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Florin Curta

Excerpt

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INTRODUCTION

This book is an attempt to explore the fundamental dimensions of the medieval history of Southeastern Europe from *c.* 500 to 1250, broadly the period between the last century of Roman power in the Balkans and the Mongol invasion of Eastern Europe. The primary aim of the book is to provide an overview of the historical developments that characterized a region of Europe about which there is generally little knowledge outside a small number of scholars with specific, often narrowly defined research interests. In the last few decades, the study of medieval societies in Eastern Europe has moved in new and significant directions. The successful use of interdisciplinary approaches, the growth of medieval archaeology, the revived interest in the history of the Church, the development of gender studies, and the encouragement to engage with comparative history have all informed research into the medieval past of Eastern Europe. The following chapters will make extensive use of the results of these new lines of research, in the process delineating a general conclusion that is worth stating plainly from the very beginning: medieval Southeastern Europe was in many ways similar to other parts of Europe, to a degree far greater than most scholars have so far been willing to admit. The secondary purpose of this book is therefore to relate to each other developments in the southeastern region of the European continent and to consider their implications for our understanding of the Middle Ages. The book is therefore concerned with moving back from the modern constructs and possible misconceptions deriving from attempts to draw lines of contrast against which either

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“Western” or national medieval histories were defined. During the first half of the twentieth century, many historians in those countries in Eastern Europe that had either emerged or been enlarged at the end of World War I reinforced, rather than challenged, such misconceptions. A Polish historian, Kazimierz Tymieniecki (1887–1968), first addressed the problem of the medieval history of Eastern Europe at the Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences, held in Oslo in 1928. By Eastern Europe, Tymieniecki meant the regions east of the Elbe, namely Poland, to the exclusion of both Scandinavia and the Balkans. Scandinavia was still perceived as part of the “West,” but the Balkans were not granted the status of a fully European region.

WHAT IS SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE?

While the idea of “Eastern Europe” originated in the intellectual milieu of the Enlightenment, Southeastern Europe as a geographical expression has a much more recent history. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the preferred name for that region of the continent was “European Turkey,” which included Greece (even after that country gained its independence in 1829), as well as the Romanian Principalities, Walachia and Moldavia, technically not part of the Ottoman Empire. Several other phrases have subsequently been coined, ranging from the “Greek–Slavic world” to the “Balkans,” a name that proved remarkably resistant, perhaps because of its derogatory meaning introduced shortly before and during World War I. On the eve of the Congress of Berlin (1878), a new term appeared, “Southeastern Europe,” which seems to have been initially used mainly by scholars interested in comparative linguistics, and especially in common elements to be discovered in such languages as Romanian, Bulgarian, Albanian, and Greek. In other words, the use of the phrase Southeastern Europe is linked to some of the earliest attempts at identifying what is now known as the Balkan linguistic unity, the world’s most famous linguistic example of language contact.¹ The phrase was quickly adopted in Austria, especially by statesmen and

¹ A. Drace-Francis, “Zur Geschichte des Südosteuropakonzpts bis 1914,” in *Europa und die Grenzen im Kopf*, ed. by K. Kaser, D. Gramshammer-Hohl, and R. Pichler (Klagenfurt and Celovec: Wieser, 2003), p. 277. For the Balkan linguistic unity, see now I. Sawicka, *The Balkan Sprachbund in the Light of Phonetic Features* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Energeia, 1997); J. Lindstedt, “Linguistic Balkanization: contact-induced change by mutual reinforcement,” in *Languages in Contact*, ed. by D. Gilbers, J. A. Nerbonne, and T. de Graaf (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 2000), pp. 231–246.

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diplomats, to refer to the region between the Carpathian Mountains, the Dniester River, and the Aegean, Black, and Adriatic Seas, a region of vital importance for the expansion of the Austrian–Hungarian Empire around 1900. Thirty years later, the phrase was similarly used to express Nazi political aspirations in that region.²

The first course of Southeast European history was offered at the University of Vienna in 1912 and was taught by a Romanian, Ion Nistor (1876–1962), later to become a renowned historian of the Middle Ages.³ Following that appointment, another Romanian historian, Nicolae Iorga (1871–1940), founded in Bucharest an Institute of Southeast European Studies (1914), and later a periodical, *Revue historique du sud-est européen* (1922), dedicated to the study of the Balkan region, which hitherto both historians and politicians had excluded from Europe. Iorga’s goal was to remove the stain of the derogatory meaning attached to the phrase “Balkans,” while promoting a certain foreign policy at a time of growing Romanian influence in the region.⁴ To Iorga, the history of the Southeast European countries revealed a number of similarities strikingly reminiscent of the Balkan linguistic unity.⁵

² M. Todorova, “Historische Vermächtnisse als Analysekategorie. Der Fall Südosteuropas,” in *Europa und die Grenzen im Kopf*, ed. by Karl Kaser, Dagmar Gramshammer-Hohl, and Robert Pichler (Klagenfurt and Celovec: Wieser, 2003), pp. 227–252. According to Todorova, the Nazi use has completely discredited the phrase, to which one should now prefer the “Balkans,” an idea for which see her *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

³ A. Pippidi, “Pour l’histoire du premier Institut des études sud-est européennes en Roumanie (I),” *RESEE*, vol. 16 (1978), p. 141.

⁴ To be sure, in 1914 Iorga did not shy away from employing the phrase “Balkans,” which he employed, however, in a positive sense, otherwise covered by the supposedly more neutral “Southeastern Europe.” See N. Iorga, *Histoire des états balkaniques à l’époque moderne* (Bucharest: C. Sfetea, 1914) and *L’origine des idées d’indépendance balkanique* (Paris: J. Gamber, 1927). Moreover, to contemporary Yugoslav scholars, Iorga appeared as one of the most important historians of the Balkans. See M. Budimir and P. Skok, “But et signification des études balkaniques,” *Revue internationale des études balkaniques*, vol. 1 (1934), p. 7.

⁵ N. Iorga, *Cinq conférences sur le Sud-Est de l’Europe* (Bucharest: P. Suru, 1924) and *Le caractère commun des institutions du Sud-Est de l’Europe* (Paris: J. Gamber, 1929). For Iorga’s attitude towards Romania’s intervention in the Second Balkan War, see his *Notes d’un historien relatives aux événements des Balcons* (Bucharest: Charles Göbl, 1913). See V. Căndeia, “Nicolas Iorga, historien de l’Europe du Sud-Est,” in *Nicolas Iorga, l’homme et l’œuvre, à l’occasion du centième anniversaire de sa naissance*, ed. by D. M. Pippidi (Bucharest: Editions de l’Académie de la République Socialiste de Roumanie, 1971), pp. 157–249; Pippidi, “Pour l’histoire du premier Institut,” pp. 147–156.

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The study of Southeastern Europe survived both the dramas unfolding during World War II in that region and its subsequent political transformation. Institutes and associations for the study of Southeast European history now exist in many capital cities in the region, which have one after the other hosted the International Congress of Southeast European Studies. In addition, there is a journal entirely dedicated to that same topic, the *Revue des études sud-est européennes* published by the institute Iorga had founded in Bucharest. Despite the fact that few historians writing in English adopted this terminology, to which they seem to prefer the more popular “Balkans,”⁶ the phrase “Southeastern Europe” is also used in the historiography of the region in Iorga’s sense.⁷ However, there is no consensus as to whether or not the phrase is more than a historiographical construct. What seems to be well understood, however, is that the “Balkans” do not include Hungary, Romania, Moldova, and the southern regions of present-day Ukraine. By excluding Romania from the Balkans, Iorga may have reacted to the political divisions of the pre-World War I period and to their underlying assumption of Ottoman cultural and political traditions. In doing so, his goal may have been to hint at a much deeper past, namely the period during which the region was supposedly unified under Byzantine, not Ottoman, rule. But during the Middle Ages that part of Europe had no sharp boundaries, especially to the north.⁸ As a consequence, any serious analysis of the medieval history of the region cannot leave out those territories in the Carpathian Basin, as well as north of the Danube River and of the Black Sea, which have never been incorporated into the Byzantine Empire. In that respect, Iorga was right: the Balkans are a region defined by mountains, both etymologically and geographically. Geographically, the scope of inquiry in this book is limited to the area traditionally viewed as the Balkan Peninsula and comprised between the Adriatic and Ionian Seas to the west, and the Aegean and Black Seas to the south and to the east.

⁶ See J. V. A. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Sixth to the Late Twelfth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1983); and *The Late Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1987).

⁷ See P. F. Sugar, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman Rule, 1354–1804* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977).

⁸ For the problematic northern border of Southeastern Europe, see F. Valjavec, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1963), pp. 37–38.

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However, the northern limit, the most difficult one to establish, was moved beyond the Danube River and the Carpathian Mountains, to include Transylvania, as well as, occasionally, the eastern and southern regions of the Carpathian Basin now divided between Hungary and Serbia. The reasons for this rather arbitrary definition of the geography of Southeastern Europe are essentially historical and will hopefully become clear in the following chapters. It must be stressed that there is nothing unique in this approach to the geography of the region, although only archaeologists of the Bronze Age and political analysts of late twentieth-century developments customarily treat the area in this way. Similarly, to the northeast, the limit is pushed into the steppe corridor stretching from the Lower Danube to the Dnieper River, to include the forest-steppe belt across the modern states of Romania, Moldova, and Ukraine. Without the steppe lands to the northeast, an area from which the Bulgar, Pecheneg, Cuman, and Mongol invasions originated, very little could be understood in terms of both military and cultural history of medieval Southeastern Europe.

SOURCES FOR THE MEDIEVAL HISTORY OF
SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

Much of what we know about the history of Southeastern Europe comes from sources written outside the region and only later by authors in that region. This is certainly the case of the Byzantine, Rus', or Hungarian chronicles, the Byzantine saint lives, the acts of church councils, the letters or the panegyrics written by and for Byzantine authors, all of which have been the traditional sources employed to write the medieval history of Southeastern Europe. By contrast, only recently has the evidence of archaeology, numismatics, and art history been incorporated into the traditional narrative.

Writing and literacy were introduced to the region from outside as part of the "cultural kit" accompanying the conversion to Christianity.⁹ Chanceries began to function in the tenth century in Croatia

⁹ See, for example, P. Štih, "Začetki in razmah listinskega pismenstva na ozemlju Slovenije do konca 11. stoletja [The beginnings and the spread of writing in the Slovene lands until the eleventh century]," *Zgodovinski Časopis*, vol. 55 (2003), pp. 279–290.

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and Bulgaria and in the eleventh century in Hungary.¹⁰ However, no charter survives from early medieval Bulgaria, although leaden seals provide clear evidence of large-scale use of writing for both official documents and private correspondence. The practice of sealing documents was of course adopted from Byzantium, but then quickly adapted to the needs of the Bulgarian society. Several seals are known from Symeon and Peter, in addition to seals of archbishops and bishops of Bulgaria.¹¹ After the Byzantine conquest of Bulgaria in the late tenth century, the volume of written documents in use by the Byzantine administration increased considerably, as illustrated by the extraordinary find in Preslav of an archive of more than 350 seals of various military and fiscal officials of Byzantine Bulgaria.¹² Since seals bear the names and, sometimes, rank and office of their owners, in the absence of any other written sources, they can provide valuable information, for example for the reconstruction of the administrative and military hierarchy of the Byzantine provinces in seventh- to ninth-century Greece or in late tenth- to eleventh-century Bulgaria.¹³ Although not dated, seals have numerous ornamental and epigraphic attributes that lend themselves to a stylistic analysis, which in turn can be used to infer the date of specific specimens on the basis of comparison with known seals attached to dated documents. Identical seals have been found at great distance from each other, a testimony to the relations their owners have established by correspondence with various other individuals, but besides imperial seals, very few other

¹⁰ G. Győrffy, “Die Anfänge der ungarischen Kanzlei im 11. Jahrhundert,” *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 30 (1984), pp. 80–96; E. Fügedi, “Ai confini tra l’uso orale e l’uso scritto. La pratica della cancellaria in Ungheria,” in *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura italiana e ungherese del basso Medioevo*, ed. by S. Gracciotto and C. Vasoli (Florence: Olschki, 1995), pp. 377–387. There are to date no studies of the Croatian, Bulgarian, and Serbian chanceries during the early Middle Ages.

¹¹ I. Jordanov, *Pechatite na preslavskite vladeteli* [The Seals of the Preslav Rulers] (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1993); and *Korpus na pechatite na srednovekovna Bălgariia* [The Corpus of Medieval Seals from Bulgaria] (Sofia: Agató, 2001).

¹² I. Jordanov, *Pechatite ot strategiata v Preslav (971–1088)* [The Seals of the Preslav Military Province, 971–1088] (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo “Sv. Kliment Okhridski,” 1993); and *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria. Part I* (Sofia: Agató, 2003).

¹³ F. Curta, “L’administration byzantine dans les Balkans pendant la ‘grande brèche’: le témoignage des sceaux,” *Bizantinistica* 6 (2004), pp. 155–189; A. Madgearu, “The military organization of Paradunavon,” *Byzantinoslavica*, vol. 60 (1999), pp. 421–446.

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seals have been found outside the area of their owner's competence or power.¹⁴

Archives existed in several monasteries that often kept copies of charters issued on their behalf by rulers. The largest archives are those of the monasteries on Mount Athos, which preserve many chryso-bulls (imperial charters with golden seals) granting land property or privileges to the monks.¹⁵ While only seventy-five documents can be dated before the early eleventh century, the archives at Mount Athos are particularly useful for the later period, especially for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the monks enjoyed the generosity not only of the emperors in Constantinople, but also of Serbian and Bulgarian rulers. Outside the archives of Mount Athos, the survival of official documents pertaining to the economic history of medieval Southeastern Europe has been only accidental, as in the case of the land-tax register known as the Cadaster of Thebes.¹⁶ In the absence of such documents, *typika* (monastic rules) or the testaments of founders of Byzantine and Bulgarian monasteries often provide a wealth of information for social and economic history.¹⁷ Several Benedictine monasteries in Croatia have extensive cartularies, containing copies of charters issued by Croatian and Hungarian rulers. A good example is the cartulary of the Abbey of St. Peter In the

¹⁴ For an excellent discussion of seal circulation, see C. Morrisson and J.-C. Cheynet, "Lieux de trouvaille et circulation des sceaux," *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, vol. 2 (1990), pp. 105–136.

¹⁵ *Actes de Lavra*, vol. I (897–1178), ed. by G. Rouillard and P. Collomp (Paris: Pierre Lethielleux, 1937); vol. II (1204–1328), ed. by Paul Lemerle (Paris: Pierre Lethielleux, 1977); *Actes d'Iviron*, vol. I (to 1050), ed. by J. Lefort (Paris: Pierre Lethielleux, 1985); vol. II (1050–1204), ed. by J. Lefort, N. Oikonomides, H. Papachryssanthou, V. Kravari, and H. Métréveli (Paris: Pierre Lethielleux, 1990); vol. III (1204–1328), ed. by J. Lefort, N. Oikonomides, and D. Papachryssanthou (Paris: CNRS Editions, 1994); *Actes du Prôtaton*, ed. by D. Papachryssanthou (Paris: Pierre Lethielleux, 1975); *Actes de Vatopédi*, ed. by J. Bompaire, J. Lefort, V. Kravari, and C. Giros (Paris: CNRS Editions and Pierre Lethielleux, 2001); *Actes de Hilandar*, ed. by M. Živojinović, V. Kravari, and C. Giros (Paris: CNRS Editions and Pierre Lethielleux, 1998).

¹⁶ N. Svoronos, "Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XIe et XIIe siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, vol. 83 (1959), pp. 1–166. See also L. A. Neville, *Authority in Byzantine Provincial Society, 950–1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 171–172.

¹⁷ A great number of foundation documents in English translation have been published in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founder's Typika and Testaments*, ed. by J. Thomas and A. C. Hero (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2000).

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Village, a monastery founded by a wealthy citizen of Split in the late eleventh century. Known as the Sumpetar Cartulary, this is in fact a collection of documents pertaining to donations to the monastery, either of land or of moveable property (such as slaves). It also contains a list of books in the abbey's library, many of which had been donated by the founder. Besides such valuable information for economic and social history, cartularies sometimes contain unexpected documents of cultural history.¹⁸ For example, the Cartulary of the Convent of St. Mary in Zadar (Croatia) contains documents from a long period between 1066 and 1236, including a church hymn known as *Sanctus*, one of the earliest pieces of polyphonic singing in Eastern Europe.

A relatively large number of notarial documents survive in the Venetian archives that pertain to the history of the cities on the Adriatic coast and in Istria, which were under Venetian rule beginning with the eleventh century. However, the number of those documents that could be dated before c. 1250 is rather small.¹⁹ Similarly, in Hungary most chapters and abbeys served as notarial institutions, known as “places of authentication,” but most contracts or authentic copies written by clerics date from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.²⁰ However, even before that date, and as early as 1200, chapters provided valuable service for laymen in Hungary, who often took oaths in front of the clerics or accepted ordeals to be administered by them. Although no records of such transactions have been preserved for the chapters of Arad, Alba Iulia, or Bač, the minutes of 389 ordeals held at the chapter of Oradea between 1208 and 1235 form the so-called Oradea Register, one of the most remarkable documents of social history in medieval Transylvania.²¹ The quantity of surviving charters is only a fraction of what the royal chanceries of

¹⁸ *The Cartulary of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter of Gumay (Croatia), 1080–1187*, ed. by E. Pivčević (Bristol: D. Arthur and Sons, 1984). See also V. Novak, *Zadarski kartular Samostana Svete Marije* [The Cartulary of the Convent of St. Mary in Zadar] (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1959).

¹⁹ R. Härtel, “Notariat und Romanisierung. Das Urkundenwesen in Venetien und Istrien im Rahmen der politischen und der Kulturgeschichte (11.–13. Jh.),” in *Notariado público i documento privado de los orígenes al siglo XIV. Actas de VII Congreso Internacional de Diplomática, Valencia 1986*, vol. II (Valencia: Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Ciència, 1989), pp. 879–926.

²⁰ I. Borsa, “Die Beurkundstätigkeit der glaubwürdigen Orte in Ungarn,” in *Forschungen über Siebenbürgen und seine Nachbarn. Festschrift für Attila T. Szabó und Zsigmond Jakó*, ed. by K. Benda, T. Bogyay, and H. Glassl (Munich: Trofenik, 1988), pp. 143–147. Notaries appear in Hungary only after 1300.

²¹ *Regestrum varadinense examinum ferri candentis ordine chronologico digestum*, ed. by J. Karácsonyi and S. Borovszky (Budapest: V. Hornyánszky, 1903). The *Regestrum* has

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Croatia and Hungary produced between the tenth and the thirteenth century.²² In Hungary, for example, while about 10,000 documents survive from the 1200s, there are over 300,000 for the entire period between 1300 and 1526. This has been estimated as about one or two percent of what had once been issued, for most archives were destroyed during the Ottoman conquest of 1526, as well as during World War II. Even greater must have been the destruction of royal and monastic archives in medieval Bulgaria, for which no charters survive that could be dated before c. 1200.

The deeds of the ruler were occasionally celebrated in ninth-century Bulgaria in inscriptions carved in stone, using the Greek alphabet and the Greek language. Much can be gleaned from the titles used in such inscriptions referring to ranks of the aristocracy that are otherwise unknown from contemporary written sources.²³ Foundation or funerary inscriptions in Greek are also known from Byzantine Thrace.²⁴ During the fifth to seventh centuries, Greek was used along with Latin for funerary inscriptions found in Bulgaria and southeastern Romania, while all known ninth- to eleventh-century

been reprinted in *Documente privind istoria României. C. Transilvania* [Documents regarding the history of Romania. Series C: Transylvania], ed. by M. Roller, vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare România, 1951), pp. 37–147. See also I. Zajtay, “Le registre de Varad: un monument juridique du début du XIIIe siècle,” *Revue historique du droit français et étranger*, vol. 32 (1954), 527–562.

²² *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, ed. by T. Smičiklas, vols. 1–1v (Zagreb: Ex officina Societatis Typograficae, 1904); *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima, accedunt epistolae et acta ad historiam Hungariae pertinentia*, vol. 1, ed. by G. Gyórfy (Budapest: Academia Scientiarum Hungarica, 1992). See also A. Marinović, “Le caractère juridique de la charte (diplôme) royale pendant l’époque de la dynastie nationale croate (vers 839 à 1102 a.),” *Folia diplomatica*, vol. 2 (1976), 7–16.

²³ V. Beshevliev, *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1963); and *Pǎrvobǎlgarski nadpisi*, 2nd ed. (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bǎlgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1992). See also V. Beshevliev, “Les inscriptions protobulgares et leur portée culturelle et historique,” *Byzantinoslavica*, vol. 32 (1971), pp. 35–51 (reprinted in *Bulgarisch-byzantinische Aufsätze. Collected Essays of Véselin Beshevliev* [London: Variorum Reprints, 1978], Essay IX).

²⁴ C. Asdracha, “Inscriptions byzantines de la Thrace orientale et de l’île d’Imbros (XIIe–XVe siècles). Présentation et commentaire historique,” *Arkhaiologikon Deltion*, vol. 43 (1988), pp. 219–291; “Inscriptions byzantines de la Thrace orientale (IXe–XIe siècles). Présentation et commentaire historique,” *Arkhaiologikon Deltion*, vols. 44–46 (1989–1991), pp. 239–334; and “Inscriptions chrétiennes et protobyzantines de la Thrace orientale et de l’île d’Imbros (IIIe–VIIe siècles),” *Arkhaiologikon Deltion*, vols. 49–50 (1994–1995), pp. 279–356.

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inscriptions found in Croatia are in Latin.²⁵ Beginning with the tenth century, Old Church Slavonic was also used for inscriptions written in either Glagolitic or Cyrillic script. While Cyrillic inscriptions have been found mainly within the borders of medieval Bulgaria, Glagolitic also appears in inscriptions found on islands of the Kvarner Bay in the northern Adriatic region or in Istria.²⁶ Finally, a few inscriptions in so-called East European (or Turkic) runes have been found on bone artifacts from Avar burials, the most famous of which is the Szarvas awl.²⁷ But as a rule, inscriptions often pose difficult problems of reading (particularly runic inscriptions)²⁸ or interpretation

²⁵ V. Beshevliev, *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1964). For Romania, see E. Popescu, "Die spätgriechische Inschriften aus Klein-Skythien," *Dacia*, vol. 11 (1967), pp. 163-176; and *Inscriptiile grecești și latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în România* [Fourth- to Thirteenth-Century Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Romania] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1976). For Latin inscriptions in medieval Croatia, see V. Delonga, *Inscriptions des souverains croates du IXe au XIIe siècle* (Split: Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, 1997).

²⁶ I. Goshev, *Starobălgarski glagolicheski i kirilski nadpisi ot IX i X v.* [Old Bulgarian Glagolitic and Cyrillic Inscriptions of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries] (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademiia na Naukite, 1961); R. Mihaljčić, L. Steindorff, and M. Hellmann, *Namentragende Steininschriften in Jugoslawien vom Ende des 7. bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1982); K. Popkonstantinov and O. Kronsteiner, *Starobălgarski nadpisi. Altbălgarische Inschriften*, 2 vols. (Salzburg: Institut für Slawistik der Universität Salzburg, 1994 and 1997). Glagolitic inscriptions: K. Popkonstantinov and Al. Medynceva, "Za glagolicheskite nadpisi ot X v. [On the Glagolitic inscriptions of the tenth century]," *Arkheologija*, vol. 24 (1982), pp. 27-37; B. Fučić, "Glagoljski natpisi [Glagolitic inscriptions]," *Slovo*, vol. 38 (1988), pp. 63-73. Cyrillic inscriptions: Ph. Malingoudis, *Die mittelalterlichen kyrillischen Inschriften der Hămus-Halbinsel. I. Die bulgarischen Inschriften* (Thessaloniki: Association hellénique d'études slaves, 1979).

²⁷ A. Róna-Tas, "Problems of the east European scripts with special regard to the newly found inscription of Szarvas," in *Popoli delle steppe: Unni, Avari, Ungari. Settimane di studio, Spoleto 23-29 aprile 1987*, vol. 11 (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1988), pp. 483-511; I. Juhász, "A new Avar period runic inscription from Szarvas," in *Cultural and Landscape Changes in South-East Hungary I. Reports on the Gyomaendrőd Project*, ed. by S. Bökönyi (Budapest: Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1992), pp. 379-382. Many of the short inscriptions on bone artifacts found in Avar burials turned out to be Soghdian. See J. Harmatta, "Soghdian inscriptions on Avar objects," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. 48 (1995), pp. 61-65.

²⁸ See E. Tryjarski, "Alte und neue Probleme der runenartigen Inschriften Europas. Ein Versuch der Entzifferung der Texte aus Murfatlar und Pliska," in *Runen, Tămgas und Graffiti aus Asien und Osteuropa*, ed. by K. Röhrborn and W. Veenker (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985), pp. 53-80.