

## II

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# The Economy



### 1. Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

There seems to be no doubt that land cultivation formed the basis of Bulgaria's economic life in the tenth century. However, there are very few written sources in which this view is confirmed (one can mention here *Pope Nicolas' Response to the Bulgarians*, *Cosmas' Sermon against the Heretics*, the *Long Life of Clement of Ohrid*). The source that has been traditionally cited in this context is the so-called Farmer's Law. Its creation is linked to the Slavs' presence in the Balkans and their becoming part of the ethnic composition of the Bulgarian state in the early Middle Ages. Controversy surrounding this legal monument – the uncertainty regarding the period in which it was created and the part of the Empire to which it referred – prevents us from considering it a fully reliable source of information when it comes to the Balkan territories<sup>1</sup>. However, the traditional view of the crucial role of farming in Bulgaria's economy is supported by archaeological sources which testify to the use of husbandry

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<sup>1</sup> M. Svoronos, *Notes sur l'origine et la date du Code rural*, TM 8, 1981, pp. 487–500; И. Божилков, *Добруджа през Ранното Средновековие (VI – нач. XI в.)*, [in:] *idem*, В. Гюзелев, *История на Добруджа*, vol. II, *Средновековие*, Велико Търново 2004, p. 52.

techniques in early mediaeval Bulgaria – the excavated artifacts include agricultural tools such as ploughshares, sickles, hoes, shovel ferrules<sup>2</sup>. Excavations also uncover the remains of cultivated crops – wheat, rye and millet in the main. Flax, used in the manufacture of clothing, was also exported to Byzantium. Some place names of early mediaeval origin also seem to be indicative of the use of various husbandry techniques in the period before the Bulgarians' arrival at the Danube areas – as an example one can mention here such names as Nivani – derived from niva (lea), Razhenichani – razh (rae) or Zarnentsi – zarno (grain). The lands that made up the Bulgarian state provided a good framework for the development of agriculture – suffice it to mention the fertile and well irrigated plains of Mysia (Moesia), Northern Trace and part of Macedonia. One should add that a large share of agriculture in the economy of the Balkan cities was a specific feature of their development. This also holds true for the Bulgarian capitals – Pliska and Preslav. The cultivation of grapevine, fruit and vegetables underwent rapid development in the ninth and tenth centuries. The three-field system of crop rotation had grown in popularity. Farming was typically extensive and, as such, vulnerable to climatic changes. Attempts were made to remedy this situation by building warehouses for storing food surpluses. Methods of storing food weren't dissimilar to those used in Byzantium. The burden of farming lay on the shoulders of the most numerous social group of the Middle Ages – free peasants, organised in special districts or neighbouring communities<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Й. Чангова, *Средновековни оръдия на труда в България*, ИАИ 25, 1962, pp. 19–55; Т. Тотев, *Колективна находка от средновековни оръдия на труда от с. Златар*, Архе 8.4, 1966, pp. 33–35; В. Антонова, *Новооткрита находка от земеделски сечива при Плиска*, Пр.Сб. 3, 1983, pp. 263–268; Й. Чангова, *Перник*, vol. III, *Крепостта Перник VIII–XIV в.*, София 1992, pp. 7–17; В. Йотов, Г. Атанасов, *Скала. Крепост от X–XI век до с. Кладенци, Тервелско*, София 1998, pp. 83–87; Л. Дончева-Петкова, *Одърци. Селище от Първото българско царство*, vol. I, София 1999, pp. 55–59; И.Х. Джамбов, *Средновековното селище над античния град при Хисар*, Асеновград 2002, pp. 58–60. More generally, see: Л. Беров, *Икономическото развитие на България през вековете*, София 1974, pp. 25–26.

<sup>3</sup> Л. Беров, *Икономическото развитие на България...*, pp. 24–25; Д. Ангелов, *Развитие на селското стопанство през VIII–X в.*, [in:] *Стопанска история на България 681–1981*, ed. Л. Беров et al., София 1981, pp. 37–38; idem, *Стопански живот*, [in:] *История на България в четиринадесет тома*, vol. II, *Първа българска*

Animal husbandry formed a traditional part of the Bulgarian economy. It was also certainly known to the Slavs<sup>4</sup>. I have already mentioned that the central part of the Dobrudzha region provided a perfect framework for this type of farming<sup>5</sup>, and so did the so-called 'Pliska Field', in which the Bulgarians founded their capital<sup>6</sup>, the foothills of the Balkan Mountains and the Balkan Mountains proper, the mountain areas of Macedonia and, in part, the Rhodope Mountains. In the latter half of the ninth century, these were joined by the upland areas of Transylvania (the Carpathian Mountains). Among the animals reared in the sub-mountain areas were cows, oxen, buffalos, sheep, pigs, horses and domesticated birds<sup>7</sup>, of which

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*държавата*, ed. idem, София 1981, pp. 339–340; Ж. А л а д ж о в, *Бележки за винопроизводството в ранното българско средновековие*, ППРе 5, 1992, pp. 216–221; И. Б о ж и л о в, *Добруджа...*, pp. 51–52; П. П а в л о в, *Стопанско развитие на Първото българско царство*, [in:] И. Т ю т ю н д ж и е в, М. П а л а н г у р с к и, А. К о с т о в, И. Л а з а р о в, П. П а в л о в, И. Р у с е в, *Стопанска история на България*, Велико Търново 2011, p. 17. On the existence of one-crop system on some territories of the Bulgarian state, especially in the mountains, see: Г. Ц а н к о в а-П е т к о в а, *Към въпроса за селскостопанската техника в средновековна България и някои съседни балкански области*, ИИИ 13, 1963, pp. 123–137.

<sup>4</sup> Z. K u r n a t o w s k a, *Słownikowa Południowa*, Wrocław 1977, pp. 93, 100–104; В. Г ю з е л е в, *Икономическо развитие, социална структура и форми на социална и политическа организация на прабългарите до образуването на българската държава (IV–VII в.)*, Архе 21.4, 1979, pp. 13–14; П. Д о б р е в, *Стопанска култура на прабългарите*, София 1986, pp. 34–40.

<sup>5</sup> For this see Part Two, Chapter I, of the present monograph.

<sup>6</sup> In spite of the doubts that have recently been expressed (cf. D. Z i e m a n n, *Pliska and Preslav: Bulgarian Capitals between Relocation and Invention*, [in:] *Българско Средновековие: общество, власт, история. Сборник в чест на проф. д-р Милияна Каймакамова*, ed. Г. Н. Н и к о л о в, А. Н и к о л о в, София 2013, pp. 179–183) I find that Pliska was, if not the first and the only one, then the most important centre of power in Bulgaria in the early Middle Ages and, until the establishment of Preslav, Bulgaria's only capital.

<sup>7</sup> Г. К. Р и б а р о в, *Бозайниците в бита на жителите от ранновизантийското и средновековно селище на Хисарлъка (Сливен)*, Архе 32.4, 1990, pp. 50–58; З. Б о е в, Н. И л и е в, *Птиците и тяхното значение за жителите на Велики Преслав (IX–X в.)*, Архе 33.3, 1991, pp. 44–53; Й. Ч а н г о в а, *Перник...*, pp. 18–21; Н. И л и е в, *Говедовдството във Велики Преслав (IX–X в.)*, Архе 36.3/4, 1994, pp. 66–70; Л. Н и н о в, *Животновъдна и ловна дейност на обитателите на крепостта*, [in:] В. Й о т о в, Г. А т а н а с о в, *Скала...*, pp. 329–343; Л. Д о н ч е в а-П е т к о в а, *Одърци...*, p. 59; Л. Н и н о в, *Животновъдна и ловна дейност в средновековния*

use was made both in farming and warfare (combat mounts were given special care), and in the production of shoes (articles made of wool and skin were quite widespread), clothing and food (meat, dairy products, fats). *Pope Nicholas' response to the Bulgarians* provides strong evidence of the significant role of meat (especially lamb and pork) in the Bulgarians' diet in the latter half of the ninth century. Hunting for animals in the country's mountains and forests was a natural way of securing the meat supply<sup>8</sup>. Some Arab sources testify to the use of animals as means of payment. A pair of oxen, used as the main labour and transport force in agriculture, served as the basic measurement unit and the basis on which taxes imposed on individual households were calculated<sup>9</sup>. Animal husbandry began to be dominated by the small horned cattle, the large one being used mainly as animal draft force. Horses were imported from Central Europe and Byzantium and it didn't take long before they replaced the native steppe breeds. Breeders and shepherds inhabited city centres, although animals were raised mainly in rural areas. Written sources testify to the existence (although their testimony refers to the eleventh century, it is highly likely to be true also of earlier periods) of the groups of specialised mountain shepherds who, after spring and summer spent in the Carpathians and Macedonia's mountain pastures (in the tenth century they hadn't yet begun to migrate in the direction of the Haimos mountain range), would come down from the mountains to live for the rest of the year in the valleys and lowlands. I am referring here to the people known as the Vlachs (as the Byzantines called them), that is, probably, the descendants of the

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*селище край село Одърци*, [in:] Л. Дончева-Петкова, *Одърци...*, pp. 171–173; Н. Хрисимов, *Храната в Първото българско царство*, [in:] *Стандарти на всекидневието през Средновековието и Новото време*, ed. К. Мутафова et al., Велико Търново 2012, pp. 201–232. For more on the topic see Part Two, Chapter III of this book.

<sup>8</sup> Й. Чангова, *Перник...*, pp. 17–18; Л. Нинов, *Животноводна и ловна дейност...*, pp. 329–330 (tab. 1), 337, 339–340 (tab. 9), 343.

<sup>9</sup> Г. Санкова-Петкова, *Byzance et le développement social et économique des états balkaniques*, [in:] *Actes du premier Congrès International des Études Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes, Sofia, 26 août – 1 septembre 1966*, vol. III, *Histoire (V<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> ss.; XV<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> ss.)*, ed. В. Търкова-Займова, S. Dimitrov, E. Sarafova, Sofia 1969, pp. 345–346.

Romanised Thracian tribes<sup>10</sup>. An interesting thesis regarding the significance of the Bulgarian economy, especially the livestock farming, was put forward by Mihail Voynov. According to the scholar, access to Bulgaria's economic potential was one of the reasons why the Byzantines, in the 970s, decided to invade the territories of their northern neighbour. The main concern here was to ensure food supply for Constantinople, and the Bulgarian lands were known for a great number of farmed animals with which one could hope to meet the nutritional needs of the inhabitants of the Byzantine capital<sup>11</sup>.

## 2. Crafts and City Development

Sources from the ninth and tenth centuries (*Hexameron* by John the Exarch, *The Miracle of Saint George with the Bulgarian, Law for Judging the People*) indicate a significant development and an advanced level of craftsmanship in Bulgaria. They also testify to the existence of the division of labour and the specialisation of production. Qualified artisans, working in regular workshops, especially in the cities, were commissioned to manufacture particular articles. The craft production fulfilled state orders and met the needs of those whom we can describe as private customers. Bulgaria's territorial expansion, the development of new buildings, both sacral and secular (fortresses, palaces, monasteries, bathhouses, churches etc.), and the construction of new roads and bridges, all of them

<sup>10</sup> M. Gyóni, *La transhumance des Vlaques balkaniques au Moyen Âge*, Bsl 12, 1951, pp. 29–42; Д. Ангелов, *Развитие на селското...*, pp. 38–40; idem, *Стопански...*, pp. 340–341; И. Божилов, *Добруджа...*, p. 52. On the Vlachs see: E. Scărlățoiu, *The Balkan Vlachs in the Light of Linguistic Studies (Highlights and Contributions)*, RESEE 17.1, 1979, pp. 17–37; T.J. Winnifith, *The Vlachs: The History of a Balkan People*, London 1987; I. Czamańska, *Problem pochodzenia Wołochów*, [in:] *Wędrowka i etnogeneza w starożytności i średniowieczu*, ed. M. Salamon, J. Strzelczyk, Kraków 2004, pp. 327–335.

<sup>11</sup> M. Voynov, *Byzance et le potentiel économique de la Bulgarie*, EB 13.2, 1977, pp. 129–131.

created demand for artisans, their skills and products. Excellent Byzantine workshops weren't able to fulfil all the orders, and there was no such need. Trade and the spoils of war didn't suffice to satisfy the demand for weapon (both offensive and defensive) and the horse-riding gear. The country needed to develop its own workshops. Mining activity was probably already in progress (the ore extraction), as evidenced by old Slav toponyms such as Rudishte or Rudnik – both derived from the word 'ruda' ('ore'). The discovery of iron lumps testifies to the exploitation of bog iron ore and the use of bloomeries for its processing. In addition to the processing of metals<sup>12</sup>, the country was also involved in the production

<sup>12</sup> See: С. В и т л я н о в, *Данни за обработката на желязо в центровете на Първото българско царство*, [in:] *Средновековният български град*, ed. П. П е т р о в, София 1980, pp. 137–143; Й. Ч а н г о в а, *Към проучването на старобългарската металлопластика през IX–X век*, Пр.Сб 3, 1983, pp. 198–202; В. П л е т н ъ в, В. П а в л о в а, *Ранносредновековни ремъчни крайници във Варненския археологически музей*, ИИМВ 28 (43), 1992, pp. 158–223; Й. Ч а н г о в а, *Перник...*, pp. 22–38, 127–145, 149–163, 166–198 (however part of the finds are imports); М. Д о л м о в а, *За добива на злато и сребро в средновековна България*, ГНАМ 9, 1993, pp. 141–150; С. С т а н и л о в, *Старобългарски ремъчни украси с правоъгълна форма*, [in:] *Сборник в чест на акад. Димитър Ангелов*, ed. В. В е л к о в, София 1994, pp. 177–189; Л. Д о н ч е в а-П е т к о в а, *Пеци за добиване на желязо край западната крепостна стена на Плиска*, ППр 7, 1995, pp. 34–41; С. В и т л я н о в, *За някои моменти в развитието на българското средновековно железобработване*, [in:] *Медиевистични изследвания в памет на Пейо Димитров*, ed. Т. Г о т е в, Шумен 1995, pp. 306–314, specifically pp. 307–309; В. Й о т о в, Г. А т а н а с о в, *Скала...*, pp. 93–124; Л. Д о н ч е в а-П е т к о в а, *Одърци...*, pp. 61–62, 99–114, 120–130; И.Х. Д ж а м б о в, *Средновековното селище...*, pp. 63–64, 66–67; С. Б о н е в, *Творби на металлопластиката със светци от Преслав*, ПКШ 7, 2004, pp. 404–411; В. П л е т н ъ в, *Производството на коланни гарнитури в ранносредновековна България*, Пр.Сб 6, 2004, pp. 228–240; Д. С т а н ч е в, *Ранносредновековни пръстени от фонда на Историческия музей – Русе*, [in:] *Проф. д.и.н. Станчо Вахлинов и средновековната българска култура*, ed. К. П о п к о н с т а н т и н о в, Б. Б о р и с о в, Р. К о с т о в а, Велико Търново 2005, pp. 220–229 (it is important to underline some of the findings are Byzantine imports); В. Г р и г о р о в, *Метални накити от средновековна България (VII–XI в.)*, София 2007; С. Д о н ч е в а, *Медалиони от средновековна България*, Велико Търново 2007; Д. М о м ч и л о в, *Материалната култура от времето на Първото българско царство в Североизточна Тракия през IX–X в.*, [in:] *Проблеми на прабългарската история и култура*, vol. IV.2, *Сборник в памет на ст.н.с. I ст. д.и.н. Димитър Ил. Димитров*, ed. Р. Р а ш е в, София



of glass<sup>13</sup>, various tools (including of course lumberjack, blacksmith and quarrying tools, as well as those used in construction works) and weapons. Wood, stone and bone working were also well-developed<sup>14</sup>. Workshops were established for the manufacture of construction ceramics<sup>15</sup>,

2007, pp. 291–294; Е. Евтимова, *Занаятчийски изделия от Велики Преслав*, [in:] *Иванка Акрабова-Жандова. In memoriam*, ed. М. Ваклинова et al., София 2009, pp. 199–211; Д. Момчилов, *Старобългарски апликации от фонда на историческия музей – Карнобат*, [in:] *Laurea. In honorem Margaritae Vaklinova*, vol. II, ed. Б. Петрунова, А. Аладжов, Е. Василева, София 2009, pp. 167–178; С. Станилов, *Художественият метал на Златния век (IX–XI в.). Продължение на темата*, [in:] *Великотърновският Университет “Св. св. Кирил и Методий” и българската археология*, vol. I, ed. Б. Борисов, Велико Търново 2010, pp. 423–436; С. Бонев, С. Дончева, *Старобългарски производствен център за художествен метал при с. Новосел, Шуменско*, Велико Търново 2011; Д. Момчилов, *Паметници на металопластиката от Маркели*, ИНАИ 40, 2012, pp. 141–149. Widely on the topic, see: Г. Коняров, *Принос към истарията на рударството и металургията в България*, София 1953; Н. M a m z e r, *Studia nad metalurgia żelaza na terenie północno-wschodniej Bulgarii we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Wrocław 1988. On earliest period see: С. Станилов, *Художественият метал на българското ханство на Дунава 7–9 век*, София 2006.

<sup>13</sup> See: А. Дончева-Петкова, Ж. Златинова, *Стъкларска работилница край западната стена в Плиска*, Архе 20.4, 1978, pp. 37–48; Т. Балабанов, *За началото на стъклообработването и стъклопроизводството в Средновековна България*, [in:] Пр.Сб 3, 1983, pp. 228–240; Й. Чангова, *Перник...*, pp. 145–147; Й. Штатпова, *О производстве стекла в эпоху Первого болгарского царства*, Пр.Сб 4, 1993, pp. 151–165; А. Дончева-Петкова, *Одърци...*, p. 64; Ц. Комитова, *Стъклени гривни от Мелник*, [in:] *Приноси към българската археология*, vol. III–IV, ed. С. Станилов et al., София 2006, pp. 99–107.

<sup>14</sup> See: Т. Тотев, *За обработка на кост в средновековна България*, Архе 4.3, 1963, pp. 83–92; С. Бонев, *Художествената резба върху кост – връзки и влияния с другите приложни техники през X век*, Пр.Сб 3, 1983, pp. 149–159; Й. Чангова, *Перник...*, pp. 38–55, 145–149, 163–166; Т. Тотев, *Към въпроса за творчеството на преславските майстори на рязана кост през IX–X в.*, ППр, 6, 1993, pp. 109–115; С. Бонев, *За преславската костена пластика*, ПКШ 1, 1995, pp. 344–347; А. Дончева-Петкова, *Одърци...*, pp. 62, 62–64, 82–88; А. Нинков, *Остеологична характеристика на костените и роговите изделия*, [in:] А. Дончева-Петкова, *Одърци...*, pp. 174–177; И.Х. Джамбов, *Средновековното селище...*, pp. 64–66; С. Бонев, *Преславската резба върху кост – стари творби и нови находки*, [in:] *Иванка Акрабова-Жандова...*, pp. 143–153.

<sup>15</sup> See: С. Ангелова, *За производството на строителна керамика в Североизточна България през ранното средновековие*, Архе 13.3, 1971, pp. 3–21;

kitchenware, tableware and the so-called ceramic icons produced for worship purposes<sup>16</sup>. Of importance was also the role of artistic and decorative handicraft (articles made of clay, metal and bones). The

Т. Тотев, *Керамични пеци в чашата на язовир "Виница" край Преслав*, Архе 15.4, 1973, pp. 58–68; В. Вълков, *Водоснабдяването на средновековните български градове и крепости (VII–XIV в.)*, Архе 19.1, 1977, pp. 14–15, 19–21, 24–26, 27; Й. Алексиев, *Грънчарски пеци и жилища-полуземянки от IX–X в. край с. Хотница, Великотърновски окръг*, Архе 19.4, 1977, pp. 55–60; М. Ваклинова, *Материали и производство на преславската каменна пластика*, Пр.Сб 5, 1993, pp. 68–101; Д. Момчилов, *Материалната култура...*, pp. 294–295.

<sup>16</sup> See: А. Милчев, *Разкопки в Плиска западно от Вътрешния град през 1959 г.*, Архе 2.3, 1960, pp. 30–43; Л. Дончева-Петкова, *Технология на раннославянската и старобългарската битова керамика (края на VI–X в.)*, Архе 11.2, 1969, pp. 10–24; Б. Султов, *Новооткрит керамичен център при с. Хотница от римската и старобългарската епоха*, Архе 11.4, 1969, pp. 12–24, specifically pp. 22–24; Л. Дончева-Петкова, *Трапезната керамика в България през VIII–XI в.*, Архе 12.1, 1970, pp. 12–25; eadem, *Средновековни глинени съдове с вътрешни уши*, Архе 13.4, 1971, pp. 32–38; E. C. Schwartz, *Medieval Ceramic Decoration in Bulgaria*, Bsl 43.1, 1982, pp. 45–50; Т. Тотев, *Манастирът "Тузлалъка" – център на рисувана керамика в Преслав през IX–X в.*, София 1982; Й. Чангова, *Перник...*, pp. 57–77; Т. Тотев, *Преславските ателиета за рисувана керамика*, ППр 7, 1995, pp. 101–109; В. Йотов, Г. Атанасов, *Скала...*, pp. 64–82; Л. Дончева-Петкова, *Одърци...*, pp. 64–82; И.Х. Джамбов, *Средновековното селище...*, pp. 47–57; Т. Тотев, *Observations sur la céramique peinte du monastère aux alentours de l'église ronde (l'église d'Or) a Preslav*, [in:] *Bulgaria Pontica Medii Aevi*, vol. IV–V/1, ed. В. Гюзелев, София 2003, pp. 255–276; Р. Василев, *Колекция от ранносредновековна керамика и съдове уникални от манастира до спирка Равна, Провадийско*, [in:] *Тангра. Сборник в чест на 70-годишнината на акад. Васил Гюзелев*, ed. М. Каймакамова et al., София 2006, pp. 367–382; Д. Момчилов, *Материалната култура...*, pp. 287–291; К. Стоева, *Битовата керамика от манастира в местността Манастирчето край Велики Преслав (предварително съобщение)*, [in:] *Великотърновският Университет...*, pp. 525–538; Т. Тотев, *Нови материали и наблюдения за трапезната рисувана керамика от два манастира във Велики Преслав*, ПКШ 10, 2008, pp. 404–417; С. Станилов, *Наблюдения по формирането на орнаменталната система в българската художествена керамика от IX–X век*, [in:] *Иванка Акрабова-Жандова...*, pp. 129–142; Т. Тотев, *Две рисувани белоглинени трапезни блюда с литургическо предназначение и употреба от селище във Велики Преслав*, ПКШ 11, 2010, pp. 254–259; idem, *Святая Богородица в изкустве Великог Преслава (IX–X вв.)*, ПКШ 13, 2013, pp. 350–360. For more on the topic, see: Л. Дончева-Петкова, *Българска битова керамика през ранното средновековие*, София 1977; Т. Тотев, *Керамичната икона в средновековна България*, София 2001.



manufacture of such articles established its presence especially in Preslav<sup>17</sup>. Spinning, weaving and needle-craft were also represented<sup>18</sup>.

In spite of the significant development and progressing specialisation of craft production, rural households satisfied their craftwork needs, at least in part, out of their own production, although commissioned work wasn't entirely absent from the Bulgarian countryside either. The links between rural areas and city markets were still very poor (although not non-existent). As in Byzantium, the more important sectors of the craft production remained under the control of the state, which means

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<sup>17</sup> See: С. С т а н и л о в, *Метални гарнитури за ремъци и облекло от двореца във Велики Преслав*, ППРе 7, 1995, pp. 110–135; С. В и т л я н о в, *Новооткрити накитни предмети и елементи на облеклото от Велики Преслав*, ПКШ 7, 2004, pp. 412–423; i d e m, *Характер и локализация на производствените структури в първите столични центрове на българската държава Плиска и Велики Преслав*, [in:] *Пътуванията в средновековна България. Материали от първата национална конференция “Пътуване към България. Пътуванията в средновековна България и съвременният туризъм”*, Шумен, 8–11.05.2008 г., ed. И. Й о р д а н о в, Велико Търново 2009, pp. 373–381; Т. Т о т е в, Р. Р а ш е в, *Нови данни за старобългарското изкуство (VIII–X в.)*, ПКШ 12, 2012, pp. 387–394, specifically pp. 390–394 (Christian period). Relying on the name of one of the tsarist residences in today's Albania, namely Koprinishta (here in plural, derived from the word *koprina* – ‘silk’), where, during the fighting against Basil II in 1018, bolyar Ivats, one of the commanders of the Bulgarian army took shelter, some scholars claim the Bulgarians may have been familiar with the techniques of the production of silk (П. П а в л о в, *Стопанско...*, p. 19). However, this view runs counter to what we learn from *Russian Primary Chronicle* (AM 6477, p. 68), in which precious fabrics (certainly silk ones), brought to Bulgaria from Byzantium from at least the end of the 960s, are mentioned. Of course, if we take seriously the account of the *Chronicle* into consideration (for that see below), however even if we doubt it there are also other evidences for such an imports from the Empire. The name of the residence can also be understood as referring to a place in which a large amount of silk goods was gathered, a kind of a synonym of the seat of a ruler who enjoyed the exclusive right to wear robes made of this material. The name would be an excellent match for one of the residences of the Bulgarian tsar. However, we can't confidently dismiss the view that under the rulers of the Cometopouloi dynasty the Bulgarians obtained access to one of the most strictly guarded Byzantine secrets, that is, the production of silk. This toponym is simply the only evidence of the fact we have. At this stage of the research process it must be treated only as weakly documented hypothesis.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Й. Ч а н г о в а, *Перник...*, pp. 55–57; Л. Д о н ч е в а-П е т к о в а, *Одърци...*, pp. 89–91.

that only some artisans manufactured goods for the domestic market<sup>19</sup>. It was no different with monastic communities which, while striving to satisfy mainly their own needs, were probably also involved in producing goods for worship purposes and completed orders placed by outsiders – for example, by representatives of the Church hierarchy<sup>20</sup>. This view is of course based on the assumption that the remains of some of the buildings discovered by archaeologists can be legitimately identified with former monasteries.

Although, as is indicated by archaeological excavations (mostly of a surface type), there was a great number of settlement sites in Bulgaria (30 masonry fortresses and 280 unfortified settlements are known to have existed in Dobrudzha alone)<sup>21</sup> in the second phase of the early Middle

<sup>19</sup> Д. Ангелов, *Развитие на занаятите и рударството през VIII–X в.*, [in:] *Стопанска история...*, pp. 40–42; i d e m, *Стопански живот...*, pp. 341–342; Г.Г. Литаврин, *Внутренний кризис, новый подъем и борьба за независимость*, [in:] *Краткая история Болгарии. С древнейших времен до наших дней*, ed. i d e m, Москва 1987, p. 83; И. Божилков, *Добруджа...*, pp. 52, 56; П. Павлов, *Стопанско...*, p. 19.

<sup>20</sup> С. Витлянов, *За стопанския облик на манастира при Голямата базилика в Плиска*, Архе 26.2/3, 1984, pp. 95–102; i d e m, *Стопанският облик на столичните манастири през IX–X век*, ППРе 7, 1995, pp. 92–100; i d e m, *Die bulgarischen Klöster (im Mittelalter) – universale Produktionszentren*, ШУЕКП.ТКИБ 6, 2004, pp. 145–149.

<sup>21</sup> For Dobrudzha see: И. Божилков, *Добруджа...*, pp. 30–31; Г. Атанасов, *Добруджанското деспотство. Към политическата, църковната, стопанската и културната история на Добруджа през XIV век*, Велико Търново 2009, p. 13. For the whole country territory see e.g.: В. Тъпкова-Займова, *Крепости и укрепени градове през Първото българско царство. Според сведения от византийските автори*, ВС 25.3, 1956, pp. 40–61; Ж. Вържарова, *Средновековни обекти по долините на реките Цибрица и Огоста (по материали от разузнаването през 1962–1963 г.)*, ИАИ 28, 1965, pp. 231–245; П.С. Коледаров, *Към въпроса за развитието на селищната мрежа и нейните елементи в средищната и източната част на Балканите от VII до XVIII в.*, ИИИ 18, 1967, pp. 89–146; С. Ваклинов, *За характера на раннобългарската селищна мрежа в Североизточна България*, Архе 14.1, 1972, pp. 9–13; Ж. Вържарова, *Селища и некрополи (края на VI–XI в.)*, Архе 16.3, 1974, pp. 9–27; М. Деведжиев, *Кратка история на селищното развитие по българските земи*, София 1979, pp. 68–118; Р. Василев, *Проучванията на славянските археологически паметници от Северна България от края на VI до края на X в.*, Архе 21.3, 1979, pp. 12–22; Б. Борисов, *Средновековното село през IX–XII в. на територията на днешна Югоизточна България*, [in:] Проф. д.и.н. Станчо Ваклинов..., pp. 310–317;

Ages, the municipal centres proper were far and few between<sup>22</sup>. Their rise and development was twofold. Some were Byzantine cities captured by the Bulgarians and some grew around the centres of Bulgarian power brought into existence *in crudo radice*<sup>23</sup>. The former can be divided into two groups: those which existed until the invasion of the Bulgarians at the end of the seventh century (for example, Dorostolon/Dristra) or were seized through conquest in the ninth and tenth centuries (e.g. Serdica, Beroe, Philippoupolis, Mesembria, Anchialos, Develtos, Sozopolis); and those which had had been destroyed in the period before the arrival of khan Asparuh, and, having been abandoned by the subjects of Byzantine emperors, were reconstructed in the ninth century (for example, Bdin, Belgrade, Skopje, Sirmium)<sup>24</sup> by Bulgarian rulers who, in rebuilding them, drew

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Т. О в ч а р о в, *Селища от Първото българско царство във Великотърновска област*, [in:] *Оттука започва България. Материали от втората национална конференция по история, археология и културен туризъм "Пътуване към България"* – Шумен, 14–16.05.2010 година, ed. И. Й о р д а н о в, Шумен 2011, pp. 430–434.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Л. Б е р о в, *Икономическото развитие на България...*, pp. 28–29.

<sup>23</sup> See: Г.Г. Л и т а в р и н, *Внутренний кризис...*, p. 83. More widely on the topic: А. А л а д ж о в, *Византийският град и българите VII–IX век (по археологически данни)*, София 2009.

<sup>24</sup> On these centres see: Dorostolon/Dristra – А. Ку з е в, *Дръстър*, [in:] *Български средновековни градове и крепости, vol. I, Градове и крепости по Дунав и Черно Море*, ed. А. Ку з е в, В. Г ю з е л е в, Варна 1981, pp. 177–185; Г. А т а н а с о в, *Християнският Дуросторум–Дръстър. Доростолската епархия през късната античност и Средновековието IV–XIV в. История, археология, култура и изкуство*, Варна 2007, pp. 79–231; Serdica/Sredets/Triaditsa – А. Д а н ч е в а-В а с и л е в а, *История на средновековна София от IV–XIV век*, София 2017, pp. 21–125; Beroe – Г.Н. Н и к о л о в, *Военно-политическа история на средновековния град Боруи*, ВС 50.3, 1981, pp. 34–44; Д. Я н к о в, *Средновековни гробове от Стара Загора*, [in:] *Историко-археологически изследвания. В памет на проф. д-р Станчо Ваклинов*, ed. К. П о п к о н с т а н т и н о в, Велико Търново 1994, pp. 121–127; К. К а l t s c h e v, *Das Befestigungssystem von Augusta Traiana – Beroe (Heute Stara Zagora) im 2.–6. Jh.U.Z.*, ABu 3.2, 1998, pp. 88–107; Philippoupolis/Plovdiv – А. Д а н ч е в а-В а с и л е в а, *Пловдив през Средновековието IV–XIV в.*, София 2009, pp. 31–54, 214–223, 244–246, 272–274, 289–291, 314–323, 326, 355–356; Mesembria – Ж. Ч и м б у л е в а, *Месемврия–Несебър*, [in:] В. В е л к о в, Л. О г н е н о в а-М а р и н о в а, Ж. Ч и м б у л е в а, *Месемврия–Месемврия–Несебър*, София 1991, pp. 72–91; V. G j u z e l e v, *Die mittelalterliche Stadt Mesembria (Nesebär) im 6.–15. Jh.*, BHR 6.1, 1978, pp. 50–59; Anchialos – В. Г ю з е л е в, *Анхиало*, [in:] *Български средновековни градове...*, pp. 356–382; В. Г ю з е л е в,

inspiration from Byzantium, relying on the assistance of the captive craftsmen from the Empire. In the last case the Slav settlers usually took over the ruins of the former city.

Among the cities which grew around the centres of Bulgarian power, one should mention Pliska and Great Preslav. The Byzantines referred to them using words πόλις and ἄστυ, which were usually used to refer to towns. Among them were also some of the centres along the Danube and Black Sea shores and some larger cities inland. The Bulgarian province in turn was predominantly home to small fortresses (performing mainly military function) and administrative and church centres, referred to in the sources as κάστρον, φρούριον, ἔρυμα, πόλισμα, κομόπολις and πολίχωνιον<sup>25</sup>.

*Средновековният Анхиало (VI–XV в.),* [in:] *История на Поморие*, vol. I, *Древност и съвремие*, ed. А. Орачев, В. Василчина, Бургас 2011, pp. 45–65; Develtos – Ch. Dimitrov, *Die frühmittelalterliche Stadt Debeltos zwischen Byzanz und Bulgarien vom achten bis zehnte Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Die Schwarzmeerküste in der Spätantike und frühen Mittelalter*, ed. R. Pilling, A. Pülz, H. Vetter, Wien 1992, pp. 35–45; М. Балболова-Иванова, *Средновековный Деветл в VIII–X вв.*, [in:] *Bulgaria Pontica Medii Aevi*, vol. IV/V.1, ed. В. Гюзелев, София 2003, pp. 79–84; Sozopolis – Б. Димитров, *Созопол*, [in:] *Български средновековни градове...*, pp. 388–407; idem, *Sozopol*, Sofia 2012, pp. 199–220; Bdin – С. Михайлов, *Археологически проучвания на крепостта Баба Вида във Видин*, *Архе* 3.3, 1961, pp. 1–8; W. Swoboda, *Widin*, [in:] *SSS*, vol. VI, pp. 421–422; Б. Кузупов, *Замъкът “Баба Вида”*, МПК 20.4, 1980, pp. 7–12; А. Кузев, *Бдин*, [in:] *Български средновековни градове...*, pp. 98–115; В. Вълков, *Седалището и териториалният обхват на Бдинската област от средата на IX до началото на XI век*, *ИМСБ* 13, 1987, pp. 21–45; V. Veševliev, *Die Herkunft des Stadtnamens БѡДФѢНЬ*, *ЛВа* 31.1/2, 1988, pp. 43–44; П. Балабанов, С. Бояджиев, Н. Тулешков, *Крепостно строителство по българските земи*, София 2000, p. 60; Г.Н. Николов, *Централизъм и регионализъм в ранносредновековна България (края на VII – началото на XI в.)*, София 2005, pp. 192–193; Belgrad – J. Kалић-Мијушковић, *Београд у средњем веку*, Београд 1967; Skopje – А. Дероко, *Средновековни град Скопје*, САН.С 120, 1971, pp. 1–16; И. Микулчић, *Старо Скопје со околните тврдини*, Скопје 1982; Srem – В. Поповић, *Сирмиум, град царева и мученика*, Сремска Митровица 2003; S. Turlej, *Sirmium w różnym antyki*, [in:] *Florilegium. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Aleksandrowi Krawczukowi z okazji dziewięćdziesiątej piątej rocznicy urodzin*, ed. E. Dąbrowa, T. Grabowski, M. Piędgóń, Kraków 2017, pp. 445–460.

<sup>25</sup> See: В. Тъпкова-Зимова, *Крепости и укрепени градове...*, p. 40; P.S. Koledarov, *On the Initial Type Differentiation of Inhabited Localities in the Central Balkan Peninsula in Ancient Times*, *ЕН* 3, 1966, pp. 31–52; idem, *Place-Names*

The layout of all these centres was typically based on the division into the internal and external town. The former was where the authorities (both religious and secular) were based while the latter, inhabited by the majority of the population, was where the economic life was concentrated<sup>26</sup>. Throughout the Middle Ages, the economic activity of the inhabitants of Bulgarian cities, and of many other cities in the Balkans, was marked by the combination of land cultivation with craftwork<sup>27</sup>.

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*classification in the central part of the Balkan Peninsula in the Middle ages*, [in:] *Actes du premier Congrès International des Études Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes, Sofia, 26 août – 1 septembre 1966*, vol. III, *Histoire (V<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> ss.; XV<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> ss.)*, ed. V. Търкова-Зимова, S. Димитров, E. Сараfova, Sofia 1969, pp. 277–286.

<sup>26</sup> See: Д. Ангелов, *Към въпроса за средновековния български град*, Архе 2,3, 1960, pp. 9–22; С. Лишев, *Още веднъж за възникването на българския средновековен град*, ИП 30.6, 1974, pp. 70–77; Ъ. Чангова, *Към въпроса за устройството на средновековния български град (IX–XIV в.)*, [in:] *Архитектурата на Първата и Втората българска държава. Материали*, ed. Г. Кожухаров, София 1975, pp. 79–101, specifically pp. 80–93, 98–99; Д.И. Димитров, *Възникването на градски центрове в Североизточна България*, [in:] *Средновековният български град...*, pp. 35–45; Д. Овчаров, *Възникване и оформяне на Преслав като средновековен град (IX–X в.)*, [in:] *Средновековният български град...*, pp. 107–116; П. Петров, *Някои проблеми на средновековния български град*, [in:] *Средновековният български град...*, pp. 8–10, 12–13, 17–19; Д. Ангелов, *Възникване и устройство на градовете*, [in:] *Стопанска история...*, pp. 49–52; idem, *Стопански живот...*, pp. 350–352; С. Михайлов, *За някои характерни черти на българския средновековен град*, Пр.Сб 3, 1983, pp. 188–195; Р. Рашев, *Аул и град в България през VIII–IX в.*, [in:] *Сборник в чест на акад. Димитър Ангелов...*, pp. 170–177; М. Ваклинова, *Градът на българското средновековие*, [in:] *Bulgarian medieval town. Technologies*, ed. И. Щерева, К. Маламед, София 1995, pp. 2–6; И. Божилов, *Добруджа...*, pp. 29–35; П. Павлов, *Стопанско...*, pp. 18–19. See also: С. Михайлов, *За някои характерни черти на българския средновековен град*, Пр.Сб. 3, 1983, pp. 188–195; Р. Панова, *Морфология на средновековния български град*, ИП 56.1/2, 2000, pp. 3–21; еadem, *Аспекти на морфологията на средновековния български град*, Мин 9.1, 2002, pp. 19–30.

<sup>27</sup> Г.Г. Литаврин, *Внутренний кризис...*, p. 84; for a later period see: Д.И. Побыяныи, *Балканский город XIII–XV вв. – типология и специфика развития*, Ев 20.1, 1984, p. 47.

### 3. Trade

Trade exchange between different Bulgarian urban centres, and especially the economic relations between the cities and the rural areas, aren't well documented. The primary sources contain very few references regarding the functioning of the fairs in which different commodities were traded. It is sometimes argued that the self-sufficiency of the majority of farms and the extensive system of obligations (the so-called *angaria*)<sup>28</sup> imposed on the subjects by the state didn't encourage the expansion of the domestic market<sup>29</sup>. Although these opinions are fully justified, the domestic trade is logical and it would be a mistake to deny it. Even the highly self-sufficient farms weren't able to meet all the agriculture-based needs. It was especially with regard to the use of high quality metal articles that one had to rely on the services of a qualified blacksmith. In addition, one shouldn't lose sight of the specialised artisans who weren't engaged either in land cultivation or in animal husbandry and had to acquire food through trade, even if many of them were employed in the state workshops. The Bulgarian state consisted, in the main, of free people, and the various obligations they were required to fulfil didn't prevent them from (after all, in fulfilling these obligations they were supposed to work for a specific amount of time or produce a specific number of articles) performing some paid work. That this was the case is indicated by the development of city centres and the progressing diversification of their craft production. Excavations carried out in Bulgaria's capital cities have revealed a number of rooms interpreted as commercial *loca*<sup>30</sup>. All of this is evidence of the economic activity that involved the production, if only vestigial, of articles for sale

<sup>28</sup> For more on taxes and the obligations imposed on the subjects by the state see: G. С а н к о в а-Р е т к о в а, *Вузансе...*, pp. 345–347; И. Б и л я р с к и, *Фискална система на средновековна България*, Пловдив 2010.

<sup>29</sup> Л. Б е р о в, *Икономическото развитие на България...*, pp. 27–29. Cf. С. Л и ш е в, *За проникването и ролята на парите във феодална България*, София 1958, pp. 59–80.

<sup>30</sup> Й. Ч а н г о в а, *Търговски помещения край южната крепостна стена в Преслав*, ИАИ 21, 1956, pp. 232–290; А. М и л ч е в, *Проучвания на раннославянската култура в България и на Плиска през последните двадесет години*, Архе 6.3, 1964, p. 30; i d e m, *Занаятчийски и търговски помещения северно от южната порта на вътрешния*



and wasn't bound up only with the disposal of the surplus of one's own products. Based on both the written and archaeological sources, it can be argued that the Bulgarians were engaged mainly in barter trade (goods traded for goods), since Bulgaria didn't mint its own coins in the period under consideration, and the Byzantines ones were hoarded. As can be inferred from al-Masudi's account, the Bulgarians paid for purchased goods with farmed animals<sup>31</sup>. However, it can't be ruled out that the Byzantine coin was also used as a means of payment (probably in larger cities). It is recently argued that there were mints near Great Preslav (in, among others, Nadarevo, Novosel, Smyadovo) minting imitations of silver and gold Byzantine coins. Their existence dates from the end of the ninth to the third quarter of the tenth centuries<sup>32</sup>. This view, which may be true, supports the belief in the partial introduction of coin into the Bulgarian state.

The growth, both quantitative and qualitative, of the agricultural and craft output, coupled with some specialisation of the Bulgarian economy (articles traditionally manufactured by the Bulgarians and valued by foreign merchants) made it possible for the subjects of the Bulgarian rulers to enter a wider international market.

It must be stressed that the baptism of the Bulgarians and the establishment of the lasting peace between Bulgaria and Byzantium in the 860s resulted in the strengthening of the economic ties between the two countries. This is indicated by the increased number of Byzantine emperors'

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град на Плиска, [in:] *Архитектурата на Първата и Втората българска държава...*, pp. 246–271.

<sup>31</sup> С. Л и ш е в, *За проникването и ролята на парите...*, pp. 59–117; Д. А н г е л о в, *Вътрешна и външна търговия през VIII–X в.*, [in:] *Стопанска история...*, pp. 42–43; И. Д е м, *Стопански живот...*, pp. 342–346; И. Б о ж и л о в, *Добруджа...*, p. 56; Л. С и м е о н о в а, *Пътуване към Константинопол. Търговия и комуникации в Средиземноморския свят (края на IX – 70-те години на XI с.)*, София 2006, p. 140; П. П а в л о в, *Стопанско...*, pp. 19–20. Cf. И. Й о р д а н о в, *Характер на монетната циркулация в средновековните български столици Преслав и Търново*, [in:] *Средновековният български град...*, pp. 229–239.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Т. Т и х о в, *Някои аспекти на външната търговия на България и Византия през периода VII–X век*, [in:] *Пътуванията в средновековна България...*, pp. 330, 332–333.

bronze and gold coins found in Dobrudzha and in the Danube Delta<sup>33</sup>. It was necessary to provide new church buildings with proper decorations and to equip them with all kinds of objects used in Christian ceremonies. Bulgarian aristocracy was becoming increasingly interested in acquiring luxury goods: jewellery and Syrian and Byzantine clothes<sup>34</sup>. The higher clergy also tried to emulate way of life of their Byzantine confreres. Glazed ceramic vessels, Syro-Mesopotamian faience, Syrian glassware containing relief representations were imported to Preslav<sup>35</sup> from the Empire while slaves<sup>36</sup>, metal ores (including iron), flax products, flax itself (from the valley of the river Struma and the Black Sea area), skins, honey, wax and cattle husbandry products were exported by Bulgarian merchants to Constantinople. The latter even had their own marketplace in the Byzantine capital. It was located probably near the seat of Rus' merchants, in a district surrounding the St. Mamas Monastery (?)<sup>37</sup>. It is worth noting

<sup>33</sup> See: E. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, *La monnaie dans l'espace rural byzantin des Balkans orientaux – un essai de synthèse au commencement du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Peu* 1 (14), 2003, pp. 335–406, specifically pp. 344–347, 376–377; Gh. Mănușcu-Adameșteanu, *La diffusion de la monnaie byzantine en Dobroudja aux IX<sup>e</sup>–X<sup>e</sup> siècles*, *RESEE* 34.4, 1996, pp. 275–287. For the last scholar this is evidence of Byzantium's presence in particular centres of Dobrudzha.

<sup>34</sup> See: И. Кючукова, И. Йорданов, *Византийските тъкани и българският владетелски двор (X в.) (Печат на епарха, химатин и екзонрат Филотей, намерен в Преслав)*, [in:] *Laurea...*, pp. 155–165. Authors analyse Philotheos' seal from the beginning of the tenth century found in Preslav. Philotheos was a Byzantine dignitary responsible for overseeing the export of silk robes. Identifying him with, known from the sources of the period, a bishop by the same name who tried adherents of the usurper Constantine Doukas, they advance the thesis that he was sent to Bulgarian Symeon to give him imperial robe. The Byzantine authorities had just granted the Bulgarian ruler the right to use the title *basileus*. For more on the restrictions and permissions regarding the export of particular Byzantine goods see: Л. Беров, *Икономическото развитие на България...*, p. 30; Л. Симеонова, *Пътуване...*, pp. 245–251.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. i.a.: М. Манолова, *Към въпроса за разпространението на белоглинната византийска трапезна керамика в българските земи от края на VIII до края на XII век*, *Архе* 41.1/2, 2000, pp. 1–15.

<sup>36</sup> Bulgaria's transit role and Bulgarian merchants' participation in this trade is more likely, see: Л. Симеонова, *Пътуване...*, pp. 137–140.

<sup>37</sup> The idea is of S. Runciman (*A History of the First Bulgarian Empire*, London 1930, p. 144). On the Rus' quarter see e.g. Т. Томов, *Константинопол и руската колония (до 1204 г.)*, София [s.a.], pp. 54, 67.

that trade with the Empire was based on monetary payments. Bulgarian merchants bought luxury goods, sought after in their own country, with the money they had obtained for their own products<sup>38</sup>. An important trading point, in addition to Constantinople, was Thessalonike, especially at the beginning of the tenth century, when the Bulgarian border ran at a distance of 22 kilometres to the north of this metropolis. Testament to the city's extensive trade is the sigillographical material from the customs post located there. Byzantine sources also refer to the commercial activity of the Slavs (the Drougovitai and the Sagudates) from southern Macedonia who, remaining in part under Bulgarian rule, traded with merchants from Thessalonike<sup>39</sup>.

Scholars have identified a few trading points between Byzantium and Bulgaria, including Adrianople, Constantinople and Thessalonike<sup>40</sup>. In order to get to these cities, Bulgarian merchants took land routes, relying on draught animals for transporting their commodities<sup>41</sup>. The main point handling Bulgaro-Byzantine trade in Thrace, Develtos was certainly among the most important trade centres in question. The goods which Bulgarian merchants took to Byzantine capital were, in all probability, loaded onto ships in this town<sup>42</sup>. It isn't certain whether Pereyaslavets' role in the north was similar to the role Develtos played in the south. There is sigillographical evidence indicating Bulgarians' contacts with Byzantine officials responsible for overseeing trade with foreigners,

<sup>38</sup> See: В. Р i m o в, *Certain Aspects of the International Importance of the First Bulgarian Empire*, ЕНІ 5, 1970, pp. 195–197; Л. Б е р о в, *Икономическото развитие на България...*, pp. 29–30; Д. А н г е л о в, *Вътрешна и външна търговия...*, pp. 44–45; і d e m, *Стопански живот...*, pp. 346–347; Л. С и м е о н о в а, *Пътуване...*, pp. 144–146; Т. Т и х о в, *Някои аспекти...*, pp. 329–331, 332; С. С о р о ч а н, *Об еволюции торгово-икономической политики Византии на Нижнем Подунавье в VII–X вв.*, Пр.Сб 7, 2013, pp. 249–251.

<sup>39</sup> В. Р i m o в, *Certain Aspects...*, p. 207; Й. Ч а н г о в а, *Перник...*, pp. 199, 202; Т. Т и х о в, *Някои аспекти...*, p. 331. Cf. П. Г е о р г и е в, *Дипломатически и търговски знаци-печати във Византия и славянските страни*, ГСУНЦСВПИД 82 (2), 1988, pp. 21–32.

<sup>40</sup> Й. И в а н о в, *Византийски комеркиари за България (681–971)*, [in:] *Договори, хора, съдби*, ed. В. М и х н е в а, С. П е т к о в а, В. П а в л о в, Варна 2000, pp. 17–24.

<sup>41</sup> Л. С и м е о н о в а, *Пътуване...*, pp. 133, 141–142.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 133, 134–135.

but some scholars link it with the activity, which took place not in the latter half of the tenth century but in the 1030s, of Byzantines themselves<sup>43</sup>. The famous passage from *Russian Primary Chronicle* put into Svyatoslav's mouth might be regarded as evidence that Bulgaria maintained trade relations with many countries and was visited by merchants from many parts of Europe. Gold and, most likely, silk robes, wines and fruit were brought in from Byzantium, silver and horses from Czech and Hungary and skin, wax, honey and slaves from Ruthenia<sup>44</sup>. Although the present state of research doesn't allow us to deny emphatically the importance of this city for Bulgaria's economy during Peter's reign, the source's famous account seems to reflect Byzantium's trade with Ruthenia and other territories in the eleventh and at the beginning of the twelfth centuries<sup>45</sup>.

Located along the river Danube and the western coast of the Black Sea, such harbour centres as Bdin, Dristra, Develtos, Mesembria, Anchialos, Sozopolis, and, perhaps, Pereyaslavets (the list could be extended to include other less known places), played a significant role in Bulgaria's long-distance trade. This goes especially for contacts with Ruthenian and Byzantine merchants who used water route along the Sea. The former stopped at convenient places along the Bulgarian coast, supplying themselves with food they needed on the way to Constantinople and offering in exchange some of the goods they transported<sup>46</sup>. There is linguistic evidence to suggest the existence of direct or indirect economic contacts between Bulgarians and the inhabitants of the Italian Peninsula already

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<sup>43</sup> И. Коновалова, В. Перехавко, *Древняя Русь и Нижнее Подунавие*, Москва 2000, pp. 54, 63; М. Раев, *Переяславец на Дунав – мит и действителност в речта на княз Святослав в "Повесть временных лет"*, ГСУ.НЦСВПИД 95 (14), 2006, p. 195.

<sup>44</sup> *Russian Primary Chronicle*, AM 6477, p. 68.

<sup>45</sup> М. Раев, *Переяславец...*, pp. 193–203.

<sup>46</sup> See: В. Ритов, *Certain Aspects...*, pp. 201–206; Л. Беров, *Икономическото развитие на България...*, pp. 30–31; Д. Ангелов, *Вътрешна и външна търговия...*, pp. 44–49; idem, *Стопански живот...*, pp. 346–350; И. Божилов, *Добруджа...*, p. 56; Л. Симеонова, *Пътуване...*, pp. 134, 152–156; П. Павлов, *Стопанско...*, pp. 20–21.

during the tenth century<sup>47</sup>. Bulgarian merchants are likely to have acted as intermediaries between East and West and between Byzantium and Central Europe<sup>48</sup>.

**Conclusion.** The first issue that needs to be stressed are the strong ties linking the Bulgarian and Byzantine economies, both in terms of trade and in terms of the lessons the Bulgarians drew from these contacts. Some Bulgarian areas – Thracian, Macedonian and the Black Sea regions – were agriculturally linked with the main urban centres of the Empire, including in particular Constantinople and Thessalonike. These regions served as the supply base of these metropolises, providing them with food and gaining a significant financial and technological support, including the possibility of growing new crops, raising new animals and, generally, knowing the achievements of Byzantine agriculture.

The state control of some sectors of the craft production, the possibility of bringing goods from Byzantium and the dominance of barter trade – all of this appears to indicate that Bulgaria's urban economy in the ninth and tenth centuries still remained underdeveloped. The agricultural and livestock economy was dominant in the state of the Bulgarian tsars and a great number of the inhabitants of Bulgarian cities were involved in it. Following its territorial expansion, the state became increasingly involved in the international trade, although of course it wasn't until the era of Crusades that the economic relations between East and West underwent a rapid development<sup>49</sup>. There is no doubt that the long periods of peace and the use of Byzantine economic achievements (mainly through trade) contributed to the development of the Bulgarian economy which made significant progress in the period under consideration<sup>50</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> В. Р и м о в, *Certain Aspects...*, p. 207.

<sup>48</sup> Л. С и м е о н о в а, *Пътуване...*, pp. 137, 140–141.

<sup>49</sup> П. П а в л о в, *Стопанско...*, pp. 18, 19, 20–21.

<sup>50</sup> Л. Б е р о в, *Икономическото развитие на България...*, p. 31; G. С а н к о в а-Р е т к о в а, *Byzance...*, pp. 341–348.

The above outline doesn't of course address all the aspects of the development of the Bulgarian economy in the period of the First (here Christian) Bulgarian Empire. Its focus is limited only to some of its elements. I have also avoided going into too many details, trying to present a general picture of the Bulgarian economy in the period in consideration<sup>51</sup>.




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<sup>51</sup> For more on the topic see: Б. П р и м о в, *За икономическата и политическата роля на Първата българска държава в международните отношения на средновековна Европа*, ИП 17.2, 1961, pp. 33–62; Г. Г. Л и т а в р и н, *Темпове и специфика на социално-икономическото развитие на средновековна България в сравнение с Византия (от края на VII до края на XII в.)*, ИП 26.6, 1970, pp. 23–40; С. Л и ш е в, *Българският средновековен град. Обществено-икономически облик*, София 1970; Р. К о м с а л о в а, *Социално-икономическите проблеми на средновековна България в българската медиевистика след Втората световна война*, Пловдив 2000; Р. Р а n k e, М. Z e č e v i ć, *Handel interregionalny od X do XII wieku. Europa Środkowa, Środkowo-Wschodnia, Półwysep Skandynawski i Półwysep Bałkański. Studium porównawcze*, Toruń 2016, pp. 123–148.