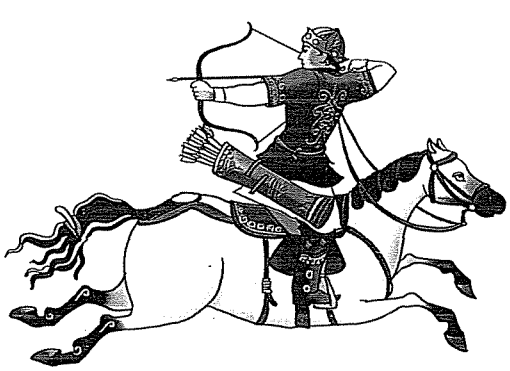
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◇

Bounding House

Balkan Ciltevi

975-6782-55-2 Isbn (tkno)
975-6782-56-0 Isbn (vol. 1)

Ankara 2002

Inner Cover Design: Göktürk Inscriptions

THE DANUBE BULGAR STATE (679-1018)

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The answer to the question: "Who were the tribes that came to the area where the first Bulgar state was founded, covering both banks of the Lower Danube and the area extending from the mouth of the Dniester River to the Balkan Mountains?" has long been sought, and various arguments have been put forward regarding their origin. In view of various claims, they were thought to be of Uralian (Finno-Ugrian), Tatar (Mongol), Slavic or Finnish origin. Finally, the consideration that these tribes, who founded the First Bulgar state known as Bulgar, are of Turkish origin came to light by the studies of Hungarian scientists such as Gy. Németh, L. Rasonyi and G. Feher. These scientists verified the idea that the Bulgars descend from Turkish origin,[1] which had been put forward by A. Vambery[2] in 1882 and supported by the Bulgarian scientist Ivan Shimanov[3] in 1900.

A Turkish tribe by origin, the Bulgars, descending from Ugors[4] whose homeland had been Kobdo and the Semipalatinsk region to the north of the Tarbagatay mountains, has first been referred to by this name in sources related to the Byzantine Emperor Zenon's request for help against the Ostrogoth King Theodorik.[5] The term "Bulgar" emerged as a result of the admixture of Huns under Atilla's son Irnek[6] coming out of Central Europe eastward with Ugors, another Turkish tribe they came into contact with on the Black Sea littoral.[7] According to G. Németh, the word "bulgar" is Turkish, derived from the verb "bulgamak" which means "to mix".[8] The Ugor clans seen to the north of the Black Sea after the year 463 were Onogurs,[9] Sarıogurs, Utrigurs and Kutrigurs. Among these, the Kutrigurs and Utrigurs attacked the Byzantine provinces to the south of the Lower Danube basin towards the end of the fifth century.[10] These two Bulgar tribes came under the rule of the Göktürks in 567/68.[11]

Göktürk rule on Kutrigur and Utrigur Bulgars lasted until 630 and from then on the Bulgars endeavored to found their own state. Meanwhile Kubrat (605-642) from the Dulo family of the Onogur clan[12] managed to establish a powerful conglomerate under the name "Great Bulgaria" by uniting the Ogur clans. Great Bulgaria, bordering Kuban to the east, Dnieper to the west, Donets river to the north, and Black Sea and Azov Sea to the south, maintained friendly relations with Byzantium, and its sovereign Kubrat was given the title patrikios by the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius (610-641).[13]

Upon Kubrat's (642) death, Great Bulgaria fell apart as a result of pressures from the Khazar state[14] and was divided in shares among Kubrat's sons. Kubrat's elder son Batbayan consented Khazar rule and stayed in "Great Bulgaria" soil.[15] His other son Kotrag came to the Don river environs, and another of his sons, named Altsek, settled in Pannonia and acceded to Avar sovereignty. Bulgars under the leadership of Kubrat's third son Asparukh[16] passed across Dnieper and Dniester rivers and settled down in today's South Bessarabia as to neighbor the Byzantine Empire.[17]


A detail from a waterbottle, war-cart figure, Bulgar

The region in which they settled is mentioned in Byzantine sources as Oglos or Onglos ('Ογλοζ or 'Ογγλοζ-"corner, nook").[18] While the accurate arrival date of Asparukh[19] to the Onglos region is not known, it is estimated to have taken place between 650 and 670, the years when the Byzantine Empire continued religious and diplomatic struggles against Arabs in the east as well as those in Europe.[20]

These Bulgars coming with Asparukh were the Turks who founded the First Bulgar state and were called "Protobulgar" or "Bulgar Turks" in scientific studies.

The Byzantine historian Theophanes describes the arrival of Bulgars under the leadership of Asparukh to Oglos region as follows: "....Asparukh settled in (the area) between the Danube and the other two rivers (Dnieper and Dniester) after having crossed Dnieper and Dniester rivers and conquered the Onglos region, as he had seen that the area is protected on all sides and difficult to conquer; that the front part is marsh, and that the other directions are surrounded by a crown made up of rivers provided great safety against the enemy..." Another Byzantine historian Nicephorus also gives a description similar to this.[21]

These Bulgars turned into a power threatening the empire in a short period of time with its position as Byzantium's northern neighbor. The First Bulgar state or the Danube Bulgar state, which we will investigate within the framework of our subject, had emerged as a result of conglomeration of Bulgars under the commandership of Asparukh, who had managed to pass on to the south of the Danube basin, with the Slavic clans they had encountered there.

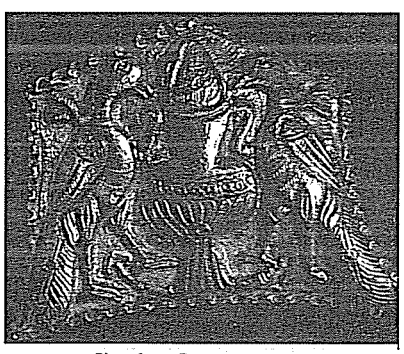


Plate from Prestav treasure, Bulgaria (9-10th centuries)

Bulgars under the leadership of Asparukh (640-700), who had initially established friendly and peaceful relations with Byzantium, started launching attacks on Byzantine territories to the south of Dobrudja, coming out of lands to the north of the Danube basin, both in order to flee the Khazars and to find new settlement areas.[22] As Byzantine Emperor Constantine IV (668-685) was busy dealing with Arabs besieging Constantinople, he did not have sufficient power to charge against his new neighbors. However, he commenced campaign preparations as soon as the Arabs terminated the siege.[23]

Constantine campaigned against the Danube river mouth and the region called Oglos [24] with a large marine and ground force in 680, with the purpose of driving the Bulgars out of his realm.[25] That the Bulgars averted open clash by concealing themselves in the marsh obstructed Constantine from victory.[26] Having retreated to Mesemvria due to illness, the Byzantine army of the emperor encountered Bulgar attacks and found remedy in fleeing after a great amount of loss.[27] Consequently, the Bulgars captured the Dobrudja region up to the Varna (Odesos) environs.

Unable to preclude these developments, the Byzantine Emperor Constantine IV signed a peace treaty with Asparukh in 681 and acquiesced to pay annual tributes to him, which was "humiliating for Romans" in Theophanes' words.[28] The most significant consequence of this treaty was that the Byzantine Empire formally acknowledged the establishment of an independent Bulgar state on its territory. [29]

In fact, the Byzantine Empire had in effect lost the lands in the Dobrudja region in the middle of the sixth century owing to Slav invasions. But the fact that the Slavs lacked a definite political structure and that they dwelled as dispersed groups resulted in Byzantium's perpetuation of its rule over the Slavs. However, the Bulgars were different from the Slavs in that they had experience in political and military organization before penetrating into the Balkans. Nevertheless, Bulgars under Asparukh's leadership, coming into Byzantine lands, succeeded in founding a powerful state with Pliska in Eastern Moesia[30] as its capital.[31]

After having settled in the region between the Balkan Mountain and the Danube river-Black Sea, the Bulgars realized the importance of having the local Slavs on their side and allied with them.[32] What were the population ratios of Bulgars and Slavs, the two important factors constituting this state mentioned as "Bulgaria" in Byzantine and Latin sources and named as the "First Bulgar Kingdom" by modern historians, relative to each other? It is quite difficult to accurately provide an answer to this important question due to lack of information in relevant sources.

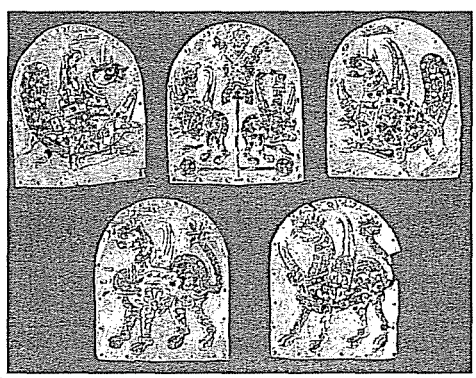
According to the information supplied by Michael of Syria, one of the chroniclers of the time, the number of Bulgars going with Asparukh was 10.000. However, we are not able to make out whether he included women and children to this number or not.[33] If we recall that the Bulgar Kingdom expanded its borders to the north and northeast of the Danube in later dates, namely the eighth and ninth centuries, so as to include the Bulgar groups who had settled in these regions, we may estimate that this number would somewhat increase. The fact that the Slavs, who appeared around the Danube only after the second half of the fifth century, settled in the Balkan Peninsula about one and a half century prior to the Bulgars, and that they succeeded in assimilating Thracian and Illyrian tribes who had been living there before them indicate that they were greater in number.[34] Therefore the Slavs, actually organized by the Bulgars, happened to be the predominant element in the Bulgar state in terms of population and the Danube Bulgars were assimilated by the multitude of Slav masses in time.

During the initial centuries following the foundation of the state (seventh and eighth centuries), sources cite these two ethnic groups distinctively as "Bulgars" and "Slavs". So, miscegenation had not yet taken place in those times. Furthermore, it is possible to discern some Slavs fleeing from the Bulgars to take refuge in Byzantium towards the end of the eighth century. This state of affairs evinces that the Bulgars still were not Slavicized at the time.[35] Archaeological excavations reveal that the actual intermingling occurred particularly in the

ninth and tenth centuries, and that the Danube Bulgar State transformed into a Slavic country starting from those times.[36]

Though superior in number, the Slavs were not able to exhibit equal superiority in the organization of the state. The Bulgar element undertook the organizing function and Asparukh came to power with the title of khan. The Bulgar state organization was based upon the tribe-clan system, as was the case in other Finno-Turkish peoples. There is an administrator with the title khan at the head of the Bulgar state. The term khan would be replaced in later dates initially by *knez* meaning prince in the Slavic language and then by the title of czar. There were two more officers known with the title of kavhan or tarkan ranking behind the khan in terms of duties. Two aristocratic classes, one being upper and the other lower, were existent in the Bulgar society. The upper and lower aristocratic classes were comprised of boyars and bagayins respectively.[37]

The First Bulgar state founded by Asparukh in 681 defeated Byzantium in important wars, established a legal system; in the meantime established commercial relations with and was influenced by Byzantium in terms of religion and culture up till 1018, the Bulgar state's date of collapse. The adoption of the Orthodox Christian faith, being the faith of Byzantium as well, and the adaptation of the Greek alphabet to the Slavic language by Byzantium subjects Cyril and Methodius made the First Bulgar state attain a new identity and accelerated the Slavicization process. It is possible to separate the history of the First Bulgar state into two main periods. We may name the first as "Bulgar state prior to Christianity" and the second as "Christianity Period of the First Bulgar state".



Figured golden findings from the Treasure of Preslav

It is possible to list the rulers of the First Bulgar state prior to Christianity as the following: Khan Asparukh (640-700), Khan Tervel (700-718), Khan Sever (718-754), Khan Kormisosh (754-756), Vineh (756-761), Khan Telets (761-764), Khan Sabin (764-766), Khan Umar (July 766-August 766), Khan Toktu (766-767), Khan Pagan (767-768), Khan Telerig (768-777), Khan Kardam (777-802), Khan Krum (802-814), Khan Omurtag (814-831), Khan Malamir (831-836), Khan Presian (836-852).[38]

Rulers of the "First Bulgar state Christianity Period" are Knez Boris (852-889), Vladimir Rasate (888-893), Czar Symeon (893-927), Czar Petro (927-969), Czar Boris II (969-971) and Czar Samuel (997-1018).

The foundation of the state and its initial years were marked with the Dulo family. Khan Asparukh, Khan Tervel and Khan Sever were from this family. Khan Kormisosh, Khan Vineh, Khan Sabin, Khan Umar, Khan Pagan and Khan Telerig periods saw khans from the Vokil family and Khan Telets and Khan Toktu periods witnessed khans from the Ugayin family ascend to the Bulgarian throne. Founded in 681, Danube the Bulgar state encompassed southern Bessarabia, part of the Wallachian plain, whole of Dobrudja, and the Lower Moesia province situated between the Black Sea shore and the Timok river.[39]

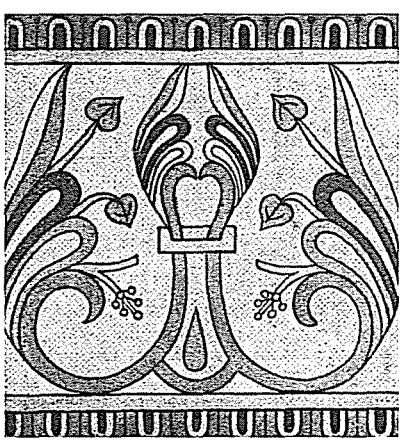
The peace between the Byzantine emperor Constantine IV and Asparukh was infringed by Justinian II (685-695; 705-711). As the existence of Slavs and Bulgars constituted a threat to Byzantium, and as Justinian II had no intentions of paying tribute to the "barbarians" any more, Byzantium relinquished wars east and west, and set up an offensive against "Slavinia and Bulgaria".[40] Having comprehended Justinian's plans, the Bulgarians advanced towards Thrace, but the emperor pushed them back, directed to the west and reached Thessaloniki. Numerous Slavs inhabiting the Aegean region were taken captive and conveyed to Anatolia.[41] The Slavs transferred to Anatolia were positioned in the eastern border of the empire as stratiotis (soldier), probably to stop the Arab raids.[42] Following this attempt, the emperor was waylaid at the passes of Southern Rhodopes by the Bulgars while returning to his country with his army, yet he managed to survive with difficulty after having lost most of his forces. This incident is the last event of Asparukh's rule.[43]

Subsequent to Asparukh, Tervel (700-718), also a member of the Dulo family and probably Asparukh's son, became the Bulgar khan.[44] He established good relations with the Byzantine emperor Justinian II and turned out to be his main supporter.[45] When he was dethroned and banished to Crimea, Justinian II managed to flee from there and found safe haven beside the Bulgarian ruler Tervel. Tervel provided assistance to him in reassuming the throne[46] and received lavish gifts and the title Caesar in return for this.[47] Although this title had lost its past significance, it was still the highest honorary title of Byzantium ranking behind the title of emperor.[48] The acquisition of the title of Caesar is important for the Bulgarian Kingdom as Byzantium reacknowledged the Danube Bulgar state by granting it.[49]

Following the death of Justinian II, Tervel raided Thrace and advanced to the ramparts of Constantinople, sacking the region.[50] Khan Tervel concluded a peace treaty with Byzantine emperor Theodosius III in 716, determining the border between the Bulgar state and Byzantium. The new border according to this was the line of intersection of the Adrianople-Plovdiv road starting from Northern Thrace, that is, Gulf of Burgas, with the Maritsa River. In this way, the Bulgarian Kingdom extended its southern frontiers towards the Thracian Plain.

Furthermore, Byzantium consented to pay an annual tribute to the Bulgarians amounting to 30 lidres gold as per this treaty, and the two states pledged to hand over political refugees to each other. Commercial relations between the two states were also determined by means of this treaty.[51]

There is no information on Khan Tervel's actions after the year 718. Therefore, he is assumed to have reigned until this date.[52] Subsequent to Khan Tervel, Khan Sever (718-754) ascended to the Bulgarian throne. Byzantine sources do not provide much information on his reign. Following Khan Sever's death in 754, struggles for the throne broke out among Bulgarian nobles. The Dulo dynastic family came to an end with Khan Kormisosh (754-756), while the old Bulgarian family lines Vokil and Ugayin set about a struggle to overwhelm each other in the quest for ascending the throne. In this period, Khan Vinekh (756-761), Khan Telets (761-764), Khan Sabin (764-766), Khan Umar (July 766-August 766), Khan Toktu (766-767), Khan Pagan (767-768) ascended the Bulgarian throne.[53] The Vokil family assumed superiority during the reigns of Khan Kormisosh, Khan Vinekh, Khan Sabin Khan Umar and Khan Sabin, whereas the Ugayin family gained affluence by Khan Telets (761-764) and Khan Toktu (766-767).



Detail from the Patleina Church Ceramics, Bulgaria

During the reigns of rulers between 718 and 756, the relations between Byzantium and the Bulgarian state looked relatively tranquil. However, this peaceful period was brought to an end by Constantine V's (741-775) construction of forts on the Bulgarian frontier and his placement of Syrian and Armenian immigrants there as a military class. In response, the Bulgarians demanded tribute for the constructed forts. Probably, an increase in the amount established in 716 was in question here rather than a new tribute. But the Bulgarian envoys faced Byzantium's response of rejection. This was considered to be a cause for war by the Bulgarians. They entered Thrace in 755 and reached the Anastasios rampart, but they were defeated and forced to retreat.[54]

When the Arab offensive weakened, a period of clashes between the Bulgarians and the Byzantine state started once again. After Telets' ascent to the throne, lots of Slavs crossed the Bulgarian border region on to Byzantine territory and they were installed in Bythnia by the empire.

During Khan Telets' reign, Byzantine Emperor Constantine V launched a campaign against the Bulgarians (763),[55] whereby the Bulgarians were crushingly defeated. This in turn caused a rebellion against Telets leading to his death.[56] Meanwhile,struggle for the Bulgarian throne went on and, finally, the Bulgar state reorganized itself and regained its military power with the ascent of Khan Telerig (768-777) to the throne. Constantine V launched a campaign against Bulgaria anew during Telerig's reign (773) and coerced the Bulgarians to start peace negotiations. Nonetheless, it was not possible to set a permanent peace between the Bulgarians and Byzantium. Finally in 775, Constantine V died in the course of a campaign he launched against the Bulgarians.[57] In this way, the Byzantine Emperor Constantine V, who had aimed to destroy the Bulgarian Kingdom, disappeared from the stage of history and thus the Bulgar state got over internal and external menaces.[58]

The Bulgar khan Telerig took refuge beside the Byzantine emperor Leon IV, proselytized to Christianity and married a Byzantine princess for unknown reasons.[59] During the reign of Khan Kardam (772-802), Khan Telerig's successor, central authority got stronger and internal struggles for the throne came to an end. The internal consolidation of the Bulgarian state impelled Byzantium to conclude a peace treaty in favor of the Bulgarians in 796. This brought about a certain degree of external relaxation for the Bulgar state.[60]

As Khan Kardam's primary objective was to consolidate the Bulgar state, he kept a close eye on the situation in Byzantium. Avoiding open major battles with Byzantium, Kardam followed a defense strategy for the most part and tried to consolidate central authority.[61] In succession to Kardam, his son Khan Krum (802-814) ascended the Bulgar throne. Khan Krum did away with his father's defense policy and commenced to pursue an aggression policy against Byzantium. Throughout his reign, he endeavored to extend the borders of the Bulgar state. He turned his attention to the northeastern frontier of the state as soon as he assumed the throne, because here the Frankish state had expanded its territory up to the Bulgarian border by attacking the weakened Avar state. Exploiting this state of affairs, Khan Krum dominated the Avar groups around the Tizsa River. Thus the northern regions of today's Serbia, and the lands up to the discharges of Hungary's Tizsa River and Sava river into the Danube was annexed by the Bulgar state.[62]

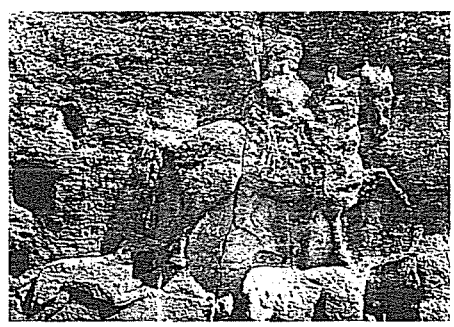
After a while, Krum was compelled to turn his attention to the south: Byzantium, because Nicephorus I (802-811), who ascended the Byzantine throne in 802, launched a campaign against the Bulgar state in 807. Yet he could not succeed due to the army's mutiny in Adrianople. The following year, Krum routed the Byzantine armies in the Struma river region and got hold of the money to be distributed to the soldiers as salary. In 809, Krum's army attacked Serdika (Sophia), the last strong fort of Byzantium in the region, and captured the city.[63] Hence,the way for the Bulgarians towards Slavic Macedonia was opened up. Nicephorus ordered

the placement of Byzantine Christian immigrants from Anatolia to Slav regions in the Balkans in 809 so as to stop the Bulgarian advance in this direction.[64]

Nicephorus was not content with this measure he took against the Bulgarians and decided to attack the center of the Bulgar state. In the spring of the year 811, Nicephorus crossed the border of the Bulgar state with a large army and attacked Pliska by ignoring Krum's proposal for peace. He had the capital of the Bulgar state devastated and the khan's palace set ablaze.

Ordering his soldiers to occupy the Virbitsa pass in the Balkan Mountains, Khan Krum assailed the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus I on his way back with his army on July 26, 811 and many Byzantine army commanders were killed in this battle including the emperor himself. Khan Krum had the body of Nicephorus I decapitated and had his skull made into a silver plated cup as a symbol of his victory, in accordance with ancient Turkish tradition,[65] and in it offered drinks to his boyars.[66]

The catastrophe that Emperor Nicephorus suffered in Virbitsa pass is very important for Bulgaria, because the annexation of all lands appropriated together with Serdica (Sofia) to the Bulgar state was confirmed through this victory. Furthermore, Krum's defeating the Byzantine emperor gained the respect of Macedonian Slavs to the Bulgar khan and made it possible for the state to expand towards the southwest. Krum launched, without making peace with Michael Rangabe (811-813), raids in Eastern Thrace[67] in 812 and captured Develtos,[68] Ahyolu, Süzebolu, Eski Zağra on the Black Sea shore and Mesemvria (today's town of Nesebır), an important center.[69] Krum appeared before the ramparts of Constantinople in 813 in order to coerce Byzantium for peace. But he could not achieve his goal and left here after having encountered lethal jeopardy.[70] To take revenge for Byzantium's attempt of his assassination, Krum rushed into Adrianople, took the inhabitants together with him and deported them to the region on the other side of the Danube.[71] Krum's sudden death saved Byzantium from great danger.[72]



Embossment of an horseman, Proto Bulgars, Madara, (G. Fehér, 1931)

Khan Krum's reign constitutes one of the most brilliant epochs of the Bulgar state. During his reign, Bulgaria transformed into a significant military and political power in southern Europe. Krum's fundamental state policy was to unite all Bulgars in the Danube region and to annex all lands inhabited by Slavs of Moesia into the Bulgar state realm.[73] Extending his possessions by clashing against Byzantium in the direction of this external policy, Khan Krum endeavored internally to strengthen the central authority and to eliminate the effects of the crisis experienced in Bulgaria in the eighth century.

We must also cite his position as lawmaker in regard to his state organization activities. The laws made by him at the beginning of the ninth century met people's needs as well as their perception of law. Khan Krum's laws ordained hearing the accused before punishment, not helping thieves and sentencing those who commit theft to heavy penalties, forbidding alcoholic drinks and providing adequate help for the poor to sustain their lives.[74] Apart from his lawmaking, Khan Krum stands as a figure constructing his country. He had the state capital Pliska, destroyed and burnt to the ground by Nicephorus I, reconstructed. While retreating from the Constantinople siege, Krum ordered the statues and marble columns that he saw in the region to be transported to Pliska.[75]

In succession to Khan Krum, his son Omurtag (814-832) ascended the Bulgarian throne. During Omurtag's reign, some changes took place in the external and internal politics of the Bulgar state. These changes stemmed from the anxieties that the traditions lying at the basis of the state are abolished, rights of the Bulgars as state founders are endangered and old beliefs are devastated.

The expansion of Christianity and the inclination of state policy towards uniting the Slavs intensified this anxiety. The rejection of pagan belief through Christianity meant danger to the state itself. The increase in the Slav element heralded the replacement of the Protobulgars in state administration by the Slavs. Therefore, it was necessary to ward off the influence of the Slav element as well as that of Christianity.

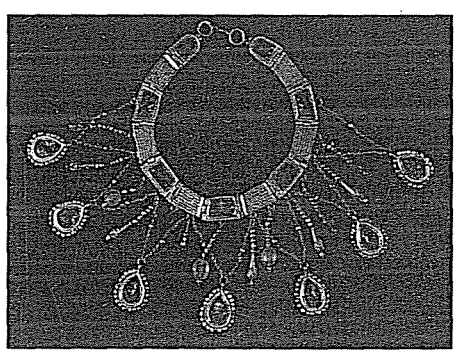
The rapid expansion of Christianity in Bulgaria was the inevitable consequence of the battles conducted by Khan Krum against Byzantium. Christian captives deported from Thrace and placed in the Bulgarian realm succeeded in spreading their religious beliefs among the neighboring Bulgars and Slavs in a short period of time. Probably, Khan Krum had not become aware of these religious influences, but the initial countermeasures against Christianity were launched during his son and successor Omurtag's (814-832) reign. On the other hand, the Slav element had increased so much within the Bulgarian realm that it started to appear in higher levels of state administration, even so far as to attempt determining state policies.

Starting from the initial months of his reign, Khan Omurtag set about negotiations on a peace treaty with Byzantium. The defeat of the Bulgarian army around Babaeski led to these negotiations.[76] Consequently, (in around 816) a peace treaty for 30 years was signed between Khan Omurtag and the Byzantine state.[77] The terms of this agreement are mentioned in an inscripti-

on found in Süleymanköy (today's Seçişte village connected to Shumin province).[78] According to the first article of this agreement, a line starting from Develtos on the Black Sea shore, leaving Ahyolu and Mesemvria to Byzantium, reaching in southwest direction to Maritsa river around Harmanlı, and from there to Plovdiv plain after passing through north of the Rhodopes and leaving the Sofia region to Bulgaria constituted the new border between the Bulgar state and Byzantium. The second provision of the agreement broached the exchange of captives between the two states. According to this, Bulgarians undertook to return the Christians transferred to Bulgaria by Khan Krum.[79]

Byzantium thus recognized the territorial gains of the Bulgars for a second time. This agreement was renewed during the reign of Emperor Michael II (820-829). From then on, Bulgar-Byzantium relations continued in peace. The Bulgar sovereign even provided assistance as an ally to suppress the Thomas Rebellion (823) in the Byzantine Empire.[80]

After having secured peace with Byzantium, Khan Omurtag directed his attention on the northwestern and northeastern frontiers. The northeastern border of the Bulgar state was quite agitated during this period. A new wave of immigration from Central Asia was advancing. The forward force of this wave of immigration was the Pechenegs. Forced to retreat westward due to their pressure, Hungarians inhabiting the Don river environs penetrated Bulgarian territory around the Dnieper river. Consequently, Omurtag found himself obliged to fight against them.[81]



Jewellery from Preslav Treasury, Bulgar

The Bulgarian-Frankish relations on the northwestern border of the Bulgar state grew tense between the years 824-829. The discord between the two states emanated from the revolt of Slav tribes called Timochani, Branichevtsi and Abodriti for independence against the Bulgar state. These tribes sided with the Croatian Prince Ludevit, but upon the defeat of the prince by the Frankish King Ludwig[82] in 822 they came under Frankish rule. The problem between Bulgaria and the Frankish state was solved by the conclusion of a peace treaty assigning southwestern Pannonia and the city of Sirmium (Srem) to the Franks.[83]

Owing to the peace treaty lasting 30 years, Khan Omurtag dealt with not only the problems in the north but also with the internal consolidation of the country. During his rule, capital Pliska was reconstructed and the city gained new buildings. We find out about Khan Omurtag's actions of this kind by the inscriptions from these dates. The language used in most of these inscriptions is Greek,[84] so they were probably written by captive Byzantinians in Bulgaria. Two of these were inscribed by using Greek letters in the Turkish language.[85] The establishment of the administrative structure of the Bulgar state, that is, the assignment of state officials, was also implemented during Omurtag's reign.[86] Following Omurtag's death, his younger son Malamir (831-836) ascended the Bulgar throne. Malamir maintained his father's peaceful external and anti-Christian internal policies. We are not in possession of any information on Malamir's reign except for some data on several Bulgar inscriptions. It is indicated on Malamir's inscription that Byzantinians plundered his country in this period, but Isbul, one of Malamir's men, launched a campaign on Thrace and annexed Plovdiv into the Bulgarian realm.[87]

Malamir's successor is Presian (836-852), his elder brother's son. Presian also tried to gain new territories inhabited by Bulgars and Slavs into the Bulgar state and conducted raids towards the south and southwest in line with this policy. The Bulgarian armies reached the west of the Halkidiki peninsula in 837-838 and won a victory around Serez. In addition, they captured the city of Philippi so as to extend the southern border of Bulgaria up to the Struma river. While trying to establish friendly relations with the Hungarians for the first time, the Bulgarians experienced their first conflict with the Serbs during Presian's rule.

Khan Presian probably terminated anti-Christian activities within the state, as his son Prince Boris went beyond and converted to Christianity. With Presian, the pre-Christian era of the First Bulgar state came to an end. The borders of Bulgaria at this date extended from the Carpathians to the Sakar Mountain and from the Black Sea to Albania. Territories inhabited by Slavs such as Dacia, Moravia, Moesia, Thrace and Macedonia were also included within these boundaries.

Despite having acquired vast territories, the Bulgar state during this period was devoid of internal unity and was under the predominance of two distinct ethnic groups, whose religious beliefs, languages and traditions were different from each other. Their fusion would be possible through territorial integration as well as cultural unity. Prince Boris would realize this very integration by adopting Christianity and the Cyrillic alphabet.[88]

Presian's son Prince Boris (852-889) assumed the administration of the Bulgar state in a very critical period. Starting from the first half of the ninth century, one of the Slav principalities subject to the Frankish king, the Moravia Principality on the eastern borders of the Frankish state which is today's Czech, Slovakian and North Hungarian territory, began to gain power. Around 830, Moyimir, one of the Moravian princes, achi-

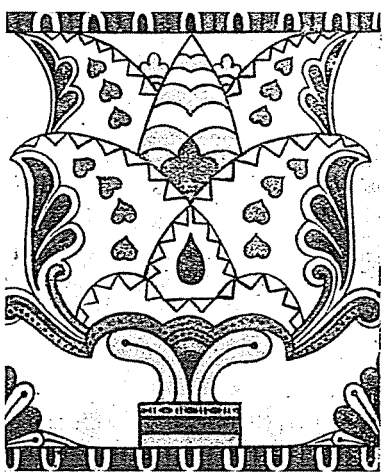
eved to unite the small principalities on Moravian soil and to found an independent Slav state by fighting against the Franks. During the reign of Rostislav, Malamir's successor, Moravia gained considerable power and Frankish rule was brought to an end in the second half of the ninth century, thus the Moravian state was founded.[89] Prince Rostislav tried to secure the support of the Bulgarian prince in his struggle against the Frankish state. Prince Boris provided support to Prince Rostislav against the Frankish state, but this attempt of his resulted in failure. The Franks used the Croatian prince, their vassal, against the Bulgarians. Meanwhile the Serbs, supported by Byzantium, also charged against the Bulgarians. In order to evade this difficult situation, Prince Boris gave up his alliance with Rostislav and signed a peace treaty with the Frankish king.

After Prince Vladimir's death in Serbia (around 850), state administration was shared among his sons Mutimir, Stoyimir and Goynik. Exploiting this dissolution of Serbia, Boris declared war on the three brothers,[90] but he suffered failure due to the Serbs hiding in the mountains. To worsen the situation, Boris' son Vladimir, together with twelve boyars, was taken captive by the Serbs. After this failure, Boris concluded a peace treaty with the Serbs.

In the meantime, Rostislav proved successful against the Franks and achieved to have the other Slavs in the region side with him. Frankish king Ludwig's son Karlman's revolt against his father and his aspiration to become the independent ruler of the territories on the Eastern Alps created a situation to the advantage of Rostislav. On the other hand, the invigoration of the Moravian state was to the disadvantage of the Bulgarians, since the intensification of Moravian influence on the Slavs around Tisza and the Middle Danube would connote the diminution of the Bulgarian influence here.[91] Disturbed over the Bulgar-Frank alliance, Rostislav himself sent envoys to the Byzantine palace to warn Byzantium on the Bulgar-Frank alliance and wanted to instigate Byzantium to take action against Bulgaria.[92] The alliance of the Franks and Bulgarians constituted disturbance in view of another aspect. The Bulgarian ruler informed the Frankish king in 863 that he would convert to Christianity. This move of the Bulgarians created concerns in Constantinople due to the struggles between the Orthodox and Catholic churches at that time. Byzantium strived to pluck the Bulgarians out of their alliance with the Franks.

Consequently, when Michael III (842-867) charged against Bulgaria at the head of his army, his navy appeared on the Black Sea shore. Byzantium's timing was to the point, as the Bulgarian army had left for assistance to the Frankish king Karlman and famine had started in the country. So, Boris announced that he would convert to Christianity and requested religious functionaries to be sent to him.[93] Bulgarian envoys on their way to Constantinople were baptized by Byzantine priests. Boris and his close circle also converted to the Christian faith after a short period of time. Converted to Christianity, the Bulgarian emperor took up the name of the Byzantine emperor so as to be Michael-Boris. The Bulgarian church was assigned to the Patriarchate of Constantinople.[94] The accession of Boris and his peoples to Christianity took place in September 865.[95]

Bulgaria's adoption of Christianity is the result of external as well as internal causes. By the adoption of Christianity, Prince Boris-Michael aimed to consolidate Bulgaria's international status by adjoining it to the Christian states, to strengthen the central authority and to end ethnic diversity. Nevertheless, the Bulgar (Protobulgar) element dissolved within the populous Slav element upon the adoption of Christianity and the Danube Bulgar state assumed a Christian-Slav identity.



Detail from Patleina Church Ceramics, Bulgaria

Another development that marked Boris-Michael's reign was the adaptation of the Greek alphabet to the Slavic language and the emergence of the first Slavic literature. The Slavic alphabet was of utmost importance with regard to social and cultural development within the state. The Slavic alphabet was developed by brothers Cyril and Methodius. These two brothers were born in Thessaloniki at the beginning of the ninth century and are considered to be of Slav origin.[96] Cyril and Methodius developed the Slavic alphabet in 855. This alphabet was at first called the "Glagolithic alphabet" and then the "Cyrillic alphabet". By the adoption of the Slavic alphabet, the Turkish Bulgars gradually forgot their own language and started to use the Slavic language, which was also the formal language of the state.[97]

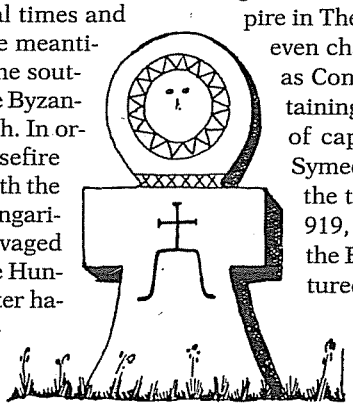
After having administered the state for a long time, Prince Boris-Michael abdicated the throne in 888 and retired to a monastery as a monk. His son Vladimir (888-893) succeeded him. He abolished his father's policy and chose to make an agreement with the Frankish king. Moreover, he sided with the Bulgarian boyars opposed to Christianization and persevered the Christians. Disturbed by these developments, Prince Boris-Michael dethroned Vladimir and assigned his other son Symeon (893-927) to replace him. Boris-Michael died in 907.[98]

During the reign of Boris' son Symeon, Bulgaria expanded over vast territories and turned into a great political power. With the consolidation of central authority, boyars united around the new sovereign. Cultural developments as well as advances in literature took place during Symeon's reign.

As soon as Symeon[99] ascended the throne, relations between the Bulgar state and Byzantium grew tense. As Emperor Leon VI transferred[100] the Bulgarian goods market from Constantinople to Thessaloniki, Bulgarian commerce went through exploitation of Byzantine officials as well as heavy taxes. Symeon diplomatically requested the annulment of this order, but his objections were disregarded. In consequence, a new war between Bulgaria and Byzantium, named by historians as "the first economic war", started.

In fact, the causes of the war were rather political. We may list the causes of this war as the desire of the Bulgarian ruler to render the Bulgarian church and state free of Byzantine influence, the attempt to use Slav-Bulgarian as the formal language instead of Greek in the Bulgarian church, and the effort to replace Greek religious functionaries with local ones.[101]

In consequence of this war, Symeon invaded Eastern Thrace. Defeated in 894, Byzantium resorted to the Hungarians inhabiting the region between Dnieper and Dniester and sought assistance from them. Abiding by Byzantium's call for help, Hungarians struck on Symeon from the north defeating him several times and sacked North Bulgarian territory. In the meantime, Nicephorus Focas was occupying the southern frontier region of Bulgaria while the Byzantine navy warded the Danube river mouth. In order to gain time, Symeon declared ceasefire with Byzantium and made agreement with the Pechenegs, eastern neighbors of the Hungarians. Pecheneg and Bulgarian troops ravaged Hungarian villages in 896 and caused the Hungarians to immigrate to Pannonia.[102] After having got rid of this menace, Symeon repenetrated Byzantium territory in Eastern Thrace and routed the Byzantine army around Babaeski. As per the peace treaty concluded (896), the Bulgarian market was transferred from Thessaloniki to Constantinople. Symeon expanded its territories towards Albania in the direction of Draç towards the end of the ninth century. The next year, Symeon advanced towards Thessaloniki. Though he was not able to capture Thessaloniki, he considerably extended his southern frontier. As a result, a peace treaty was signed in 904. The peace thus secured lasted until 912 and from that year on relations with Byzantium grew tense again.



Bulgar tombstone, (G. Fehér, 1931)

Battling against Byzantium on the one hand, Symeon tried to spread cultural studies in his country on the other. Symeon transferred the capital of the First Bulgar state from Pliska to Preslav.[103] The economical and political consolidation of the Bulgar state made the Bulgar sovereign feel powerful himself and rendered him a position to be competing with the Byzantine emperor. Symeon was becoming aware of his political power by ruling the major part of the Balkan peninsula on the one hand, and he considered himself superior to the Byzantine emperor by seeing the weakness of Byzantium on the other. Therefore, he thought that being addressed "knez" (prince) or "arhont" would not suffice and that he might be able to assume the title "Czar of the Bulgars and Romans". With this in mind, Symeon sent envoys in 912 to Alexander (912-913), successor to Leon VI after his death, to demand the renewal of the peace treaty of 896.[104] Upon Alexander's rejection, he penetrated the territories of the Byzantine Empire in August 913 and reached as far as Constantinople. As it was in a difficult situation, the empire assented agreement with Symeon. The tax paid by the empire to the Bulgars was renewed and the Byzantine administration consented to give Symeon the title "Basileos (czar) of the Bulgars". Moreover, the prospects for the marriage of young Constantine VII with Symeon's daughter were negotiated. With the "Basileos" title, Symeon advanced to the level of the Byzantine emperor.

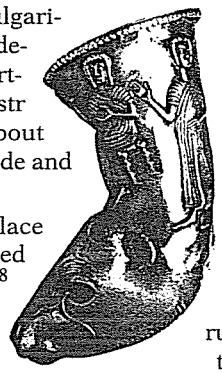
However, Empress Zoe got hold of power in Byzantium after Symeon retreated back from the ramparts of Constantinople and she rejected Symeon's having been crowned with the title "basileos".[105] In response, the Bulgarians took action and defeated the army of the empire in Thessalia near the Aheloos river in 917. They even chased the fleeing Byzantine soldiers as far as Constantinople. By Romanos Lekapenos' attaining the title "basileopator", Symeon's hopes of capturing Constantinople were futile. Yet Symeon, as a consequence of the war, received the title "Czar of the Bulgars and Romans" in 919, and he was given the title of patriarch of the Bulgarian church in 920. After having captured Adrianople in 923, Symeon died in 927 in the course of preparations for a Constantinople campaign.

Czar Symeon denounced his elder son of inheritance and chose his son Petro (927-969) as his successor. With Petro's ascending the throne, the First Bulgar state entered the period of decline as a consequence of battles fought during Symeon's reign.[106] The new czar signed a 30-year peace treaty with Byzantium and married Marina-Irina, granddaughter of Romanos Lekapenos. The Bulgar sovereign formally assumed the title of czar and gained the patriarchate status at the head of the Bulgarian church. As required by the treaty, Byzantium agreed to pay annual tribute to Bulgaria.

The revolt of the boyars, who felt disturbed by close relations with Byzantium and wanted to make Petro's brother Ivan the czar, did not produce any results. Symeon's son Michael also revolted in 930. This revolt also proved unfruitful due to Michael's sudden death. Petro faced serious external problems in addition to internal problems. Subjugated to the Bulgars during Symeon's reign, the Serbs gained independence by taking advantage of revolts going on in Bulgaria. Hungarian raids that started in 934 and Pecheneg raids of 943 were other external problems Czar Petro had to tackle. In the

meantime, Byzantium put pressure on Petro since he was unable to ward off the Hungarian raids. Consequently, the Bulgar czar was obliged to send his sons Boris and Roman to Constantinople as hostages. The Bulgar czar's efforts to draw up an alliance with the Frankish Empire against all these external threats ended with failure. These developments put strain on the relations with Byzantium.[107] Byzantium then put up an alliance with the Kiev Prince Svetoslav against the Bulgarians. Svetoslav crossed the Danube in 967 and defeated the 30.000-strong Bulgarian army in Northern Dobrudja, chasing them as far as the Dristr (Silistre) ramparts. Having been informed about the situation, Czar Petro set earthly matters aside and retired to a monastery, where he died in 969.

An important religious movement took place during Petro's reign. This movement was called Bogomilism after its founder, priest Bogomil.[108] The monk Cosmas in his "Treatise Against the Bogomils" says: "During religious Petro's reign, a priest with the name of Bogomil (loved by God)-rather, Bogonemil (not loved by God) emerged on Bulgarian soil. He started to indoctrinate the heretical doctrine for the first time in Bulgaria.[109]



Riton, Bulgar

Priest Bogomil's teaching originated from the doctrine of Pavlikians, who were placed in Thrace in great masses together with Massalians by Byzantium.[110] Just as the teachings preceding it, Bogomilism is a dualist belief assuming that two principles, good (God) and evil (Devil) rule the Earth and the struggle between these two opposing forces shape all worldly matters as well as individuals' lives. Basically a social teaching, Bogomilism reflects the discontent of the peasant class with feudalist oppression. This movement opposes the formal church that supports the status quo.[111] Therefore, the Bogomils suffered vehement persecution by adherents of Orthodoxy and the Catholics throughout history. The Bogomil sect rejected the formal church, holding masses in the church with its representatives, making the sign of the cross, did not concur religious obligations such as confession of sins and baptism, and opposed the cross and icons of the Orthodox Church.[112] Emerging in Bulgaria, Bogomilism then spread to Byzantium, Serbia, Bosnia and other regions of the Balkan Peninsula. The Catharins in France, Italy and Germany are also thought to be one of the branches of Bogomilism.[113] Moreover, the Patharins and Albigenses take their roots from the Bogomil movement.[114]

Having lived through its most brilliant epoch during Symeon's reign, the First Bulgar state started to decline rapidly under Petro's rule and to gradually lose its territorial acquisitions due to internal and external influences.

In conclusion, we may state that the general character of the Bulgar state was comprised of Bulgars, a Turkish tribe, and was organized in line with ancient Turkish traditions between the years 679-865, the initial phase of the first Bulgar state. However, having assimilated the Protobulgars, the Orthodox Christian Slav character replaced the Turkish identity between the years 865-1018, the second phase of the first Bulgar state. Having reached its widest area during the reign of Czar Symeon, the First Bulgar state was not able to maintain its frontiers from then on and came under Byzantine rule in 1018. The First Bulgar state organized by Turkish Bulgars thus came to an end.

NOTES

(*) Translated by Ömer İzlen Berkman

1 İ. Kafesoğlu, Türk Milli Kültürü, İstanbul 1991, pp. 185-186.

2 A. Vambery, Der Ursprung der Magyaren, Leipzig 1882.

3 İv. Shishmanov, "Kritiçen pregled za proizhoda na prabılgarite ot ezikovo gledişte i etimologiite na imeto "bılgarin", Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniya, nauka i knijnina, vol. 16-17, 1900, pp. 585-753.

4 L. Rasoniy, Tarihte Türklük, Ankara 1971, p. 88. Ancestors of the Ogurs were the groups of tribes inhabiting the Middle and Southern Irtish region during Mete's reign and were named as Tingling by Chinese sources. On this subject, see L. Rasoniy, Tuna Köprüleri, Ankara 1984, p. 4.

5 P. Mutafçiev-V. Mutafçieva, İstoriya na Bılgarskiya narod ot naçenkite na çoveşkiya jivot po naşite zemi do bılgarskoto vızrajdane, Sofia 1995, p. 46.

6 For the fall of the European Hun Empire after Atilla's death (453) and his son Irnek's running into Ogur Turks, see G. Nemeth, Atilla ve Hunlar, Ankara 1982, pp.112-122. Furthermore, Irnek is indicated as the ancestor of the Bulgarians pertaining to the Dulo family on the list of the Bulgar khans. On this subject, see V. Zlatarsky, İstoriya na bılgarskata dırjava prez srednite vekove, vol. I/1, Sofia 1970, p. 448; For the Turkish translation of "List of the Bulgar khans", see T. Tekin, Tuna Bulgarları ve Dilleri, Ankara 1987, pp. 12-13.

7 L. Rasonyi, Tarihte Türklük, Ankara 1971, p. 89.

8 G. Nemeth, "La provenance du nom bulgar", Symbolae grammaticae in honorem Ioannis Rozwadowski, vol. II, Cracow 1927, p. 217-222.

9 G. Moravcsik, Zür Geschichte der Onoguren, Ungarische Jahrbücher, X (1930), pp. 53-90; For further reference on Onogur raids to lands to the south of the Danube and their siege of the city of Corinth in Morea in the second half of the sixth century, see K. M. Setton, "The Bulgar in the Balkans and the Occupation of Corint in the Seventh Century", Europe and the Levant in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, London 1974, pp. 502-543.

10 P. Mutafçiev-V. Mutafçieva, İstoriya na Bılgarskiya narod ot naçenkite na çoveşkiya jivot po naşite zemi do bılgarskoto vızrajdane, Sofia 1995, p. 46.

11 İ. Lazarov, P. Pavlov, İ. Tütündjiev, M. Palangursky, Kratka İstoriya na bılgarskiya narod, Sofia 1993, p. 12.

12 V. Zlatarsky, İstoriya na bılgarskata dırjava prez srednite vekove, vol. I/1, Sofia 1970, p. 131.

13 G. Ostrogorsky, Bizans Devleti Tarihi, tr. by F. Işıltan, Ankara 1986, p. 97; D. Obolensky, The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe 500-1453, London 1974, pp. 89-90.

14 Ch. Gérard, Les Bulgares de la Volga et les Slaves du Danube, Paris 1939, p. 74-75.

15 Bulgars left behind in Greater Bulgaria together with Batbayan then retreated to Kazan region as a result of Khazar pressure. These Bulgars are referred to as Idil (Volga) Bulgars in history. On this subject, see B. Ögel, Türk Kültürünün Gelişme Çağları, İstanbul 1992, pp. 106-107. For further reference see A. N. Kurat, IV-XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Karadeniz Kuzeyindeki Türk Kavimleri ve Devletleri, Ankara 1972, pp. 108-118.

16 V. Beşevliev, Die protobulgarischen Periode der bulgarischen Geschichte, Amsterdam 1981, pp. 173-182; V. Gjuzelev, Forschungen zur Geschichte Bulgarians im Mittelalter, Vienna 1986, pp. 3-24.

17 P. Mutafçiev-V. Mutafçieva, İstoriya na Bılgarskiya narod ot naçenkite na çoveşkiya jivot po naşite zemi do bılgarskoto vızrajdane, Sofia 1995, p. 64; D. Angelov, Obrazuvane na Bılgarskata narodnost, Sofia 1971, p.198.

18 For Oglos ya da Onglos bölgesi (¢OglοV yada ¢OggloV, "corner, nook", see T. Tekin, Tuna Bulgarları ve Dilleri, Ankara 1987, p. 1), the triangular area encompassing north of the Danube basin, the region where Prut and Dniester rivers discharge into the Black Sea and also today's Bessarabia. See İzvori za bılgarskata istoriya, vol. 6/part 3, Sofia 1958, p. 262; N. Bănescu, " ¢OGLOS-OGLÛ: le premier habitat de la horde d'Asparuch dans la région du Danube", Byzantion, XXVIII (1958), pp. 433-440.

19 Asparukh is referred to as Isperikh or Esperikh in the List of the Bulgar Khans. See T. Tekin, Tuna Bulgarları ve Dilleri, Ankara 1987, pp. 4, 13.

20 St. Runciman, A History of the First Bulgarian Empire, London 1930, p. 26.

21 Two Byzantine historians Theophanes and Nikeforos provide comprehensive information on the Bulgarians' coming into this region and subsequent developments. We quoted the passage here from Theophanes' work and translated into Turkish from the Bulgarian translation. For comparative Bulgarian translation of these works with the Greek original, see İzvori za bılgarskata istoriya, haz. Iv. Duyçev, G. Tsankova-Petkova, V. Tıpkova-Zaimova, L. Yonçev, P. Tivçev, vol. 6/part 3, Sofia 1958, pp. 226-306.

22 D. Obolensky, The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe 500-1453, London 1974, p. 90.

23 V. Zlatarsky, İstoriya na Bılgarskata dırjava prez srednite vekove, vol. I/1, Sofia 1970, p. 195.

24 D. Angelov, Obrazuvane na Bılgarskata narodnost, Sofia 1971, p.198.

25 We have taken information on this battle which resulted in the formation of the First Bulgar state and on the initial years of this state again from the works of Byzantine historians Theophanes and Nikeforos. See İzvori za bılgarskata istoriya, haz. Iv. Duyçev, G. Tsankova-Petkova, V. Tıpkova-Zaimova, L. Yonçev, P. Tivçev, vol. 6/part 3, Sofia 1958, pp. 260-261, 295.

26 V. Zlatarsky, İstoriya na Bılgarskata dırjava prez srednite vekove, vol. I/1, Sofia 1970, p. 196.

27 D. Angelov, Obrazuvane na Bılgarskata narodnost, Sofia 1971, p.198; V. Zlatarsky, İstoriya na bılgarskata dırjava prez srednite vekove, vol. I/1, Sofia 1970, p. 196.

28 V. Beşevliev, "Tri prinosa kım bılgarskata srednovekovna istoriya", İzsledvaniya v çest na Marin Drinov, Sofia 1960, p. 284.

29 D. Obolensky, The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe 500-1453, London 1974, p. 90; R. Browning, The Byzantine Empire, Washington 1992, p. 52.

30 Sv. Kiradjiev, Entsiklopediçen Geografski Reçnik na Bılgariya, Sofia 1999, p. 256.

31 D. Obolensky, The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe 500-1453, London 1974, p. 90; R. Browning, The Byzantine Empire, Washington 1992, p. 90. Today, Pliska is a village connected to Yeni Pazar district of Shumnu province. The location where the first Bulgar capital was founded is 2 km away from this village. Turks called this village Agha-baba or Aboba. On this subject, see K. Jireçek, Pıtuvaniya po Bılgariya, vol. 1, Plovdiv 1899, p. 871-872.; M. T. Acaroğlu, Bulgaristan'da Yer Adları Kılavuz, Ankara 1988, p. 53.

32 I. Duyçev, "Les sept tribus slaves de la Mésie", Medievo-bizantino-slavo, vol. III, Roma 1971, p. 55-65.

33 D. Angelov, Obrazuvane na Bılgarskata narodnost, Sofia 1971, p. 203.

34 D. Angelov, Obrazuvane na Bılgarskata narodnost, Sofia 1971, p. 203.

35 St. Runciman, A History of the First Bulgarian Empire, London 1930, pp. 28-29; Duyçev, "Protobulgares et Slaves (Sur le problème de la formation de l'Etat bulgare) ", Medievo-bizantino-slavo, vol. III, Roma 1971, pp. 81-82.

36 D. Obolensky, The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe 500-1453, London 1974, p. 92: I. Duyçev, "La formation de l'état bulgare et de la nation bulgare", Medievo-bizantino-slavo, vol. III, Roma 1971, pp. 31-42.

37 St. Runciman, A History of the First Bulgarian Empire, London 1930, p. 29.

38 For detailed reference see V. Zlatarsky, İstoriya na bılgarskata dırjava prez srednite vekove, vol. I/1, Sofia 1970.

39 St. Runciman, A History of the First Bulgarian Empire, London 1930, p. 27.

40 İ. Duyçev, "La triomphe de l'empereur Justinien II en 705", Byzance, vol. I, Athens 1986, pp. 89-90. On the peace treaty with the Bulgarians violated by Justinian II, we include information again from the works of Theophanes and Nikeforos. On this subject, see Izvori za bılgarskata istoriya, haz. Iv. Duyçev, G. Tsankova-Petkova, V. Tıpkova-Zaimova, L. Yonçev, P. Tivçev, vol. 6/part 3, Sofia 1958, pp. 265, 297.

41 G. Ostrogorsky, Bizans Devleti Tarihi, tr. by F. Işıltan, Ankara 1986, pp. 121-122.

42 İ. Duyçev, "La triomphe de l'empereur Justinien II en 705", Byzance, vol. I, Athens 1986, p. 90.

43 P. Mutafçiev-V. Mutafçieva, İstoriya na Bılgarskiya narod ot naçenkite na çoveşkiya jivot po naşite zemi do bılgarskoto vızrajdane, Sofia 1995, p. 76.

44 P. Mutafçiev-V. Mutafçieva, İstoriya na Bılgarskiya narod ot naçenkite na çoveşkiya jivot po naşite zemi do bılgarskoto vızrajdane, Sofia 1995, p. 76.

45 On the relations between the Bulgarian Kingdom and the Byzantine Empire during Khan Tervel's reign, see G. Tsankova-Petkova, "Bılgaro-vizantiyskite otnoşeniya pri upravleniyeto na Tervel i Kormesiy", İzsledvaniya v çest na Marin Drinov, Sofia 1960, pp. 615-625.

46 İzvori za Bılgarskata İstoriya, haz. Iv. Duyçev, G. Tsankova-Petkova, V. Tıpkova-Zaimova, L. Yonçev, P. Tivçev, vol. 6/part 3, Sofia 1958, p. 271.

47 K. Jireçek, İstoriya na Bılgarite, Sofya 1978, s. 156; V. Beşevliev, "Tri Prinosa Kım Bılgarskata Srednovekovna İstoriya", İzsledvaniya v çest na Marin Drinov, Sofia 1960, p. 284.

48 G. Ostrogorsky, Bizans Devleti Tarihi, tr. by F. Işıltan, Ankara 1986, p. 133.

49 İ. Lazarov, P. Pavlov, İ. Tütündjiev, M. Palangursky, Kratka İstoriya na Bılgarskiya narod, Sofia 1993, pp. 19-20.

50 D. Obolensky, The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe 500-1453, London 1974, p. 93.

51 V. Zlatarsky, İstoriya na Bılgarskata dırjava prez srednite vekove, vol. I/1, Sofia 1970, p. 243.

52 İ. Lazarov, P. Pavlov, İ. Tütündjiev, M. Palangursky, Kratka İstoriya na bılgarskiya narod, Sofia 1993, p. 20.

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