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THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CROATS AND THE SERBS ON THE BALKANS IN THE FRAME OF THE BYZANTINE-AVAR CONFLICTS

Усядането на хървати и сърби на Балканите в контекста на византийско-аварския конфликт

В доклада се анализират сведенията на Константин VII Порфирогенет (*De administrando imperio*) за заселването на хървати и сърби на Балканите по времето на император Ираклий (610–641 г.). Авторът разглежда тезите за прародината на двете славянски племена („Бяла” или „Некръстена” Хърватия и „Бяла” или „Некръстена Сърбия”) и тяхното движение на юг. Представени са и основните виждания по хронологията и характера на тяхното заселване на полуострова. Както е известно, събитията най-често се обвързват с кризата в Аварския хаганат след 626 г. Приема се, че относно хърватите, византийският император представя две версии, които се базират на два извора. Единият е отглас от *origo gentis* на хърватите, а другият е продукт на византийската идеологическа доктрина. За разлика от това в сведението за сърбите е предадена единствено имперската гледна точка. В доклада се защитава тезата, че заселването на двата народа и в частност хърватско-аварският конфликт не се дължат на византийска намеса или договор с Константинопол. В полза на това говори цялата геополитическата ситуация при император Ираклий. В годините на неговото управление Империята не е в състояние да води активна дипломатическа или военна кампания на Балканите. Въпреки това авторът приема, че в лицето на хървати и сърби Византия спечелва своеобразен заслон срещу аварски нападения (след 626 г.) и нов съюзник на своите интереси в Далмация.

The migration of the Croats and the Serbs from Central Europe to the Balkans is related to the enfeeblement of the Avar chaganate after 626. It is most probable that the two nations were freed from Avar dominion before they migrated southwards¹, while it is rather unlikely that Byzantium incited their revolt. The only available information we have on their migration to the western part of the Balkan peninsula is given by the Byzantine

emperor *Constantine VII Porphyrogenetus* in the mid 10th century. According to him, the descent of the Croats and Serbs took place during the reign of emperor Heraclius (610–641), with the Croats preceding. Researchers today have concluded that the *terminus post quem* is the year 626². It is also mentioned that the area where the Croats settled had previously been occupied by the Avars³ and that the latter had desolated the land occupied by the Serbs, the Zachlumi, the *Terbouniotes*, the Kanalites, the Diocletians/Diocleians and the Arentani/Pagani⁴.

N. Klaić and L. Margetić have offered a different approach to the issue of Croat migration, placing it in the 8th century during the wars between the Avars and the Franks, as having taken place with the permission of the Franks⁵. Their supposition, although “covers” the two dark centuries in the history of the Croats, had no impact, firstly because there are no testimony of any migration from the Carpathians to the western Balkans during those years, and secondly, because the case of an “empty land” seems unlikely at the end of the 8th century in the area inhabited by the Croats⁶. An interesting position on the dating of the descent of the two nations is given by H. Ditten and R.-J. Lilie, who claim that Byzantium was able to be politically active in the Balkans between 628, the year Heraclius’ Persian war ended, and 634, the year the Arabs began attacking Byzantine land⁷. This position, despite taking into consideration historical events in the East, presupposes the immediate involvement of Byzantium in the descent and installation of the Croats and Serbs, which, as demonstrated further on, has been contested.

When *Porphyrogenetus* named the original homeland of the Croats *great* or *unbaptized*⁸ he implied, according to the Byzantine image of the world, a territory beyond the borders of the empire, where pagan peoples lived (e.g. Great Scythia, Bulgaria, Moravia, etc.) On the contrary, the adjective *minor* defined a territory within the limits of the empire, as part of the Christian *oikoumenē* (e.g. Gothia or Scythia Minor, etc.)⁹. The first installation of the Croats in Central Europe, *White Croatia*¹⁰, is defined to separate lands, such as Silesia and Krakow¹¹, Galicia¹², Bohemia¹³, or a wider area that included Galicia, Silesia and eastern Bohemia¹⁴. On the other hand, the presentation of a “southern case”, locating the center of White Croatia in Carinthia¹⁵, seems to ignore the neighboring position of the *unbaptized* Serbs¹⁶. The position of the *unbaptized* (White) Serbia has been located either in Lusatia, between the rivers Elba, Oder and Saal¹⁷, or in the area of south-western Poland and northern Czech Republic¹⁸. In the first case, White Serbia is identified with the *Sorabi/Surbi* tribe¹⁹, remnants of which still remain in the German states of Saxony and Brandenburg (the Sorbi of Lusatia). The area around the river Vistula in southern Poland is presented as the original homeland of the Serbian tribe of *Zachlumi*, who settled in modern Herzegovina²⁰.

According to *Porphyrogenetus*, a part of the White Croats, under the leadership of seven tribal leaders, abandoned their original homeland and headed southwards²¹. As for the path they followed, there are two versions: a) an “eastern route”, which descends from the rivers Pruth and Siret towards the Lower Danube and Thrace²², and b) a “western route” through Moravia, Lower Austria and western Hungary²³. There have

been corresponding opinions of eastern²⁴ and western route²⁵ for the Serbian migration as well. The last seems to be the most probable, taking into account the distance between the land of origin and that of settlement. The Croats occupied the area of the Slavonic plain between the rivers Sava and Drava, as well as the mountainous region of Illyric Croatia, along the coastline of the Adriatic, near the Byzantine coastal cities. To the South, their limits reached the mouth of the river Tsetina, and to the East the rivers Vrbas and Kupa. To the North, they reached the rivers Lasa and Labin in Istria, while they held control of the part of Lower Pannonia between the Sava and the Danube²⁶.

The Serbs settled to the south-east of the Croats, in the area surrounded by the rivers Drina, Morava, Tsetina, Ibar, Tara, Lim, Uvac, Raska and Piva. The center of their settlement was the area of Raskia²⁷. *Porphyrogenetus* also refers to other smaller tribes (Zachlumi, Terbouniotes, Kanalites, Diocletians/Dioleians, Arentani/Pagani), which occupied a part of the western Balkans until the Adriatic coast, particularly in Herzegovina and Montenegro²⁸. These tribes, apart from the Diocletians, are considered to be Serbian²⁹, therefore the actual area of Serbian migration was even larger if we add the aforementioned tribes.

Concerning the migration of the Croats and Serbs in the Balkans, *Constantine VII* refers to the active role of Emperor Heraclius, while mentioning that the Croats defeated the Avars. A significant number of researchers consider the information given by the Byzantine emperor as a reflection of the true historical context of their settlement in the Balkans, that took place with the consent or permission of Heraclius and under the suzerainty of Constantinople³⁰.

On the settlement of the Croats, *Constantine VII* presents two different versions, the origin of which have been attributed to two independent sources. Most probably, the information given in chapter 30 is based on the Croat oral tradition, while that of chapter 31 reflects the "official" Byzantine version³¹. According to the narration in Ch. 30, when the Croats reached Dalmatia, defeated the Avars and settled in the area without the involvement of the Byzantine Empire³². On the contrary, Ch. 31 mentions that the Croats first came into contact with Emperor Heraclius who ordered them to fight the Avars, and then gave them permission to settle in the land they occupied³³. In the description of their migration from *White Croatia*, the settlement in the Balkans and the victory over the Avars, a mythological background connected to the popular oral tradition that saved elements from the Croatian *origo gentis* has been pointed out. This tradition attributes the Croat settlement and ethnogenesis to the victory over the Avars, and the occupation of former Roman territory south of the Danube during the reign of Heraclius³⁴. On the other hand, the information concerning the Serbs depicts the Byzantine viewpoint, such as the meaning of their name (slaves), and their settlement by Heraclius in Servia, west of Thessaloniki³⁵. In the description given by the Byzantine emperor, there is no mention of a clash between the Serbs and the Avars³⁶ nor are there any separate traditions that would save elements of a Serbian *origo gentis*³⁷.

The involvement of Constantinople in the settlement of the two nations in the Balkans has been seriously contested, mainly because of the ideological background and the political expediency underlying in the information of the Byzantine emperor. *J. Moisisidou* points out that the emphasis given by *Constantine VII* to the uninterrupted dependence of the settlement areas of the Croats, the Serbs and the other smaller Serbian tribes³⁸ on Byzantium reflects the political and ideological reality of the Macedonian dynasty era, that founded and "legitimized" the constant domination of the Byzantines over the peoples of the north-western Balkans since the reign of emperor Heraclius. The main axis of the shaping of this ideology was a series of historical events, such as the strengthening of Byzantine presence in the Adriatic during the reign of Basil I (867–886), the failure of Simeon I of Bulgaria (893–927) to dominate in the Balkans and subjugate Serbia and Croatia, the effort made by the Franks to control Dalmatia, and the alliance between the Serbs and the Byzantines against Simeon. According to W. Pohl, *Porphyrogenetus* created a myth in order to consolidate Constantinople's domination rights over the Croats and the Serbs on the demand for land to Heraclius, the permission of settlement, the alliance against the Avars, and their conversion to Christianity³⁹.

The political and ideological dimension of the information given by *Constantine VII* renders Ch. 31 doubtful of its credibility when mentioning that the Byzantine emperor commanded the Croats to fight the Avars and offered them land for settlement. Taking also into account the geopolitical conditions during the reign of Heraclius, it has been supported that there is no indication of an organized Balkan policy, neither before nor after the Persian wars⁴⁰, or even that the Byzantine empire could not prevent the settlement of the Croats and Serbs, thus obliged to maintain good relations with them⁴¹. Although the clash between Croats and Avars mentioned in both Ch. 30 and 31 should be considered real, the version of Ch. 30, where there is no mention of the empire's involvement, appears to be more reliable. Therefore, there probably was no "permission" or "consent" of Heraclius for the settlement of the Croats, the Serbs and the other tribes in the western Balkans, as Byzantium was in no position to deter it at that specific moment, by diplomacy or military power.

Concerning the Serbs, their peaceful settlement, regardless of what is said about the intervention of Heraclius, appears to be quite probable, as they settled far from the Avar Chaganate, in contrast to the Croats, who occupied lands on the south-west borders of the Avars. On the other hand, there could only be a political dimension to the Byzantine emperor's effort to approach the two south Slavic nations only when their settlement had become an accomplished fact, which Heraclius was obliged to "arrange" in the best interest of his empire. Despite the defeat of 626 and the serious crisis that followed within the Avar Chaganate, the threat of a possible future return of the Avars to the Balkans never ceased to exist. The approach and integration of the Croats and Serbs in the Byzantine sphere of influence would allow Constantinople to gain a mound against possible Avar attacks in the western Balkans, and thus protect its dominions in Dalmatia⁴².

NOTES

¹ **Ditten, H.** Bemerkungen zu ersten Ansätzen zur Staatsbildung bei den Slawen vor der Gründung des bulgarisch-slawischen Staates (unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Slowenen). – *Klio*, 1978, 60, 519; **Fine, J.** *The Early Medieval Balkans*. Michigan, 1983, p. 55; **Gazi, S.** *A History of Croatia*. New York, 1993, p. 16. The older position of **Pelzel, F.** (*Geschichte der Böhmen*. Erste Abteilung. Prague, 1774, p. 27), that the Croats had liberated themselves from the domination of Samo did not manage to make an effect.

² **Constantine Porphyrogenitus.** *De administrando imperio*. Ed. G. Moravcsik, R. J. H. Jenkins. *Dumbarton Oaks Texts*, CFHB 1. Washington, 1967, 31, 147–149: *These same Croats arrived to claim the protection of the emperor of the Romans Heraclius before the Serbs claimed the protection of the same emperor Heraclius, ...* **Ibidem**, 32, 153. **Fine, J.** *Op. cit.*, p. 56; **Ferluga, J.** Untersuchungen zur byzantinischen Ansiedlungspolitik auf dem Balkan von der Mitte des 7. bis zur Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts. – *ZRVI*, 1984, 23, 51. On further positions concerning the time of their descent, see **Jenkins, R. J. H.** *De Administrando Imperio II*. Commentary. London, 1962, 117, 124, 131. **Peroche, G.** *Histoire de la Croatie et de nations slaves du Sud*. Paris, 1992, 17, 35; **Moyseidou, J.** Το Βυζάντιο και οι βόρειοι γείτονές του τον 10ο αιώνα. (Ιστορικές Μονογραφίες 15). Athens, 1995, 324 (note no. 65), 375, 382.

³ See below note no. 21.

⁴ **Constantine Porphyrogenitus.** *De administrando imperio*, 32, 153: *And since what is now Serbia and Paganía and the so-called country of the Zachlumi and Terbounia and the country of the Kanalites were under the dominion of the emperor of the Romans, and since these countries had been made desolate by the Avars ...* **Ibidem**, 33–36, 161–165. **Jenkins, R. J. H.** *Op. cit.*, 137, 140–142; **Belke, K., Soustal, P.** Die Byzantiner und Ihre Nachbarn. Die *De Administrando Imperio* genannte Lehrschrift des Kaisers Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos für seinen Sohn Romanos. *Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber* 19. Vienna, 1995, 180 (note no. 392), 183, n. 402; **Budak, N.** Die südslawischen Ethnogenesen an der östlichen Adriaküste im frühen Mittelalter. – In: *Typen der Ethnogenese unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bayern*. Berichte des Symposions der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung, 27. bis 30. Oktober 1986, Stift Zwettl, Niederösterreich, vol. I. Ed. H. Wolfram, W. Pohl. *DÖAW, phil.-hist. Klasse* 201. Vienna, 1990, 129–130.

⁵ **Klaić, N.** Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku. Zagreb, 1975, 36–39, 133–140; **Idem.** Problemima stare domovine, dolaska i pokristenja dalmatinskih Hrvata. – *Zgodovinski Časopis*, 1984, 38, 253–270; **Margetić, L.** Konstantin Porfirogenet i vrijeme dolaska Hrvata. – *Zbornik Historijskog Zavoda Jugoslavenske Akademije*, 1977, 8, 5–88.

⁶ See **Katičić, R.** Die Anfänge des kroatischen Staates. – In: *Die Bayern und ihre Nachbarn*. Berichte des Symposions der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung 25. bis 28. Oktober 1982, Stift Zwettl, Niederösterreich, vol. I. Ed. H. Wolfram, A. Schwarcz. *DÖAW, phil.-hist. Klasse* 179. Vienna, 1985, S. 310, note no. 49; **Pohl, W.** Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa, 567–822 n. Chr. Munich, 1988, 262–263.

⁷ **Ditten, H.** Zur Bedeutung der Einwanderung der Slawen. – In: *Byzanz im 7. Jahrhundert*. Untersuchungen zur Herausbildung des Feudalismus. Ed. F. Winkelmann, H. Köpstein. *Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten* 48. Berlin, 1978, 131–132; **Lilie, R.-J.** Kaiser Herakleios und die

Ansiedlung der Serben. Überlegungen zum Kapitel 32 des *De Administrando Imperio*. – Südostforschungen, 1985, 44, S. 23.

⁸ **Constantine Porphyrogenitus**. *De administrando imperio*, 31, 153: *Great Croatia, also called "white", is still unbaptized to this day, as are also the Serbs who are its neighbours*. On the widely discussed adjective *abaptistos* (unbaptized), see **Lounghis, T.** Κωνσταντίνου Ζ' Πορφυρογέννητου, *De Administrando Imperio* (Προς τον ίδιον υιόν Ρωμανόν). Μία μέθοδος ανάγνωσης. Thessaloniki, 1990, 102-106.

⁹ **Dostálová, R.** Μεγάλη Μοραβία. – *BSI*, 1966, 27, 346; **Pohl, W.** Die Awaren..., S. 267; **Idem**, Grundlagen der kroatischen Ethnogenese: Awaren und Slawen. – In: *Ethnogeneza Hrvata*. Symposium Zagreb 1989. Ed. N. Budak. Zagreb. 1995, 221-222; **Belke, K., Soustal, P.** Op. cit., S. 171, note no. 362.

¹⁰ **Constantine Porphyrogenitus**. *De administrando imperio*, 30, 143; **Idem**. 31, 147: *The Croats who now live in the region of Dalmatia are descended from the unbaptized Croats, also called "white", who live beyond Turkey and next to Francia, and have for Slav neighbours the unbaptized Serbs*.

¹¹ **Marquart, J.** Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge. Ethnologische und historisch-topographische Studien zur Geschichte des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts (ca. 840–940). Leipzig, 1903, 130; **Lewicki, T.** L'apport des sources arabes médiévales (IX^e–X^e siècles) a la connaissance de l'Europe centrale et orientale. – *SSCÉ*, 1965, 12/1, 476; **Peroche, G.** Op. cit., p. 17; **Gazi, S.** Op. cit., p. 16.

¹² **Vernadsky, G.** Great Moravia and White Chorvatia. – *JAOS*, 1945, 65, 257–258; **Kollautz, A., Miyakawa, H.** Geschichte und Kultur eines völkerwanderungszeitlichen Nomadenvolkes. Die Jou-Jan der Mongolei und die Awaren in Mitteleuropa, vol. I (Die Geschichte). Klagenfurt, 1970, S. 270.

¹³ **Jenkins, R. J. H.** Op. cit., p. 116; **Waldmüller, L.** Die ersten Begegnungen der Slawen mit dem Christentum und den christlichen Völkern vom 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert. Die Slawen zwischen Byzanz und Abendland. Amsterdam, 1976, S. 306.

¹⁴ **Eklblom, R.** Alfred the Great as Geographer. – *Studia Neophilologica*, 1941, 14, p. 13; **Dvornik, F.** The Making of Central and Eastern Europe. London, 1949, 270, 285–286; **Idem**. Les Slaves. Histoire et Civilisation de l'Antiquité aux débuts de l'époque contemporaine. Paris, 1970, p. 3; **Avenarius, A.** Die Awaren in Europa. Amsterdam – Bratislava, 1974, S. 141. On the opinions concerning the original homeland of the Croats, see also, **Kunstmann, H.** Wer waren die Weißkroaten des byzantinischen Kaisers Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos? – *Die Welt der Slawen*, 1984, 29, 111–112.

¹⁵ **Kronsteiner, O.** Gab es unter den Alpenslawen eine kroatische ethnische Gruppe? – *Wiener slavistisches Jahrbuch*, 1978, 24, 141–144; **Kunstmann, H.** Op. cit., 117–119.

¹⁶ **Constantine Porphyrogenitus**. *De administrando imperio*, 32, 153: *The Serbs are descended from the unbaptized Sebs, also called "white", who live beyond Turkey in a place called by them Boiki, where their neighbours is Francia, as is also Great Croatia, the unbaptized, ...*; **Belke, K., Soustal, P.** Op. cit., S. 172.

¹⁷ **Marquart, J.** Op. cit., 106–107; **Eklblom, R.** Op. cit., p. 132; **Jenkins, R. J. H.** Op. cit., p. 130; **Dvornik, F.** The Making of Central..., 270, 285; **Idem**. Les Slaves..., p. 36; **Fritze, W.** Zur Bedeutung der Awaren für die slawische Ausdehnungsbewegung im frühen Mittelalter. – In: *Frühzeit zwischen Ostsee und Donau. Ausgewählte Beiträge zum geschichtlichen Werden im östlichen Mitteleuropa vom 6. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*. Ed. L. Kuchenbuch, W. Schich. Berliner Historische Studien 6. Berlin, 1982, 75–77.

¹⁸ **Ferjancić, B.** Dolazak Hrvata i Srba na balkansko poluostrvo. – ZRVI, 1995, 35, 152; **Judah, T.** The Serbs. History, Myth and the Destruction of Yugoslavia. New Heaven, 1997, p. 7.

¹⁹ **Einhardus.** Annales, a. 741–829. Ed. G. H. Pertz. – MGH, Scriptores I. Hannover, 1826, p. 163: *Interea regi adlatum est, quod Sorabi Sclavi, qui campos inter Albim et Salam interiacentes incolunt...*; **Bavarian Geographer.** Descriptio civitatum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii. Ed. B. Horák, D. Trávníček. – Rozpravy Československé Akademie VĚD, ŘADA Společenský Věd, 1956, 66/2, 2, 18.

²⁰ **Constantine Porphyrogenitus.** De administrando imperio, 33, 161–163; **Marquart, J.** Op. cit., 110–111; **Jenkins, R. J. H.** Op. cit., p. 139; **Belke, K., Soustal, P.** Op. cit., 179–180.

²¹ **Constantine Porphyrogenitus.** De administrando imperio, 30, 143: *From them split off a family of five brothers, Kloukas and Lobelos and Kosentzis and Mouchlo and Chrobatos, and two sisters, Touga and Bouga, who came with their folk to Dalmatia and found the Avars in possession of that land.*

²² **Jenkins, R. J. H.** Op. cit., p. 117.

²³ **Waldmüller, L.** Op. cit., 306–307; **Gazi, S.** Op. cit., p. 16.

²⁴ **Jenkins, R. J. H.** Op. cit., 131–132.

²⁵ **Lillie, R.-J.** Op. cit., 29–30.

²⁶ **Constantine Porphyrogenitus.** De administrando imperio, 30, 143: *From the Croats who came to Dalmatia a part split off and possessed themselves of Illyricum and Pannonia*; **Ibidem**, 145–147; **Jenkins, R. J. H.** Op. cit., 123, 129; **Peroche, G.** Op. cit., 17–18; **Gazi, S.** Op. cit., p. 16; **Moyseidou, J.** Op. cit., 375–376; **Ferjancić, B.** Dolazak Hrvata..., 153.

²⁷ **Constantine Porphyrogenitus.** De administrando imperio, 30, 147: *For the country of Serbia is at the front of all the rest of the countries, but on the north is neighbour to Croatia, and on the south to Bulgaria.* **Ibidem**, 32, 161; **Jenkins, R. J. H.** Op. cit., p. 134; **Fine, J.** Op. cit., p. 53; **Maksimović, L.** Η εθνογένεση των Σέρβων στον Μεσαίωνα. (Ίδρυμα Γουλανδρή Χορν). Athens, 1994, 11.

²⁸ See below note no. 38.

²⁹ **Constantine Porphyrogenitus.** De administrando imperio, 33, 161.34, 163. 36, 165; **Ferluga, J.** Op. cit., S. 50; **Maksimović, L.** Op. cit., 11–13; **Moyseidou, J.** Op. cit., 309; **Ferjancić, B.** Dolazak Hrvata..., 153–154. Reservations on the Serbian character of these tribes are presented by **Jenkins, R. J. H.** Op. cit., 139, 142; **Budak, N.** Op. cit., 131–133 and **Pohl, W.** Die Awaren..., S. 268.

³⁰ **Jenkins, R. J. H.** Op. cit., p. 124; **Budak, N.** Op. cit., S. 130; **Katičić, R.** Die Anfänge..., 310–311; **Maksimović, L.** Op. cit., 10. See also, **Moyseidou, J.** Op. cit., 382.

³¹ **Jenkins, R. J. H.** Op. cit., 114–115; **Avenarius, A.** Die Awaren in..., 143–144; **Katičić, R.** The Origins of the Croats. – In: Croatia in the Early Middle Ages. A Cultural Survey. Ed. I. Supićić. Zagreb, 1999, 150–151. On positions concerning the differences between chapters 30 and 31, see **Ferjancić, B.** Dolazak Hrvata..., 151–152.

³² **Constantine Porphyrogenitus.** De administrando imperio, 30, 143: *After they had fought one another for some years, the Croats prevailed and killed some of the Avars and the remainder they compelled to be subject of them.*

³³ **Ibid.**, 31, 149: *And so, by command of the emperor Heraclius these same Croats defeated and expelled the Avars from those parts, and by mandate of Heraclius the emperor they settled down in that same country of the Avars, where they now dwell.* **Jenkins, R. J. H.** Op. cit., 114–115; **Katičić, R.** Die Anfänge..., S. 309; **Fine, J.** Op. cit., p. 54; **Moyseidou, J.** Op. cit., 375.

³⁴ **Avenarius, A.** Die Awaren in..., 140–141; **Katičić, R.** Die Anfänge..., S. 308; **Idem.** The Origins of..., p. 151; **Fine, J.** Op. cit., 53–54, 58; **Pohl, W.** Grundlagen, 211–212, 218–220; **Idem.** Das Awarenreich und die "kroatischen" Ethnogenesen. – In: Die Bayern und ihre Nachbarn I, 293–296; **Moyseidou, J.** Op. cit., 382; **Geary, P. J.** Europäische Völker im frühen Mittelalter. Zur Legende vom Werden der Nationen. Frankfurt, 2002, S. 166.

³⁵ **Constantine Porphyrogenitus.** De administrando imperio, 32, 153; **Jenkins, R. J. H.** Op. cit., p. 132; **Fine, J.** Op. cit., p. 52; **Lilie, R.-J.** Op. cit., S. 26; **Moyseidou, J.** Op. cit., 313; **Ferjancić, B.** Dolazak Hrvata..., 152; **Belke, K., Soustal, P.** Op. cit., S. 173, n. 367.

³⁶ **Jenkins, R. J. H.** Op. cit., 131–133, according to whom the leader of the Serbs migrating towards the Balkans was the brother of Dervan, ruler of the Sorvians and ally of Samo. The supposition of F. Dvornik (see **Dvornik, F.** The Making of Central..., p. 287; **Idem.** Les Slaves..., 65–66), that the Serbs helped the Croats in their war against the Avars must be ruled out, as Porphyrogenetus does not make any mention of fighting between Serbs and Avars.

³⁷ **Avenarius, A.** Die Awaren in..., S. 143; **Pohl, W.** Die Awaren..., S. 267; **Maksimović, L.** Op. cit., 10.

³⁸ **Constantine Porphyrogenitus.** De administrando imperio, 29, 125: *Since the reign of Heraclius, emperor of the Romans, as will be related in the narrative concerning the Croats and Serbs, the whole of Dalmatia and the nations about it, such as Croats, Serbs, Zachlumi, Terbouniotes, Kanalites, Diocletians, and Arentani, who are also called Pagani [they were subject to the emperor of the Romans]. Ibidem.* 30–36, 139–165. **Belke, K., Soustal, P.** Op. cit., 145, 159, 168–173, 178–182.

³⁹ **Moyseidou, J.** Op. cit., 317–320, 325, 382–383; **Pohl, W.** Die Awaren..., S. 266. On the ideological background in the work of *Porphyrogenetus*, see **Lounghis, T.** Op. cit., 78–79, 90–91.

⁴⁰ **Lilie, R.-J.** Op. cit., S. 43.

⁴¹ **Fine, J.** Op. cit., 54–55; **Haldon, J. F.** Byzantium in the Seventh Century. The Transformation of a Culture. Cambridge, 1990, p. 47.

⁴² The role of "mound" against Avar attacks attributed to the Croats and Serbs is accepted by A. Stratos (see **Stratos, A.** The Avars' Attack on Byzantium in the Year 626. – In: Polychordia. Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag. Ed. P. Wirth. Byzantinische Forschungen 2. Amsterdam, 1967, 376) and V. Tapkova-Zaimova (see **Tapkova-Zaimova, V.** Ethnische Schichten auf dem Balkan und die byzantinische Macht im 7. Jahrhundert. – In: Studien zum 7. Jahrhundert in Byzanz. Probleme der Herausbildung des Feudalismus. Ed. H. Köpstein, F. Winkelmann. Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 47. Berlin, 1976, S. 67).