren im Karpatenbecken. – *Studia Turco-Hungarica*, 1981, 5, 103. **Mazal, O.** Justinian I, 193.

⁷ **Moravcsik, G.** Zur Geschichte der Onoguren. – *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 1930, 10, 78. **Simonyi, D.** Die Bulgaren des 5. Jahrhunderts im Karpatenbecken. – *AAASH*, 1959, 10, 238. **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 39, 62. For the kutriguric attack against Dalmatia, see below, n. 11.

⁸ **Kollautz, A., Miyakawa, H.** Geschichte und Kultur, 181–199. **Czeglédy, K.** Migrations, 118. **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 225–236. **Gjuzelev, V.** Protobulgarians, 24.

⁹ **Menander.** History, fr. 12. 6, 138: *Moreover, the ownership of it will not change, since it will revert to you through the son if you hand over to him what I have come for: the city of Sirmium, the yearly payments which the Emperor Justinian used to give to the Kutrigurs and Utigurs (since today Baian is the master of all these tribes),...* **Avenarius, A.** Europa, 86. **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 61, 63. **Gjuzelev, V.** Protobulgarians, 25. **Kardaras, G.** The Avars: foederati of Byzantium? in: Zborník Slovenského Národného Múzea, Archeológia Supplementum 2 (Byzantská Kultúra a Slovensko, Zborník Štúdií). Bratislava: 2007, 134.

¹⁰ **Menander.** History, fr. 12. 7, 142: *Targitius came again wishing to be granted an audience with the Emperor ... Baian wished the city of Sirmium to be given to him as his own possession because he had destroyed the kingdom of the Gepids, and also the money which Justinian paid every year to the Huns.* **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 63. **Kardaras, G.** Foederati, 134.

¹¹ **Menander.** History, fr. 12. 5, 136: *He ordered ten thousand of the so-called Kutrigur Huns to cross the river Save and devastate the land towards Dalmatia.* **Kollautz, A. - Miyakawa, H.** Geschichte und Kultur, 239–240. **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 60.

¹² **Theophylactus Simokattes.** History, ed. De Boor, C. Leipzig: 1887, VII, 4. 1-4, 251. **Theophanes.** Chronography, ed. De Boor, C. Leipzig: 1883, 275. Engl. Translation by Mango, C. – Scott R. (The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813). Oxford: 1997, 399–400: *The Romans charged the Bulgars. The Bulgars sent out seven men to request that the peace be not broken ... A battle took place and the Romans were routed.* **Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, M.** Symvoli eis tin hronologisin ton avarikon kai slavikon epidromon epi Maurikiou (582–602). – Symmeikta, 1970, 2, 167. **Velkov, V.** Der Donaulimes in Bulgarien und das Vordringen der Slawen, in: Die Völker Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert, Symposium Tutzing 1985, ed. B. Hänsel (Südosteuropa Jahrbuch 17, 1987), 162. **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 142, 228. **Gjuzelev, V.** Protobulgarians, 25 (in 597).

¹³ **Michael Syrus.** Chronicle, ed. Chabot, J.-B. (Chronique de Michel le Syrien). Paris: 1901, II, 374-375: *Lorsque les Bulgares se mirent a ravager le pays de Thrace, les Romains marchurent contre eux avec Philippicus; ils vainquirent les Bulgares et revinrent.* **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 153-154, 228.

¹⁴ Les plus anciens recueils des Miracles de Saint Démétrius et la pénétration des Slaves dans les Balkans), ed. **Lemerle, P.** vol. I (Le Texte), vol. II (Commentaire). Paris: 1979–1981, I (198), 185.

¹⁵ **Pisides, G.** Bellum Avaricum, ed. Tartaglia, L. (Carmi di Giorgio di Pisidia, n. 4 : Per l'incursione dei barbari e il loro fallimento). Turin: 1998, 168, l. 197; 182, l. 409. **Theophanes.** Chronography, 315 (**Mango, C. – Scott, R.** Theophanes, 446): *As for Sarbaros, he dispatched him with his remaining army against Constantinople with a view to establishing an alliance between the western Huns (who are called Avars) and the Bulgars, Slavs, and Gepids, and so advancing on the City and laying siege to it.* **Waldmüller, L.** Begegnungen, 268. **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 250. **Gjuzelev, V.** Protobulgarians, 26.

¹⁶ See f. e., **Simokattes.** History, VIII, 3. 14–15, 289. **Theophanes.** Chronography, 282 (**Mango, C. - Scott, R.** Theophanes, 407): *The Romans captured alive 3.000 Avars, 800 Sklavini and 3.200 Gepids, and 2.000 other barbarians.* **Kollautz, A. – Miyakawa, H.** Geschichte und Kultur, 255. **Avenarius, A.** Europa, 108. **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 158, 216.

¹⁷ **Simokattes.** History, II, 16, 101–103.

¹⁸ **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 88.

¹⁹ **Priscus**. *Fragmenta*, 6. 2, 230–232. **Maenchen-Helfen, O.** Die Welt der Hunnen. Vienna – Kolonia – Gratz: 1978, 86.

²⁰ **Jordanes**. *Getica*, ed. Mommsen Th. (MGH, AA V/1): Berlin 1882, XLII 221–222, 114: *animos suorum rursus ad oppugnandam Aquileiam inflamat. qui machinis constructis omniaque genera tormentorum adhibita, nec mora et invadunt civitatem, spoliant, dividunt vastantque crudeliter, ita ut vix eius vestigia ut appareat reliquerunt.* **Maenchen-Helfen, O.** Hunnen, 102, 155.

²¹ **Procopius**. *De Bellis*, ed. Haury J. (Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia), vol. I–II: Leipzig 1962–1963, VIII, 11. 29–32, 539–540.

²² **Agathias**. *Histories*, ed. Keydel, R. (Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum Libri Quinque, CFHB, Series Berolinensis vol. II). Berlin: 1967. E 21. 1, 190. Eng. Transl. Frendo, J. D. C. (Agathias, The Histories, CFHB, Series Berolinensis II A). Berlin – New York: 1975, 157: *Meanwhile the other detachment of barbarians which was besieging the Chersonese attacked the wall repeatedly, bringing up ladders and siege engines, but was beaten off each time by the resolute resistance of the Romans defending it.* Against the influence on the Avars, see **Vryonis, S.** The Evolution of Slavic Society and the Slavic Invasions in Greece. The First Major Attack on Thessaloniki, A. D 597. – *Hesperia*, 1981, 50, 387.

²³ On the approach of the issue see, **Kardaras, G.** The Episode of Bousas (586/7) and the Use of Siege Engines by the Avars. *Byzantinoslavica*, 2005, 63, 53–65.

²⁴ **Kollautz, A.** *Denkmäler Byzantinischen Christentums aus der Awarenzeit der Donauländer*. Amsterdam: 1970, 13–14. **Avenarius, A.** Die byzantinische Kultur und die Slawen. Vienna – Munich: 2000, 25, 31. See also above, n. 4.

²⁵ **Kovrig, I.** Contribution au problème de l'occupation de la Hongrie par les Avars. – *AAESH*, 1955, 6, 183–184. **Bálint, Cs.** Über einige östliche Beziehungen der Frühawarenzeit (568–circa 670/680). – *Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1980–1981, 10–11, 132, 136–137. **Szentpéteri, J.** Archäologische Studien zur Schicht der Waffenträger des Awarentums im Karpatenbecken II. – *AAASH*, 1994, 46, 233, n. 18–20.

²⁶ See, **Waldmüller, L.** *Begegnungen*, 282. **Ditten, H.** Zur Bedeutung der Einwanderung der Slawen. in: *Byzanz im 7. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zur Herausbildung des Feudalismus*, ed. Winkelmann F. – Köpstein, H. (Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 48), Berlin: 1978, 128. **Pohl, W.** *Awaren*, 255. **Curta, F.** *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500–700*. Cambridge: 2001, 109. **Idem.** *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1250*. Cambridge: 2006, 76.

²⁷ **Fredegarius**. *Chronicle*, ed. Kusternig A. (Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii libri quattuor, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters* 4a), Darmstadt: 1982, IV, 72, 242: *Quod protinus a Baiovaries est impletum; nec quisquam ex illis remansit Bulgaris, nisi tantum Alciocus cum septinientis viris et uxoris cum liberis, qui in marca Vinedorum salvatus est. Post haec cum Walluchum ducem Winedorum annis plurimis vixit cum suis.* **Simonyi, D.** *Karpatenbecken*, 240. **Waldmüller, L.** *Begegnungen*, 282–283. **Bóna, I.** *Auftreten*, 105–106. **Pohl, W.** *Awaren*, 268–269 (dating the episode in 635/36). **Gjuzelev, V.** *Protobulgarians*, 26. **Geary, P. J.** *Europäische Völker im frühen Mittelalter. Zur Legende vom Werden der Nationen*. Frankfurt: 2002, 168.

²⁸ **Paulus Diaconus**. *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. Bethmann, L. – Weitz G. (MGH, *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX*). Hannover: 1878, V, 29, 154: *Per haec tempora Vulgarum dux Alzecco nomine, incertum quam ob causam, a sua gente digressus, Italiam pacifice introiens, ... Quos Romualdus dux gratanter excipiens, eisdem spatiosa ad habitandum loca, quae*

usque ad illud tempus deserta erant, contribuit, scilicet Sepinum, Bovianum et Iserniam et alias cum suis territoriis civitates, ipsumque Alzeconem, mutato dignitatis nomine, de duce gastaldium vocitari praecepit. **Gjuzelev, V.** Protobulgarians, 26–27.

²⁹ **Theophanes.** Chronography, 357 (**Mango, C. – Scott, R.**, Theophanes, 498): *The fourth and fifth went over the river Istros, that is the Danube: the former became subject of the Chagan of the Avars in Avar Pannonia and remained there with his army, whereas the latter reached the Pentapolis, which is near Ravenna, and accepted allegiance to the Christian Empire.* **Nikephoros,** Patriarch of Constantinople. Short History, ed. Mango C. (CFHB XIII, Dumbarton Oaks Texts X). Washington: 1990, 35, 88. **Simonyi, D.** Karpatenbecken, 235, 239–240. **Horedt, K.** Die Völker Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert. Probleme und Ergebnisse. in: Symposium Tutzing, 15. **Christie, N.** The Lombards. Oxford: 1998, 98. On the problem of the identification of Alciochus (Fredegarius) with Alzeo (Paulus Diaconus), see **Beševliev, V.** Randbemerkungen über die “Miracula Sancti Demetrii”. – Byzantina, 1970, 2, 294. **Ditten, H.** Einwanderung, 130 (n. 2). **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 269–270.

³⁰ **Hikephoros.** Short History, 22, 70: *At about the same time Koubratos, the nephew of Organas and lord of the Onogundurs, rose up against the Chagan of the Avars and, after abusing the army he had from the latter, drove them out of his land. He sent an embassy to Herakleios and concluded a peace treaty which they observed until the end of their lives. Herakleios sent him gifts and honored him with the title of patrician.* **Gjuzelev, V.** Protobulgarians, 29. **Ryna-Tas, A.** Where was Khuvrat’s Bulgharia? – Acta Orientalia, 2000, 53, 15.

³¹ **Theophanes.** Chronography, 356–357. **Hikephoros.** Short History, 35, 86–88. **Moravcsik, G.** Onoguren, 71–72. **Czeglédy, K.** Migrations, 103, 109. **Ryna-Tas, A.** Bulgharia, 3. **Gjuzelev, V.** (Chan Asparuch und die Gründung des bulgarischen Reiches. Miscellanea Bulgarica 3. Vienna: 1986, 3, 11; Protobulgarians, 30–32), **Ovčarov D.** (Die Protobulgaren und ihre Wanderungen nach Südosteuropa. in: Symposium Tutzing, 175) and **Alexandrowna-Pletnewa, S.** (Die Chasaren. Mittelalterliches Reich an Don und Wolga. Leipzig: 1978, 28–29), consider Fanagoria, on Taman’s peninsula, as capital of Great Bulgaria.

³² **Gjuzelev, V.** Asparuch, 10. **Bálint, Cs.** Die Awaren und die Osten aus historischer Sicht. in: Reitervölker aus dem Osten. Hunnen+Awaren. Katalog der Burgenländische Landesausstellung 1996 (Schloß Halbturn 26. April–31. Oktober 1996), 229–230. **Ryna-Tas, A.** Bulgharia, 6 (between 630 and 634).

³³ **Kollautz, A. – Miyakawa, H.** Geschichte und Kultur, 159. **Beševliev, V.** Die Protobulgarische Periode der Bulgarische Geschichte. Amsterdam: 1981, 149. **Bóna, I.** Auftreten, 107. **Werner, J.** Kagan Kuvrat, der Begründer Grossbulgariens. – Südosteuropa-Mitteilungen, 1984, 24/3, 64. **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 272. **Kyriakis, E.** Byzantio kai Bulgaroi (7os-10os ai.) Symvoli stin exoteriki politiki tou Byzantiou. Áthina: 1993, 47–48.

³⁴ **Dvornik, F.** Les Slaves. Histoire et Civilisation de l’Antiquité aux débuts de l’époque contemporaine. Paris: 1970, 67. **Ditten, H.** Einwanderung, 128.

³⁵ **Ditten, H.** Einwanderung, 128. **Lemerle, P.** Miracles II, 185–186. **Beševliev, V.** Protobulgarische Periode, 149. **Kyriakis, E.** Bulgaroi, 47–48.

³⁶ **John, Bishop of Nikiou.** Chronicle, ed. R. H. Charles (The Chronicle of John, Coptic Bishop of Nikiu, c. 690 A.D.). Oxford: 1916, 120, 47, 197. **Hikephoros.** Short History, 9, 48–50. **Werner, J.** Kagan Kuvrat, 64. **Cnhi, W.** Awaren, 215, 271 (in 620). **Kyriakis, E.** Bulgaroi, 48–49, n. 8.

³⁷ See above, n. 30.

³⁸ **Werner, J.** Der Grabfund von Malaja Perešćepina und Kuvrat, Kagan der Bulgaren (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil-hist. Klasse, N. F. 91). Munich:

1984. **Idem.** Kagan Kuvrat, 66–68. **Kiss, A.** Die “barbarischen” Könige des 4.–7. Jahrhunderts im Karpatenbecken, als verbundeten des römischen bzw. byzantinischen Reiches. *Communicationes Archæologie Hungariae* 1991, 120. **Avenarius,** Byzantinische Kultur, 22. **Ryna-Tas,** Bulgharia, 3–6. **Gavrituhin, I.** La date du “trésor” de Pereščepina et la chronologie des antiquités de l’époque de formation du khaganat khazar. in: *La Crimée entre Byzance et le Khaganat Khazar*, ed. Zuckerman, C. Paris: 2006, 13–16. Against the identification: **Bálint, Cs.** Zur Identifizierung des Grabes von Kuvrat. – *AAASH*, 1984, 36, 263–268. **Idem.** Frühawarenzeit, 137. **Aibabin, A.** Early Khazar archaeological monuments in Crimea and to the north of the Black Sea. in: *Crimée*, 46–60 (Khazar treasure).

³⁹ **Avenarius, A.** Europa, 155–157. **Alexandrowna-Pletnewa, S.** Chasaren, 28. **Czeglédy, K.** Migrations, 39. **Ovčarov, D.** Protobulgaren, 175. **Gjuzelev, V.** Asparuch, 10. **Idem.** Protobulgarians, 29–30. **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 273. This view had been expressed earlier by **Moravcsik, G.** (Onoguren, 74, 79), who assumed also that against the Avars revolted the Kutrigurs, west of Don, and then passed under the rule of Kubrat.

⁴⁰ See above, n. 4.

⁴¹ **Menander.** *History*, fr. 10. 4, 124: *Then they came to the Ugurs, who told them that in a wooden area by the river Kophen ... The leader of the Ugurs, who maintained Sizabul’s authority there...* **Czeglédy, K.** Migrations, 106–109.

⁴² **Menander.** *History*, fr. 19. 1–2, 178. **Alexandrowna-Pletnewa, S.** Chasaren, 27. **Cnhl, W.** Awaren, 67, 273. **Gjuzelev, V.** Protobulgarians, 28.

⁴³ **Menander.** *History*, fr. 19. 1, 174–176: *Consider, wretches, the Alan nation and also the tribe of the Unigurs. Full of confidence and trusting in their own strength they faced the invincible might of the Turks. But their hopes were dashed, and so they are our subjects and are numbered amongst our slaves.* **Gjuzelev, V.** Protobulgarians, 28.

⁴⁴ **Menander.** *History*, fr. 19. 1, 172.

⁴⁵ **Moravcsik, G.** Onoguren, 63, 74. **Ovčarov, D.** Protobulgaren, 175. **Gjuzelev, V.** Asparuch, 9. **Idem.** Protobulgarians, 28. **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 40, 66. On the march of the Turks see also, **Harmatta, J.** The Struggle for the “Silk Route” between Iran, Byzantium and the Türk Empire from 560 to 630 A. D. in: *Kontakte zwischen Iran, Byzanz und der Steppe im 6.-7. Jahrhundert*, ed. Bálint, Cs. (*Varia Archaeologica Hungarica* 9). Budapest – Hapoli – Rome: 2000, 249–252.

⁴⁶ **Avenarius, A.** Europa, 109. **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 160–161. **Curta, F.** Slavs, 105.

⁴⁷ **Theophanes.** *Chronography*, 357–358. **Hikephoros.** *Short History*, 35, 88. **Beševliev, V.** Protobulgarische Periode, 153. **Werner, J.** Kagan Kuvrat, 64 **Gjuzelev, V.** Protobulgarians, 32–33. **Noonan, Th. S.** Khazars, 124. **Ryna-Tas, A.** Bulgharia, 6–7, 16–17.

⁴⁸ See above, n. 29.

⁴⁹ **Lemerle, P.** *Miracles I* (285), 228/222: *Dés lors ils se mêlèrent aux Bulgares, aux Avars et autres peuplades, ils eurent des enfants entre eux, et devinrent un peuple innombrable ... et chacun parlant à l’autre du pays ancestral, ils allumaient mutuellement dans leur coeur l’ardent désir du retour.* **Beševliev, V.** *Randbemerkungen*, 289–291. **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 217. **Gjuzelev, V.** Protobulgarians, 37–38. **Kyriakis, E.** Bulgaroi, 66. On the origin of this population, see **Lemerle, P.** *Miracles I* (284), 227–228. **Idem.** *Miracles II*, 138–139, 177. **Beševliev, V.** *Randbemerkungen*, 287–289. **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 192–193.

⁵⁰ **Lemerle, P.** *Miracles I* (292), 230/224: *L’empereur, convaincu, envoie un ordre écrit conférant à Mauros la dignité d’hypatos et un étendard, et prescrit que tous les réfugiés Sermusiens venant de chez Kouber soient placés sous ses ordres.* **Ibidem** (302–303), 233. **Ditten, H.** *Einwanderung*, 130. **Curta, F.** *Southeastern Europe*, 106.

- ⁵¹ **Lemerle, P.** *Miracles I* (286), 228.
- ⁵² **Beševliev, V.** Protobulgarische Periode, 168–170. **Idem.** Randbemerkungen, 296.
- ⁵³ **Charanis, P.** Kouver, the Chronology of his Activities and their ethnic Effects on the Region around Thessalonica. – *Balkan Studies*, 1970, 11/2, 243. **Ditten, H.** Einwanderung, 131. **Lemerle, P.** *Miracles II*, 161. **Kyriakis, E.** Bulgaroi, 68.
- ⁵⁴ **Beševliev, V.** Protobulgarische Periode, 161–162. **Idem.** Randbemerkungen, 293. **Bóna, I.** Die Geschichte der Awaren im Lichte der archäologischen Quellen. – *SSCI*, 1988, 35/2, 454–455. On the identification of Kuvrat's fourth son with Kuver, see **Bálint, Cs.** *Steppe*, 169, n. 40–42. **Horedt, K.** Völker, 15.
- ⁵⁵ **Kollautz, A.** – **Miyakawa, H.** Geschichte und Kultur, 273–277. **Daim, F.** Awarische Altfunde aus Wien und Niederösterreich. – *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, 1979, 109, 55–101. **Garam, I.** Der awarische Fundstoff im Karpatenbecken und seine zeitliche Gliederung. in: *Symposium Tutzing*, 191–202, 197. **Bálint, Cs.** *Steppe*, 161, 167. **Zábojník, J.** On the Problems of Settlements of the Avar Khaganate Period in Slovakia. – *Archeologické Rozhledy*, 1988, 40, 401–437.
- ⁵⁶ **Horedt, K.** Völker, 19–20. **Dekan, J.** Herkunft und Ethnizität der gegossenen Bronzeindustrie des VIII. Jahrhunderts. – *Slovenská Archeológia*, 1972, 20/2, 444.
- ⁵⁷ **Daim, F.** Avars and Avar Archaeology. An Introduction. in: *Regna et Gentes. The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, ed. Goetz, H. W. – Jarnut, J. – Pohl, W. Leiden – Boston: 2003, 492–493.
- ⁵⁸ **Garam, I.** Der byzantinische Anteil an der awarischen Kultur. in: *Katalog Hunnen+Awaren*, 258–259. **Gavrituhin, I.** *Pereščepina*, 15–17. See also **Daim, F.** *Avar Archaeology*, 497, who refutes the connection of the middle Avar material culture with the migration of Kuver.
- ⁵⁹ See above, n. 36.
- ⁶⁰ **Chrysos, E.** Zur Gründung des ersten bulgarischen Staates. – *Cyrrilomethodianum*, 1972–1973, 2, 7–13. **Kyriakis, E.** Bulgaroi, 50–53, 162–174. **Shepard, J.** Slavs and Bulgars, in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History II*, c. 700–900, ed. McKitterick, R. Cambridge: 1995, 229. **Curta, F.** *Southeastern Europe*, 79–81.
- ⁶¹ **Maricq, B.** Notes sur les Slaves dans le Péloponnèse et en Bithynie et sur l'emploi de "Slave" comme Appellatif. – *Byzantion*, 1952, 22, 343: *dans cette ole a habité Aspar-hruk, le fils de Xubrat', qui fuit les Xazirk' (Khazars) depuis le Mont des Bulgares, refoula du côté de l'Occident la nation Avare et vint habiter ici.* **Gjuzelev, V.** Asparuch, 20. **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 277. **Bálint, Cs.** *Osten*, 230.
- ⁶² **Theophanes.** *Chronography*, 359. **Hikephoros.** *Short History*, 36, 90. **Dujčev, I.** Les sept tribus slaves de la Moesie. *Medioevo Bizantino-Slavo*, 1965, I, 55–65. **Idem.** Protobulgares, 69–82. **Gjuzelev, V.** Asparuch, 18. **Kyriakis, E.** Bulgaroi, 53–62.
- ⁶³ **Bálint, Cs.** *Steppe*, 172. **Pohl, W.** Awaren, 181. **Vavřínek, V.** The Adriatic Sea as the Connecting Route between Byzantium and the Regions north of the Danube. – *Graeco-Arabica*, 2004, 9–10, 400–401. See also, **Bóna, I.** Ein Vierteljahrhundert Völkerwanderungszeitforschung in Ungarn. – *AAASH*, 1971, 23, 292.
- ⁶⁴ **Féher, G.** Les relations avaro-byzantines et la fondation de l'état bulgare. – *AAAS3*, 1955, 5, 58–59. **Kiss, A.** "Barbarischen" Könige, 122. **Daim, F.** *Avar Archaeology*, 504. **Idem.** "Byzantinische" Gürtelgarnituren des 8. Jahrhunderts. in: *Die Awaren am Rand der byzantinischen Welt. Studien zur Diplomatie, Handel und Technologietransfer im Frühmittelalter (Monographien zur Frühgeschichte und Mittelalterarchäologie 7)*, ed. Daim, F. Innsbruck 2000, 190.

⁶⁵ **Beševliev, V.** Bemerkungen über die antiken Heerstrassen im Ostteil der Balkanhalbinsel. – *Klio*, 1969, 51, 484–492. **Skrivanić, G.** Roman Roads and Settlements in the Balkans. in: *A Historical Geography of the Balkans*, ed. Carter, F. W. London – New York – San Francisco: 1977, 126–129. **Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, M.** To odiko diktyo tis Hersonisou tou Haemou kai i simasia tou kata tous mesous hronous (Genikes episimanseis kai protaseis ereunas). in: *Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, M. Byzantio kai Slavoi-Hellada kai Balkania (6os–20os ai.)*. Thessaloniki: 2001, 55.

⁶⁶ **Beševliev, V.** Heerstrassen, 491. **Skrivanić, G.** Roman Roads, 120–122. **Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, M.** Odiko diktyo, 53–54.

⁶⁷ **Skrivanić, G.** Roman Roads, 122–126. **Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, M.** Odiko diktyo, 52.

⁶⁸ **Lemerle, P.** Miracles II, 175. **Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, M.** Odiko diktyo, 54–55.

⁶⁹ **Waldmüller, L.** Begegnungen, 247–262. **Ditten, H.** Einwanderung, 95 f.

⁷⁰ For the treaty (which was renewed in 811/12) see, Theophanes, *Chronography*, 497 (Mango – Scott, Theophanes, 498): *The terms in question established the boundary at Meleones in Thrace ... and that those who traded in both countries should be certified by means of diplomas and seals. Anyone not having seals would lose his assets which would be confiscated by the Treasury.* **Ferluga, J.** Der byzantinische Handel nach dem Norden im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert. in: *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa*. vol. IV, *Der Handel der Karolinger- und Wikingerzeit*, ed. Düwel, K. (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, dritte Folge, 156). Göttingen: 1987, 620–621. **Kyriakis, E.** *Bulgaroi*, 183–184. **Curta, F.** *Southeastern Europe*, 83.

⁷¹ **Féher, G.** *Relations avaro-byzantines*, 59.

⁷² **Claude, D.** Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer während des Frühmittelalters. in: *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa*. vol. II (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, dritte Folge, 144). Göttingen: 1985, 162–164.

⁷³ For the campaigns of Constantine V in Bulgaria, see **Beševliev, V.** *Protobulgarische Periode*, 207–226. **Kyriakis, E.** *Bulgaroi*, 81–91. **Shepard, J.** *Slavs and Bulgars*, 232–233.

⁷⁴ **Kollautz, A.** *Denkmäler*, 36–37. **Avenarius, A.** *Byzantinische Kultur*, 38–40. **Grabar, A.** *L'Iconoclasme Byzantin*. Paris: 1984, 180–181.

⁷⁵ **Daim, F.** “Byzantinische” Gürtelgarnituren, 103–107, 155–158. **Idem.** *Avar Archaeology*, 522. **Avenarius, A.** *Byzantinische Kultur*, 43.

⁷⁶ **Sudas Lexikon**, ed. Adler, A. vol. I. Leipzig: 1928, B 423, 484. **Kollautz, A.** – **Miyakawa, H.** *Geschichte und Kultur*, 239. **Claude, D.** *Handel*, 161–162. **Pohl, W.** *Awaren*, 198.

⁷⁷ See, **Mavrodinov, N.** *Le tresor protobulgare de Nagyszentmiklós*. *Archaeologia Hungarica* 29. Budapest: 1943.

⁷⁸ **Lászly, G.** – **Racz, I.** *Der Goldschatz von Nagyszentmiklós*, Budapest 1983. **Bálint, Cs.** *Steppe*, 187–192. **Göbl, R.** / **Ryna-Tas, A.** *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szentmiklós. Eine paläographische Dokumentation (DÖAW, phil.-hist. Klasse 240)*. Vienna: 1995. **Daim, F.** *Avar Archaeology*, 515–516.

⁷⁹ For the campaign of Krum against the Avars, see **Sudas Lexikon**. B 423, 483–484. **Gjuselev, V.** *La Bulgarie médiévale et l'Europe occidentale (IXe–XIe s.)*. – *Byzantinobulgarica*, 1986, 8, 96. **Pohl, W.** *Awaren*, 322.

⁸⁰ **La chronique byzantine de l'an 811**, ed. Dujčev, I. *Travaux et Memoires*, 1965, 1, 212: *ils [Les Bulgares] louerent les services des Avars et des Slavines qui habitaient autour,...* For the campaign of Nikephorus I in Bulgaria, see **Gjuselev, V.** *Bulgarie*, 91. **Kyriakis, E.** *Bulgaroi*, 105.

⁸¹ **Symeon Magistros.** *Chronography*, ed. Bekker, I. (CS3B), Bonn: 1838, 617. **Leo Grammaticus.** *Scriptor Incertus*, ed. Bekker, I. Bonn: 1842, 347. **Kyriakis, E.** *Bulgaroi*, 116.