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On the cover: anonymous copper Byzantine follis, class A2, AD 976-1030; antique and medieval fortress near the village of Slivarovo, Malko Tarnovo municipality, Burgas region, SE corner of Bulgaria; unpublished, excavations and photo of Lyudmil Vagalinski; see the paper of M. Choref in this issue.

# Typology and Chronology of the Red Slip Ware from the Roman Manufacturing Complex in the Varbovski Livadi Site near Pavlikeni (North Bulgaria)

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Stiliyan IVANOV

**Abstract:** The purpose of this paper is to identify the chronology of the red slip ware produced in the manufacturing complex in the Varbovski livadi locality near Pavlikeni. The classification presented here is based on data obtained during the archaeological researches in the area in recent years. Well dated precise parallels from the area concerned helped build a reasonably accurate chronological picture concerning the development of the manufacturing complex near Pavlikeni. From the data collected it can be assumed that its activity began during the reign of Emperor Hadrian (118-136 AD) or the early years of the reign of Antoninus Pius (136-161 AD) at the latest and continued without interruption until the invasion of the Costoboci in the early 170s AD.

**Key words:** Roman red slip ware, Lower Moesia, North Bulgaria.

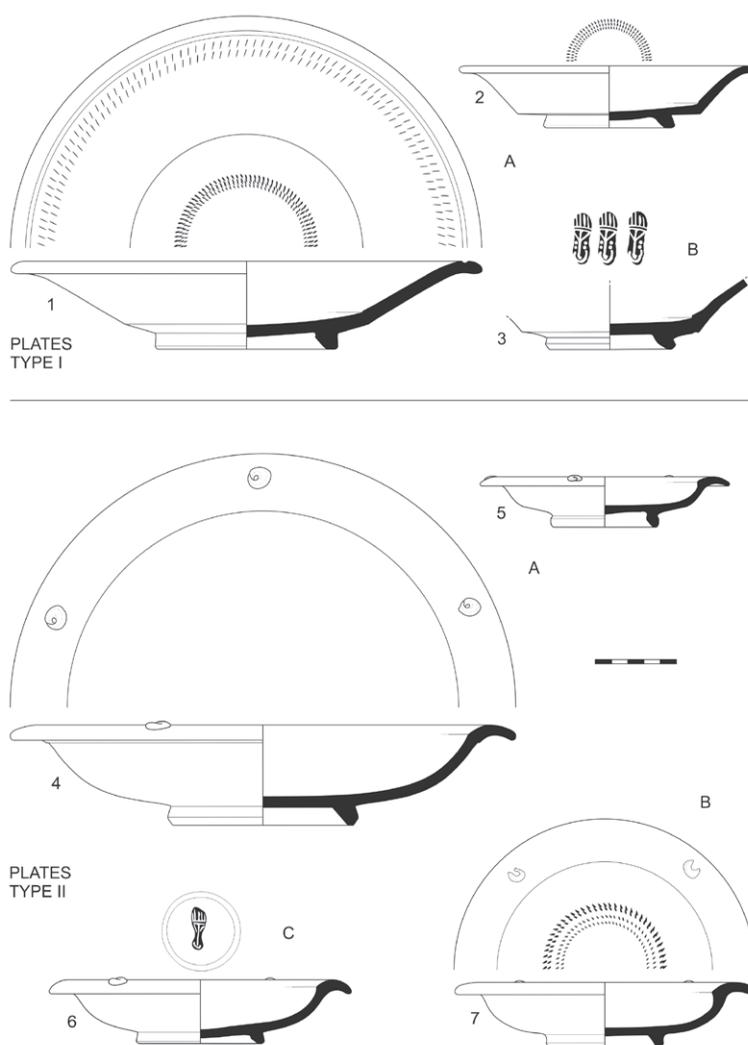
The study of the local ceramic production on the territory between the Danube and the Balkan mountain range became possible only after the discovery of the ceramics centres on the territory of Nicopolis ad Istrum in the 1960s and 1970s. Without doubt, the most comprehensively researched is the manufacturing complex in the Varbovski Livadi site near Pavlikeni<sup>1</sup> (**map 1**). The archaeological excavations brought to the discovery of the remains of three architectural complexes and approximately fifty pottery kilns (**fig. 1**) (Sultov 1985; Владкова 2011). Thanks to the conducted research we now possess a high number of complete preserved vessels, tens of thousands of fragments and defectively made articles from the kilns (**fig. 2**). The data represent sure evidence of an intensive production process.

In recent decades, sufficient ceramic material was found and published, which allows for a more precise dating and typology of the pottery produced in the already known centres. The purpose of this paper is to identify clearly the chronology of the red slip ware produced in the manufacturing complex in the Varbovski livadi locality near Pavlikeni. The classification presented here is based on data obtained in recent years during the archaeological researches in the area.

## CLASSIFICATION

Developing a new classification is necessary for several reasons. In the first place, it is the lack of clear criteria for making such classification in the previous studies related to the red slip ware from the researched area. Secondly, the definition of specific categories of vessels as “earthenware with two handles” as found in the classification of B. Sultov (Sultov 1985, 75-79) is not acceptable because it can be applied for a variety of forms (bowls, jugs, etc.). To distinguish among the different

<sup>1</sup> The ceramics centre was researched without interruption in the period 1971-1979 by B. Sultov.



**Fig. 3.** Table red slipware: 1-7 plates (drawings by S. Ivanov)

(Hayes 1972, 20, fig. 2). A close parallel of the type comes from a grave in the Golyamata Mogila site near the village of Madretz, Stara Zagora region, which is dated to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century at the latest (Буюклиев 1984, 29-30; Иванова 2006, 290). Identical plates were found in the necropolis near Butovo together with coins of the emperors Antoninus Pius (138-161) and Marcus Aurelius (161-180) (Sultov 1985, 64). The type is well known from the military camps along the Danube limes – Novae and Troesmis (Ораїт 1980, 339, fig. XIV/2; Sultov 1985, 64; Dyczek 1987, 268, fig. XIII/3; Клешина 2006, 92). The production of this type may be attributed generally to the period from the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century to the 170s.

#### PLATES TYPE III (fig. 4/1)

Plates of conical shape and mouth rim strongly curved out- and downwards, with incised line on the upper surface. Inside and on the bottom – belts of roulette decoration. On the outer surface – wide incised line. Ring-footed flat bottom. Orange clay without inclusions and orange-red slip. Diameter of the mouth 21.0 cm; height – 3.5 cm; diameter of the bottom – 8.0 cm.

The type is represented by an almost completely preserved example and several fragments, which suggests that the plates of type III were produced in a small amount and within a short period. A frag-

# Ethnicity in the Steppe Lands of the Northern Black Sea Region During The Early Byzantine Times

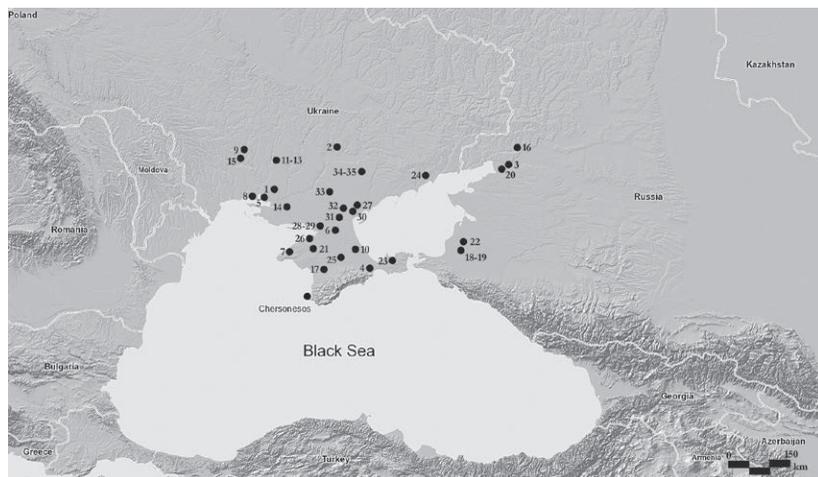
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Florin CURTA

**Abstract:** Obsessed with linking particular groups known from the written sources to archaeological assemblages or cultures, archaeologists have neglected the accumulation over the last few years of data on the steppe lands north of the Black Sea during the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries. Many are still guided in the interpretation of those data by an uncritical understanding of the written sources. The paper offers an overview of the ethnographic reports of the Black Sea region, from Priscus to Menander the Guardsman, with a particular emphasis on the passage in Procopius' *Wars* which imitates a periplus-like account. Ethnographic concerns greatly distort the traditional framework of the periplus, and make room for digressions on such things as customs, religion, government, and the like. In spite of the common opinion on the matter, Procopius does not describe nomads moving around in the steppe lands. The constraints of the genre that Procopius imitated (periplus) are responsible for the "linear" arrangement of the ethnic names one after the other. Only in the northern segment is a three-tiered classification introduced, as in the case of the Huns-Cimmerians-Cutrigurs. That classification allows the distinction between foes and friends of the Romans. Those closer to the Romans (Cutrigurs) are their enemies, while those farthest from them (Utigurs, Trapezites) are their allies. Both Procopius and Pseudo-Zachariah wrote about Huns, albeit in different languages. Procopius and Agathias mention Cutrigurs, but Jordanes has only Bulgars. Are assemblages dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century and discovered in the lands north of the Black Sea the remains of the Bulgars or of the Cutrigurs? What is, in fact, the basis for any linkage between the historical and the archaeological evidence? The second section of the paper is based on a critical approach to the archaeological record. Judging from the existing evidence, the people in the Black Sea steppe lands regarded prehistoric mounds as "old," and therefore chose to bury some of their dead in barrows. Such practices may have been connected with claims to the ancestors supposedly buried underneath the mounds. At the same time, the idea of placing the dead in prehistoric mounds may have something to do with the desire to make their tombs visible in the landscape, and thus to communicate the status of an individual or of a family. In the steppe lands north of the Black Sea, burial within a prehistoric mound was probably meant to conjure the (imagined) past in order to re-invent traditions. That the earliest cases are from the northwestern area of the Black Sea Lowlands, while in the late 6<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> century burials in prehistoric barrows appear also in the northwestern region of the Sea of Azov and in Crimea may not be an accident. During the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> and the early decades of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, the Black Sea Lowlands between the Dniester and the Molochna rivers were troubled borderlands, and the written sources clearly point to the dissolution of earlier tribal confederacies, such as the Cutrigurs and the Utigurs, as a result of attacks from Avars and Turks. It is possible that burial in ancient barrows was a response to the claims laid on the Black Sea steppe lands, particularly those in northern Crimea and those between the Dnieper and the Danube, in close proximity to the Empire.

**Key words:** ethnicity, Procopius of Caesarea, Agathias, John Malalas, Jordanes, Menander the Guardsman, ethnography, barrows, coin hoards, memorial monuments.

In a paper presented at the fourth International Congress on Black Sea Antiquities, which took place ten years ago in Istanbul, the Spanish philologist Agustí Alemany expressed frustration with the current state of research on ethnicity in the northern Black Sea area during the early Middle Ages. Linguists tend to mine the sources for proper names and foreign words in order to pigeonhole various peoples into language



**Fig. 3.** Distribution of late 6<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup>-century burial assemblages in the northern Black Sea region. Numbers refer to **Appendix 3**

2011; Curta 2012, 268, 270). A gold medallion with a central cabochon and granulated ornament was found in Natashyne (western Crimea) (Рашев 2001, 23, 135, fig. 29/7). It is clearly an imitation of medallions such as those from Dzhiginka. However, a similar imitation is known from the Kelegeia assemblage, in which it was associated with several pendants made out of gold coins, the latest of which have been struck between 641 and 646 (Prykhodniuk / Khardaev 2001, 596 fig. 5/4)<sup>97</sup>. Shoe belt buckles similar to that from Natashyne are known from grave 2 of barrow 2 in Lebedi, on the eastern shore of the Sea of Azov, north of the river Kuban, and from grave 2 of barrow 3 in Syvashivka, on the opposite side of the sea, north of the Syvash Lagoon (Скарбовенко / Лифанов 2012, 25, 38, fig. 4/4; Комар et al. 2006, 268, fig. 12/21, 22, fig. 13/20, 21). But the latter grave was that of a young man buried together with a single-edge sword, the scabbard of which was attached to a strap by means of P-shaped mounts, which are typical for the late 6<sup>th</sup> and early 7<sup>th</sup> century (Комар et al. 2006, 280, fig. 18; Garam 1992, 157). Another sword with P-shaped scabbard mounts is known from grave 1 in Vynohradne, near Velykyi Tokmak (Орлов / Рассамакин 1996, 109, fig. 5/1, 3, 5, 6, 9, 110, fig. 6). That grave also produced a shoe belt buckle that is very similar to that from a grave discovered in Dmytrivka on the northern shore of the Dniprov's'ka Gulf, at the mouth of the Southern Bug River (Орлов / Рассамакин 1996, 106, fig. 3/1, 2; Комар 2006b, 378, fig. 3/1)<sup>98</sup>. Two strap ends with open-work ornament found in Dmytrivka have good analogies in grave 7 of barrow 7 in Khrystoforivka, which may be dated to the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> century (Комар 2006b, 378, fig. 3/8, 9; Prykhodniuk / Fomenko 2003, 109, fig. 1/13, 14; for the date of the assemblage in grave 7 from Khrystoforivka, see Curta 2008b, 159).

A similar ambiguity results from the analysis of a male burial found inside a prehistoric barrow in Chornomors'ke, south of the Dnieper estuary. Two T-shaped belt mounts (Somogyi's class A7) like those from that burial (but also from Vynohradne, Vasylivka, Bogachivka, and Syvashivka) have been found on skeleton 7 in the burial chamber 180 in Kerch' together with two bow fibulae of the Udine-Planis class and a belt buckle with eagle-headed plate, all dated to the middle or the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century (Комар / Орлов 2006, 394, fig. 4/4; Засецкая 1997, 475, pl. XIX/14-15)<sup>99</sup>. However, the simple strap end from Chornomors'ke has good analogies in the Khats'ky

<sup>97</sup> Another gold medallion from Kelegeia is square and very similar to the cabochons decorating the ends of the two gold bracelets from the first grave in Morskoi Chulek.

<sup>98</sup> In addition, the belt straps from Dmytrivka (Комар 2006b, 378, fig. 3/4-7) are very similar to those from grave 1 in Vynohradne (Орлов / Рассамакин 1996, 106, fig. 3/22, 23).

<sup>99</sup> Analogies for four other belt mounts with open-work decoration (Комар / Орлов 2006, 394, fig. 4/2) are known from a burial chamber in Constanța, on the western shore of the Black Sea (Bucovață / Pașca 1992, 249, pl. 11/M.21). The shield-shaped belt mount with open-work decoration (Комар / Орлов 2006, 394, fig. 4/9) had good parallels in the late 6<sup>th</sup>-century Balkans, both in burial assemblages, and in isolated finds from military hilltop sites (Ваклинова 1989, 136 fig. 2; Mikulčić 2002, 126, fig. 15/4; Хараламбиева 1993, 39 pl. III/14; Станилов 1995, 169, fig. 1/9).

# “Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis”, or on the Reasons for the Emission of Anonymous Follis

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Mikhail CHOREF

**Abstract:** The study subject of this research is the anonymous follis. The project for their release was developed under Nikephoros II Phokas. The coins were issued under religious, ideological and political considerations. Giving the order to mint coins on behalf of Christ, the Emperor claimed his humility, promoted the idea of Holy War and sought to raise the prestige of military service. He intentionally stated that Byzantine warriors who died in the war against the Muslims should be considered martyrs.

Not all ambitions of Nikephoros II Phokas were achieved. His successor, John I Tzimiskes, abandoned the idea of considering war victims to be Martyrs. However, the release of the anonymous follis was continued by his successors. The significance of the influence of the provincial aristocracy that was strengthening its prestige in the Empire by means of the army duration that the anonymous follis emission testified to. As such, these coins are most valuable sources of historical information.

**Key words:** Byzantine coins, 10<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> c. AD.

<sup>1</sup> I would recommend the readers to pay attention to the following works related to the issue which I consider to be fundamental (Bellinger 1992; *DOC* 1; *DOC* 2.1; *DOC* 2.2; *DOC* 3.1; *DOC* 3.2; *DOC* 4.1; *DOC* 4.2; *DOC* 5.1; *DOC* 5.2; Grierson 1982; Hahn 2005; *MIB* 1; *MIB* 2; *MIB* 3).

<sup>2</sup> This is related to the coinage of Cherson (Анохин 1986; Соколова 1983; Чореф 2015).

<sup>3</sup> This name is generally accepted but the original name of these coins is unknown. **Fig. 1** depicts what is referred to as an anonymous follis from the First Issue, of Class A to be more precise. This coin was sold at the Agora Auctions Sale 76 on 4 September 2018 <<https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=5195454>> (accessed 02.01.2018).

<sup>4</sup> At present, it is generally accepted that the nickname of this Emperor comes from the Armenian word Չմշկիկ (*Čmškik*), which can be translated as “savvy shoe, skates”. But, in fact, in the Armenian language there is a much more consonant word ջմուշկ – “grapes, grape seed, dried grapes”. And this nickname fit the stunted Emperor as well as possible. In Greek, the word sounds like Τζιμισκῆς or Τζιμισχῆς.

<sup>5</sup> His headed bronze coins were minted only in Cherson (Анохин 1977, 121, Tab. XXIX/438-440; Соколова 1983, 52, Tab. XI/5; Чореф 2015, 88-89, Fig. 19/4; *DOC* 3.2 8.1-8.3).

For many centuries, the numismatics of the Eastern Roman Empire, also known as the Byzantine Empire<sup>1</sup>, is studied. As a result, many varieties of its coinage and cast coins<sup>2</sup> were described. Consequently, the understanding of the political and economic history of that state, its administrative structure, and the state of technology and the ideologies that were predominant in different periods of its existence, have deepened. After all, the technology of money production is also the subject of numerous scientific studies (Моржерин 2016, 592-597; Чореф 2015; 2016, 319-327).

However, the process of studying Byzantine coinage is unlikely to be considered as complete. There are some objective reasons for this: firstly, the publications of new types of the Byzantine coinage and cast coins is ongoing; secondly, the emission and denomination symbols on the coins of this state issued in the 11<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> centuries still remain unclear; and thirdly, at present there is no explanation for the circulation of the series of provincial and metropolitan coinage.

The anonymous coins of the last rulers of the Macedonian dynasty is of most interest. The anonymous follis<sup>3</sup> (**fig. 1**) is of primary interest. They are notable because neither on their obverse or their reverse sides are there portraits of the Emperors, members of their families or legends in which their names or titles are mentioned. This gives us grounds for considering these coins as anonymous. It is remarkable that they are decorated with great skill. Highly artistic images of Christ, Virgin Mary or Saints and inscriptions glorifying them, as well as religious symbols are present on the coins. It is beyond argument that the images are icon-like.

It is generally believed that the anonymous follis began to be cast under John I Tzimiskes<sup>4</sup> (969-976). He did not release bronze coins



Fig. 1. Anonymous Class A1 follis



Fig. 2. Follis of Nikephoros II Phokas

It should be noted that nothing like this occurred under the reign of John I Tzimiskes. John I Tzimiskes took power following the assassination of Nikephoros II Phokas (963-969), and successfully ruled the state with the aid of his army. Moreover, he did not propose any new ideas for his power legitimization. In fact, John I Tzimiskes continued the policy of his predecessor. In this light, I aim to reveal the interest in the history of Nikephoros II Phokas' reign.

Such interest does exist. It is believed that the idea of the Holy War against the Infidels is not known in Orthodoxy. Indeed, this idea contradicts the tenet of non-violent resistance. In fact, Christianity condemns war as a legalized murder. However, that does not mean that such an idea could not have been proposed. For example, let us turn to the accounts of John Skylitzes who described the rule of Nikephoros II Phokas: “ἐσπούδασε δὲ καὶ νόμον θεῖναι τοὺς ἐν πολέμοις ἀποθνήσκοντας στρατιώτας μαρτυρικῶν ἀξιούσθαι γερῶν, ἐν μόνῳ τῷ πολέμῳ τιθέμενος καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς σωτηρίαν. κατήπειγε δὲ καὶ τὸν πατριάρχην καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους συνθέσθαι τῷ δόγματι. ἀλλὰ τινες τούτων γενναίως ἀντιστάντες ἀπεῖρξαν αὐτὸν τοῦ σκοποῦ, προθέντες εἰς μέσον τὸν τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου κανόνα, ἐπὶ τριετίαν ἀκοινωνήτους εἶναι λέγοντα τοὺς πολέμιον ἐν τινὶ πολέμῳ ἀνηρηκότας” – “He endeavored to establish a law that soldiers who died in war were to be accorded martyrs' honors, thus making the salvation of the soul uniquely and exclusively dependent on being in action on military service. He was pressing the patriarch and the bishops to agree to this doctrine but some of them vigorously withstood him and frustrated his intent. They produced as evidence the Canon of Basil the Great which requires a man who has slain his enemy in battle to remain three years excommunicate” (Scyl. *Niceph.* 2.18; transl. J. Wortley).

At first sight, this is purely a religious matter. However, at closer inspection it is clear that this is not so. Nikephoros II Phokas, who had usurped the throne with the aid of his army, counted on its support in the future. So, it was extremely important for him to raise the prestige of the military service. To do so, it was necessary to justify the most ordinary event, which is inevitable in military service. This means the killing of enemies in war. Judging from the text by John Skylitzes, the Emperor insisted that killing the enemy was not considered a sin. The very death of an Orthodox warrior, according to the Emperor, was a martyr's one. Otherwise, if they died in war without repentance, those fallen in battle could not count on a better plight and could not have become Saint.

The Emperor's demand was quite revolutionary. In fact, he defined the core provision of the crusaders' idea. According to it, warriors who

# On the Initial Date of the Medieval Lower Danube Fortress of Păcuiul lui Soare and Its Harbour

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Georgi ATANASOV

**Abstract:** The work presents a critical review of several standpoints on the chronology of the island Danube fortress of Păcuiul lui Soare (PLS) and its contiguous harbour generally imposed in science. The results from the detailed analyses of the fortification, pottery, artifacts and coins, rejects the hypotheses of raising it during the Roman – Early Byzantine period (1<sup>st</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> c.) and of the *Glorious Home on the Danube* from the 9<sup>th</sup> c. The author argues that the fortress was constructed approximately during the early 10<sup>th</sup> c. in parallel with another 30 stone fortresses in the Northeastern Bulgaria. It is particularly similar to the external fortress wall of the Capital Preslav synchronous with it in date, manner of building and similar gates. The harbour displays a different way of construction and it is dated to after 1000 when Byzantium established its authority over the Lower Danube. The identification of PLS with Mundraga and Vicina is contested and the hypothesis is put forward suggesting that Glavinitsa can be localized there.

**Key words:** Lower Danube, medieval fortress, Păcuiul lui Soare.

For half a century now the Bulgarian historical and archaeological bibliography (Миџтев 1952, 243-258; 1977, 129-131; Овчаров 1973, 59-63; Боев 1973, 160-162; Овчаров 1979, 96-98; Коледаров 1979, 40; Кузев 1979, 196-200; Овчаров 1982, 93, 119-120; Порожанов 2006, 35-46; Бояджиев 2008, 174-182; Попов 2013, 94-103) (not to mention science-popular publications and sites) firmly holds the conviction that the island Fortress of Păcuiul lui Soare (PLS) (**fig. 1**), discovered by Prof. P. Diaconu on the territory of Romania 18 km northeast of Silistra (Diaconu / Vilceanu 1972, 36-45; Diaconu 1976, 410-477; Diaconu / Baraschi 1977, 9-32, 183-185), must be identified as the “Glorious Home on the Danube” raised in the early 9<sup>th</sup> c. and reported in the Tarnovo inscription of Khan Omurtag (Бешевлиев 1979, # 56, 192-200). As for the harbour revealed on the bank along the eastern fortress wall (**fig. 1**), it was proclaimed the main port of the Bulgarian river fleet operating from the Lower to the Middle Danube in the 9<sup>th</sup> c., this is thought to include the Bulgarian Admiralty (Овчаров 1973, 59-63; Боев 1973, 160-162; Овчаров 1979, 96-98; Кузев 1979, 25-41; Овчаров 1982, 93, 119-120; Порожанов 2006, 35-46; Бояджиев 2008, 174-182; Попов 2013, 94-103). Another question is the idea imposed by Helen Ahrweiler (Ahrweiler 1966, 87-90), followed up and further developed mainly by Romanian historians (Stănescu 1971, 20-21; Barnea / Ștefănescu 1971, 12, 13; Popa 1967, 271-292), that Byzantium had a naval base in the Danube Delta and on Păcuiul lui Soare (PLS) in the 10<sup>th</sup> c. However, arguments have already been raised in the failure of this idea (Таркова-Zaimova 1970, 79-90; Йорданов 2011, 33; Атанасов 1996, 3-30). We have undisputed sources for the emergence and mooring of a military and merchant fleet – in this case Byzantine – in separate harbours along the Bulgarian Black Sea coast and the Danube bank only after Byzantium conquered these lands.

	Păcuiul lui Soare	Ruyno	Okorsh	Skala
Pendants				
Applications				
Earrings				
Rings				

Fig. 18. Correlation table with jewels from the late 9<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> c. from the fortresses of PLS, Ruyno, Okorsh and Skala (by G. Atanasov)