Tărnovgrad Viewed by the Others: the Case of Niketas Choniates

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Tărnovgrad Viewed by the Others: 
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Abstract. The text is devoted to the analysis of the portrayal of Tărnovo, the new capital of the restored near the end of the twelfth century Bulgarian state, in the historical work and speeches by Niketas Choniates, a Byzantine historian, official and rhetorician from the latter half of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. As a direct witness of the contemporary Byzantine-Bulgarian relations, a high ranking court dignitary throughout most of the discussed period, and the author of the most important sources shedding light on the restitution of Bulgaria, he left a legacy of extraordinary importance, one which has shaped views of the subsequent generations of Byzantine historians. While examining Tărnovo’s role shows it did not occupy a particularly significant place in the historian’s narrative, and the remarks concerning it appear as if in passing, he nonetheless was fully conscious of the city’s significance not only for the Bulgarians themselves, but also in the context of the prospective expansion of the Empire in the direction of its northern neighbours. It is therefore no accident that in his brief characterisation the city the author focused on the description of the defensive qualities of Tărnovo. Paradoxically, his arguments on this subject may play an important role in the present ongoing discussion among the archaeologists exploring the former capital on the subject of chronology and size of the fortifications surrounding the two most important hills on which the city developed, namely Tsarevets and Trapezitsa.

Keywords: Niketas Choniates, Tărnovgrad, Tsarevets, Trapezitsa, Veliko Tărnovo, medieval fortifications, Byzantium and Bulgaria, the Assenids, medieval Bulgaria, medieval Balkans, medieval capitals, Byzantine historiography, Byzantine rhetoric, the others in Byzantine sources, Bulgaria in Byzantine sources

The works of Niketas Choniates (ca. 1155 – ca. 1217), a Byzantine historian, rhetorician and official in the latter half of the twelfth and early thirteenth century¹, are the main sources on the restored at the end of the twelfth century

Bulgarian state. The significance and wealth of the information the historian provided cannot therefore be overstated, especially since that information was subsequently readily used by other historians of the empire, such as George Akropolites or Theodore Skoutariotes, and therefore to some degree his narrative shaped their opinions as well.

The Byzantine's historical work titled Χρονικὴ διήγησις, which annalistically presented the history of Byzantium from 1118 to 1206, in greater detail for the 1180–1206 period, and his extant Λόγοι, also include information about the capital of the late mediaeval Bulgarian State, Tărnovo. The analysis of information on its subject is going to be the subject of the below remarks. I note here that in my considerations, I am focusing primarily on the direct mentions of Tărnovo (where the city’s name appears), although I am not omitting the passages in which the historian referred to the city indirectly, or where we may surmise that given information may have also related to it. The only passage I do not consider in the text, which is traditionally associated with Tărnovo, is the description of the anonymous centre where the Bulgarian rebellion was announced. I do so because it requires a separate study.

**Tărnovo – characteristics of the city**

Niketas Choniates left us the following characterisation of Tărnovo:

τοῦ Τερνόβου (ὁ δὲ ἐστιν ἡ ἐρυμνοτάτη ἅμα καὶ προφερεστάτη τῶν κατὰ τὸν Αἷμον ἁπασῶν πόλεων, τείχεσὶ τε ἰσχυροῖς περιβεβλημένη καὶ ῥεύματι ποταμίῳ διειλημμένη καὶ ὄρους ἀκρωνυχίᾳ πεπολισμένη)...

Tărnovo (this is the best fortified and most excellent of all the cities located in the Haimos, encompassed by mighty walls, divided by a river stream, and built on a ridge of the mountain)...4

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3 On this city cf. e.g. История на Велико Търново, vol. I, Праистория, античност и средновековие, ed. П. Петров, София 1986; Р. Панова, Столичният град в културата на средновековна България, София 1995, p. 141–186; К. Тотов, Д. Косева, Столичният Търнов в християнската култура на Балканския свят, [in:] Великите Асеневци. Сборник с доклади от конференция, посветена на 830 години от въстанието на братьята Петър и Асен, началото на Второто българско царство и обявяването на Търново за столица на България и 780 години от легитимното възобновяване на Българската патриаршия, ed. П. Павлов, Н. Кънев, Н. Хрисимов, Велико Търново 2016, p. 364–376.

One may draw several conclusions from this relation. Firstly, that this description fully corresponds with the real layout and development of the city, and therefore it is based on a relation of someone who knew the city first-hand (e.g. a member of one of the expeditions of Isaac II in 1186 or 1190, the Byzantine envoys from the later period, Ivanko, the killer of John Assen I, who fled to Constantinople in 1196, or even Kaloyan, the youngest of the rebellious brothers, who after 1188 supposedly spent some time in the Byzantine capital as a hostage). Secondly, geographically, this centre was associated with the Haimos mountain massif (nowadays the Stara Planina mountain range), and this is where the Byzantine author had placed it. This is further confirmed by more precise data on its location included in the description, namely the fact that the city was on a hilltop. Târnovo is indeed located in the area of the so-called Târnovo Hills, which are one of the northernmost parts of the Stara Planina foreland (Pre-Balkan), and the hills themselves (Tsarevets and Trapezitsa, along with Momina Krepost and Holy Mountain), on which the “old town” was located are separated by the meandering around them Yantra river. It needs to be, however strongly emphasised that the contemporary authors, following the example of the ancient authorities, first and foremost geographers such as Strabo, saw the Stara Planina foreland as an integral part of the Haimos massif, much like the range of Sredna Gora (Anti-Balkan), to the south of Stara Planina. This fact further reinforces my proposition of the translation of the phrase (with my amendments – K.M.). A similar characterisation of Târnovo is found in two lections of thirteenth-century manuscripts of Niketas’ work, specifically L (Laurentianus IX 24) and O (Oxoniensis Bodleianus Roe 22) – CHONIATES, Historia, p. 616, ad v. 61–62: ἐς Τέρνοβον (Τέρου-βον according to O) τὴν προφερεστέραν πασῶν τῶν ἐν Μυσίᾳ πόλεων… – wherein it appears by the way of the description of the events related to the history of Bulgarian-Latin relations, specifically the battle of Adrianople in 1205 and the fate of the Latin Emperor Baldwin I.


τῶν κατὰ τὸν Αἷμον ἁπασῶν πόλεων as all the cities located in the Haimos, contrary to the traditional all the cities along the Haimos. The same translation of the key phrase κατὰ τὸν Αἷμον, although in a somewhat different context, was accepted by Ivan Dujčev for Choniates’ τοὺς κατὰ τὸν Αἷμον τὸ ὀρος βαρβάρους, appearing in the initial description of the beginning of the Assenid rebellion. A somewhat further analogy, though semantically related, would be the translation by Dimitrios Gonis, appearing in Nikefor Gregoras, of the phrase περὶ τὸν Αἷμον φρούρια associating the mentioned fortifications with the interior of the mountain massif, rather than with its surroundings. In the light of the thirteenth-century lections of the manuscripts A (Vaticanus graecus 1623) and P (Parisinus graecus 1778) and the fourteenth-fifteenth century W (Vindobonensis Historicus graecus 105), which were accepted as the original version in the older editions of Choniates’s work, prepared by August Immanuel Bekker, Preslav, the old Bulgarian capital, was described by the Byzantine historian in a manner analogous to Târnovo. He stated that it was in greater part surrounded by Haimos (καὶ πλείστην ὅσην περὶ τὸν Αἷμον τὴν περίμετρον ἔχουσα)11, although it is known that, once again, the description pertains to Pre-Balkan. We may therefore, without much error, count Târnovo among the fortresses, mentioned several times in Choniates’ works, located on steepnesses and high hills, superbly fortified, linked to Haimos, in which Bulgarians took shelter from Byzantine armed forces12.

The remark about the city’s plan on the hilltop also draws attention, as indeed the main buildings of the city were located on the relatively flat (Trapezitsa) or terraced (Tsarevets) top parts of the hills, while their steep slopes stretching towards

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11 Choniates, Historia, p. 372, 43–45; Nicetae Choniatae Historia, rec. I. Bekker, Bonnae 1835 (= CSHB) (cetera: Nicetae Choniatae Historia, rec. I. Bekker), p. 486, 18–21. This clarification that the city was in larger part surrounded by this mountain massif, although it perfectly fits with the real location of the city in relation to the Stara Planina foreland, was not included in Jan-Louis van Dieten’s reconstruction of the text.

the river remained undeveloped. Further buildings were located only by the riverbed itself, at the base of the hills. The author however does not mention them, which may mean that in his brief description he focused on the dominant elements, or the most important characteristics of the city plan and buildings, omitting details, or (in a different interpretation) the development along the riverbed had not been very prominent at the time. The indication that the Bulgarian capital was located exclusively on one hill is also striking and, at least at first glance, obviously does not agree with the realities of how the city was planned. Of course, one could suppose that this attests to the concentration of the settlement at the end of the twelfth or in the early thirteenth century solely on one of the Tărnovo hills, likely on Tsarevets, or to accept that it was that latter hill that was referred to as Tărnovo, which appears to be suggested by some of the native old Bulgarian sources. Indeed, in the light of archaeological research to date, Tărnovo gained a clear urban appearance only during the times of Tsar John Asen II (Tsarevets) and his direct successors in the 1240s (Trapezitsa). This does not, however, mean that there had been no earlier settlement in the area of Trapezitsa, and other...
remarks in Byzantine texts suggest rather that the name Tărnovo referred to the entirety of the Bulgarian capital, and included the latter upland, which along with Tsarevets constituted the core settlement of the city. A certain detail of the analysed passage appears to indicate that Choniates made use of the single hill according to the principle of *pars pro toto*, pointing to the general fact of erecting the city’s buildings on the tops of the local hills, as well as likely having in mind the most important one, the very Tsarevets on which the Assenid seat was located. He stated that the city was erected on the hilltop, but was divided by a river. This information would not make sense if it indeed referred to buildings concentrated on one hill surrounded by the river valley. If the Byzantine wanted only to emphasise that the city was separated from the surrounding terrain, and therefore was entirely or largely surrounded by the river, one would have expected him to have used the expression περίμετρον, as he did in the case of Preslav, surrounded by the Haimos massif. Alternatively, he would have used the word περιβάλλω, which he used earlier in the same sentence referring to Tărnovo to emphasise that the capital was surrounded by mighty defensive walls. The use of διαλαμβάνω in turn makes sense if we accept that it reflects the real plan of a city located on at least two hills, separated by a river. This had indeed been the case.

The information about the fortifications, perfection or splendour of the city also deserves attention. Undoubtedly Tărnovo was seen as the mightiest Bulgarian fortress and to this fact, the most important to the Byzantine author, he drew the greatest attention. From this statement it indirectly follows that the Byzantines had the knowledge of other contemporary Bulgarian fortresses and cities (primarily those they associated with Haimos) and it was against their backdrop that they were able to evaluate the defensive qualities of Tărnovo. In the light of this description, there were three components that made up the specific characteristics of the city’s defence – the mighty walls encircling it, the river obstructing access to it, and the fact that the city was located on an elevation or, as stated by the author, on the hilltop. Paradoxically it is the artificial component, the intentionally constructed city walls, that comes to the fore. These were *de facto* an additional element, reinforcing the naturally fortified, through its very location, city. It follows therefore
that as early as in the discussed period (the 1190s), or at least prior to our author’s death (that is, ca. 1217), or even not long after 1206 (when the narrative of the final version of the work breaks off), the city, or at least some part of it, was surrounded by walls.

The above chronology may be narrowed down even further, as the work of Choniates is preserved in two basic versions, significantly differing in some respects. The first was created before the capture of Constantinople by the knights participating in the Fourth Crusade, in April 1204. Until that time the author held high positions at the imperial court, and therefore had free access to current political information, including that concerning Byzantium’s neighbours. For some time he even served as an imperial governor in Thrace, specifically of the Philippopolis theme (from 1189), and so he was no stranger to the Bulgarian affairs. The second version was drafted after 1206, when he was correcting and supplementing the earlier text, adding to it a lot of information, specifically adding his own characterisation and appraisal of the state’s elites which had led to the empire’s downfall. At the time he was already in exile by the Asia Minor Nicaea, he lived in poverty, deprived of his position and influence. It therefore appears highly likely that he obtained the above information about Tărnovo and included it in his work prior to 1204, especially since we know that he brought his original narrative up to 1202, to subsequently supplement it during 1204–1206 with the description of events related to the fall of Constantinople and its immediate aftermath (in the manuscript version LO he brought the description of events up to ca. 1210). In addition, comparison of the shorter version of the work with the longer one does not show the author’s later interference into the cited above topographical characterisation of the Bulgarian capital17.

From the archaeological examinations we know that the aforementioned defensive walls of Tărnovo stretched along the edge of the peaks of the particular hills and formed the culmination of the slopes quite steeply descending towards the Yantra valley. The information indicated in the discussed source may be of significance in considering the timeline of fortifying the Tsarevets or Trapezitsa hills (in the case of the latter, primarily in relation to the question of the development of settlement therein), which is being disputed by the specialists conducting excavations in the area of the former capital18. Regardless of the disagreements between

18 The fullest description of the city walls surrounding Tsarevets was provided by В. Вълов, Царевград Търнов, vol. V, Археологически разкопки и проучвания на крепостните стени на хълма Царевец 1966–1969 г., София 1992. Cf. also Т. Овчаров, Археологически проучвания на терасата източно и югоzapадно от Патриаршията до Малката Порта и на южния склон на Царевец, Велико Търново 2005; М. Долмова-Лукановска, Археологически проучвания на средновековна улица по северозападния склон, квартал при трета порта на главния вход, източна
the scholars studying this matter, there is no doubt that some span of fortifications spanning at least the Tsarevets hill was in place already at the time when the Byzantine historian was writing his work. The walls must have been at least sufficiently impressive (Choniates describes them outright as mighty) for the arrivals to have found them noteworthy, likely even from some distance. If we were to add to this the information that Tărnovo was more splendid than the other fortresses spread across Stara Planina and its foreland, then even assuming its small size, it would be difficult to interpret it as a small defensive installation of a size similar to the later architectural complex of the Bulgarian Patriarchate, which may have been present at the highest terrace of Tsarevets still during the Byzantine rule. Clearly the description of the Byzantine historian is referring to the walls encircling the hill (hills?) already during the period following the restitution of the Bulgarian

крепостна стена и квартал при Френкхисарската порта на Царевец, Велико Търново 2007. In the case of Tsarevets, nowadays the existence of settlement and some span of city fortifications during the time after the restitution of Bulgarian statehood in 1180s is not being negated, however there are diverse views on the scope of these investments – on this subject cf. the following brief considerations and cited literature in the present paper. Regarding Trapezitsa, the date of the erection of the first fortifications surrounding the hilltop, or at least the beginning of their construction, is presently thought to be between the very end of the twelfth or rather earliest years of thirteenth century (thus e.g. К. ТОТЕВ, Археологически проучвания..., p. 581–582, 583–585; ІДЕМ, Н. ТОДОРОВ, П. КАРАНЛИЕВ, Към фортификацията на крепостта Трапезица. Стени, порти, коммуникации и военни сгради, [in:] Владетел, държава и церква на Балканите през Средновековието. Сборник с доклади от международната конференция, посветена на 60-годишнината на проф. д-р Пламен Павлов, ed. Н. КЪНев, Н. ХРИСИМОВ, Велико Търново 2019, p. 400, 401, 403–404, 414, 419, 422, 424) up to 1220s or 1230s (М. ДОЛЯМОВА, За укрепителната система на крепостта „Трапезица“ (предварително съобщение), Арх 37, 1995, p. 40; ІДЕМ, Трапезица..., p. 45; Д. РАБОВЯНОВ, Фортификацията на крепостта Трапезица – втората цитадела на българската столица Търновград, [in:] In honorem, vol. IV, TEMPUSS FUGIT. Юбилейен сборник към 70-годишнината на проф. д-р Стоян Витлянов, ed. И. ЙОРДАНов, Шумен 2017, p. 180–181, n. 21; ІДЕМ, Крепостта Трапезица в развитието на Търновград като столица на Второто българско царство, [in:] Владетел..., p. 381, 382). The hitherto results of archaeological examinations of the Trapezitsa fortifications are collectively discussed by Н. ТОДОРОВ, История на проучванията на фортификацията на крепостта Трапезица, [in:] Великите Асеневци..., p. 502–522; ІДЕМ, Към въпроса за периодизацията на крепостното строителство на Трапезица, ГИФВУКМ 1 (33), 2017, p. 471–480.

state during the mid-1180s, perhaps even to situation from the turn of the centuries (times of Kaloyan), known to the Byzantine and somewhat retrospectively transposed onto the times of Ivanko’s rebellion of 1196, in the context of which the analysed description of the city appears on Choniates’ pages. From the perspective of the source however one may not rule out that the aforementioned fortifications existed during the events relating to the death of Tsar Assen (1196), or even somewhat earlier (but after the restoration of Bulgarian statehood?)20. At least, that was the image of the Bulgarian city that Niketas’ readers received. In addition, the Byzantine historian’s text indicates that he considered the city’s core to de facto include more than one hill (therefore at least two), which in the light of our archaeological knowledge speaks in favour of the view that it may have referred to at least Trapezitsa. Keeping that in mind, may one suppose that when writing about the span of walls encircling the city the author may have also meant a second hill, also fortified, or did he only mean that the settlement, located on both hills, was divided by a river, ergo the second hill was not fortified? It is difficult to say for certain although, as I have mentioned earlier, the most recent excavations show a possibility that at least some fortifications may have surrounded Trapezitsa in the early thirteenth century21, which would have corresponded to the times during which Choniates was writing his work.

The aforementioned paradox, however, relates to the fact that it was the riverbed that constituted the first obstacle to be overcome on the way to the city, excepting of course the main approach to Tsarevets, located in the south-western part of the hill and not defended by the body of water. Listing the city walls first may have been referring to those fortifications which guarded the main approach, although I personally think it was a result of the good visibility of the city walls, further enhanced by their location. We otherwise know that during the discussed period Yantra carried a greater volume of water, which made it a more robust barrier for any potential aggressors. The mountain (read: hills) itself formed the third component of the defences of the city located thereon. It is a known fact that fortresses and cities located on the peaks of hills and mountains were among the most difficult to capture and frequently the contemporary experts in the art of war recommended that these should be taken through trickery and deceit, especially if a lengthy siege intended to starve out the defenders was to be avoided. A direct assault was generally advised against, as the defenders had a natural advantage,

20 This fact can be in part correlated with the presently accepted by archaeologists, albeit hesitantly, the dating of the first span of the perimeter fortifications of the Tsarevets hill – Е. Дерменджиев, За патриаршеския комплекс..., p. 61–75; Д. Раковянов, Може ли археологията..., p. 359–361, 362–365; Е. Дерменджиев, Отговор..., p. 447.

occupying combat position on a higher ground, and thus fulfilling the cardinal recommendation regarding military actions in the mountains and in high-lying terrains in general\textsuperscript{22}. Thus in discussing Târnovo’s defensive qualities the author emphasised three obstacles – two natural ones, the water and steepeness of Târnovo’s slopes, which made approach to the city’s buildings significantly more difficult, slowing down the enemy’s assault and forcing him to considerable exertion in order to reach the third obstacle, namely the city walls guarded by the local garrison. It is clear that such emphasis on the question of the city’s defences and their particular components stemmed from the fact that the Byzantines were forced to attack it, \textit{ergo} struggle against the aforementioned obstacles.

The matter of particular defensibility of Târnovo may also be associated somewhat with the used in the quote term \textit{προφερεστάτη} (from \textit{προφερής}), which may be translated as \textit{most excellent}, which should be understood also as meaning \textit{superior}, i.e. \textit{above other [cities]}\textsuperscript{23}. The city therefore stood above others because of its fortifications. On the other hand all these adjectives, including the acceptable, somewhat looser translation \textit{most beautiful}\textsuperscript{24} indicate both the aesthetic qualities of the city’s location (emphasised by other mediaeval authors, and even more so by modern era travellers and contemporary authors)\textsuperscript{25}, as well as its role as a capital, also in this respect elevating it above other Bulgarian cities.

The accuracy of the Byzantine description of Târnovo may be further attested by the fifteenth-century text by a Târnovian, Gregory Tsamblak, who in his \textit{Tale of the transfer of Petka of Târnovo to Vidin and Belgrade}, related to the capture of the Bulgarian capital by the Ottoman Turks in 1393, stated the following:

\begin{quote}
И ки и пристă, 
къси съкунъ евлъгърски пръдажки яйчоки гикладъ хъръкъ. на чудният же градъ пристă, недъосвъкъдки къ пръдъгъ. 
дека съкунъ търкъдетъ яй яйчакъ и къ стъкленнит съръ въ къ лъши гъсъкъ затворено. 
и стъкленъ чланъмъ остръклъ. \textit{въ} къмостъ же
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{23} LSJ, p. 1539.

\textsuperscript{24} Cf. Nicetae Choniatae Historia, trans. V. Таркова, p. 51.

Of course, in comparing the above quotation with the description by Choniates one has to keep in mind the temporal distance dividing the two texts and the advancements in architectural planning and development of the Bulgarian capital. Tărnovo of the late twelfth and late fourteenth centuries differed significantly from each other. Nonetheless both the descriptions not only emphasised practically the same elements of its positioning and fortification, but also did so in almost the same words. True, a remark about the river is absent from Tsamblak’s relation, and also did so in almost the same words. True, a remark about the river is absent from Tsamblak’s relation, and several of the mountains and hills which enclosed the city have been mentioned directly. However the remaining elements are fully compatible with each other – like in Niketas, we have a magnificent, wonderful city, an epithet undoubtedly referring both to its charming location as well as, primarily, its exceptional character, obtained thanks to the relics of St. Petka of Tărnovo resting within its walls. We have a recollection of the natural features guarding the access to the capital, such as


27 On the subject of the city’s development during the two hundred years of its existence, including the substantial advancement of the Trapezitsa hill as the constituent core of the settlement centre and the appearance of subsequent residential districts cf. Д. Равованов, Крепостта Трапезица…, p. 384–386; К. Тотев, Н. Тodorов, П. Караянков, Към фортификацията…, p. 396.
as the location among the steep-sloped mountains and hills, and the emphasis of its fortification with great and mighty walls. Once again, three elements comprising Tărnovo’s defensibility have been named, although instead of the river, Tsamblak emphasised the ultimate, spiritual protection of the city, namely the Saint's intercession. The latter can however be easily explained by the hagiographic nature of his work.

Tărnovo – the seat of the Assenids and the capital of the restored Bulgarian state

I have mentioned earlier that the discussed quotation from the work of Niketas Choniates was included in the narrative describing the killing of Assen by one Ivanko in 1196 and the latter’s attempt at seizing power in Bulgaria. Tărnovo is mentioned four times in the text, and the context of these references is very important. After Assen’s death Ivanko, along with his supporters, started a rebellion against supporters of Peter, Assen’s brother, and took control of the city, aiming to establish his rule over Moesia (i.e. Bulgaria). As the news of the ruler’s death spread not only within the city but also outside its walls, and reached Peter, who was residing in Preslav, Ivanko, fearing adverse developments, turned to Emperor Alexios III Angelos with a request for military support. He encouraged the Byzantine ruler to first capture Tărnovo, and to join forces to fight for the rule over the entire Moesia. At the same time the author also relates that Peter himself did not think he would easily defeat Ivanko, and deliberately delayed an attack, and only in time his supporters outside, and maybe also inside (?) of the city grew in power, as he continuously sent them new armed units. Commenting on the rebel’s offer made to the Emperor, Choniates throws in a remark that had the Emperor put in the appropriate effort, then after capturing Tărnovo he would have easily and effortlessly conquered the entirety of Moesia. This, however, did not happen, and Ivanko did not receive sufficient support from Byzantium. Faced with an increasingly uncertain situation, he doubted his situation and position in Tărnovo and left it in secret, making his way to Byzantium.

Throughout the entire narrative Tărnovo is found at the centre of events. Firstly, Assen, the Bulgarian Tsar resided in this city, and was murdered here. The city became the centre of the rebellion, and it was from here that the attack on and the

subsequent subjugation of the other Bulgarian territories was to come. There is a notable separation in the narrative between Tărnovo and Moesia, the remaining lands subject to the Assenids. The city is the main goal of military operations, and only from there they are directed against other territories. Once the city is taken, the remaining lands will be easily captured – not the other way round. Seizing of the city by Ivanko was supposed to gain him the crown and power. Thus, entering into the city was crucial for imposing rule over the other Bulgarian. Of course, the chief obstacle on the way to a lasting and firm position within the city, but even more so beyond its walls, was Assen's brother, another Bulgarian ruler. The repeated reference to the city's walls is emblematic of the discussed description; these, along with the previously discussed characterisation of Tărnovo's defensive qualities, splendidly explain Peter's hesitation. He likely recognised both the location and the fortifications of the city, realising the difficulties inherent in attempting to capture it. Therefore a rational delay, intended to allow gathering of forces sufficient to be brought before the city, and possibly make an attempt at taking it. The latter was undoubtedly being facilitated by the fears, doubts and hesitation of the Byzantine contingents regarding the crossing of the Stara Planina massif on the way to relieving Ivanko, who remained confined to the city. The latter, in turn, was aware that mastery of Tărnovo, the mightiest of the fortresses in Haimos, and the splendour associated with the city's dominant authority, would ensure him not only safety, but also obedience. Of course, if he had an armed force sufficient to deal with the opposition from Peter. Ivanko intended to make Tărnovo into a base of operations in his efforts to expand his rule over the entirety of Moesia. Losing Tărnovo would have meant losing any real chance for real and legitimate power. Peter was also aware of this, and he immediately took steps to not only avenge his brother, but also to regain the state's central city. Choniates' commentary, once the secretive escape from the city and Ivanko's flight to the Emperor was confirmed and Peter consolidated his forces, was unequivocal – Thus the rule over the Mysians was fully transferred once again into the hands of Peter (καὶ μετῆλθεν οὕτω καθαρῶς πρὸς τὸν Πέτρον πάλιν ἡ ἀρχηγία Μυσῶν)33. In other words, we clearly have here the most important centre of the restored Bulgarian state, its capital; at least, this was the case in 119634.

The confirmation of Tărnovo's significance as the capital and the most important city of the restored state and the seat of the Bulgarian ruler is also found in the remark devoted by Niketas to the fate of Baldwin I (1204–1205), the first Emperor of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, in the context of the defeat of the Western

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33 Choniates, Historia, p. 472, 18–19; Eng. trans. – O City of Byzantium…, p. 25 (with my correction – K.M.).
European knights in the battle of Adrianople in 1205. According to the Byzantine historian’s relation, the Emperor was to have been taken captive and taken by the Bulgarians to Târnovo (ἐς Τέρνοβον), where he was thrown into a dungeon, tied with chains up to his neck. In another place in his work Niketas reported Baldwin’s death. Kaloyan, the then Bulgarian ruler (1197–1207), by then had kept him in captivity for a long time, and because of an anti-Bulgarian rebellion of Alexios Aspietes in Philippopolis, the Bulgarian became enraged at the Latins as well. As a result, in a murderous rage, he led the Latin Emperor from the dungeon and ordered his legs hacked off at the knees and arms at shoulders with a Tenedian axe, and to be then thrown headfirst into a ravine. The unfortunate man, left to be devoured by wild birds, was supposed to have lived for three more days after that, before finally expiring. In a similarly inhuman manner the Bulgarian Tsar put to death the remaining Byzantines he had in captivity, having no regard for their cries and pleading. Among them was also said to have the logothetēs tou dromou Constantine Tornikes, who reluctantly agreed to serve under the Latin ruler after the fall of the Byzantine capital. He was at first in Cuman (lit. Scythian) captivity, then fled to Kaloyan (in the text: John), hoping to be welcomed with highest honours, as had often been the case in the past when he stayed at the Bulgarian court as a Byzantine envoy. As Choniates ironically commented on his fate, he instead experienced _hospitality_, which was expressed through numerous sword wounds across his entire body, and being denied burial after the murder.

Apart from the clear characterisation of attitude and actions of Tsar Kaloyan and his subordinates towards defenceless captives, the described events provide us with some valuable information on the subject of Târnovo itself, or at least about the city as it was perceived by the Byzantine author. Within the city the Bulgarian ruler held high ranking Byzantine and Latin dignitaries, including Emperor Baldwin himself, after they have been captured following the defeat at the battle of Adrianople, or as a result of anti-Byzantine actions of Kaloyan in Thrace.

35 Choniates, _Historia_, p. 616, 60–62. The fourteenth-century demotic paraphrase of Choniates’ _History_ (manuscript B – Monacensis graecus 450) in turn states that Baldwin was guarded in a dungeon, with a chain on his neck and legs clasped in irons – _Nicetae Choniatae Historia_, rec. I. Bekker, p. 814, ad v. 5.

36 Choniates, _Historia_, p. 642, 86 – 643, 10. Somewhat earlier (Choniates, _Historia_, p. 628, 7–12) the historian specified that after the capture of the rebellious Philippopolis and the killing of Aspietes the Bulgarian Tsar returned to Moesia (Bulgaria) and, as the Byzantine author phrased it, he got matters dealt with, viz. severely punished Byzantine traitors, which included killing them in imaginative ways. It cannot be ruled out that this information should be considered in conjunction with the previously mentioned information about the fate of the Byzantine captives kept at Târnovo. In particular, as the lections of the L and O manuscripts of Niketas’ work describe in this place the deaths of Baldwin and the captured Byzantines – Choniates, _Historia_, p. 628, ad v. 7–14. In the light of the narrative included there Kaloyan, enraged at the illustrious Byzantine prisoners he held in chains, sentenced them all to death. Emperor Baldwin was also supposed to have been among the prisoners; he was cast into a chasm and was left to be devoured by dogs and birds of prey.
in 1205. Since Constantine Tornikes, who had earlier come to the Tsar hoping for a more than a kind reception, it is evident that the aforementioned city was the seat of the Bulgarian ruler and his court. Kaloyan therefore permanently resided in Tărnovo, which was obvious to Constantine, since as a former imperial envoy he had prior knowledge and experience in this regard. He knew therefore where to go to meet the most important decision makers in Bulgaria. Already by then Tărnovo had permanently entered Byzantine consciousness as the main centre of the Bulgarian state. It is also evident that the Bulgarian Tsar wished to have the imprisoned dignitaries at hand, likely for purely political and military reasons, as Tărnovo was a sufficiently mighty (by Bulgarian standards, of course) fortress to guarantee a strong defence against attackers who might wish the free the captives. Holding them in the capital, Kaloyan thus controlled the situation, had full command over their fate, which is clearly attested to in Niketas’ account. It also indicates the presence of dungeons within the city (Baldwin) or some unspecified places (Byzantines), in which the captives were being held.

Of particular interest to me is another detail of the narrative, namely the one relating to how Latin Emperor was put to death. It is the matter of the casting down the horrifically mutilated Baldwin into a chasm. This information deserves attention since once again it demonstrates at least relative familiarity of topography of the Bulgarian city. Located on hills, with built-over peaks and relatively steep slopes leading down to the river valley, with flat strips of land at the base of the hills located on both sides of the river, it made carrying out the aforementioned execution possible. The victim could therefore have been cast down from the height of the city walls surrounding the peak, or from the rocky edge of a hill, towards the river valley floor located tens of metres below. We do know of another example of a death sentence on a high ranking state dignitary carried out in this manner. In 1300 Joachim III, the then Bulgarian Patriarch, accused of working with the Tatars and betrayal, was put to death in the same way. On the orders of Tsar Theodore Svetoslav (1300–1321) the hierarch was cast into a chasm, as some scholars assume from the so-called Skull Rock (this identification has a legendary nature), that is the northernmost part of Tsarevets, a sharp mountain top, prominently extending over the precipice below37. Regardless of where specifically the aforementioned execution was carried out, this testimony adds credibility to the description of Baldwin I’s death, or at least provides evidence of its location within the topographical boundaries of Tărnovo. The author’s clear irony aside, in Choniates’ relation also stand out the previously mentioned highest honours and hospitality, on which Constantine Tornikes was hoping for at Kaloyan’s court.

It allows us to think that high ranking guests and envoys could be received there with appropriate esteem.

**Summary**

Direct remarks about Târnovo in Niketas Choniates’ text are not particularly numerous, although they are undoubtedly emblematic and bring with them a considerable amount of information. They are also surprisingly precise. The city was of no particular interest to the historian, but there is no doubt that it did not escape his attention, either in terms of its location and the main characteristics of its planning, nor regarding its political significance in the newly created state, also among other centres in the early Assenid Bulgaria.

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