The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor

Byzantine and Near Eastern History
AD 284–813

Translated with Introduction and Commentary by
CYRIL MANGO and ROGER SCOTT
with the assistance of Geoffrey Greatrex

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Preface

The Chronicle that goes under the name of Theophanes Confessor (d. 818) is a major source for the history not only of the East Roman or Byzantine Empire, but also for that of the Near East after the Arab conquest. That is not to say that its value is uniform for the entire period it covers, namely from AD 284/5 to 813. Roughly its first half in terms of pages of text, from AD 284/5 to 602, is based on sources that are, by and large, available to us in one form or another, although occasionally Theophanes does yield items of information that cannot be found elsewhere. From AD 602 to 813, however, Theophanes is for us a primary source in the sense that the writings he utilized have been almost entirely lost.

The purpose of our work was to provide a faithful translation of Theophanes as edited by C. de Boor (1883) with such annotation as would facilitate its use by historians. To that end we have added a double apparatus, namely: (i) An *apparatus fontium* indicating, whenever possible, the source used by Theophanes or, if such a source has not survived, parallel passages in other texts that are independent of Theophanes (i.e. are not derived from him); (ii) A set of brief explanatory notes. It goes without saying that, given enough time and space, the latter could have been expanded tenfold, but it was not our aim to provide an exhaustive commentary, which would have been almost tantamount to writing a history of the Byzantine Empire to AD 813. We can only hope that, armed with our text, the historian will not only know what Theophanes says, but will also be in a position to evaluate the worth of his statements.

Our work has been more than fifteen years in the making, partly because of other commitments borne by the two authors, partly because of the difficulty of conducting a collaboration across two oceans. For this delay we have paid the penalty of having been anticipated by two partial translations into English, the first by H. Turtledove, with elementary annotation, covering the period 602–813,[1] the second by A. R. Santoro, without any notes, confined to 717–803.[2] Both are highly inaccurate.

The past fifteen years have also seen a steady flow of publications devoted to various aspects of the Chronicle or to particular periods for which it is an important source. We should name in the first

[1] *The Chronicle of Theophanes* (Philadelphia, 1982).
[2] *Theophanes, Chronographia* (Gorham, Me., 1982).

place the exhaustive commentary on the years 715–813 by Ilse Rochow, omitting, however, all items of purely Near Eastern interest.[3] Two works by I. S. Čičurov also deserve mention. The first, entitled *Byzantine Historical Writings*,[4] consists of selected passages of Theophanes and the *Breviarium* of the Patriarch Nikephoros accompanied by a Russian translation and explanatory notes. The second, *The Place of the Chronographia of Theophanes in the Early Byzantine Historiographic Tradition*,[5] attempts to analyse the Chronicle as a work of literature with special reference to the author's 'self-awareness', his attitude to prevailing conventions of historical writing, and the ideal image of the emperor. We cannot enter here into a discussion of the views expressed by the Russian scholar, although we may be permitted to say that the approach he has chosen appears to us inappropriate to a work that is avowedly compilatory and non-literary. A stream of publications by Professor Paul Speck of Berlin, concerned directly or indirectly with Theophanes and by now amounting to several thousand pages, has put us in a more difficult position. Professor Speck offers many incisive observations, but these are intermingled with so much hypothetical speculation that we decided, after some hesitation, to make only occasional reference to his works. We have also omitted for reasons of space much other bibliography which did not appear to us to make any original contribution.

The division of our labour has been as follows: R.S. undertook to translate and annotate roughly the first half of the Chronicle (AM 5777–6094), while C.M. is responsible for AM 6095–6305 and for Theophanes' 'Preface'. The Introduction is by C.M. except for the chronology of the Persian kings (III.2.i), the discussion of sources relevant to the first half of the text (IV.2–9 and part of 14) and the section entitled 'Treatment of Sources'. The List of Abbreviations, Glossary and Index have been compiled by Dr Geoffrey Greatrex, to whom we are also greatly indebted for editing our manuscript for the press.

C.M. would also like to thank Dr J. D. Howard-Johnston for advice on the events of the reign of the emperor Herakleios, Drs R. Hoyland and L. I. Conrad on matters relating to the Arabs, and, as always, his wife.

R.S. would like to thank Oliver Nicholson in particular and also Anthony Bryer, Brian Croke, Simon Franklin, Martine Henry,

[3] *Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert in der Sicht des Theophanes* (Berlin, 1991).

[4] *Vizantijskie istoričeskie sočinenija* (Moscow, 1980).

[5] *Mesto 'Chronografii' Feofana v rannevizantijskoj istoriografičeskoj tradicii* in the series *Drevnejšie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR* for 1981 (pub. Moscow, 1983).

Elizabeth Jeffreys, Margaret Mullett, and Michael Whitby. He is also very grateful for facilities made available to him as an honorary Research Fellow at the Centre for Byzantine Studies at the University of Birmingham and as a Fellow of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.

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Conventions Adopted in the Present Publication

1. *Text*

Words that have been added to the English translation for the sake of clarity are placed in square brackets ([. . .]).

Words supplied by de Boor, mostly from the Latin translation by Anastasius, are in angle brackets (⟨. . .⟩).

Words or passages rejected by de Boor are marked ⌜. . .⌝.

Lacunae in the text are marked by an asterisk (*).

De Boor's pagination is indicated in the margin.

Passages that we consider to have been derived from Theophanes' Oriental source (on which see Introduction, IV.13) are printed in Avenir roman.

2. *Chronological Rubrics*

On the form of the rubrics, as they are given in the manuscripts and in de Boor's edition, see Introduction, III.

i. Full Rubrics:

We have used the abbreviation AM instead of 'Year of the World' and added in square brackets the corresponding AD date. Both are given in **bold** type. It should be understood that the AD date is the one theoretically equivalent to the AM according to the system of computation used by Theophanes and need not be the correct date for the events described.

ii. Abbreviated Rubrics:

We have inserted: (*a*) The AM and AD dates in square brackets; (*b*) The name of the ruler and bishop before the numeral, thus: 'Diocletian, 2nd year'. Strictly speaking, the name ought to have been also placed in square brackets, but that would have created such a plethora of brackets that we have taken the liberty of omitting them.

Whenever a new ruler or bishop is appointed, he is introduced in the manuscripts by the following formula (taking AM 5786 as an example):

Marcellinus, bishop of Rome, 2 years
Peter the Martyr, bishop of Alexandria, 11 years,

followed by the usual string of numerals, namely 10 (10th year of Diocletian), 6 (6th year of Ouarraches), 1 (1st year of Marcellinus), 22

(22nd year of Hymenaios), I (1st year of Peter the Martyr), II (11th year of Tyrannos).

For the sake of greater clarity we have combined the name and length of tenure of the new incumbent with the ordinal number of the year that is applicable to him, instead of disjoining them as the manuscripts do.

3. *Proper Names, Titles, and Technical Terms*

Without aiming at complete consistency, which would have been impossible to achieve without introducing a great many bizarre forms, we have adopted for proper names the following guidelines:

Whenever a familiar English equivalent exists, that has been used (e.g. Diocletian, George, John, Justinian, Marcian, etc.).

Less familiar Greek as well as foreign names have been transliterated (β = b, κ = k, υ = y, αι = ai, ει = ei, οι = oi, ου = ou). In the case of foreign names their 'correct' or accepted form is given in the Index.

Less familiar names of Latin derivation are given in Latin spelling (thus Germanus rather than Germanos).

The same principles have been applied to titles and technical terms. Except such as are commonly used in an Anglicized form (e.g. notary, patrician, tribune), those of Latin origin are given in Latin spelling (e.g. *a secretis*, but *protoasekretis*, this being a bastard Greek formation; *candidatus*, *nobilissimus*, etc.), while those of Greek origin are transliterated.

In a few cases Theophanes uses two different forms to designate the same person, e.g. Sarbarazas and Sarbaros = Šahrvaraz. We have retained both so as not to disguise the author's inconsistency.

The Greek ephitet 'the great' applied to a person may mean just that, or it may mean 'the elder' or 'the first'. For emperors we have translated it as 'the elder' apart from Constantine I and on two occasions for Theodosios I (AM 5998, 6232). For others we have translated it as 'the Great'.

4. *Annotation*

This takes a double form:

Notes designated by an arabic numeral are explanatory.

Those designated by a lower case letter constitute the *apparatus fontium*. Whenever it has been possible to delimit a passage that has either been borrowed from a known source or exists in a comparable form in another text, the passage in question has been placed between vertical lines (| |) and followed by the reference [a], [b], [c], etc. The indication 'Cf.' refers to parallel passages. Derivative parallels of later date have not been quoted unless they have some independent value.

Abbreviations

1. *Periodicals, reference books, short abbreviations*

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum*
ABAW	*Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
ABSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
ACO	*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz and J. Straub (Berlin, 1914–83)
AG	Anno Graecorum (i.e. of the Seleucid era, from 1 Oct. 312 BC)
AH	Anno Hegirae (i.e. of the Islamic era)
AIPHOS	*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*
AJAH	*American Journal of Ancient History*
AnatSt	*Anatolian Studies*
AnBoll	*Analecta Bollandiana*
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BHG	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3rd edn., ed. F. Halkin, Subsidia Hagiographica, 8a (Brussels, 1957)
BIRC	*Bulletin de l'Institut russe de Constantinople (= IRAIK)*
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BNJ	*Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*
BSl	*Byzantinoslavica*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
Byz	*Byzantion*
ByzF	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
dB	C. de Boor
CC	Corpus Christianorum
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae

CHEIA	*The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed. D. Sinor (Cambridge, 1990)
CMH	*The Cambridge Medieval History*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CR	*Classical Review*
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DChAE	*Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DO Seals	*Catalogue of the Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, ed. J. Nesbitt and N. Oikonomides (Washington, DC, 1991–)
DSp	*Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*
DTC	*Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*
EEBΣ	*Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EI[1]	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. M. T. Houtsma *et al.*, 4 vols. (Leiden and London, 1913–34)
EI[2]	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edn., ed. H. A. R. Gibb *et al.* (Leiden and London, 1960–)
EO	*Échos d'Orient*
FCH	R.C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols. (Liverpool, 1981–3)
FHG	*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. iv, ed. C. Müller (Paris, 1851), vol. v, ed. C. Müller (Paris, 1870)
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*

HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUS	*Harvard Ukrainian Studies*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
ind.	Indiction
IRAIK	*Izvestija Russkogo Archeologičeskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole*
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
JDAI	*Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JÖBG	*Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JRGS	*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSav	*Journal des Savants*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
ΚΕΦΣ	*Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος*
LSJ	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, rev. H. S. Jones and R. McKenzie, *A Greek–English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1968)
MBM	Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia
MGH AA	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*
MGH SS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
ODB	*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan (Oxford, 1991)
OrChr	*Oriens Christianus*
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
PLRE	*Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, ed.J. Martindale *et al.* 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1971–92)
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*
PS	*Patrologia Syriaca*

RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (Stuttgart, 1950–)
RE	*Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1894–)
REA	*Revue des Études Anciennes*
REArm	*Revue des Études Arméniennes*
REB	*Revue des Études Byzantines*
REG	*Revue des Études Grecques*
RendLincei	*Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*
RevNum	*Revue Numismatique*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
RIDA	*Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*
ROC	*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*
RSBN	*Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*
SRM	*Scriptores Rerum Merowingicarum*
StT	Studi e Testi
Subs. hag.	Subsidia Hagiographica
TAPA	*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*
TIB	*Tabula Imperii Byzantini*
TM	*Travaux et Mémoires, Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et de Civilisation byzantines*
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1882–)
VizVrem	*Vizantijskij Vremennik*
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZRVI	*Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta*

2. *Ancient Works*

Acta Anastasii Persae	*Saint Anastase le Perse*, vol. i, ed. B. Flusin (Paris, 1994)

Actes de Lavra	*Actes de Lavra*, edd. P. Lemerle, *et al.*, 4 vols (Paris, 1970–82)
Agapios	Agapios, *Kitab al-'Unvan*, ed. and tr. A. A. Vasiliev, *PO* 8 (1912)
Agath.	Agathias, *Historiae*, ed. R. Keydell, CFHB (Berlin, 1967)
Agnellus	Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *MGH Scr. rer. Lang.* 263–391
Alex. Mon.	Alexander Monachus, *De venerandae crucis inventione*, *PG* 87/3: 4015 ff.
Ambrose, *De ob. Val.*	Ambrose, *De obitu Valentiniani Iunioris* in *Sancti Ambrosii Opera*, vol. vii, ed. O. Faller (Vienna, 1955), *CSEL* 73, 327–67
Amm. Marc.	Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri quae supersunt*, ed. and tr. J. C. Rolfe (London, 1935–9)
Anast.	Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Chronographia Tripartita*, ed. C. de Boor in Theophanes, vol. ii
Anast. Sin. *Sermo III*	Anastasius Sinaita, *Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem dei*, ed. K. H. Uthemann, CC ser. gr. 12 (Turnhout and Louvain, 1985)
Ann. Rav.	*Annals of Ravenna*, ed. W. Koehler in *Medieval Studies in memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, vol. i (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), 125–38, and in *Studi Romagnoli*, 3 (1952), 1–17
Anna Comnena	Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. and tr. B. Leib, 3 vols. (Paris, 1937–45)
Anon. Cusp.	See *Fast. Vind. Prior.*
Anon. *Periplus*	Anon. *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, ed. C. Müller, *Geographi graeci minores*, i (Paris, 1855), 402–33 plus (middle part) *FHG* v. 174–87; ed. Baschmakoff, *Synthèse*; ed. A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (Lancaster, Pa., 1952), 118–38
Anon. Val.	*Excerpta Valesiana*, ed. J. Moreau and V. Velkov (Leipzig, 1968); tr. J. C.

	Rolfe in vol. iii of Ammianus Marcellinus (above)
Anth. Gr.	*Anthologia Graeca*, ed. H. Beckby (Munich, 1957–8); books i–xv = *Anthologia Palatina*; book xvi = *Anthologia* (or *Appendix*) *Planudea*
Auct. Prosp.	*Auctarium Prosperi Hauniensis*, ed. Th. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, *MGH AA* ix (Berlin, 1892)
Aur. Vict. *Caes.*	Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus*, ed. F. Pichlmayr (Leipzig, 1911); tr. H. W. Bird, *The Liber de Caesaribus of Sextus Aurelius Victor*, TTH (Liverpool, 1994)
Aur. Vict. *Epit. Caes.*	Aurelius Victor, *Epitome de Caesaribus*, ed. F. Pichlmayr (Leipzig, 1911)
Balādhuri, Brooks	See Brooks, 'Abbasids', below
Cer.	Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J. J. Reiske, CSHB (Bonn, 1829); partial French tr., 2 vols., A. Vogt (Paris, 1935–40)
Chr. 724	*Chronicon miscellaneum ad* AD *724 pertinens* (*CSCO Scr. Syr.* 3rd ser. 4/2), tr. J. B. Chabot (Paris, 1904); partial tr. in Palmer, *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles* (Liverpool, 1993), 14–23
Chr. 811	'La Chronique byzantine de l'an 811', ed. I. Dujčev, *TM* 1 (1965), 205–54; repr. in I. Dujčev, *Medioeveo bizantino-slavo*, ii (Rome, 1968), 425–89
Chr. 813	*Fragmenta chronici anonymi auctoris ad* AD *813 pertinentia* (*CSCO* Scr. Syr. 3rd ser. 4), tr. E. W. Brooks (Louvain, 1905). Also with English tr. by Brooks, *ZDMG* 54 (1900), 195–230
Chr. 819	*Chronicon anonymum ad* AD *819*, ed. J. B. Chabot along with *Chr. 1234*, vol. i
Chr. 846	*Chronicon ad* AD *846 pertinens* (*CSCO* Scr. Syr. 3rd ser. 4/2), tr. J. B. Chabot (Louvain, 1904)

Chr. 1234	*Chronicon anonymum ad* AD *1234 pertinens*, vol. i (*CSCO* Scr. Syr. 3rd ser. 14), tr. J. B. Chabot (Louvain, 1937); vol. ii, tr. A. Abouna, ibid., vol. 154 (Louvain, 1974)
Chr. Alt.	*Chronicon Altinate et Gradense*, ed. R. Cessi, Fonti per la storia d'Italia, 73 (Rome, 1933)
Chr. Edess.	*Chronicon Edessenum*, tr. I. Guidi (*CSCO* Scr. Syr. 3rd ser. 4/1) (Paris, 1903); also in *Untersuchungen über die Edessenische Chronik*, ed. and tr. L. Hallier (Leipzig, 1892)
Chr. Maron.	*Chronicon Maroniticum* (*CSCO* Scr. Syr. 3rd ser. 4), ed. E. W. Brooks, tr. J.-B. Chabot (Louvain, 1904)
Chr. Seert	Chronicle of Seert (= *Histoire nestorienne inédite*), ed. A. Scher, tr. l'abbé Pierre, *PO* 4 (1908), 5 (1910), 7 (1911), and 13 (1919)
Chron. Min.	*Chronica Minora*, ed. Th. Mommsen, *MGH AA* ix, xi, and xiii (Berlin, 1892–8)
Chron. Pasch.	*Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf, CSHB (Bonn, 1832); tr. M. and M. Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale* AD *284–632*, TTH (Liverpool, 1989)
CJ	*Codex Justinianus*, ed. P. Krueger (11th edn., Berlin, 1954)
cod. Paris. gr.1710	Codex Parisinus Graecus 1710, in C. de Boor, *Theophanis Chronographia*, vol. ii (Leipzig, 1905), 370–1
Codex Angelicus	'Die Vita Constantini des Codex Angelicus 22', ed. H.-G. Opitz, *Byz* 9 (1934), 535–93
Coll. Avell.	*Collectio Avellana: epistulae imperatorum, pontificum, aliorum,* AD *367–553*, ed. O. Guenther, *CSEL* 35 (Vienna, 1895–8)
Cons. Const.	*Consularia Constantinopolitana*, ed. R. W. Burgess in *The* Chronicle of Hydatius *and the* Consularia Constantinopolitana (Oxford, 1993),

	215–45; also Th. Mommsen, *MGH AA* ix (Berlin, 1892)
Const. Porph. *De Them.*	A. Pertusi, *Constantino Porfirogenito De Thematibus*, StT 160 (Vatican City, 1952)
Coripp. *Ioh.*	Corippus, *Iohannidos seu de bellis Libycis Libri VIII*, ed. J. Diggle and F. R. D. Goodyear (Cambridge, 1970); also ed. J. Partsch, *MGH AA* iii (Berlin, 1897)
Coripp. *Iust.*	Corippus, *In Laudem Iustini Augusti minoris Libri IV*, ed. tr. and comm. A. Cameron (London, 1976); also ed. J. Partsch, *MGH AA* iii (Berlin, 1897)
Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.*	*Ἐπιλογὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας*, ed. J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis*, vol. ii (Oxford, 1839, repr. Hildesheim, 1967)
CTh	*Codex Theodosianus*, ed. Th. Mommsen, 3rd edn. (Berlin, 1962); tr. C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (Princeton, 1952)
Cyr. Scyth.	Cyril of Scythopolis, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, Texte und Untersuchungen, 49/2 (Leipzig, 1939); tr. and comm. A. J. Festugière, *Les Moines d'Orient: Les Moines de Palestine*, iii/1–3 (Paris, 1962–3); tr. R. M. Price, *Lives of the Monks of Palestine* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1991)
Cyr. Scyth. *V. Euth.*	Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*
Cyr. Scyth. *V. Sab.*	Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae*
DAI	Constantine VII, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. and tr. G. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins, CFHB 1, 2nd edn. (Washington, DC, 1967)
Damascius, *V. Isid.*	Damascius, *Vita Isidori*, ed. C. Zintzen (Hildesheim, 1967)
De insid.	*Excerpta historica iussu imperatoris Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*

	IV, de insidiis, ed. C. de Boor (Berlin, 1905)
Doctr. Iacobi	*Doctrina Iacobi nuper baptizati*, ed. V. Déroche, *TM* 11 (1991), 47–229
Elias Nis.	*Eliae Metropolitae Nisibeni Opus Chronologicum*, pars prior (*CSCO* Scr. Syr. 3rd ser. 7), ed. and tr. E. W. Brooks (Rome, Paris, Leipzig, 1910)
Epit. Caes.	(as above, Aur. Vict.)
Euseb. *Chron.*	Eusebios–Jerome, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Helm, 3rd edn. (Leipzig, 1984)
Euseb. *HE*	Eusebios, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. E. Schwartz, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1903–9); tr. H. J. Lawlor and J. R. L. Oulton, 2 vols. (London, 1927–8) and G. A. Williamson, *Eusebius: The History of the Church* (Harmondsworth, 1965)
Euseb. *Speech*	Eusebios, *Tricennial Oration*, ed. I. A. Heikel (Leipzig, 1902); tr. H. A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976)
Euseb. *VC*	Eusebios, *Vita Constantini*, ed. F. Winkelmann (Berlin, 1975); tr. E. C. Richardson in *The Writings of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, i (Oxford, 1890), 581–610
Eustath.	Eustathios of Epiphaneia, fragments, ed. C. Müller, *FHG* iv. 138–42
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Exc. Barocc.	*Excerpta Barocciana*, excerpts from Codex Baroccianus 142, folios 212r–216r, Bodleian Library, Oxford
Exc. de ins.	See under *De insid.*

Exc. de leg.	*Excerpta historica iussu imperatoris Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta I, de legationibus*, ed. C. de Boor (Berlin, 1903)
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Fast. Vind. Prior.	*Fasti Vindobonenses Priores*, ed. Th. Mommsen, *MGH AA* ix (Berlin, 1892)
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Festus, *Brev.*	*The Breviarium of Festus*, ed. J. W. Eadie (London, 1967)
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Geo. Pisid. *Exp. Pers.*	George of Pisidia, *Expeditio Persica*, in A. Pertusi (as above)
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Introduction

I. GEORGE SYNKELLOS AND THEOPHANES

The Chronicle that bears the name of Theophanes Confessor (d. 818) represents the continuation of that of George Synkellos, which covers the period from the creation of the world to the accession of Diocletian.[1] All we know about George is that he was a monk, that he resided for some time in Palestine, most probably in the Old Lavra of St Chariton (also known as Souka) near Tekoa,[2] that he held the post of *synkellos* under Tarasios, patriarch of Constantinople (784–806), and that he was still writing in 810.[3] Anastasius Bibliothecarius, in the Preface to his translation (on which see below, p. xcvii), says that George struggled valiantly against heresy (presumably Iconoclasm) and received many punishments from the rulers who raged against the rites of the Church; further, that he was commended by the Roman legates at the Council of 787 (the Seventh ecumenical), *siquidem et laus eius in eodem septimo et sancto concilio repperitur*.[4] This last statement appears to be due to a confusion,[5] and one may be tempted to doubt that George was ever persecuted by the iconoclastic emperors.

The post of *synkellos* (literally 'cell-mate') had no defined duties, but stood very high in the ecclesiastical establishment.[6] Its incumbents were appointed by the emperor (certainly from the time of Basil I and probably earlier) and on many occasions ascended the patriarchal throne. This means that George may have owed his

[1] On Synkellos see H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, ii (Leipzig, 1885), 176 ff.; R. Laqueur, *RE* iv/2 (1932), 1388 ff.; G. L. Huxley, *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.* 81, C, no. 6 (1981), 207–17; I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 46 (1992), 280 ff.

[2] As suggested by his comment (p. 122) on Rachel's tomb, situated between Jerusalem and Bethlehem: 'I often saw her sarcophagus, which lies above ground, as I was on my way in the direction of Bethlehem and the so-called Old Lavra of St. Chariton.' On the monastery see S. Vailhé, *Bessarione*, 3 (1897–8), 50 ff.; id., *ROC* 4 (1899), 524–5; Chitty, *Desert*, 14–15 and fig. 11; on the tomb Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 272. We cannot agree with the argument of V. Grecu, Acad. Roumaine, *Bulletin de la section historique*, 28/2 (1947), 241–5, that Synkellos' Palestinian reminiscences have been copied from early Christian authors like Africanus and Eusebios.

[3] Synk. 244; cf. 2.

[4] Ed. de Boor along with Theoph., ii. 34.

[5] Between Synkellos and George of Cyprus, the latter being mentioned in the Acts of 787. Cf. Gelzer, *Africanus*, ii. 177.

[6] See I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 41 (1987), 463–4 with earlier bibliography.

position to the empress Irene (780–802) and that he was at Constantinople a person of considerable importance. He need not, however, have been the only sitting *synkellos*.[7] It has often been asserted that he died in 811, but for this there is no evidence. He was, however, dead at the time when Theophanes was writing the Preface to his Chronicle, possibly in 814.

We are much better informed concerning Theophanes. The two main sources for his biography are: (i) A panegyric by St Theodore the Studite probably delivered in 822 on the occasion of the deposition of Theophanes' body in his monastery;[8] (ii) A Life by Methodios, the future patriarch of Constantinople (843–7), written before 832.[9] A mass of other hagiographic material devoted to Theophanes (*BHG* 1788–92) has little or no independent value.

At the cost of some repetition it will be useful to summarize separately the information provided by our two principal sources. First, the panegyric by Theodore the Studite, which, if read between the lines, is not uniformly complimentary to the honorand:

> The Saint's parents, called Isaakios and Theodote, were noble and rich. His father held a position of honour in the palatine hierarchy. The Saint himself was tall and handsome, capable with his hands and swift in the race. He became acquainted with the emperor and was given the rank of *strator*.[10] A short time thereafter, his father having died, the Saint was married in his 19th year. It was said that the couple remained continent. Whether that was so or not, they were childless and, after a little more than two years of marriage, both of them decided to embrace the monastic life. With the

[7] The number of patriarchal *synkelloi* was limited to two by the emperor Herakleios (*Nov.* 2), but we do not know how many of them there were simultaneously at the end of the 8th cent. John, who was ordained metropolitan of Sardis in 803, had been *synkellos*, probably under Tarasios: *Ioannis Sardiani commentarium in Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig, 1928), xix. Cf. S. Efthymiadis, *RSBN* NS 28 (1991), 25 f. We are further told that Constantine VI, in trying to exert pressure on Tarasios in the dispute over his 'adulterous' marriage (cf. below, n. 15), 'set over him guards who used the name of *synkelloi*, although they were far removed from piety': *V. Tarasii*, 412. 26. George, we may be sure, was not one of these arbitrarily imposed *synkelloi*.

[8] See now the complete edn. by S. Efthymiadis, *AnBoll* 111 (1993), 259–90, superseding that by C. Van de Vorst, *AnBoll* 31 (1912), 19–23 (mutilated at the end and without the author's name).

[9] Ed. B. Latyšev, *Mémoires de l'Académie de Russie*, 8th ser. 13/4 (1918), 1–40. J. Gouillard, *BZ* 53 (1960), 36 ff., has shown that it pre-dates the Life of St Euthymios of Sardis by the same author, which was composed 40 days after that saint's death (26 Dec. 831). The Life of Euthymios is now edited in *TM* 10 (1987), 1 ff.

[10] i.e. 'groom', 6th from the bottom in the 9th-cent. hierarchy of dignities. See Oikonomides, *Listes*, 298.

> help of the empress [Irene], who was greatly touched by this conduct, Theophanes set up his wife in a convent on the island of Prinkipos,[11] while he himself was tonsured at a distance, on the island of Kalonymos,[12] at the hands of a famous monk called Theodore the 'One-armed'. He was placed under a superior, on whose death he assumed the direction of the establishment. He then moved to the slopes of Mount Sigriane,[13] where he established an excellent monastery, 'whose charm has to be seen to be believed'. There he devoted himself to monastic discipline, including the copying of books. If, even so, he remained portly (*πληθωρικός*), that was due to his physical constitution and kindly nature. Later on, after a long illness, he became as thin as a skeleton. Among his other virtues he had the gift of doctrine (*δογματικός*), in spite of his lack of formal education. He maintained the ancient custom of visiting and consulting other monks, a practice that has now been abandoned. His baptismal name was Theophanes, but he was usually called by his father's name, namely Isaakios. He experienced difficulties and disquiet with regard to his sister (*τῆς ἀδελφῆς*), who neglected her monastic duties. He wrote her letters of admonition, but refused to see her.[14]

[11] The biggest of the Princes' Islands, modern Büyükada. The nunnery of Prinkipos is said to have been founded by the empress Irene, who was herself interned in it (802). See E. Mamboury, *ÉO* 19 (1920), 200–9; Janin, *Grands centres*, 69. Add *V. Irenes*, 25–7, with the mention of her tomb there. On this document, which is heavily dependent on Theoph., see W. T. Treadgold, *ByzF* 8 (1982), 237–51.

[12] Ancient Besbikos, modern Imralı adası. Described by F. W. Hasluck, *ABSA* 13 (1906–7), 301 ff. The monastery of the Metamorphosis (Transfiguration), visited by Hasluck, may have been the one founded by Theophanes. Its church retained its original *opus sectile* pavement in Hasluck's time: see his fig. 11.

[13] Modern Karadağ, east of Bandırma. For a discussion of this area and its monasteries, including Megas Agros, see C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 27 (1973), 248 ff.

[14] It is not clear to us whether 'sister' ought to be understood literally or with reference to Megalo as being Theophanes' sister in religion. A nun called Maria, to whom Theodore the Studite wrote a letter in 818 (*Ep.* 396) is described by him as being 'of the same flesh' as Theophanes. We learn from the letter that Maria had taken the unusual step of wearing secular costume in order to escape persecution, no doubt at the hands of iconoclasts. She seems to have been a member, along with Megalo, of the Prinkipos nunnery, seeing that the Studite on two occasions wrote to them jointly (*Epp.* 292, 323). If Maria was indeed Theophanes' sister, it is certainly odd that in *Ep.* 323.40 the Studite should exhort the two women not to betray the faith, *ὡς ἐκείνου ὄντες* (for *οὖσαι*) . . . *ἡ μὲν ὁμόζυγος, ἡ δὲ τῆς ὁμοζύγου ὁμαίμων*. The word *ὁμαίμων* (blood relative) suggests that Maria was related to Megalo rather than to Theophanes. The Vita *BHG* 1789 (ed. dB, ii. 8) preserves a story that Megalo indulged in rather bizarre behaviour, deliberately selling herself into slavery and, on being recognized, running away; furthermore that she accomplished feats of asceticism on the islands of both Prinkipos and Kalonymos. If there is any truth in this report, we may well imagine that Theophanes would have been highly embarrassed by such excesses

In the Moichian affair[15] he did not choose to suffer for the right cause. Like a hunter, however, who has once missed his prey out of thoughtlessness (ἀβουλίᾳ), he became all the more resolute in the face of a second and more serious trial.

After the accession of the impious Leo the Armenian, a wicked gathering was assembled[16] to confirm the former false council [i.e. the iconoclastic council of Hiereia, AD 754]. This led to a resumption of iconoclastic excesses, including bloodshed, imprisonment, and the flight of holy men to deserted places and mountains. Resistance was offered by the patriarch [Nikephoros], bishops, priests, and monks, among them our Theophanes. The latter, being bedridden on account of a wasting disease of the kidneys (κλινήρης ὢν ἐκ νεφριτικοῦ πάθους καὶ μαρασμοῦ), was unable to take part in the struggle at Constantinople. Instead, he summoned to his presence the abbots of nearby and distant monasteries of Bithynia (for he commanded great respect) and exhorted them to take up the good fight.

On the nativity of St John the Baptist [24 June 815] arrests were made among the congregation attending the liturgy in church.[17] Some persons were brought before the emperor and seduced from the right path after experiencing prison. Somewhat later Theophanes, too, was brought to Constantinople in a litter (ἐπὶ σκίμποδος) on account of his illness. Unwilling to face him, the emperor delivered him into the custody of the impious John [the Grammarian, later patriarch], who was to interrogate him on matters of theology. Among the questions asked was the following: 'Whilst Christ's body was in the tomb, where was His divinity?' To which Theophanes replied, 'The divinity is everywhere, O enemy of God, except in your heart.' After this riposte, which

(hence the letters of admonition) and may even have been prejudiced on account of his troublesome wife against the empress Irene. On the other hand, *BHG* 1789 is not a reliable document, and we are not reassured by its author's statement that 'part of her [Megalo's] accomplishments are related for the reader's benefit in the work by the most holy Patriarch Methodios concerning both her and the blessed man'. There is, of course, nothing of the kind in the preserved Vita by Methodios, analysed below.

[15] i.e. the scandal caused by the 'adulterous' second marriage of Constantine VI in 795. See P. Henry, *JTS* NS 20 (1969), 495–522. The Studite was the most vociferous of the young emperor's critics and probably never forgave Theophanes for having followed what he saw as an unprincipled course.

[16] Referring to the Council of Hagia Sophia held after Easter 815. See Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 137 ff.

[17] We are not told in which church this incident took place. The *synaxis* of 24 June was normally celebrated in the martyrium of St John in the district of Sphorakios, near Hagia Sophia: Mateos, *Typicon*, i. 318; *Syn. CP* 767.

angered the emperor, Theophanes was moved to a more secure place of detention where, in spite of his unbearable illness, he remained steadfast for a period of two years. He was then exiled to Samothrace and survived 22 days after his arrival on the island. He had been a monk forty years and had lived a total of sixty [in round numbers]. The translation of his body [i.e. to his own monastery] had to be postponed until after the emperor's murder [25 Dec. 820]. After alluding to a number of posthumous miracles, the encomiast concludes with a prayer on behalf of the monastic community and its abbot, whom Theophanes had trained and designated as his successor.[18]

Now for the Vita by Methodios:

The Saint's parents were Isaakios and Theodote. He inherited his father's name not because he had been so called at baptism—his real name being Theophanes—but because of the attachment to his father shown by the tyrant Constantine [the emperor Constantine V]. His father died while holding the command of the Aegean Sea[19] when the Saint was 3 years old. He was educated by his mother (cc. 4–5). At the age of 10 he was engaged to Megalo, then aged 8, not through the offices of an intermediary, but by a contract drawn up between their respective parents, both parties being extremely rich. He grew up and followed the normal pursuits of a young man. He was especially fond of riding and hunting, which blunted in his mind the sting of his passions (c. 6). He became friendly with one of his servants, a goldsmith named Prandios, who urged him to become a monk (c. 7).

When he had reached his 18th year and grown into a handsome young man, his mother insisted that he marry, an arrangement to which he did not object from a sense of obedience (cc. 8–9). While preparations for his wedding were going forward, his mother died. To console him, the emperor Leo [IV, 775–80] gave him the rank of imperial *strator* (c. 10). When the prescribed period of mourning

[18] Possibly the abbot Stephen, who is the addressee of the Studite's *Ep.* 487. The Vita by Methodios was also composed at the request of a man called Stephen, hence probably the second abbot of Agros (c. 1: κελευσθεὶς παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀγάπης, στεφώνυμε). Cf. S. Efthymiadis, *AnBoll* 111 (1993), 264–5.

[19] i.e. he was *drungarius* of the Aegean Sea. On this office see A. Pertusi on Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Them.* 154–5; H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Études de l'histoire maritime de Byzance* (Paris, 1966), 85, 96–7; Ahrweiler, *Mer*, 76 ff. The name Isaakios being very uncommon among laymen, one may wonder whether Theophanes' father was not the same as the Isaakios, *comes* and *kommerkiarios*, of whom there exists an 8th-cent. seal: J.-C. Cheynet, C. Morrisson, and W. Seibt, *Les Sceaux byzantins de la collection H. Seyrig* (Paris, 1991), no. 151.

had ended, his prospective father-in-law[20] pressed him to proceed with the wedding, which took place with the usual celebrations. The Saint, however, informed his bride of his intention of abandoning the world after they had performed their conjugal duty. She agreed to this arrangement (cc. 11–12). The emperor Leo, egged on by the Saint's father-in-law, threatened to blind Theophanes if the latter chose to become a monk. To keep him busy, he dispatched him to supervise the construction of the fort of Kyzikos, which mission the Saint accomplished at his own expense (c. 15).[21] On his way to Kyzikos he stopped at Mount Sigriane, where he met an old monk named Gregory and revealed to him his designs. Gregory assured him that he did not have to take drastic action, since both the emperor and his father-in-law would soon die (c. 16). The prophecy was fulfilled in his 21st year (c. 19).

In the reign of Irene the couple started selling their possessions and manumitting their slaves (c. 20). Theophanes set up his wife in the convent of Prinkipos, to which he made suitable benefactions. He himself became a monk in the monastery of Polichnion[22] at Mount Sigriane, which was his own property (*προάστειον*). He and his wife (now renamed Irene) agreed not to see each other any more (c. 21). Theophanes made a gift of Polichnion to its abbot Strategios, who had acted as his sponsor when he embraced the monastic life. He then moved to the island of Kalonymos, where he built at his own expense a monastery on a property he had inherited. He gathered a community from the monastery of Theodore the 'One-armed' and appointed the most experienced of them abbot. On the latter's death the brethren urged him to become their head, but he refused and earned his livelihood by practising the art of calligraphy in which he had not been instructed. By dint of much patience he acquired skill in spelling and accentuation (c. 22).

Having spent six years on Kalonymos, he returned to Sigriane and joined the monastery of one Christopher (c. 23). A neighbouring farmer was selling a plot of land called Agros. Taking advantage of a neighbour's right of pre-emption,[23] Theophanes decided to buy Agros, although he had no money left and his relatives refused to lend him any. Some monks managed to raise a loan and the property was acquired for 2 lbs. of gold (c. 24). Theophanes attended the Seventh ecumenical Council [787] (c. 27). Some time later he was able to expand his monastery. He gathered monks from various places (c. 28) and a church was constructed (c. 33).

The Saint reaches his seventh 'age', i.e. 42 plus [each 'age' being seven years]. The emperor Nikephoros [802–11] is praised. The emperors Staurakios [26 July–2 Oct. 811] and Michael [I, 2 Oct. 811–10 July 813] are praised. Theophanes reaches the age of 49 (c. 42).

In his 50th year Theophanes fell ill with kidney stones (c. 43) and remained bedridden to the end of his life (c. 44). When he was in his 53rd year, the impious Leo [V, 10 July 813–24 Dec. 820] seized the throne (c. 45). In spite of his painful illness, Theophanes was summoned to the capital and offered various favours on condition he followed the emperor's religious policy, but he stood firm (c. 46). He was handed over to the 'magician' John [the Grammarian] and kept for a time in the monastery of Hormisdas[24] (c. 47), but was then transferred to a small cell in the palace of Eleutherios,[25] where he remained under guard for two years (c. 48). To break his obduracy the emperor exiled him to Samothrace (c. 50), but he died 23 days after his arrival there (c. 54) on 12 March (c. 55). His body was placed in a wooden coffin (c. 56) and began to work miracles. After the accession of Michael [II, 25 Dec. 820] the Saint's disciples transferred his body to Hiereia,[26] a domain twelve miles distant from the monastery of Agros. This took place during Holy Week. A throng of sick and possessed people from the surrounding countryside converged on Hiereia and many of them were cured (c. 57). The body remained at Hiereia for a whole year. In spite of popular opposition, it was then transferred to Agros and buried on the right side of the church (c. 58).

The reader will have noticed a few minor divergences between the two accounts. Theodore implies, without actually saying so, that

[20] Vita *BHG* 1789, ed. dB, ii. 4. 29, alleges that he was a patrician called Leo, 'most barbarous and beastlike in his manner' and an iconoclast to boot. This conflicts with the Studite's statement that Megalo was born of pious parents (*Ep.* 292. 13, assuming the letter in question was indeed addressed to Megalo and Maria).

[21] The designation *kastron* often replaces in the Dark Ages that of 'city'. We thus hear of the *kastron* of Ephesos, Cherson, etc. Vita *BHG* 1789, p. 8. 17, states that after accomplishing this mission Theophanes was promoted to the rank of *spatharios*.

[22] 10 km. (6 miles) from Agros. See Mango and Ševčenko (as in n. 13), 268–70. St Methodios, the apostle of the Slavs, was later abbot of Polichnion.

[23] On which see N. Svoronos, *Les Novelles des empereurs macédoniens* (Athens, 1994), 13 ff.

[24] Of which John the Grammarian was abbot. On the monastery, situated next to the Imperial Palace, see Janin, *Églises*, 451–4; C. Mango, *BZ* 68 (1975), 385–92.

[25] Built by the empress Irene, whose favourite residence it was. See Janin, *CP*, 131, 348. Situated at modern Aksaray, close to the monastery of Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii).

[26] See Mango and Ševčenko (as in n. 13), 262, 271. Not to be confused with Hiereia near Chalcedon.

Theophanes' father Isaakios died not when the boy was 3, but some time before his marriage. He states that Theophanes was tonsured on the island of Kalonymos, whereas Methodios has this event take place on Mount Sigriane. Furthermore, Theodore affirms that Theophanes was made abbot of the monastery of Kalonymos, whereas, according to Methodios, he declined that post. It is difficult to decide which of the two biographers is the more trustworthy. Theodore may have the stronger claim on our credence, since he was at one time closely associated with the Saint, was nearly of the same age (having been born in 759), and was actually his spiritual son in the sense that Theophanes had acted as sponsor (ἀνάδοχος) when Theodore embraced the monastic life. On the other hand, the two men later drifted into opposite camps in the rumpus following the emperor Constantine's 'adulterous' marriage and probably did not keep in touch. The Studite, a desperately busy man, may well have confused his memories.[27] As for Methodios, it is not explicitly stated that he knew Theophanes personally, although this is highly likely seeing that he was abbot of a Bithynian monastery before 815.[28]

Setting aside the rather minor disagreements we have noted, the two accounts are reasonably concordant. The chronology of the Saint's life, as given by Methodios, is also quite consistent. Since he was in his 21st year when Leo IV died (8 Sept. 780), he must have been born in 760 or late in 759. This agrees with the statement that he reached his 'seventh age' on the accession of Nikephoros I and that he was in his 53rd year on the accession of Leo V. The only discordant indication is that he reached the age of 49 in the reign of Staurakios or that of Michael I (811–13). The date of his death has been reliably fixed in 818.[29] Accepting 759–60 as the date of his birth, we may draw up the following table:

762/3	Isaakios dies
769/70	Engaged to Megalo
777/8	Theodote dies; Theophanes made *strator*
778/9	Theophanes marries; rebuilds fort of Kyzikos
780/81	Theophanes and Megalo embrace the monastic life

[27] On the relations between Theodore the Studite and Theophanes see J. Pargoire, *VizVrem* 9 (1902), 31 ff.

[28] On his career see J. Pargoire, *ÉO* 6 (1903), 127–31, 183–91; V. Laurent, *DTC* x/2 (1929), 1597–1606; D. Stiernon, *DSp* x/2 (1979), 1107–9; J. Gouillard, *TM* 10 (1987), 11–16.

[29] C. Van de Vorst, *AnBoll* 31 (1912), 148 ff., was mistaken in arguing that Theophanes died in 817, a date that has been repeated by many later scholars.

780/1–786/7	On Kalonymos; moves to Sigriane and acquires Agros
787	Attends Seventh Ecumenical Council
809/10	Falls ill with kidney stones
815, after 24 June	Summoned to Constantinople Spends (nearly) two years in palace of Eleutherios
818, 18 Feb.	Arrives on Samothrace
818, 12 Mar.	Dies
821, 17–23 Mar.	Body arrives at Hiereia
822, Mar.	Body buried at Agros

The two biographies are also in broad agreement as regards the Saint's personality, which emerges more vividly than it does in the majority of other Byzantine saints' Lives of that period. Theophanes is represented as a grand seigneur, addicted to sport in his youth, handsome and even portly in appearance. He was easygoing, a generous host (Vita, c. 38) and, even as a monk, not averse to taking the waters at a fashionable spa, probably that of Prousa (c. 34). By contrast with many contemporary monks who travelled fairly widely,[30] Theophanes is not known to have moved beyond the orbit of Constantinople and Bithynia. Theodore openly says that he lacked proper education. His labours as a calligrapher must have been dictated by a monk's obligation to take up manual work (ἐργόχειρον), but we are given to understand that he learnt this craft, including correct spelling, so to speak on the job. In sum, Theophanes is not portrayed as a scholar; and while the absence of any allusion to the composition of the Chronicle in both biographies is not altogether surprising,[31] there is an undeniable discrepancy between the Saint's character and the attributes one would expect in the compiler of a massive work of historiography and computation. Indeed, if the author's identity had not been stated in the title and corroborated by later testimony,[32] one might have been tempted to suggest that the

[30] See E. Malamut, *Sur la route des saints byzantins* (Paris, 1993), *passim*.

[31] As not being strictly relevant to the traditional concerns of hagiography. A contemporary parallel is provided by St Michael Synkellos, a scholar and author of some importance. Apart from mentioning his comprehensive education and his (lost) epistles, his Life (ed. Cunningham, 44–8) is silent about his literary endeavours. Theophanes has sometimes been credited with the composition of a satirical poem concerning a meeting between Leo V and an iconoclast monk. The author of this lost work, mentioned by Genesios, I. 3, was probably Theophanes Graptos. Cf. S. I. Kourouses, *ΕΕΒΣ* 44 (1979/80), 436 f.

[32] Esp. the intitulation in Anast. 77, *Abhinc Hisaacius, qui et Theophanes*.

Chronicle was due to another Theophanes, not the Confessor and abbot of Agros.[33]

II. THE CHRONICLE AND ITS AUTHORSHIP

The combined chronicles of Synkellos and Theophanes fill about 1,200 printed pages and represent the most ambitious effort of Byzantine historiography with a view to offering a systematic account of the human past. Indeed, with regard to Theophanes, the most striking characteristic of his Chronicle is that it embraces not only the annals of the Roman/Byzantine Empire, but also those of the Christian East under Muslim domination. Theophanes was able to do so because he had at his disposal an eastern, i.e. Syro-Palestinian source (on which see Section IV.14); but the availability of that source, even if it conveniently filled many gaps in the Byzantine record, does not explain the extensive use made of it. We must assume that Theophanes (if he was indeed the author) was deeply interested in the affairs of the Arabs and their Christian subjects and anxious to incorporate them within the summa of human history. No other Byzantine chronicler showed such an interest or such a breadth of vision.

In terms of structure, the work of Theophanes rests on a chronological armature that combines the data of both secular and ecclesiastical history, precisely anchored with regard to an absolute computation, namely the *annus mundi*. It can, therefore, be viewed as one of the numerous descendants of the *Chronicon* of Eusebios and is, in fact, as regards the Greek-speaking world, the last in that tradition. If we glance at subsequent developments, we find that the extensive narrative chronicle (henceforth using Theophanes as one of its main constituents) continued to be produced, from George the Monk in the second half of the ninth century[34] to Theodore Skoutariotes in the thirteenth, but that it shed the rigid chronological structure, which evidently ceased to be of interest. A somewhat different need was served by the kind of handbook represented by the *Chronographikon syntomon* attributed to the patriarch Nikephoros, which consists almost entirely of lists of names from Adam downwards, with a period of time marked against each name,

[33] Since writing the above we have received the study by P. Speck, 'Der "zweite" Theophanes', *Poikila Byzantina*, 13 (1994), 431–83, in which he argues precisely that the Chronicle is due to the labours of a second Theophanes, a monk and also abbot of Agros, who lived later in the 9th cent. We are reluctant to admit this intriguing theory, which necessitates a good deal of unprovable speculation.

[34] After 871 according to A. Markopoulos, *Σύμμεικτα*, 6 (1985), 223–31.

but with no synchronization and no narrative element. This short work, of which more will be said later, continued to circulate widely and was periodically brought up to date as regards Byzantine emperors and empresses and the patriarchs of Constantinople. The Eusebian vision of a universal history, both sacred and secular, flowing in parallel columns over a horizontal grid of years was thus abandoned. From the ninth century onwards the Byzantines were interested only in their own affairs, which they saw no need to place in a wider contemporary context.

The Chronicle of Theophanes, therefore, in spite of the enormous influence it exerted as a narrative source in both East and West, was not a harbinger of things to come. In its concept it was decidedly old-fashioned. Curiously enough, however, when we look for its predecessors in the Greek world, we are hard put to name any strictly comparable work. Only two universal Byzantine chronicles earlier than Synkellos/Theophanes are available to us, namely Malalas and the *Chronicon Paschale*. Malalas (assuming that the complete text was in this respect similar to the abridgement which alone has survived) has no chronological skeleton. He gives dates here and there using different systems (era of Antioch, *annus mundi*, indictions, regnal years, consulships), but these are inserted into the narrative, which is not broken up into chronological units, nor is much account taken of ecclesiastical chronology.[35] By contrast with Malalas, the Paschal Chronicle, composed in *c.*630 with the avowed purpose of validating the correctness of certain liturgical commemorations,[36] lays much greater emphasis on chronology at the expense of narrative. Within the sequence of Olympiads each year is introduced individually by a triple entry (indiction, regnal year, consulship), but many years are blank, that is they do not record any event. The *annus mundi* is given only for the end of each reign or certain events of particular importance, and there are further synchronisms here and there, for example for ecumenical councils (from the Ascension of Christ), the dedication of Constantinople, etc. The tenure of bishops is indicated only occasionally and that of the Persian kings not at all. The Paschal Chronicle offers, therefore, a somewhat better precedent than Malalas, but it is unlikely that Theophanes had access to it (see below, p. lxxx). The fact that the patriarch Nikephoros also made no use of the Paschal Chronicle in his Short History and that it does not appear in the *Bibliotheca* of

[35] See E. Jeffreys in *Mal. Studies*, 138 ff.

[36] Cf. J. Beaucamp *et al.*, *TM* 7 (1979), 223–301; eidem in *Le Temps chrétien*, Colloques internat. du CNRS, 604 (Paris, 1984), 451–68; M. and M. Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale*, 284–628 AD (Liverpool, 1989), ix–x and index 4, s.v. dates.

Photios suggests that it was not readily available at Constantinople in *c.* AD 800.

If we extend our search to works that are lost or preserved only in fragments, we fail to find any promising leads. There is no reason to suppose that the Chronicle of John of Antioch had synchronic rubrics. The patrician Trajan, as we shall see presently, is probably to be eliminated from consideration and the 'Great Chronographer' certainly so. We are left, therefore, with the lost chronicle(s) covering the years 668–769 (the common source of Nikephoros and Theophanes), which appears to have been a Constantinopolitan product of limited scope. In sum, there was nothing in the Greek tradition, as far as we know it, that could have provided Theophanes with a sufficiently close model of the vast work he undertook.

One way out of the difficulty would be to suppose that Theophanes was a 'renaissance man', who deliberately reached back to the world of late Antiquity and decided to combine the Eusebian tradition of chronography with the extended narrative of a Malalas. The portrait of Theophanes, as it emerges from his biographical notices, makes him a very unlikely candidate for such a role. Besides, is there any reason to suppose that the Eusebian tradition—setting aside the Paschal Chronicle which we have already mentioned—had survived at Constantinople? Eusebios' *Chronicon* does not appear to have been available in the capital at that time and neither Annianus nor Panodoros is included in Photios' *Bibliotheca*.[37] So for Theophanes let us substitute Synkellos and see if the cap fits him better. Synkellos certainly knew and used both Annianus and Panodoros, whom he may have encountered in Palestine rather than at Constantinople. He would, therefore, have been acquainted with the kind of chronological 'canon' that these authors had employed—a table of synchronisms placed, perhaps, in the middle of the page rather than along its margins as in Eusebios.[38] But then he might also have had knowledge of Syriac chronography which, unlike the Greek, had continued the Eusebian legacy right through the Dark Ages and which exhibits, *mutatis mutandis*, the same features we find in Theophanes.[39] It is enough to recall Jacob of Edessa (d. 708), his younger contemporary John of Litarba, and the several other

[37] The only work of this kind reviewed by Photios is the pre-Eusebian Africanus, *Bibl.*, cod. 34.

[38] The change in format, reflected in the Armenian version of Eusebios, is plausibly ascribed to Panodoros by A. A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg, Pa., 1979), 74 ff.

[39] See, amongst others, W. Witakowski, *The Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahrē* (Uppsala, 1987), 76 ff.; R. Hoyland in Palmer, *Seventh Century*, xxv f.

names down to Theophilos of Edessa (d. 785) which are mentioned by Dionysios of Tel-Mahrē (cf. below, p. lxxxiii). The Chronicle of pseudo-Dionysios of 775, though a somewhat provincial offshoot, is also a work of considerable scope, falling within the same genre.

If the immediate inspiration for 'Theophanes' was provided by Syriac chronography in the absence of any pertinent Greek models, the role of Synkellos assumes greater importance. We can now say that he originated the concept and plan of the Chronicle on the analogy of similar work done by contemporary Christian scholars under Arab rule. The Chronicle ceases to be a unicum and assumes its natural place within a continuing tradition. In fact, in his Preface, Theophanes does not claim for himself any other part than that of George's executor and continuator. He openly says that George had provided him with the materials (*ἀφορμαί*) for completing the work. The only question that presents itself is what contribution Theophanes himself made to the Chronicle that bears his name; or, to put it in another way, whether the Chronicle is much more than the file of extracts compiled by Synkellos. If we read the Preface carefully, we find that Theophanes makes in it the following statements: (i) That he himself went to considerable trouble in seeking out 'many books' for his research; (ii) That he was particularly concerned with chronology; (iii) That he composed nothing on his own (*οὐδὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν συντάξαντες*), but drew all his matter from ancient historians. The final statement,[40] taken literally, would imply that even the final portion of the Chronicle was not written by Theophanes himself, although the reference to ancient historians would be inappropriate in this context.

In the long run it does not particularly matter how much of the scissors and paste job was done by George and how much by Theophanes or some anonymous amanuensis. Since the entire documentation on which the Chronicle is based can be estimated at about 20 'sources', the number of books involved was not, in any case, very great. What is of more consequence is to determine, in so far as this is possible, whether the final section of the Chronicle, devoted to events that both men might have witnessed personally (say from 780 to the end) represents the work and the views of one or the other of the two collaborators.

The chronicler's political stance may be described as follows. While applauding the restoration of icons, championed by the empress Irene, he is by no means uncritical in assessing her actions.

[40] Admittedly, this is a cliché. Cf. Alex. Mon. (a source used by Theophanes), 4016B: *ἐροῦμεν δὲ ἴδιον οὐδέν . . . ὅσα δὲ ἐξ ἀρχαίων ἱστοριῶν ἰσχύσαμεν εὑρεῖν*, etc.

Blame, where blame is due, is laid largely on her eunuch ministers, Staurakios and Aëtios, both of whom are presented in a very adverse light; and though female weakness is invoked as an extenuating circumstance, Irene is openly described as ambitious and, by implication, as devious. She plots against her son, uses the Studites as a tool in her power game and, at a critical moment, is ready to betray her friends. The blinding of Constantine VI is not excused: it is presented as cruel and wicked, a judgement that was evidently shared by God, who caused an eclipse of the sun to occur on that fateful day.

The chronicler's attitude towards the young emperor Constantine is considerably more sympathetic. The latter's aversion to his first wife Maria is ascribed to his mother's machinations and, while his second marriage to Theodote is called 'illegal', we are not offered the expected tirade against adultery. In the chronicler's eyes Constantine was very capable and we are given to surmise that he would have made a good emperor had he not been constantly frustrated and sabotaged by his mother and her friends.

The emperor Nikephoros I is presented as a monster of iniquity without a single redeeming feature. His chief vice, to which he is completely subservient, is avarice. He is also a dissimulator, cruel, lewd, a heretic, and a magician. No other emperor in the whole Chronicle, with the possible exception of the iconoclast Constantine V, is painted in such black colours. Nikephoros' son Staurakios is described as an incompetent weakling who inherited a large share of his father's perversity.

Michael I is pious, generous, and magnanimous and, on occasion, quick to act, but too easily swayed by his evil counsellors and, ultimately, incapable of managing the Empire's affairs.

The surprise comes at the very end: Leo V who, by Christmas 814, was to throw off his mask and espouse iconoclasm, who in later Byzantine historiography (and already in the Scriptor incertus de Leone)[41] is portrayed as a cruel tyrant, a 'roaring lion', and an uncouth barbarian, whom Theodore the Studite already so stigmatized in his encomium of Theophanes, appears in our Chronicle in an entirely positive light. He is orthodox, loyal to his emperor, and scrupulous in observing his duty. His sound advice in the conduct of the Bulgarian war is frustrated by certain evil advisers. Being alone able to save the situation, he is, against his own wishes and quite legitimately, raised to the imperial office.

[41] 335–62. The uncomplimentary portrait of Leo V found in pseudo-Symeon, Bonn edn., along with Theophanes continuatus, 603, derives from the same source, as shown by J. B. Bury, *BZ* 1 (1892), 572–4.

In Church politics our chronicler is unreservedly on the side of the patriarchs Tarasios and Nikephoros, while being openly hostile to the Studites. The latter are blamed for starting a schism, even if they were manipulated by the empress Irene; they are soft on heresy (with allegedly disastrous results); and are made responsible for the Bulgarian disaster, which might have been averted if wiser counsels had prevailed. The modern reader may be dismayed by the chronicler's advocacy of the death penalty for Paulicians and other heretics[42] and his rejection (with the help of scriptural authority!) of the Studite argument that the Church ought to convert those in error, not kill them.

Such are the political clues offered in the latter part of the Chronicle, and they lead to the reasonably certain conclusion that the narrative was completed before the end of 814, when Leo V disclosed his attachment to Iconoclasm; for it is difficult to imagine that Theophanes, who in 815 was rallying support against government policy and, the following year, was himself bundled off to Constantinople, ailing as he was, and subjected to confinement and 're-indoctrination', would have portrayed his persecutor (and that of his patriarch) quite as favourably as he did had he been writing under threat of reprisal or in his prison cell. Even if the palace of Eleutherios was a comparatively comfortable place of detention, we are specifically told (Vita, c. 48) that Theophanes was kept under guard in a tiny room and deprived of servants except for one attendant (*κατακλείσας ἐν σμικροτάτῳ οἰκήματι καὶ καταστήσας φρουροὺς ἀσυγχώρητα ὡς μηδὲ διακονεῖσθαι παρά τινων*). It is true that Methodios managed to write the Life of Euthymios of Sardis while undergoing even harsher confinement, but he was a younger and more vigorous man; besides, the composition of a historical work requires not only pen and paper but also an apparatus of reference works. The difficulty disappears if we suppose that Theophanes laid down his pen in the autumn of 813 or in 814, soon after the fall of Adrianople.[43] Leo, whatever the exact circumstances of his elevation,[44] had saved the Empire and there was, as yet, no reason to suspect his orthodoxy. We may further note that the Chronicle comes to a very abrupt end and displays so many signs of carelessness (see p. lxiif.) that it could hardly have been subjected to a final revision.

As for the other political clues, it is not easy to determine whether

[42] Cf. Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 99; Th. Korres, *Βυζαντινά*, 10 (1980), 203–15.

[43] We do not understand why Bury, *ERE*, 354 n. 3, thinks that Theophanes was writing 'these pages in the first years of Leo's reign'.

[44] Bury's careful analysis, ibid. 352, leads to the conclusion that the defeat at Versinikia was due to Leo's treachery.

they point to Synkellos or Theophanes because, in so far as we know, both men held pretty much the same position. In the case of Synkellos, all we can reasonably surmise is that he was loyal to the patriarch Tarasios and would, therefore, have been critical of the Studites, who seceded from Tarasios and caused him considerable embarrassment. We would also expect Synkellos to have been favourable to the patriarch Nikephoros, who stood in the same tradition as his predecessor. Theophanes, too, followed the 'moderate', i.e. anti-Studite line with regard to the 'adulterous marriage'. Being himself the spiritual father of Theodore the Studite, he might perhaps have hesitated to criticize the latter quite as harshly as our chronicler does, but that is not an argument we would care to press.

Rather more puzzling is the chronicler's pathological hatred of the emperor Nikephoros. In the case of Theophanes no reason for it can be discerned other than the emperor's fiscal policy, which was disadvantageous to monasteries. What is also odd is that Methodios in his Life of Theophanes (c. 41) lavishes fulsome praise on that very emperor—a tactless tribute if Theophanes was known to have held Nikephoros in such deep detestation.[45] In the case of Synkellos a better motive may perhaps be found; for in February 808, when the conspiracy of the patrician Arsaber was discovered, the emperor 'punished with lashes, banishment, and confiscation not only secular dignitaries, but also holy bishops and monks and the clergy of the Great Church, including the *synkellos*, the *sakellarios*, and the *chartophylax*, men of high repute and worthy of respect' (p. 664). Even if the *synkellos* who was so punished was not George, but his successor, the emperor's retribution fell on George's friends and colleagues in the patriarchal clergy.

In three cases the chronicler adds what appears to be a personal recollection told in the first person. In describing the winter of 763/4, when the Black Sea and the Bosporus froze, he recalls that he himself, along with about thirty playmates, climbed on one of the icebergs that had floated down to Constantinople and adds, 'Some of my wild and tame animals died' (p. 601). It is hard to believe that Theophanes, who was 4 years old at the time and the only child of a rich widowed mother, would have been allowed such hazardous play or that he kept wild animals for his amusement at such a tender age. The recollection would fit better a boy of about 10 or 12. If it is due to Synkellos, we would have to admit that he, too, was raised at

[45] It may be noted that hagiographic literature is uniformly favourable to Nikephoros, except the Life of Euthymios of Sardis, likewise by Methodios, ed. J. Gouillard, *TM* 10 (1987), 27.77 ff., but even the latter text calls him 'orthodox and of good repute'.

Constantinople (which is by no means impossible) before going to Palestine. Alternatively, it could have been found in the common source of Theophanes and Nikephoros (c. 74) or been added by an early scholiast who was a few years older than Theophanes.

The second case concerns the translation of the relics of St Euphemia to Constantinople in 796: 'Twenty-two years after the criminal's death [referring to Constantine V] I myself saw this wonderful and memorable miracle in the company of the most pious emperors and Tarasios the most holy patriarch and, along with them I kissed [the relics], unworthy as I was to have been granted so signal a grace' (p. 607). It is quite possible that Theophanes, along with other abbots, would have been invited to witness the ceremony, but there can be no doubt that George Synkellos was a member of the 'reception committee'.

The third case is rather more instructive. As Nikephoros I was setting out on his Bulgarian campaign in May (?) 811, he ordered the Treasury to raise the taxes levied on churches and monasteries and to exact tax arrears from dignitaries. The bad timing of these measures was pointed out to him by the patrician Theodosios Salibaras, but the emperor replied, 'If God has hardened my heart,' etc. (p. 672). Whereupon the chronicler adds, 'The Lord is my witness that I, the author, heard these very words from the mouth of Theodosios.' The army proceeded to the frontier fort of Markellai, where it spent some time, entered Bulgaria on 20 July and was destroyed on the 26th, Theodosios being one of the victims. There is, it is true, some disagreement about the dates in our sources.[46] In the Greek manuscripts of Theophanes the exact departure date from Constantinople has dropped out, *τῇ * τοῦ Μαΐου μηνὸς* (*Ἰουνίου* in the Oxford MS), which Anastasius renders by 'Iulio mense' (by mistake?). The anonymous 'Chronicle of 811' (or 'Dujčev fragment') says twice that Nikephoros spent fifteen days in Bulgaria and was defeated on Saturday, 23 July, which must be emended to 26 July (the 23rd having been a Thursday). Whatever may be the solution of this little puzzle, it is hard to believe that Salibaras, who was travelling with the army in the direction of Markellai, would have taken a side trip across the Sea of Marmara to Megas Agros so as to confer with Theophanes, who (if it is he) regarded him with detestation. Whoever recorded the actual words of Salibaras was either at Constantinople or with the marching army.

In his lengthy commentary on the 'Chronicle of 811', I. Dujčev[47]

[46] See below, p. 675 n. 8.

[47] *TM* 1 (1965), 205–54 = *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, ii (Rome, 1968), 425–89, esp. 447–8.

tries to show that Salibaras was not killed by the Bulgarians but merely captured; that he was then released as was also Peter the patrician (named among the victims) and, after his return, told Theophanes the whole story—indeed, Dujčev thinks that the detailed account of the campaign, clearly due to an eyewitness, was related by the same Salibaras. This, however, is impossible: whether Salibaras was or was not killed by the Bulgarians on 26 July, Theophanes *believed* that he had perished, as a reading of his text demonstrates. Besides, we are not at all convinced that Peter the patrician returned, but that is another story.[48] So we are left with the following possibilities:

(i) Theophanes was at Constantinople in the spring/summer of 811 and had occasion to converse with Salibaras. This is unlikely in view of Theophanes' illness and his hatred of Salibaras.

(ii) The author in this instance is Synkellos, in which case the objection of hatred would equally apply to him.

(iii) The account of the Bulgarian campaign was written by a third, unnamed party, one of the Byzantine survivors, and included in the Chronicle with little or no change. This is perhaps the easiest solution.[49]

The hand of Synkellos is more clearly apparent in two passages relating to the disorders in Palestine following the death of Harun al-Rašid. The first, under AM 6301, is as follows: 'For this reason also the churches in the holy city of Christ our God [Jerusalem] were made desolate as well as the monasteries of the two great lavras, namely that of Sts Chariton and Kyriakos and that of St Sabas, and the other *koinobia*, namely those of St Euthymios and St Theodosios. The slaughter resulting from this anarchy, directed at each other and against us (*κατ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἡμῶν*), lasted five years' (p. 665). The second passage marks the end of the five-year period of troubles: 'In the holy city of Christ our God the venerable places of the holy Resurrection, of Golgotha and the rest were profaned. Likewise the famous lavras in the desert, that of St Chariton and

[48] The tale told of him in *Syn. CP* 791–4, that he was released from Bulgaria by St John the Evangelist, spent 34 years on Mt Olympos with St Ioannikios, and finally returned to Constantinople, where he survived another eight years in the monastery he had founded earlier, strikes us as a pious fabrication.

[49] H. Grégoire's assertion, *Byz* 11 (1936), 416 ff., that Theophanes in his account of the Bulgarian expedition draws on the 'Chronicle of 811' is certainly incorrect. Theophanes may have abbreviated his source; on the other hand, his 'shorthand' reference to 'the fire in the ditch' (below, p. 674) may be due to the notoriety of this circumstance at the time.

that of St Sabas, and the other monasteries and churches were made desolate,' etc. (p. 683).

Two details are worth noting. In both passages the monastery of St Chariton is mentioned in the first place, before that of St Sabas, which was, however, the more important and famous establishment. The reason for that, we believe, was that Synkellos had been himself a monk at St Chariton. The second clue is offered by the terms 'they' (the Arabs) and 'us' (Christians). Now, if we turn to Synkellos' own Preface,[50] we find in it the following statement: 'Taking the greater part of my material from them [the Bible, the apocrypha, and the 'more famous historians'], except for a few events that happened in our own times, I shall attempt to produce a kind of synopsis . . . I mean about the various kings and the number of priests, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and teachers . . . collecting all of this as best I can from the aforementioned historians; and above all (*ἐπὶ πᾶσι*) I shall describe to the best of my ability the God-hated testament that was set forth against Christ and our nation (*τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν*) by the Idumeans in their tabernacles and the Ishmaelites, who are persecuting the people of the Spirit and are devising that apostasy which the blessed Paul had prophesied for the last days [2 Thess. 2: 3]; down to the present year 6300 from the creation of the world, indiction 1 [AD 808].' This passage indicates not only that Synkellos had every intention of continuing his narrative to the year 808 when he was writing those words, but that he attached particular importance to expounding the misdeeds of the Arab Muslims 'against us'. To an émigré from Palestine such feelings would have been perfectly natural. If our argument is accepted, it may further be deduced that Synkellos was still alive in 813.

How much, if anything, Theophanes contributed to the final part of the Chronicle remains unclear. We should bear in mind that he contracted his kidney disease in 809/10; all our sources agree that he remained in extreme discomfort to the end of his life. In the words of Methodios (Vita, c. 44) he was 'bedridden and motionless' (*κλινήρης τε καὶ ἀκίνητος*) to such an extent that when he was summoned to the capital he was unable to walk the short distance from his monastery to the seashore and had to be conveyed to the ship in a cart.[51] Theodore the Studite likewise tells us that Theophanes was so ill he could barely turn in his bed.[52] Under the circumstances the

[50] Ed. Mosshammer, 6.

[51] Vita, c. 46: *λαμπήνῃ βληθεὶς διὰ τὸ ἀκίνητον ὅλως καὶ ἀνεπίβατον.*

[52] *Ep.* 333. 27: *ἐν τοιαύτῃ νόσῳ, ὡς ἐνδεῶς ἔχειν καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ κλίνης στρέφεσθαι.* Cf. *Ep.* 214. 5: *νόσου δεινοπαθοῦς λίαν. Ep.* 291. 5: *ἐν νόσῳ χαλεπωτάτῃ, κλινήρης ὅλως.*

composition of the Chronicle in the years 810–14 becomes something of a miracle.[53]

One further consideration is worth mentioning. It is very unlikely that the Chronicle was 'published' before 842 at the earliest in view of its strongly anti-iconoclastic stance and we do not know in what condition it was left by Theophanes (in his monastery in 815?) or how much editorial tampering it later underwent. One lengthy excursus (AM 6177), composed, it seems, after 806, presents in forceful language a chronological argument against the iconodule position. It was presumably found among Theophanes' materials and included in the text by an absent-minded editor before the constitution of the version that Anastasius had before him. As we shall presently see, the text of the Chronicle does not appear to have been stable in the ninth century. If Theophanes left nothing but a boxful of loose papers, the editor's task would have been a daunting one. Even so, we cannot help being surprised by the considerable number of inconsistencies and other signs of carelessness, which a reasonably conscientious editor would have tried to eliminate. Here are a few examples:

1. Disagreement between text and rubric is very common. Thus, the ordination of Eustathios of Antioch is recorded in AM 5816 when, according to the rubric, he was already in his 10th year as bishop. The death of Makarios of Jerusalem is related in AM 5817, but he remains in the rubrics until 5826. The bishop of Jerusalem in AM 5847 is Cyril in the text but Hilarius in the rubric. Pope Julius of Rome dies in 5849 and is succeeded by Liberius, but he had already died in 5837 and Liberius had been ousted and reinstated in 5843. Makedonios of Constantinople is given a tenure of one year in 5850, but appears in his second year in 5851. Juvenal of Jerusalem dies in AM 5953, but the last year of his tenure is recorded in 5968. Further disagreements appear in AM 5858, 5885, 5918, 5956, 5981, 5983, etc.

2. Doublets, that is repetitions of the same events, occur. The birth of Theodosios II is recorded twice (AM 5892 and 5893) as is the death of Leo II (5966 and 5967). In the account of the Nika riot (AM 6024) we are given a description of the fire that destroyed the heart of Constantinople; that is followed by the famous *acta* relating to Kalopodios (which may have no connection with the Nika riot); then the same fire is related once again with somewhat different details. The plot against Phokas in AM 6099 is repeated in 6101 with the same conspirators' names. The Persian invasion of Syria in the 5th year of Phokas (AM 6099) occurs again in the first year of Herakleios (6102).

3. The same persons and places appear under variant names, presumably as Theophanes found them in his sources. Thus Rekimer (AM 5947) is transformed into Remikos the following year. Pope Silverius (AM 6029) becomes Silvester in the rubric of 6030. While Theophanes may not have realized that Arzamon was the same as Arxamoun, he could surely have guessed that the Persian king Kabades was the same as Kouades and that the general Sarbaros (Šahrvaraz), who plays such a prominent part in the narrative, was the same as Sarbarazas.

4. Confusions and inconsistencies of various kinds occur. Thus, divergent accounts of the last emperors of Rome appear under 5947 and 5964. The Gepid Moundos takes up service in the Empire in 6032, but he had already distinguished himself during the Nika riot in 6024. In 6161 we are told that Constantine IV began to reign 'together with his brothers', but in the next sentence we are given to understand that his brothers had not been crowned. In the same year the brothers are made to suffer mutilation (hence are deposed), but they are still reigning twelve years later, when they are expelled from the imperial office (6173), whereupon Constantine 'reigns alone with his son' (a contradiction in terms). The story of Pope Stephen III (6216) is misplaced by some thirty years with regard to its true date. Anastasius in his translation has it under 6234, still not quite right. This is presumably a case of a 'loose' entry that the editor did not know what to do with. There may well be others.

III. CHRONOLOGY

As already stated, the chronological skeleton of the Chronicle is expressed in its rubrics (or 'canons'), which are given either in full or in an abbreviated form. The full rubric takes the following form: year from Creation; year from Incarnation (AM minus 5500); regnal year of Roman emperor; ditto of Persian king (after the fall of the Persian kingdom his place is taken by the Arab Caliph); bishop of Rome; bishop of Constantinople; bishop of Jerusalem; bishop of Alexandria; bishop of Antioch.

The abbreviated rubric consists merely of a string of numerals, for example (for AM 5778), '2, 16, 8, 14, 12, 3', meaning the 2nd year of the Roman emperor, the 16th of the Persian king, the 8th of the Pope of Rome, etc.

The full rubric normally marks the accession of the Roman

[53] As previously argued by one of us, *ZRVI* 18 (1978), 9–7, repr. in *Byzantium and its Image* (London, 1984), study XI. Cf. critique by I. S. Čičurov, *VizVrem* 42 (1981), 78 ff.

emperor (but not in the case of Arkadios, the ephemeral Heraklonas, Justinian II for the second time, Leo III, Irene for the second time, and Nikephoros I), occasionally that of the Persian king or Arab Caliph, or certain events of particular importance (e.g. 5803: Constantine wins Rome; 5810: Constantine becomes sole emperor; 5815: defeat of Licinius; 5816: Council of Nicaea, etc.). In the majority of cases, however, its introduction does not appear to obey any rule and may have been dictated by the make-up of the archetype. Assuming that the scribe sometimes started a page with a full rubric, we would expect the 'unmotivated' rubrics to occur at fairly regular intervals, as indeed they often do, namely at intervals of about forty lines of text in de Boor's edition or multiples thereof.

1. Annus mundi *and Indiction*

At the time of Theophanes there did not exist in the Byzantine world a generally accepted form of absolute dating. The system most widely used and understood by the public was that of indictions, which constituted a recurring cycle of fifteen years having an ideal starting-point on 1 September 312. The ordinal number of the cycle was, however, never indicated, so that, say, the date indiction 12 simply meant the 12th year of any given cycle. By contrast, the AM was a learned construct, seldom used in practice to judge by its infrequent appearance in inscriptions and manuscript colophons of the period. Furthermore, two principal methods of computing the AM were in competition, namely:

(*a*) The so-called Alexandrian (or era of Annianus), meant to begin in 5500 BC but, in fact, having a starting point of 25 Mar. 5492 BC in relation to our Dionysian era.

(*b*) The Byzantine (or Roman as Theophanes calls it) from 5508 or, to be more precise, from 1 Sept. 5509 BC.

The second, which had the advantage of making Creation coincide with the beginning of an indictional cycle, was gaining the upper hand by the eighth/ninth century and was eventually destined to prevail.[54] Even so, Theophanes chose the Alexandrian system for the simple reason that it had been adopted by Synkellos, who, in turn, was motivated both by considerations of symbolism and the fact that the Alexandrian computation was prevalent in the Melkite circles of Palestine.

Having chosen the Alexandrian era, Theophanes was faced with the task of cutting up his narrative material so as to fit it. Here lies the crux of the problem, for it must be understood that among the

[54] The best discussion of Byzantine eras is in V. Grumel's *Chronologie*, 56 ff.

sources Theophanes had at his disposal very few would have had AM dating of whatever kind. Instead, he was confronted by a jumble of alternative systems, such as indictions, consulships (still current in the sixth/seventh century), regnal years, and, in the case of his Oriental source(s), the Seleucid era (or AG) and even the Hegira. Had he gone about his work methodically, he would have started by compiling a table of concordances as well as regnal, consular, and episcopal fasti; and, once the framework was established, he might even have eliminated the disparate chronological indications contained in his sources. In the event, his approach was less than methodical and, fortunately, he often left in the text various dates which at times are not in accord with the AM. In all such cases the presumption must be that the date in the text has been borrowed from the source and is more likely to be correct than the AM, the latter being simply the result of Theophanes' own calculation.

The indictions are of particular importance by reason of their frequency. A careful reading of the Chronicle reveals, however, that their distribution is by no means uniform. In fact, the initial part, from Diocletian to the last year of Justin I, contains only fourteen instances, of which three are misplaced, namely:

AM 5824 = ind. 5, but Theophanes implies ind. 6

AM 5859 = ind. 10, but Theophanes gives ind. 8

AM 5950 = ind. 11, but Theophanes gives ind. 10 (which happens to be correct for the event in question—the accession of Leo—but does not correspond to the AM).

Indictions are given with fair regularity for the reign of Justinian I, but there is a gap between AM 6058 and 6069 (corresponding, very nearly, to the reign of Justin II) and again between 6080 and 6092 (that is, the greater part of the reign of Maurice), the incidence of indictions being a pointer to the kind of source Theophanes was following. A classicizing source, like Theophylact Simocatta, would not have contained any indiction dates.

A question that has attracted a good deal of scholarly debate is the discrepancy between indiction and AM (the latter being one year behind) from some time in the reign of Phokas (after 603) until at least 659[55]

[55] In scholarly literature the periods of discrepancy are variously given as 607–714 or 609–715 and again 725–73 or 727–75. As to the first period, it should be noted that the earliest incorrect synchronism occurs in AD 610 (AM 6102 equated with ind. 14 instead of 13) and the discrepancy persists down to 659 (AM 6150 equated with ind. 2 instead of 1). After that indictional dates are absent down to 715 (AM 6207 correctly equated with ind. 13). The basic study is by G. Ostrogorsky, *BNJ* 17 (1930), 1–56. See also D. Anastasievič, *Annales de l'Inst. Kondakov* 11 (1940), 147–99; W. Treadgold, *GRBS* 31 (1990), 203 ff.

and again from 727 to 774.[56] Various solutions that have been proposed, starting with J. B. Bury's,[57] were based on the assumption that the discrepancy was not accidental; that it was due, in other words, to some reform of the indictional count or the application of some chronological principle. The most ingenious among these solutions is that propounded by V. Grumel,[58] to wit that for Theophanes, as for Synkellos, the year started not on 1 September but on 25 March, so that one AM corresponded to two indictions, an earlier one from 25 March to 31 August (called synchronism A by Grumel) and a later one from 1 September to 24 March (synchronism B). Hence, in Grumel's view, Theophanes made no mistake: he simply switched, for whatever reason, from one system to another.

At first sight Grumel's theory appears attractive, even necessary:[59] for if Theophanes deliberately chose to depart from Synkellos' stated practice of reckoning from 25 March, he should have warned us of the change, which he does not. Even so, it is plain time and again from his narrative that for him, as for all his contemporaries at Constantinople, the year started on 1 September.[60] What then is the solution of the puzzle? Quite simply that Theophanes went astray. In fact, the origin of his miscalculation as regards the Heraclian period is perfectly obvious, as already noted by Bury[61] and others: he assigned eight indictions to Phokas but only seven regnal years, whereas in reality the reign of Phokas lasted very nearly eight years (23 Nov. 602–5 Oct. 610). As a result, the indictional count moved ahead by one unit with regard to the year. At a later point Theophanes realized his error and corrected it; he then went astray again and corrected himself for the second time. Once the discrepancy is seen to be due to muddle it no longer requires a

[56] The rot sets in at AM 6218, which is made to include both ind. 9 and 10, and persists down to AM 6265. Detailed table in Rochow, *Byzanz*, 328 ff.

[57] *HLRE*[1] ii. 425–7, who was here concerned only with the period 724–74 and proposed that in 726 Leo III doubled the indiction, i.e. raised double taxes. E. W. Brooks, *BZ* 8 (1899), 82–97, was to point out that the discrepancy also applied to 607–714 (his dates).

[58] *ÉO* 33 (1934), 396–408.

[59] We were mistaken in approving of it in the study quoted in n. 53.

[60] As pointed out, amongst others, by D. Anastasievič (as in n. 55), 181 ff.

[61] *HLRE*[1] ii. 197 n. 1. Within this period it is difficult to determine exactly where the discrepancy starts, since Theophanes' chronology for the reign of Phokas is extremely unreliable and, apart from the emperor's accession (ind. 6) and his downfall (ind. 14), contains only one explicit indiction date (the 7th for the assumption of the consulship by Phokas = Dec. 603, correctly equated with AM 6096). Presumably, the rot sets in soon thereafter, since the conspiracy of the prefect Theodore, which is dated to indiction 8 (AD 604/5) in *Chron. Pasch.* 696, is moved to 606/7 by Theophanes.

comprehensive explanation. Whenever AM and indiction diverge, it is the latter that is nearly always correct, although the historian would be well advised to subject all of Theophanes' dates to careful scrutiny.

2. *Lists of Rulers and Bishops*

Setting aside the year from the Incarnation, which is merely AM minus 5500, the second element of the rubrics is provided by the lists of the two main secular rulers, western and eastern, and of the five patriarchs. This information must have been derived from short chronological compendia, which normally gave an ordinal number to each incumbent. As a rule, Theophanes omits the ordinal number, but he is not entirely consistent in this respect: thus Narses is marked as the 7th king of Persia, Shapur II as the 9th, etc. Synkellos, too, had similar lists at his disposal but did not make a practice of breaking them down year by year. He does, however, always supply the ordinal number and places the patriarchs in the sequence: 1. Rome; 2. Antioch; 3. Alexandria; 4. Jerusalem (Constantinople not being a patriarchate in the period covered by him). There is no reason to believe that synchronized lists were available to either Synkellos or Theophanes: they had to make their own calculations.

As far as we are aware, no tabulated lists earlier than *c.* AD 800 have survived in Greek.[62] In addition to those underlying Synkellos and Theophanes we possess two others:

(*a*) The *Chronographikon syntomon* ascribed to the patriarch Nikephoros, to which we have already alluded. It may be noted that C. de Boor's standard edition[63] stands in need of improvement because he failed to use the four oldest manuscripts of this work, namely British Library Add. 19390 (early 10th century; lists down to 829), Oxford, Christ Church, Wake 5 (the same that contains Theophanes), *olim* Dresden Da 12 (now in Moscow), a famous Arethas manuscript of AD 932, and Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, cod. 24 (10th century).[64] Nikephoros includes, in addition to other

[62] Except for a chronology from Adam to Justinian I, copied into Marc. cod. gr. 1 of the 9th cent., the famous cod. V of the Septuagint, fos. 162^{v}–163. See E. Mioni, *Bibliothecae Divi Marci Venetiarum codices graeci manuscripti*, i (Rome, 1981), 5–6. Fo. 163 is reproduced in *Bessarione e l'umanesimo*, ed. G. Fiaccadori (Naples, 1994), 483. A short chronology from Adam to Zeno also formed part of the so-called Tübingen Theosophy, whose original was composed in *c.* AD 500: K. Buresch, *Klaros* (Leipzig, 1889), 95.

[63] *Nicephori opuscula historica* (Leipzig, 1880), 81–135.

[64] For further details see Mango, *Nikeph.* 3–4.

matter, catalogues of Roman emperors and the patriarchs of Constantinople, Rome, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch, but has neither Persian kings nor Arab Caliphs.

(*b*) The *Chronographeion syntomon*, dated 854, in codex Vaticanus graecus 2210 of the 10th century. This has been edited by A. Mai[65] and, without a fresh collation, by A. Schöne.[66] It includes, *inter alia*, catalogues of: Popes of Rome, patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, kings of Persia, Arab Caliphs, and Roman emperors in that order.

It may be noted that similar lists appear in Syriac chronography (already in the Canon by Jacob of Edessa, which is of the end of the 7th century) and that there are early Slavonic translations of Greek lists.

We cannot provide here a detailed tabulation of the above and other available lists, but a few observations need to be set down regarding the use made of them by Theophanes.

i. Persian Kings

The catalogue used by Theophanes was quite similar to that in the Vatic. (ed. Schöne, 96) and had the same ordinal numbers. It also resembles that given by Synkellos (441–2). The divergences between Theophanes and the Vatic. are due to scribal error, except for the last two entries, which in Theophanes are:

Adeser (Ardašir III): 7 months (in fact, Sept. 628–27 Apr. 630, hence close to 1 year 7 months)
Hormisdas: 11 years;

whereas in the Vatic. they are:

Sarbaros: 1 year
Borane: 1 year.

Note that in his text (dB 329) Theophanes gives:

Adeser: 7 months
Sarbarazas: 2 months
Borane: 7 months
Hormisdas: no length of reign given.

Synkellos generally agrees with Theophanes, except that, through scribal error or some other reason, he reverses five times the correct order of the kings, gives Siroes (= Kavad II) 8 months instead of 1 year (correctly or nearly so: Feb.–Sept. 628) and no length of reign to

[65] *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, i/2 (Rome, 1825), 1 ff.

[66] *Eusebii Chronicorum lib. prior* (Berlin, 1875), app. IV, 64–101. Cf. the remarks of I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 46 (1992), 284 ff.

the final Hormisdas. Related, but less close is the list in Mich. Syr. iii. 440.

It is not surprising that Byzantine chroniclers should have been confused by the succession of ephemeral regents who held the Persian throne between 630 and 632, but it is noteworthy that none of them records the last king of Persia, Yazdgerd III (632–51). It may be suggested, therefore, that the original list was compiled soon after 630.

The lists given by Theophanes and Synkellos are also very close to the more authoritative one by Agathias (iv. 23–30), which naturally goes only as far as Khusro I (531–79) but is based on information from the Persian royal annals.[67] The main difference is that for three consecutive kings (Vahram III, Narses, and Hormizd II) Agathias includes months as well as years. For the first two Theophanes and Synkellos round the year up to the next whole number (4 months to 1 year[68] and—in the case of Synkellos—7 years 5 months to 8 years). Perhaps in consequence of this Theophanes then reduces the third reign quite drastically from 7 years 5 months to 6 years, so producing the same total in years for the three reigns as Agathias did (15 years as against Agathias' 15 years and 2 months). But the third king (Hormizd II) is also the only case where Theophanes and Synkellos differ in reign lengths, Synkellos giving 8 years (presumably by rounding up) as against Theophanes' 6.[69] That Synkellos' list, and so also Theophanes', is derived ultimately from Agathias' narrative rather than from a chronological table may be shown by their starting-point of Ardašir I, the beginning of whose reign is dated by Agathias (iv. 24) to the 4th year of Alexander Severus, son of Mammaea, a fact which Synkellos appears to have extracted from the narrative and used to provide an accurate starting-point for his calculations (Mosshammer, 441. 3).

All three lists omit Hormizd III (457–9), which can hardly be accidental, but the omission of his two-year reign restores accuracy to Synkellos' subsequent synchronisms. Agathias, of course, was not attempting synchronisms, but his accuracy is confirmed by his dating of Chosroes' accession to the 5th year of Justinian's reign. Since Theophanes was not aware of this, he presumably did not use Agathias but relied on Synkellos' list.

[67] On which see A. M. Cameron, *DOP* 23–4 (1969–70), 112–77.

[68] Synkellos may reflect the original with his reference to ἄλλος δ', although that should mean 'another emperor, 4 years'.

[69] Other rounding off occurs for Ardašir (14 years and 10 months to 15 years), Hormizd I (1 year 10 days to 1 year), Yazdgerd II (17 years and 4 months to 17 years).

Theophanes' dates for Persian kings should thus have been accurate at the opening of his Chronicle and should have remained so until his omission of Hormizd III (457–9). In fact, however, his dates are inaccurate throughout. Thus Theophanes' opening reference at AM 5777 is to Vahram II's 15th year, which should have meant that his accession date was AM 5763 (AD 270/1), whereas by Synkellos' calculation Vahram's first year was AM 5768 (AD 275/6), which happens to be historically accurate. Consequently, Theophanes' dates for Persian kings are initially out by about five years and the minor alterations he makes along the way compound his errors even further.[70]

Theophanes' initial error may have arisen through a misunderstanding of Synkellos, who, unlike Theophanes, does not list every year separately, but usually gives the AM date only at the accession of a new Roman emperor and at the end of that year records the names of the patriarchs and the Persian king with the respective lengths of their reigns. The AM date on these occasions is not necessarily the accession date of the patriarchs and the Persian king, although it would be easy to assume that it was. It seems quite possible that Theophanes will have noted that his first Persian king (and Synkellos' last synchronism) was listed by Synkellos at the accession of Aurelian in AM 5764. Theophanes may well have taken this as Vahram's first year although he appears to have counted from 5763, a mistake of one year being not infrequent with the Roman system of inclusive counting. Unfortunately, it is not possible to test this hypothesis against the dates of patriarchs, for which there is no obvious link between Synkellos' and Theophanes' calculations.

Whatever the reason for Theophanes' wrong starting-point, the result is that his dates for the Persian kings remain wrong for the whole Chronicle as he simply follows the reign lengths in Synkellos' list. Here we need to allow both for Synkellos' (and Agathias') not always agreeing with Persian sources and for the propensity of the lists of making reigns coincide with whole years. Theophanes is thus generally six to seven years behind from AM 5777 to 5864, but reduces the lag to four or five years by 5886 with the added years for Ardašir II and Vararanes. The omission of Hormizd III returns the deficit to eight years by AM 5945, but a mistake over Kavad's first reign reduces this to five or six years again from AM 5983 to 6065. By attributing fifteen years to Hormizd IV's eleven-year reign he

[70] e.g. he lists Ardašir's 4-year reign as beginning in AM 5865 but then repeats his first year in AM 5866, so in effect giving him a fifth year. At AM 5866 he adds a 12th year to Vararames' 11-year reign and between 6113 and 6114 omits Khusro II's 34th year, all of which appears to be due to carelessness.

reduces the gap to two years by AM 6080 and by jumping at AM 6114 from the 33rd to the 35th year of Khusro II (590–628) he is only one year behind at AM 6119.

ii. Arab Caliphs

The catalogue of Theophanes, which starts with the prophet Muhammad and goes down to the death of al-Amin in 813, is, once again, related to that of the Vatic. (Schöne, 96–7). The latter, which appears to have been compiled in 818, is in some respects more accurate than that of Theophanes. There is also a Syriac list down to the accession of Walid I (705)[71] and others in the Syriac chronicles.

It may be noted that the total of Caliphs' years from the Prophet Muhammad to al-Amin adds up in Theophanes to 191, which is correct, given a starting-point in 622.

iii. Popes of Rome

The entries in Theophanes cease after Benedict I (575–9) and are resumed with Gregory III (731–41) down to Leo III (795–816). In Nikephoros Benedict I is the last pope for whom a length of reign is given, but he is followed by five other names (down to Boniface IV) without any chronological indications. In the Vatic. the lengths of reign are given down to Pelagius I (556–61), who is assigned incorrectly ten years, but the enumeration of names continues without break down to Pascal I (817–24), only Stephen V (22 June 816–24 Jan. 817) being given, correctly, a reign of seven months. From this it may be deduced that all three lists go back to an original compiled in *c.*580.[72]

Because of his involvement in the cause of icons, Theophanes had every reason to be interested in the popes of the eighth and ninth centuries. That makes it difficult to account for the hopeless inaccuracy of his data, as the following table shows:

Gregory III	9 years	in fact, close to 11 (731–41)
Zacharias	21 years	in fact, close to 10 (741–52)
Stephen II and III	(752–7)	omitted from the list
Paul I	7 years	in fact, 10 (757–67)
Constantine	5 years	in fact, 1 (767–8)
Stephen IV	3 years	correct (768–72)
Adrian I	27 years	in fact, close to 24 (772–95)
Leo III	8 (?) years	in fact, 20 years 6 months (795–816).

[71] See F. Nau, *JA*, 11th ser. 5 (1915), 226 n. 1.

[72] For another Greek list of popes see Duchesne's edn. of *Lib. Pont.* iii. 49–50. It goes down to Honorius I (625–38), but is consistently wrong in its chronology after Pelagius I (556–61).

The last entry poses a little problem: see AM 6289, n. 1. The figure 8 is in any case incorrect, seeing that under AM 6304 Leo is in his 16th year out of a total of 16, whereas in 6305 (the last year of the Chronicle) he is in his 17th year. If the numeral 8 is due to scribal error, it can be corrected to either 18 or 20 (*H'* to *K'*), the latter being nearly right. Seeing, however, that Leo died on 12 June 816, the length of his reign could have been inserted only after that date, perhaps by an early redactor.

iv. Patriarchs of Constantinople

The list of Theophanes starts with Metrophanes, who is given the 1st ordinal number, and his successor Alexander, marked 2nd; thereafter no more ordinal numbers are given. Exactly the same applies to the Vatic. Originally, the list of Nikephoros also began with Metrophanes (as shown by the London manuscript), but in de Boor's edition, which represents a later state of the text, the apostle Andrew is 1st and Metrophanes 23rd. All three lists have much in common, although the chronology of the Vatic. is somewhat aberrant. Some of the differences between them can be explained by scribal error or incorrect rounding off.

The last patriarch recorded by Theophanes is Nikephoros with a reign of 9 years. Since Nikephoros was deposed on 13 March 815, the relevant entry must have been inserted after that date either by Theophanes or someone else.

v. Patriarchs of Jerusalem[73]

There is a close correspondence between Theophanes, Nikephoros, and the Vatic., except that Theophanes at the beginning of his list is off by ten digits in his ordinal numbers and makes the further confusion of counting Zabdas (who should probably have been 39th) as both 29th and 30th. Agreement as to ordinal numbers is re-established only with no. 51, Salustius (486–94), who is also 51st in the Vatic., but 50th in Nikephoros. Theophanes goes down to Sophronios (633 or 634–639),[74] to whom he assigns, incorrectly, 3

[73] The early bishops of Jerusalem, from James brother of the Lord to Cyril, are enumerated by Alexander Mon. 4045B ff. Two points are worth noting: (1) Alexander says he is unable to give the length of their respective tenures because such information was not available. (2) His list, by comparison with Nikephoros', is shorter by six incumbents. The omissions are not accidental because Alexander himself says (4072A) that, just as there were 35 Roman emperors from Augustus to Constantine, so there were 35 bishops of Jerusalem, presumably inclusive of Makarios (41st in Nikephoros). For the Jerusalem list see the excellent discussion by C. H. Turner, *JTS* 1 (1900), 529 ff.

[74] For his dates see C. von Schönborn, *Sophrone de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1972), 97 n. 136.

years, but that figure may not have been in the source, since it is left out by both Nikephoros and the Vatic. The original list, therefore, was compiled at the latest shortly after the death of Modestus (Dec. 630), who is given, nearly correctly, 1 year in Nikephoros and the Vatic., but 2 by Theophanes. The confusion that prevailed shortly before the Arab conquest may account for the chronological inaccuracy of the Jerusalem list.

Two post-conquest patriarchs are named: an otherwise unknown Alexander, who appears only in MSS e and m under AM 6186, without a length of reign; and John, who is given 30 years (705–35). On the basis of the manuscript tradition de Boor argued that both these names have been interpolated.[75]

vi. Patriarchs of Alexandria

All three Greek lists go down to Peter III and are remarkably accurate if the accepted dates are to be trusted, except for the last two incumbents, namely Kyros (630 or 631–643 or 644), who is given 10 years, and Peter III (643 or 644–651), who is also given 10 (but no length of reign in the Vatic.). From this it may be deduced that this list, too, was compiled in *c.*630.

vii. Patriarchs of Antioch

The three Greek lists are fairly similar to one another and all go down to Anastasios II (598 or 599–?608), which means that the original was compiled before the conquest of that city by the Persians. The chronological indications are quite accurate for the sixth century, less so for the fourth and fifth.

The three eighth-century Melkite patriarchs who appear in the rubrics, namely Stephen III (742 or 743–744 or 745), Theophylaktos (744 or 745–750 or 751), and Theodore (750 or 751–773 or 774), the last being unaccountably given a tenure of only 6 years, have in de Boor's opinion[76] been interpolated.

3. *Months and Days*

When he is following an eastern source Theophanes occasionally retains the names of the months of the so-called Macedonian calendar in its Antiochene form. In all, we have counted fifteen such instances. On four occasions he uses the Egyptian names of months, again because he found them in his source or sources.

The old Roman practice of counting the days of the month from

[75] ii. 475–7. [76] ii. 478–80.

kalends, nones, and ides appears eleven times, all, as might have been expected, in the early part of the Chronicle. Of the eleven cases, three have an Alexandrian setting.

IV. SOURCES

Except for an indeterminate part of its final section the Chronicle of Theophanes can best be viewed as a file of extracts borrowed from earlier sources. These have been subjected in varying degrees to a process of abbreviation and paraphrase (see below, p. xciff.), but no attempt has been made to impose a stylistic uniformity to the resultant text. On the contrary, peculiarities of diction and style, from the archaic to the vernacular, that were present in the sources have, more often than not, been left untouched. An extreme case is provided by the borrowings from the iambic poems by George of Pisidia, many of which retain their metrical form. Unfortunately, this telltale diversity cannot be fully conveyed in translation and can only be sensed in the original.

Granted that the Chronicle is a file, its study is in a very real sense the study of its sources: before he can use any part of it the historian must attempt to determine the origin of each entry and the degree of deformation it has undergone at the hands of its medieval editor or editors. Availing ourselves of a considerable body of earlier research,[77] we shall attempt to list such sources as can be reasonably identified or delimited. It should be noted that, unlike the Syriac chroniclers, who are often scrupulous in naming their authorities, Theophanes hardly ever does so: in the few cases when he mentions a historian's name he appears to have taken it at second hand.

1. A succinct chronological compendium of rulers and the bishops of the five patriarchal sees. The foregoing discussion has shown that the extant Greek lists, namely that of Nikephoros, the Vatic., and the one utilized by Theophanes, were all related, whatever their differences of detail; and that a similar list was available to Synkellos. We have also seen that the original list of popes was drawn up in *c.*580, that of Antioch in *c.*610, and those of Jerusalem and Alexandria in *c.*630. As for the eastern sees, the rupture caused by the Arab conquest and the lengthy vacancies that followed it may be sufficient reason why the fasti were not kept up, but that does not explain the even earlier break in the Roman list, since the Papacy

[77] Such sources as were known at the time are given in de Boor's marginal indications. He was, of course, unaware of the Syriac parallels. For the Heraclian dynasty see A. S. Proudfoot, *Byz* 44 (1974), 367–439; for the period 715–813, Rochow, *Byzanz.*

never ceased being in contact with Constantinople. The key to this problem is probably provided by the Canon of Jacob of Edessa (*c.* AD 692), which incorporates lists of the same character; and if we take the trouble to extract the relevant information from his preserved fragments, we shall discover that his record of the Popes of Rome stops with John III (561–74), who is numbered 58th. For Constantinople he goes down to no. 25, John of Sarmin, i.e. John III Scholastikos (565–77); for Jerusalem to no. 59, Eustochios (552–563/4); for Alexandria to John II (570–80);[78] and for Antioch to Gregory (570–93). Thus, all of Jacob's lists were more or less contemporary.[79] It should be borne in mind that from *c.*575 onwards the succession of Chalcedonian bishops ceased to be of interest to a Monophysite author like Jacob.

The near coincidence regarding the end of the Roman list strongly suggests that the document available to Theophanes was ultimately of eastern origin. There are further pointers to the same conclusion: for example, the Vatic. (but not the other Greek lists) calls the 49th bishop of Antioch Paul Ἰούδας (presumably for Ἰουδαῖος). Jacob, too, has Paul the Jew as no. 49.[80] An observation made by de Boor[81] may also be of relevance: in view of the fact that some manuscripts of Nikephoros' *Chron. syntomon* give the patriarchs of Jerusalem in first place (before Rome and Constantinople) and of the unexpected notice of St Chariton (martyred under the emperor Tacitus),[82] he supposed that the work in question was revised in Jerusalem in *c.*850. For our part, we are more inclined to believe that the original lists, continued in Chalcedonian circles down to the Persian conquest for Antioch and to the Arab conquest for Jerusalem and Alexandria, passed through Palestine before they came to Constantinople. Perhaps they were brought by Synkellos who, as we have noted, appears to have been a monk precisely at St Chariton's.

2. A compendium of ecclesiastical history, of which a substantial part consisted of an abridgement of two works by Theodore Lector (first half of the sixth century), namely the *Historia tripartita* (an adaptation of Sokrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret), covering the

[78] Although the Chalcedonian Kyros (630/1–643/4) and the Monophysite Andronikos (619–26) and Benjamin (626–65) are also mentioned.

[79] It may be of significance that they fall within the active years of the most famous Syriac church historian, John of Ephesos, who seems to have had similar lists at his disposal: cf. *HE* i. 41 (bishops of Antioch) and 42 (bishops of Constantinople). Trans. E. W. Brooks, *CSCO, Scr. Syr.*, 3rd ser. 3, versio (1936), 35–6.

[80] Trans. Brooks, *ZDMG* 53 (1899), 318, a.195. He is also called *Paulus iudaeus* by John of Ephesos, op. cit. p. 35 and given a tenure of two years as in the Vatic.

[81] Preface to Nikephoros, *Opuscula historica*, xxxiv–xxxvi.

[82] Ibid. 95.

period from Constantine to *c.*430, and its continuation, the *Historia ecclesiastica* (down to 518). These two works survive only in fragments and Theophanes provides an essential basis for their reconstruction.

Theodore is Theophanes' main source from Constantine I to the death of Anastasios. The same compendium may also have provided Theophanes with his versions of various other ecclesiastical historians:

(*a*) Gelasios of Caesarea, whose Ecclesiastical History was written in *c.*395, and whom he cites by name at AM 5796. Gelasios seems to be the ultimate source for a number of other statements in the period of Diocletian and Constantine.

(*b*) A few passages, cited by de Boor, from cod. Baroccianus 142, which wrongly purports to be the work of an excerptor of Eusebios' Church History. These passages are distinct from others in the same manuscript, which, though also cited by de Boor as 'Exc. Bar.', are in fact fragments of Theodore Lector.

(*c*) An ecclesiastical history which Theophanes uses down to the end of the sixth century. Fragments of this also survive in cod. Parisinus gr. 1555A.

(*d*) A chronicle based on Eusebios' Chronicle and Jerome's Latin continuation of it (presumably in a Greek translation). Theophanes draws on this regularly to 359. This may either have been an independent chronicle or have been incorporated in the compendium of Ecclesiastical History or perhaps have formed part of the so-called 'City Chronicle'[83] and be linked with item 13 of our sources.

3. Eutropios' *Breviarium*, a succinct history from 753 BC to AD 364 in Latin, was available in two Greek translations. Theophanes uses short excerpts for seven years between 293 and 339.

4. An opuscule by Alexander the Monk, entitled 'On the Discovery of the True Cross', but also providing a wide-ranging (rather than detailed) background and follow-up to the main subject.[84] Probably written in Cyprus or Jerusalem (the two places Alexander seems to be familiar with) and traditionally dated to the late sixth century, this appears to reflect one of Theophanes' two main sources between AM 5793 and 5817, especially for Constantine and, to a lesser degree, for Diocletian. Termini for the work are a citation of a condemnation of Origen made in 543 and a ninth/tenth-century manuscript of a Georgian translation. A case has been made for a firm date between

[83] B. Croke in G. W. Clarke, ed., *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity* (Canberra, 1990), 165–203.

[84] *PG* 87/3: 4016–76.

543 and 556,[85] but a more recent suggestion rejects this and proposes very tentatively a date between 741 and 775, while at the same time denying that Theophanes made use of Alexander.[86] What is clear in our view is that Theophanes and Alexander followed a common tradition which, on the whole, is better preserved by Alexander than it is by Theophanes. Several sections are manifestly identical, and that cannot be ascribed to chance. In general Alexander is more detailed than Theophanes and we can observe Theophanes' standard abridging technique of omitting details while copying the outline word for word, which sometimes leads to obscurity (e.g. AM 5815). On one occasion, however, Theophanes includes details necessary for understanding a story which are omitted by Alexander, showing that Alexander (at any rate as published) cannot be Theophanes' source (see AM 5793, n. 7). In this case the necessary details are preserved in the so-called Guidi Life of Constantine (the Guidi *Bios*) of uncertain date (ninth/tenth century?),[87] which elsewhere is very close to both Alexander and Theophanes, but is written in a more florid style. At some points the Guidi *Bios* also omits necessary details preserved in either Alexander or Theophanes, so it cannot be their source; besides, its language suggests it is a later work. The most economical solution is to assume a common source for all three, perhaps incorporating material from Gelasios of Caesarea, whom Theophanes mentions as an authority for this period.

The only writer to mention Alexander is Glykas (*Annales* iv, Bonn edn., 466. 20–467.14), who cites him as the source for Constantine's late baptism, but rejects this with arguments against Alexander taken almost verbatim from Theophanes, AM 5814. It appears that Glykas knew that Theophanes' source was Alexander, but also knew that Theophanes, whom Glykas generally follows, had attempted to refute him.

The argument over Constantine's late baptism raises the question of links between the common source and the supposed Arian History (Hypoth. Arian: see below). The relevant facts here are that Alexander (and so presumably the common source) retains the correct account of the late baptism, and that Theophanes, in rejecting this in favour of the fictitious early baptism in Rome by Pope Silvester, specifically attributes the late baptism to an Arian fiction.

[85] M. van Esbroeck, *Bedi Kartlisa*, 37 (1979), 106 f. Endorsed by P. van Deun and J. Noret, *Hagiographica Cypria*, Corp. Christ., ser. gr. 26 (1993), 16 ff.

[86] A. Kazhdan, *Byz* 57 (1987), 199 ff., 221, 247.

[87] *BHG* 364, ed. M. Guidi, *Rend. della R. Accad. dei Lincei*, 5th ser. 16 (1907), 306–40, 637–55. Cf. R. Scott in P. Magdalino, ed., *New Constantines* (Aldershot, 1994), 66 ff.

It seems inherently unlikely that Theophanes would have been working with two separate sources that supported an Arian interpretation, both apparently written in the East (Syria and Jerusalem). If we accept the existence of Hypoth. Arian, it may also have been the source of Alexander.

There are several other works which contain later traditions about Constantine and show similarities with Theophanes, Alexander, and the Guidi *Bios*, notably Constantine's Life of cod. Angelicus 22[88] and the Patmos legend (*BHG* 365 n.).[89] Without entering into the debate on the date of these and related texts,[90] what is notable again is the link between their distinctive themes and supposed Arian propaganda to which Theophanes makes a specific rejoinder. Thus, there is the story of Helena as a prostitute giving birth to an illegitimate Constantine (rejected by Theophanes at AM 5814 as an Arian slander); the story of young Constantine's early sympathy for Christians despite his pagan upbringing and Diocletian's resultant suspicion of him (preserved with suitable modifications by Theophanes at AM 5793, where see n. 8); and Constantine's veneration of the Cross, where Theophanes again alters considerably the version in Alexander.[91] For this last example there is good reason to suggest a link with Hypoth. Arian, since the variants are all found in the *Chronicon Paschale*. The precise nature of this link and its possible connection with Iconoclasm and a ninth-century preoccupation with Arianism are not clear, but there are grounds for suspecting the existence of an Arian version of Constantine's Life, which Theophanes is at pains to reject.

5. A local chronicle of Alexandria. Between AM 5786 and 6009 there are 23 references to Alexandria, which are either unattested elsewhere (18) or attested only in a work which does not appear to have been Theophanes' source (5).[92] Seventeen of the 23 passages are concentrated between 5890 and 5961 and often (seven times) they provide the only information for the year. The material includes public buildings (baths, theatres, basilicas), earthquakes, popular demonstrations, and the discovery and translation of saints' relics, that is

[88] *BHG* 365, ed. H. G. Opitz, *Byz* 9 (1934), 545–90; additions by J. Bidez, *Byz* 10 (1935), 421–6.

[89] Ed. F. Halkin, *AnBoll* 77 (1959), 63–107.

[90] F. Winkelmann in *Beiträge zur byzant. Geschichte im 9.–11. Jahrhundert* (Prague, 1978), 181, 200, argues for the 5th or 6th cent.; Kazhdan, op. cit. 211, for the 9th.

[91] For details see Kazhdan, op. cit. 211.

[92] There are, of course, other references to Alexandria whose source we can identify.

the stock-in-trade of a Byzantine chronicle. Some of the passages suggest an interest in matters outside Alexandria, in particular campaigns in Libya (AM 5961; cf. 5963, 5964). It is tempting to suggest that this may be the source for Theophanes' one passage in his excursus on Justinian's African campaigns (AM 6026) which is not drawn from Prokopios or Malalas. For two passages a parallel is provided by Michael the Syrian (in one case citing John of Asia, i.e. of Ephesus). Two other passages link Alexandria with Jerusalem (AM 6005, and less clearly, AM 6033). It seems at least a possibility that this material derives from Theophanes' access to an eastern source or sources.

We list the years which contain material from the local Alexandrian chronicle: 5786 (various parallels), 5812 (cf. Mich. Syr. citing John of Asia), 5870 (cf. *Excerpta Barbari* and Nikephoros, *Chron. syntomon*), 5890, 5891, 5914, 5916 (cf. Mich. Syr.), 5928, 5932, 5933, 5934, 5935, 5945, 5949, 5950 (twice), 5956, 5957, 5959, 5961 (cf. 5963, 5964), 6001, 6005, 6009 (cf. Malalas). Other passages which may possibly be derived from the Alexandrian source but are more probably taken from elsewhere are: 5859 (parallel in Sokrates, so probably should be added to the fragments of Theodore Lector), 6008 (accepted as a fragment of Theodore Lector by Hansen because of parallel in Victor Tunnunensis), 6033 and 6056 (both probably from the Ecclesiastical compendium), and 6063 (cf. John of Antioch).

The parallel at AM 5870 with *Excerpta Barbari* needs noting. *Excerpta Barbari*[93] is generally accepted as being a Latin translation of an illustrated Greek chronicle reaching to AD 387 (i.e. the equivalent of AM 5880), which was written at Alexandria though containing material about the Western Empire. Elsewhere *Excerpta Barbari* shows affinities both with the *Chronicon Paschale* and, more particularly, with various Latin chronicles, especially *Fasti Hydatiani* and the so-called *Fasti Vindobonenses*. Since there are also signs that Theophanes' Alexandrian source included material from outside Alexandria, it is likely that other non-Alexandrian material paralleled only in *Excerpta Barbari* (AM 5882 and 5879) and in Latin chronicles (AM 5880, 5881, 5900, 5903, 5904, 5906 (where there is an Alexandrian connection), 5911, 5945, 5948, and 5955) is also derived from the Alexandrian source. That would help explain Theophanes' unexpected knowledge of Italian and other western events (or, in the case of errors, affinities to western chronicles), which is not reflected in other Byzantine chronicles. Since a case can no doubt be made for claiming that this material may have existed in a

[93] See B. Croke in Clarke, ed., *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity*, 185–8; R. S. Bagnall *et al.*, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (Atlanta, 1987), 52–4.

Constantinopolitan archive, it would be idle to speculate whether other unparalleled material from the same period, especially regarding the West, is similarly derived and, further, whether the links with *Chronicon Paschale* can connect the Alexandrian source with Hypoth. Arian.

6. A lost Arian history? *Chronicon Paschale* does not appear to have been used directly by Theophanes. As it is not mentioned in Photios' *Bibliotheca*, there may not have been a copy available to him.[94] Although there are numerous passages where *Chron. Pasch.* and Theophanes are identical, there are occasions where, in the midst of such passages, each in turn omits an essential detail of the story preserved in the other (e.g. at the siege of Nisibis, AM 5841, where see the notes), indicating rather the use of a common source. The description of the siege of Nisibis also illustrates that the common source occasionally reflected an Arian point of view, which is preserved in *Chron. Pasch.* but toned down, omitted, or combated by Theophanes (cf. AM 5829, 5841, 5847, 5849; he also adds anti-Arian epithets to his source at 5856 and 5859). The same Arian history appears to have been a source for the Syriac *Chr. 724* and so indirectly for Mich. Syr. This complicates rather than elucidates two other problems, namely that of identifying Theophanes' eastern sources, particularly for the early period, and that of Theophanes' relation to Alexander the monk (discussed above). It should be noted, however, that not all parallels between Theophanes and *Chron. Pasch.* can be derived from the hypothetical Arian history. The latter appears to have been written in the reign of Valens and was itself used as a source by Philostorgios in the fifth century, while parallels between Theophanes and *Chron. Pasch.*, some certainly derived from a common use of Malalas (e.g. the Nika riot), continue to the mid-sixth century.

An attempt at reconstructing as much as possible of the hypothetical Arian history was made by J. Bidez in his edition of Philostorgios[95] on the basis of parallels between *Chron. Pasch.*, Theophanes, *Chr. 724*, Mich. Syr., Jerome's Chronicle, and occasionally other works and including also surrounding passages which have not been attributed to another source. This has produced 48 fragments varying in length from a few lines to several pages. Theophanes is represented in 45 of the 48 fragments (far more than any other author), for five of which he is the only source; *Chron. Pasch.* in 20; *Chr. 724* in 20; and Mich. Syr. in 14. We accept that some such work probably existed, although we emphasize that its

[94] Cf. above, p. liii. *Chron. Pasch.* originally terminated in 630.

[95] 202 ff.

reconstruction is at best hypothetical. Whether Theophanes used it directly or through an intermediary is even less clear. None the less we have indicated its possible use by Theophanes by including it at the end of the sources for any one passage as Hypoth. Arian, followed by the fragment number. These passages occur between AM 5815 and 5870. The bearing of Hypoth. Arian on any estimation of Theophanes' eastern sources is discussed below.

7. The Antiochene Chronicle of John Malalas from Creation to *c.*547, continued at Constantinople to the death of Justinian I (565). In addition to a number of fragments and parts of a Slavonic translation (whose reconstruction raises many difficulties), Malalas survives only in an abridged version, from Creation to AD 563, in cod. Baroccianus 182 of the eleventh century.[96] Some 150 passages of Malalas have been borrowed by Theophanes.

8. Prokopios, *Bell. pers.*, books i and ii, and *Bell. vand.*, the use of the latter being confined to AM 6026. For Theophanes' treatment of this source see below, pp. xci ff.

9. Theophylact Simocatta for the Persian war of Justin II and the reigns of Tiberius and Maurice.

10. The Chronicle by John of Antioch, or rather its continuation, of which only fragments survive among the *Excerpta* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. This appears to have been a composite work: a first part, written in classical Greek, extending to the death of Anastasios I (518), was continued in colloquial Greek to 610. It may be argued that there was a further continuation to 641, reflected in the first part of the *Breviarium* of Nikephoros.[97] Theophanes used John of Antioch to supplement Theoph. Sim. for the latter part of the reign of Maurice (AM 6092–4) and as a major source for the reign of Phokas down to the arrival of Herakleios. A number of entries of Constantinopolitan character for the reigns of Justin II (see AM 6063) and Tiberius may also derive from the same source. Setting aside a single case of convergence with Nikephoros in the incident of the Avar surprise (AM 6110), there is no indication that Theophanes had access to the postulated continuation to 641. We assume that the court protocols for the same period come from a different source (no. 12).

11. The poems by George of Pisidia, notably the *Expeditio persica* and another historical poem (or poems) dealing with the campaigns

[96] For further details see *Mal. Trans.* and *Mal. Studies.*

[97] Cf. Mango *Nikeph.* 13–14. P. Sotiroudis, *Untersuchungen zum Geschichtswerk des Johannes von Antiocheia* (Thessaloniki, 1989), 150 ff., considers John's History to have been written *c.*520–30 and does not concern himself in detail with later material.

of 624–8, which has not survived except for the fragments preserved by Theophanes and the Souda lexicon. We need not consider here whether the lost poem(s) was an independent major work (as originally argued by L. Sternbach) or constituted Book III of the *Heraclias* (so A. Pertusi) or was a set of shorter pieces (as recently argued by J. D. Howard-Johnston).[98] For the sake of convenience our footnote references conform to Pertusi's edition.

12. An additional source for the Persian campaigns of Herakleios.[99]

13. A set of 'court announcements' recording imperial births, marriages, coronations, etc., down perhaps to 641.[100]

14. An eastern (Syriac) chronicle. Theophanes is unique among Byzantine chroniclers in his direct use of a foreign source, which makes up a major part of his narrative for the seventh and eighth centuries. The credit for proving this fact is due to E. W. Brooks,[101] whose acute remarks admit of further elaboration thanks to the subsequent publication to texts not available to him, in particular the Chronicle of 1234 and Agapios of Membidj.

There can be little doubt that the source used by Theophanes (for the sake of simplicity we shall speak of a single source, although there may have been more than one) was a Greek translation of a chronicle written in Syriac. That this translation was made in the East is indicated, amongst other clues, by the use of Macedonian months, which was traditional in Syria–Palestine: these occur between 6126 and 6242. It is also evident that this source in its final form was a product of Melkite circles. It is difficult to determine its place of origin, since there are divergent pointers to Edessa, Antioch, Emesa, and Palestine. But even if the final redaction was Melkite, the source incorporated a good deal of material common to the Syrian Jacobite tradition, as represented notably by Michael the Syrian and the Chronicle of 1234.

The identification of the eastern passages (which, for the reader's convenience, we have distinguished by a different font) is not always

[98] 'The Official History of Heraclius' Persian Campaigns', in E. Dąbrowa, ed., *The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East* (Cracow, 1994), 62 ff.

[99] Ibid. 76 ff.

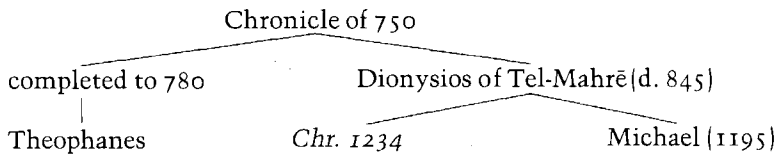
[100] Cf. P. Speck, *Das geteilte Dossier: Beobachtungen zu den Nachrichten über die Regierung des Kaisers Herakleios und die seiner Söhne bei Theophanes und Nikephoros*, Poikila Byzantina, 9 (Bonn, 1988), 25 ff.

[101] *BZ* 15 (1906), 578–87. Cf. N. Pigulevskaja, *JÖBG* 16 (1967), 55–60, for Theophanes' relation to Ps.-Dionysios. A useful survey of Syriac historical sources for the 7th cent. is given by S. P. Brock, *BMGS* 2 (1976), 17–36. See now also L. I. Conrad, *ByzF* 15 (1990), 1–44; R. Hoyland, 'Arabic, Syriac and Greek Historiography in the First Abbasid Century', *Aram*, 3 (1991), 217–39; Palmer, *Seventh Century*, esp. 96 ff. (by R. Hoyland).

beyond dispute. Setting aside some cases of overlap as early as the fourth century (discussed below), the passages in question start with the Persian invasion in the reign of Phokas (AM 6099), become more or less continuous from AD 630 onwards, and extend at least to AD 780.

If we wish to go further and try to identify Theophanes' eastern source, we find ourselves in deep waters. It is known that Michael's Chronicle (completed in 1195) was chiefly based for the period 582–842 (i.e. books x. 21–xii) on that of Dionysios of Tel-Mahrē, who is also acknowledged to have been the source of the Chronicle of 1234, the latter being independent of Michael. But Dionysios died in 845 and his Chronicle, which is lost except for a few fragments,[102] could not, therefore, have been the source of Theophanes. The latter must have been already incorporated in Dionysios.

The next point to notice is that whereas Theophanes' eastern source extended to at least 780, his correspondence with Michael (as with *Chr. 1234*) stops in about 750, as already stressed by Brooks. The relationship of the various texts we have been discussing, setting aside Agapios, can, therefore, be expressed by the following schema:



With regard to the postulated Chronicle of 750, it ought to correspond to the work of one of the six authors cited by Dionysios in his Preface, which is reproduced by Michael (ii. 358). Their respective claims have been examined by Brooks, who, after eliminating four of them as being too early, too late, or otherwise unsuitable, was left with two candidates, namely a certain John son of Samuel and Theophilos of Edessa, expressing a preference for the former. Since nothing whatever is known concerning John son of Samuel, we shall be none the wiser if we ascribe to him the Chronicle of 750. Theophilos of Edessa, who is specifically mentioned as a source by Agapios of Membidj (whose work belongs to the same nexus of sources),[103] is a more attractive candidate. He was a Melkite, an 'astrologer', and a favourite of the Caliph al-Mahdī. In addition to his historical interests, he also translated the Iliad and the Odyssey into

[102] An attempt to reconstruct it is made by Palmer, *Seventh Century*, 111 ff.

[103] *PO* viii. 525.

Syriac. He died in 785.[104] Recently a detailed case has been made for Theophilos' authorship of the 'Chronicle of 750',[105] which may be accepted as a working hypothesis. That, however, still leaves open the identity of the eastern source for the period 750–80, which does not appear to offer any close parallels either with the Syriac tradition or with Agapios, whose published text breaks off in the second year of al-Mahdī (AD 776/7). One possible solution would be to suppose that whoever translated Theophilos into Greek wrote the post-750 narrative in addition to being responsible for a number of other entries in the pre-750 section, which, although of eastern derivation, are unique to Theophanes.

Brooks's discussion was concerned only with the latter part of Theophanes' Chronicle. There are, however, occasional signs that Theophanes used a Syriac chronicle or chronicles from perhaps as early as AD 320 (AM 5812). Here the problem is bedevilled by the possibility that all these items are derived from the hypothetical Arian historian, who was a source for Theophanes, *Chron. Pasch.*, and the Syriac *Chr. 724*. It should, however, be noted that the Arian History was itself produced in Syria,[106] though probably written in Greek. Of the 40 shared items which Theophanes contributes to the reconstructed text of Hypoth. Arian, 29 are reflected in Syriac sources (as against 11 for *Chron. Pasch.*) or, to put it the other way round, every one of the 31 Syriac contributions are also reflected in Theophanes, whereas 17 of them have no reflection in *Chron. Pasch.* A more precise analysis of AM 5828 and 5829 is instructive in this respect. In both of these years the Syriac *Chr. 724* contains exactly the same information as Theophanes on items for which there is no sign in any Greek source. In the first example both chronicles state that 'many of the Assyrians in Persia were sold into Mesopotamia by the Arabs ('Saracens' in Theophanes)'. *Chr. 724* continues as follows: 'Sabores, emperor of the Persians, came to Mesopotamia to attack Nisibis. He besieged it for 66 days. And Jacob, bishop of Nisibis, by his own prayer drove back the army. When (the Persians) returned to their own land they found famine and hunger before them instead of profit.' The reference to Jacob is so close to Theophanes and so

[104] *The Chronography of Gregory Abu 'l-Faraj . . . known as Bar Hebraeus*, trans. E. A. W. Budge, i (London, 1932), 116. Cf. A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn, 1922), 341–2. Note that Theophilos appears to have used the Byzantine era, since he calculated AG as starting in 5197 from Adam: Budge, 40 [39]; F. Nau, *ROC* 4 (1899), 327.

[105] L. I. Conrad, 'The Conquest of Arwād' in A. Cameron and L. I. Conrad, eds., *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, i (Princeton, 1992), 317–401.

[106] P. Batiffol, *La Paix constantinienne et le catholicisme*, 4th edn. (Paris, 1929), 91.

unusual that in one otherwise excellent discussion an unknown source, probably in Syriac rather than in Greek, was postulated to explain the similarity, although the author felt that Theophanes could hardly have had access to Syriac material.[107] If we substitute George Synkellos for Theophanes, the problem of the use of a Syriac source disappears.

To pursue our analysis of AM 5828 and 5829, *Chr. 724* placed its account (from the sale of the Assyrians to the return of the Persians from Nisibis) early in the reign of Constantius. Theophanes has divided this between Constantine's last year (sale of the Assyrians) and Constantius' first year (siege of Nisibis and Jacob's prayer). He simply attached the sale of the Assyrians to his Greek source's reference to the Persian invasion in Constantine's last year, while retaining for the next year his Greek source's account of the siege of Nisibis, to which he added Jacob's prayer from his Syriac source. If this is set out in tabular form it will be seen that the separate correspondences are too precise for us to assume a single source (see p. lxxxvi).

All of Theophanes' material for these two years, apart from a small amount taken from the Ecclesiastical Compendium, is to be found almost verbatim in *Chron. Pasch.* and *Chr. 724*. It is noteworthy, however, that apart from the description of the siege of Nisibis, the material contained in *Chr. 724* is not present in *Chron. Pasch.* and vice versa. The division certainly makes it appear that Theophanes was using two separate sources, one of which covered material of interest to a Greek/western audience (*Chron. Pasch.*), while the other (*Chr. 724*) included material of Syrian/eastern interest. Rather than supporting the idea that Theophanes was using a common source, the arrangement of material suggests that he has simply incorporated eastern data into his Greek source.

For the remainder of the fourth century and, less frequently, the fifth century, there are parallels in Syriac chronicles for items for which de Boor was unable to find a source in Greek or Latin. These Syriac works include the Chronicle of Edessa, the Canon by Jacob of Edessa, the Maronite Chronicle, *Chr. 724*, *Chr. 846*, the surviving Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysios (or Zuqnin Chronicle, to be distinguished from the genuine Chronicle of Dionysios of Tel-Mahrē of which only a few fragments survive), and the later Chronicle of Michael the Syrian (on one occasion specifically citing John of Ephesos as his source). But there is no single chronicle that has all the parallel passages. There are also, of course, Syriac parallels for

[107] P. Peeters, *AnBoll* 38 (1920), 288–9; id., Acad. Royale de Belgique, *Bull. Cl. des Lettres*, 17 (1931), 10–47.

	Chronicon Paschale	Theophanes	*Chron. 724*
1		Sale of Assyrians (33. 15–16)	Sale of Assyrians (101. 30–1)
2	Persian declaration of war (532. 7)	Persian declaration of War (33. 16–17)	
3	Constantine's death at Nicomedia (532. 7–9)	Constantine's death at Nicomedia (33. 17–18)	
4	Constantine's death-bed baptism (532. 10–12)	Constantine's death-bed baptism (33. 18–22)	
5	Length of reign (532. 12–13)	Length of life and reign (33. 22–23)	
6	Division of Empire between sons (532. 13–21)	Division of Empire between sons (33. 23–5; 35. 16–18)	
7		Material from Ecclesiastical Compendium (33. 25–32)	
8	Burial of Constantine (532. 22–533. 17)	Burial of Constantine (33. 32–3)	
9		Material from Ecclesiastical Compendium (34. 1–5)	
10		Chronological Notice (34. 6–15)	
11	(cf. 6)	Accession of Constantius, division of Empire (34. 16–18, see above). Material from Ecclesiastical Compendium (34. 19–31)	
13	Siege of Nisibis (533. 18–20)	Siege of Nisibis (34. 32–35. 1)	Siege of Nisibis (101. 32–3)
14		Jacob's prayer (35. 1–4)	Jacob's prayer (101. 33–4)
15		Persian suffering and retreat (35. 4–7)	Persian retreat and suffering (101. 34–6)

items which occur in Greek sources. Where the latter are regularly used by Theophanes we can disregard the Syriac parallel, but sometimes it is difficult to choose between a Syriac and, say, a Latin version. It is possible that in some of the cases where there is only a Syriac or an obscure western parallel (such as a Latin chronicle) Theophanes may have drawn his material from a source that has not survived.

For the late fifth and early sixth century the Syriac parallels are generally insignificant, but after reaching the end of Theodore Lector as a source, Theophanes may have used some Syriac material to supplement Malalas on Justin I. But both here and for Justinian I we are faced with the reverse problem of having before us an abridged Malalas, whereas his original text was incorporated into Syriac chronicles. Even so, there is no sign of Theophanes using a Syriac source for Justinian's reign, except possibly the Canon of Jacob of Edessa for the dates of popes. For Justin II, however, for much of whose reign Theophanes appears to have lacked a basic source to rely on, there are several items which are curiously similar to, but not identical with, the Syriac Ecclesiastical History by John of Ephesos. The absence of similar information elsewhere suggests that here, too, Theophanes may have turned to a Syriac source, perhaps a user of John of Ephesos. But once he could fall back on Theophylact Simocatta, Theophanes appears to have abandoned Syriac material until the reign of Phokas.

15. An anti-Monothelete tract based in part on Anastasios Sinaites, *Sermo III in 'secundum imaginem'*,[108] but also incorporating other material that appears in the *Synodicon vetus* of *c.* AD 890.[109] The correspondence between Theophanes and *Vita Maximi, BHG* 1234, may be due to the fact that the latter draws on the former.[110] The tract in question provides the lengthy cast-forward at AM 6121 and the notices concerning Maximus and Pope Martin (AM 6149–50).

16. A Constantinopolitan chronicle from 668 to *c.*720, which has also been reproduced, less faithfully than by Theophanes, in the *Short History* of the patriarch Nikephoros.[111] This chronicle appears to have been favourable to Leo III and showed many signs of contemporaneity with events in the early eighth century.

17. A contemporary biography (?) of Leo III. Theophanes may have drawn from it the long account of the Arab invasion of Asia Minor

[108] Ed. K.-H. Uthemann, Corp. Christ., ser. gr. 12 (1985).
[109] Cc. 128–46. See *Syn. Vetus*, 107 n. 154.
[110] See the lengthy discussion by Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 179–218.
[111] Cf. Mango, *Nikeph.* 15–16.

in 716, which appears to be due to an eyewitness (AM 6208), and Leo's previous Caucasian mission (AM 6209). Neither item appears in Nikephoros, which is the reason for not attributing them to no. 15.

18. A second Constantinopolitan chronicle of iconophile tendency, from *c.*720, which has also been used in the *Short History* of Nikephoros, the latter terminating in 769. It is not clear whether the chronicle stopped at the same point. Here, as with no. 16, Theophanes preserves the fuller version of the source.

19. Some snippets of western material, perhaps originating in the Greek circles of Rome, notably the excursus on the flight of Pope Stephen to Gaul (dB, pp. 402. 21–403. 23, misdated to 723/4).

20. Some bits of archival material, namely a quotation from the address of Constans II to the Senate (AM 6134); the *citatorium* sanctioning the transfer of Germanus from the see of Kyzikos to that of Constantinople (AM 6207); the proceedings of the appointment of the patriarch Tarasios (AM 6277); the Acts of the Council of 787. One may reasonably conjecture that most of these items were drawn from the archives of the Patriarchate.

It need hardly be emphasized that the above enumeration is neither exhaustive nor certain. In the case of the lost sources and those preserved only in fragments other combinations are conceivable. Besides, it is worth remembering that a medieval manuscript did not have the finality of a modern printed book. A manuscript often contained scholia and miscellaneous additions written in by successive owners or readers: it is quite possible that various bits of extraneous material found in Theophanes did not come from separate 'sources' but were supplied by scholia in the books he used. In the same manner a lengthy scholion of *c.*806, later expanded after 843, attached itself to the Chronicle of Theophanes (AM 6177: cf. above, p. lxii).

For the post-Heraclian period two more sources of Theophanes have often been postulated, namely the patrician Trajan and the Megas Chronographos. We ought to explain why we have not included them in our list.

(i) The Patrician Trajan. This enigmatic figure is known from the following notice of the Souda:[112] 'The patrician Trajan flourished under Justinian whose nose was cut off [Justinian II]. He wrote a most excellent short chronicle (*χρονικὸν σύντομον*). He was very Christian and most orthodox.' Furthermore, Theophanes himself quotes him with reference to the Gothic war of Theodosios I: 'Trajan the patrician in his History says that the Scythians are called Goths

[112] iv. 582.

in their native language' (dB, p. 66. 2). Commenting on this meagre evidence, de Boor[113] suggested that the Souda confused two different persons named Trajan, one being the author of a short chronicle, the other a prominent general in the reign of Valens, mentioned elsewhere by Theophanes (dB, 62. 10), a zealous Catholic who was killed at the battle of Adrianople.[114] It was the second, thought de Boor, that wrote the History in which the Goths were, appropriately enough, mentioned, and to whom applied the epithets 'very Christian and most orthodox'. If one accepts this hypothesis, there remains the second Trajan, the author of a short chronicle allegedly composed between 685 and 711; and if such a work was indeed in circulation, the chances are that Theophanes would have known it. Another bit of evidence (of which de Boor was unaware) may appear at first sight to lend further support to the existence of Trajan's chronicle: the first version of Nikephoros' *Short History* (the one contained in the London MS, Add. 19390) stops in 713, a possible terminal point for a chronicle written by a man contemporary with Justinian II. Several good scholars have accepted this interpretation.[115] On closer inspection, however, it cannot be sustained, for the ending of the London version occurs in the middle of a paragraph and must be regarded as arbitrary. If one compares it to the longer (Vatican) version of the *Short History* and to the corresponding and more precise account of Theophanes (AM 6205), one will be convinced that the flow of narrative is continuous and that no break occurred at the point where the London manuscript stops.[116]

That, however, does not entirely solve the problem. Even if it was not reflected in the London manuscript of Nikephoros, a short chronicle by one Trajan could have existed. But if so, what exactly did it contain? It could have been similar to the *Chron. syntomon* ascribed to Nikephoros, that is merely a list of rulers, bishops, etc.; in which case it might have served Theophanes for his rubrics, but was not a narrative source. Alternatively, it could have consisted of short narrative entries dated by year, in which case we would expect it to have covered a reasonably long span of time prior to the author's floruit of *c.*700. Yet, neither Nikephoros nor Theophanes had any Byzantine historical documentation for the reign of Constans II (641–68): Nikephoros leaves a blank for those years, while Theophanes fills them out with the help of his Syriac source, which he supplements with a few snippets from the anti-Monothelete

[113] *Hermes*, 17 (1882), 489–92.

[114] See *PLRE* i. 921–2, Traianus 2.

[115] e.g. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, i. 457, 532; E. Honigmann, *Nouvelle Clio*, 4 (1952), 290 n. 1.

[116] Cf. Mango, *Nikeph.* 5–6.

tract. Hence Trajan's chronicle could not have started before 668. But even for the reign of Constantine IV (668–85) there is so little Byzantine material in Theophanes and some of it is so confused and misdated that it could not have come from a nearly contemporary source. Only for the reign of Justinian II does his information become more abundant and, if it comes from Trajan (a supposition that does not add greatly to our knowledge), one can only conclude that the latter's chronicle covered a very short period indeed.[117]

(ii) The *Megas Chronographos*. This work is represented by fifteen (or eighteen, depending on how one divides them) extracts added in an eleventh-century hand to the unique manuscript of *Chron. Pasch.*, cod. Vatic. gr. 1941, fos. 241^{v}–242^{v} and 272^{v}.[118] They concern various disasters (earthquakes, plagues, riots, etc.) ranging in date from the reign of Zeno to that of Constantine V, but are not placed in strict chronological order. Of the fifteen (if we so count them), three (nos. 2, 3, and 10) have no known source; one (no. 13) is paralleled by Nikephoros, *Short History*, c. 71; the remainder are common to Theophanes and later Byzantine chronicles. The supposition that the *Megas Chronographos* is an eighth-century compilation[119] is due simply to the fact that its latest entry refers to the middle of that century. But if we take the trouble to make a textual comparison, it becomes at once apparent that Theophanes cannot be derived from *Meg. Chron.* in its existing form. One example will be sufficient: Theophanes, AM 6232 (earthquake of AD 740), dB 412. 6–16, recurs in *Meg. Chron.*, no. 14 practically word for word. Theophanes continues:

> Ὁ οὖν βασιλεὺς ἰδὼν τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως πτωθέντα διελάλησε τῷ λαῷ λέγων, ὅτι "ὑμεῖς οὐκ εὐπορεῖτε κτίσαι τὰ τείχη, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς προσετάξαμεν τοῖς διοικηταῖς, καὶ ἀπαιτοῦσιν εἰς τὸν κανόνα κατὰ ὁλοκοτίνιν μιλιαρίσιν, καὶ λαμβάνει αὐτὸ ἡ βασιλεία καὶ κτίζει τὰ τείχη." ἐντεῦθεν οὖν ἐπεκράτησεν ἡ συνήθεια δίδειν τὰ δικέρατα τοῖς διοικηταῖς.

[117] It could, of course, have been the same as our postulated chronicle to c.720. This is not the place to discuss the alleged connection between Trajan and the so-called Epitome, i.e. the common source of the various versions of the Symeon Logothete group of chronicles (10th–11th cents.). See on this problem D. Serruys, *BZ* 16 (1907), 1–51. It should be noted that the Epitome is itself a construct of modern scholarship.

[118] Ed. A. Freund, *Beiträge zur antiochenischen und zur konstantinopolitanischen Stadtchronik* (Jena, 1882), 38–42; P. Schreiner, ed., *Kleinchroniken*, i. 37 ff. (who divides it into 18 fragments); L. M. Whitby, *BMGS* 8 (1982–3), 17–20.

[119] Thus E. Patzig, *BZ* 3 (1894), 470–1; E. Gerland, *Byz* 8 (1933), 100–1; H. Hunger, *Hochsprachliche Lit.* i. 346–7; L. M. Whitby, *BMGS* 8 (1982–3), 1–20 and *Byz* 53 (1983), 312–45. M. and M. Whitby, *Chron. Pasch.* 192–3, are more guarded.

For its part, *Meg. Chron.* has:

> Ὁ οὖν βασιλεὺς ἰδὼν τὰ τείχη τῆς πόλεως πτωθέντα προσέταξε τοῖς διοικηταῖς ἀπαιτῆσαι κατὰ πρόσθεσιν τοῦ κανόνος καθ' ἕκαστον νόμισμα μιλιαρίσιον α' ἕνεκα ἀνοικοδομίας τῶν τειχῶν τῆς πόλεως· καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἐπεκράτησε συνήθεια ἀπαιτεῖσθαι κατ' ἔτος καὶ τὸ δικέρατον παρὰ τῶν διοικητῶν.

It does not require many words to show that the *Meg. Chron.* in this instance is nothing more than a colourless abbreviation of Theophanes (or conceivably of his source) and cannot be the source of Theophanes. The same can be said of no. 12 (earthquake in Syria–Palestine; plague at Constantinople), which is an abbreviation, and a particularly clumsy one at that, of Theophanes, p. 422. 25 ff., while no. 13 is clearly derived from Nikephoros and not the other way round. The only possible argument to the contrary would be that the extracts preserved in the Vatican manuscript are themselves the abbreviation of a fuller *Meg. Chron.*, but that would lead us into the realm of needless speculation. In sum, the *Meg. Chron.*, as represented by the fifteen extracts, should be regarded as a compilation of the ninth century or later, dependent on Theophanes, Nikephoros, possibly the full Malalas, and another, unknown source.

After AD 780 no identifiable source can be detected in Theophanes. That does not mean that his account from that point onwards relies on oral testimony and personal recollection alone. It is highly likely that he had certain written documents before him and an attempt to identify them has been made by others.[120] We shall refrain from discussing this topic, which would call for a great deal of space without leading us to any solid conclusions.

Treatment of Sources

Given that the Chronicle is a file of the sources we have attempted to list, the reader will want to know how accurately Theophanes has handled them. The best evidence should come from those sources that survive in full, namely Prokopios' *Persian* and *Vandal Wars* (Theophanes appears not to have had access to the *Gothic Wars*), Theophylact Simocatta, and George of Pisidia. In these cases Theophanes generally reflects the source accurately for the information

[120] e.g. by P. Speck, *Konstantin VI*, 389–97.

he provides and his selection is sensible. His technique fits our description of a file of passages, often quoting in full, sometimes picking key words or phrases (or synonyms for them), so that even as a précis he sticks closely to the phraseology of the original, even if he omits several pages of his source between the beginning and end of a sentence. Occasionally the effect is unfortunate. Thus, 'the most gentle Constantine . . . ordered his [Licinius'] decapitation by the sword' (AM 5815). In Theophanes' source, Alexander the Monk, the epithet 'most gentle' is appropriate because it refers to an item which Theophanes omits in his linking of two separate sentences. But this does illustrate Theophanes' concern to follow closely the actual wording of his source. There are, however, places where Theophanes misrepresents his source. For Prokopios and Theophylact this is usually because he has failed to sort out a complicated sentence or an obsolete term (such as a parasang, as at AM 6086, 6092) or sometimes where he has been clumsy in attempting to link two sources. Such cases are discussed in the notes. There may also be a few instances where Theophanes has deliberately changed the evidence of his source. Some interesting examples are discussed below, but it needs stressing that in these cases the text is often in doubt.

Where we are dealing with a source which only survives in an abbreviated form, we cannot make such a close comparison, but in Theophanes' treatment of Malalas interesting points do arise. Malalas is Theophanes' major source for Justin I and Justinian I, yet Malalas' own account, especially of Justinian's reign was clearly very uneven. We can divide Theophanes' use of Malalas, Book xviii, on Justinian into three sections. For the first seven years of Justinian's reign (527–33) Malalas is detailed (Bonn edn., pp. 425–78), averaging over seven pages a year. Theophanes here omits some 46 events, including everything from pp. 457–77 apart from the mission to Ethiopia, which he transfers to the reign of Justin II, and the Nika riot. He also changes Malalas' dates on at least ten occasions, sometimes by long periods. From 534 to 561 Malalas' treatment is by contrast scanty, devoting only 13 pages to 28 years (Bonn edn., 478–90). For this period Theophanes omits little (6 or 7 items) and makes only minor chronological changes, which are explicable on other grounds, but he also transfers to this period eight of the ten items from the earlier section for which he has altered Malalas' chronology. Finally, Malalas becomes relatively detailed again until our manuscript breaks off, with some six pages devoted to two years, 562–63 (Bonn edn., pp. 490–6). Here, as with the first section, Theophanes is again selective, omitting six of Malalas' eleven items.

It is clear that Theophanes felt free to rearrange Malalas' material and, in particular, reject his chronology. Where Malalas provides an indiction date, Theophanes is likely to accept it, though usually omitting the indiction itself. Occasionally Theophanes accepts the figure but transfers the date to a different indiction cycle, that is a period of 15 or 30 years later, and, on one occasion, 15 years earlier. Since the cycles were not numbered, it was not an unreasonable approach for dealing with dates which he may have doubted on other grounds. We can only guess what those grounds may have been, but it is noticeable that Theophanes fills 'years' for which he had no material from 'years' for which his source material was abundant. In other words, where Malalas is detailed, perhaps unduly so in Theophanes' view, Theophanes is selective and prepared to alter his source's chronology. But where Malalas is short of information, Theophanes accepts almost everything including the chronology and even supplements these lean years with material from the rich years. In addition to the transfers of material for Justinian's reign, we should also note Constantine's first year, about which Theophanes may well have felt something had to be said, but for which he had no datable material, and much of the reign of Justin II, for which he appears to have had no easily available source, that is after the end of Malalas and before the opening of Simocatta. For these years Theophanes' account is largely made up of gobbets of information and misinformation, which he has done his best to attribute to Justin II, even occasionally using his own chronological rubrics to date other events (unfortunately wrongly).[121]

There are also places where Theophanes' inclusion of material is somewhat odd. His use of Prokopios' *Persian Wars* for a couple of years of Anastasios' reign shows that he knew that work, but for Justinian's reign, where one might have expected Theophanes to make considerable use of the *Persian Wars*, he selects just one episode, Belisarios' theatrical performance to outwit Khusro. This highly select usage is the more remarkable given his lengthy précis of the whole of the two books of the *Vandal Wars* and his use of Malalas' scanty notices (instead of Prokopios' detailed information) for Khusro's devastating invasions in 540 and 541. The overall tendency is to play down the failures and emphasize the military successes of the great Justinian, leading to peace in Africa (AM 6026, the central point of his account of the reign) and in Thrace (AM 6032) and

[121] This evidence of an author striving desperately to establish a chronology from intractable material is also evident in Theophanes' treatment of the Gothic and Vandal invasions and is more in keeping with our knowledge of George Synkellos than of Theophanes.

reaching a peak with Belisarios 'having gained greater glory from his achievement in Persia than he did in Africa' (AM 6033). Justinian's reign is seen in terms of military success as long as his orthodoxy lasted. His lapse into heresy is then post-dated to his last year and made responsible for his death, 'with God acting in time'. The question is whether the effect we discern is the result of chance or deliberate selection.

This leads us to the places where Theophanes has misrepresented the evidence of his sources. There can be little doubt that sometimes this was the result of incompetence or carelessness, for example in claiming that Kyrnos was the name of Sardinia rather than Corsica (AM 6026, n. 58) or calling Antaios Asklepios (AM 6026, n. 68). But changing 'sycophants' into 'soldiers' in Justin II's abdication speech (AM 6070) appears to be a deliberate change. Likewise there is the rearrangement of the order of the letters between Gelimer and Justinian, so that Justinian is no longer seen making overtures and being rebuffed but as the dignified emperor who responds to the barbarian's entreaty. Since elsewhere Theophanes follows Prokopios' sequence mechanically, it is difficult not to see the change here as deliberate. Other changes are more obvious. At the beginning of Justin I's reign the pious and orthodox emperor recalls and honours the equally orthodox Vitalian and in unison the pair give the reign a good start against heresy (AM 6011) after the impious reign of Anastasios, 'who ruled wickedly as emperor' (AM 5982, n. 9, 6010). But in Justin's second year any source available to Theophanes would have said that the emperor murdered Vitalian, probably in the palace. Instead, Theophanes assures us that Vitalian was killed by the people of Byzantium. Theophanes has simply rejected a source or sources that were inconsistent with his interpretation.

Theophanes does, therefore, introduce a bias into his Chronicle by tampering with his source material. It needs stressing that this appears to happen only occasionally and that usually the change is slight in phraseology, though often crucial for the meaning. This is perhaps most obvious in Theophanes' use of Theodore Lector, his main source for much of the fourth and almost all of the fifth centuries. Here there is the added problem of dealing with a fragmentary abridgement which makes certainty in interpretation virtually impossible. But although Theophanes frequently reproduces verbatim the text of the abridged Theodore, a consistent feature is the addition of a word or two which colour the original. Thus at AM 5860 Theophanes, in the course of a half-page of narrative on Valens, adds 'illegally', 'illegal', 'impious', and 'unholy' to Theodore's neutral account.

In the latter part of the Chronicle an anti-Bulgarian bias, quite understandable in the context of the early ninth century, is repeatedly apparent by comparison with the parallel account of Nikephoros. Theophanes sometimes omits incidents in which the Bulgarians win a success or act in a manner helpful to the Empire.

To sum up, Theophanes for the most part follows the wording of his sources very closely, even when this produces an inappropriate sense. He tends to follow other chronicles verbatim, but generally simplifies more literary works. He does, however, occasionally change the trend of his source by the substitution of a key word or by the addition of emotive qualifiers and sometimes by a more serious alteration. His dates are not to be trusted without supporting evidence, and he will select or omit material to suit his interpretation. That interpretation, however, is mainly a simple association of success with orthodoxy and failure with heresy so that, despite the tampering, Theophanes is still essentially stringing together a dossier of extracts from earlier writers.[122]

V. TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION

Our translation is based on C. de Boor's excellent edition. In the very few cases when we have departed from it a note to that effect has been appended.

De Boor's text may be described as eclectic and rests on the following manuscripts:

a Vatic. Barber. 553, 16th cent., down to p. 17. 16 of the edition only.

b Vatic. gr. 154, 12th cent., down to p. 173. 23, with an important lacuna from 107. 27 to 141. 1. Regarded by de Boor as the best of the Greek MSS.

c Vatic. gr. 155, formerly dated to the 10th/11th cent., but now regarded to be of the late 9th. Down to p. 461. 10.

d Paris. gr. 1710, 10th cent., erroneously regarded by de Boor as the oldest witness. This is not so much a copy as a paraphrase, especially so in the first third of the text. Breaks off at p. 479. 13, with further lacunae from 69. 4 to 71. 4 and from 107. 27 to 108. 15.

δ Paris. gr. 1709, 16th cent., an apographon of d, hence worthless except where it supplies missing portions of d.

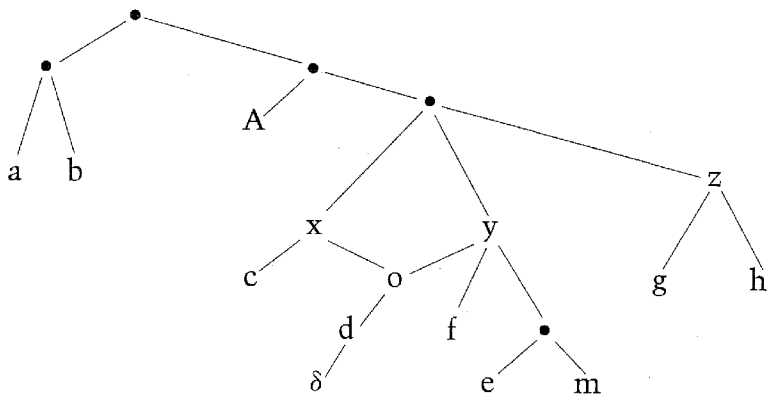
e Vatic. Palat. 395, 16th cent.

[122] Theophanes' manner of treating his sources has been discussed by I. S. Čičurov, *VizVrem* 37 (1976), 62–73 with regard to Prok., and by Ja. N. Ljubarskij, ibid. 45 (1984), 72–86 with regard to Theoph. Sim., Prok., Mal., and Geo. Pisid. Their conclusions differ somewhat from ours.

f Paris. Coisl. 133, 12th cent., also containing parts of the *Chron. syntomon* of Nikephoros and of Synkellos. The text of Theophanes has numerous gaps after p. 216. 35.
g Paris. gr. 1711, 11th cent., the well-known corpus of Byzantine historians.
h Vatic. gr. 978, 11th/12th cent., the first 38 folios added in the 16th century. Down to p. 468. 28.
m Monac. gr. 391, 16th cent.
A The Latin translation of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, on which see below.
x denotes the consensus of c and d (and now o).
y denotes the consensus of e, f, and m.
z denotes the consensus of g and h.

De Boor did not use a tiny fragment of the second half of the tenth century at Basle,[123] a number of Renaissance copies and, more seriously, Christ Church, cod. Wake 5 (siglum o) of the late ninth century, written in a hand very similar to, and perhaps identical with, that of c.[124] The existence of the Christ Church manuscript, which contains the entire text except the last line, remained generally unknown until it was brought to the attention of specialists by J. B. Bury.[125] A partial collation of it, corresponding to de Boor's pp. 461–503, was published by N. G. Wilson.[126] This sample enables us to say that a full collation will not materially affect the rest of the text.

De Boor's stemma (ii. 550), modified by N. G. Wilson's observations on o, may be expressed as follows.



123 On which see J. E. Powell, *BZ* 36 (1936), 5–6.
124 See below, n. 133. 125 *BZ* 14 (1905), 612–13.
126 *DOP* 26 (1972), 357–60.

In view of the highly fragmentary state of the independent group ab, the Latin translation of Anastasius (also edited by de Boor)[127] assumes considerable importance. This was made in Rome between 871 and 874 in the interests of John Immonides, who was then compiling his historico-ecclesiastical encyclopaedia.[128] The Greek manuscript Anastasius had before him may have been acquired in the course of his mission to Constantinople in 869–70 and was probably similar in content to some of the extant Greek manuscripts, since it also included part of Synkellos and the *Chron. syntomon* of Nikephoros (like f and o). It was, however, of much better quality than the entire Greek tradition, except a and b. Unfortunately, Anastasius did not translate it in full: he made only short excerpts down to the death of Theodosios II, fuller ones to the death of Justinian I, but from the accession of Justin II (and even more closely from that of Maurice) he provided a full translation.

As long as it was believed that the oldest manuscript of Theophanes was not earlier than the late tenth century it was possible to speculate, in view of the undoubted superiority of Anastasius, that the chronicler's text underwent considerable deterioration between c.850 and 950. The view that de Boor's Theophanes was not the 'real' Theophanes was argued at length by a Russian clergyman, P. G. Preobraženskij,[129] who thought that the authentic text had to be reconstructed with the help of A as well as d = Paris. gr. 1710 (of which he had a much higher opinion than did de Boor) and later compilers, notably Kedrenos[130] and pseudo-Symeon,[131] who allegedly had access to a better tradition than we do. It was further suggested that the preserved Theophanes represented an inferior edition made at the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who, undoubtedly, had a keen interest in the Confessor, as shown by the lengthy extracts he included in his *De administrando imperio*.[132] Besides, Constantine believed that Theophanes was related to him through his mother Zoe.

127 Along with Theophanes, ii. 31 ff.
128 See G. Arnaldi, 'Anastasio Bibliotecario', *Dizionario biogr. degli Italiani*, iii (1961), 25–37, with further bibliography.
129 *Letopisnoe povestvovanie sv. Feofana Ispovednika* (Vienna, 1912). This work, which is not only very scarce but practically unreadable, was not well received. See critical review by F. Uspenskij, *VizVrem* 22 (1916), 297–304, and the somewhat more cautious one by E. W. Brooks, *BZ* 22 (1913), 154–5.
130 On whom see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, i. 273–5. The part of Kedr. that concerns us here is still only available in the uncritical Bonn edn. (1838).
131 The major part of this work, contained in cod. Paris. gr. 1712, remains unpublished. See A. Markopoulos, *Ἡ Χρονογραφία τοῦ Ψευδοσυμεών καὶ οἱ πηγές της*, diss. Ioannina, 1978, esp. 111 ff.
132 Notably *DAI*, 22.9 ff. and 25.3 ff.

The existence of two late ninth-century manuscripts of Theophanes, c and o, naturally absolves Constantine Porphyrogenitus of any blame in this respect. The deterioration of the Greek text by comparison with Anastasius must, therefore, have taken place much earlier, towards the middle of the ninth century, that is as soon as it was published, and can best be explained on the assumption that the Chronicle enjoyed a wide diffusion from the start. The fact that the same scribe (or, at any rate, the same scriptorium) made two copies, c and o, seems to indicate something like mass production, which one may be tempted to localize in the monastery of Megas Agros. Palaeographically these two manuscripts belong to a much discussed group, which has been christened 'tipo Anastasio'.[133] It may be worth noting that another important member of the group (Paris. gr. 1470 + 1476) has been attributed to Bithynia on the basis of its ornament,[134] a conclusion that has been tentatively endorsed in a recent study.[135] The chronicler George the Monk, who was probably active in the second half of the ninth century,[136] used Theophanes in a version that appears to have been rather distinctive. At about the same time the Chronicle, including its Preface, was extensively plagiarized by the author of the Life of the probably imaginary St Theodore of Chora,[137] a monastery which, incidentally, had close links with Palestine. Further research in this direction may prove fruitful.

In sum, we do not wish to claim that the text we have translated is the 'definitive' Theophanes. There may be room for further improvement of the text, but that can only be done in the context of a new edition, an undertaking that will require many years of labour.

VI. LANGUAGE

It follows from our observations in Section IV that it would be erroneous to speak of 'the language of Theophanes': what we are offered

[133] E. Follieri, 'La minuscola libraria dei secoli IX e X', in *La Paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Colloques internat. du CNRS, 559 (Paris, 1977), 144–5.

[134] K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), 40, 43.

[135] L. Perria, 'La minuscola "tipo Anastasio" ', in G. Cavallo *et al.*, eds., *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio* (Spoleto, 1991), i. 316.

[136] See above, n. 34.

[137] Ed. C. Loparev, *De S. Theodoro monacho hegumenoque Chorensi, Zapiski Klass. Otd. Imp. Russk. Arkheol. Obšč.* 1 (1904), suppl. 1–16. Its dependence on Theophanes was demonstrated by T. Schmit, *Kahriye Džami, IRAIK* 11 (1906), 9 ff., who supposed (p. 16) that the author of the Life used either a fuller redaction of Theophanes or one of the latter's sources.

in the Chronicle is a cross-section of late antique and early medieval Greek as it was written and spoken both at Constantinople and in the East. The appearance of simplicity it creates at first sight soon yields to a realization of its many pitfalls, and it would only be fair to warn the reader that our translation is not always the only possible one.

A prime source of ambiguity is provided by certain common words that had alternative meanings: *ἀμφότεροι* meant 'both' and 'all'; *δῆμος/οι* either 'people' or 'circus factions', or, more exactly 'partisans of the circus factions' and even the benches on which these partisans sat in the circus;[138] *λαός/οί* is either 'people' or 'army'; *χρόνος* is either 'time'/'period' or 'year', so that the common indication *τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ* can either be understood 'in the same period' or, more specifically, 'in the same year'; *κτίζω* is either 'to build' or 'to rebuild'/'restore'; *χωρίον* is either 'rural place'/'district' or 'village', etc.

In addition to ambiguous words there are also ambiguous constructions. The tendency of participles to become indeclinable often leads to lack of clarity, for example (dB, p. 136) *βασιλεύσας οὖν ὁ Ἀναστάσιος ἔγγραφον ἠπαιτήθη ὁμολογίαν παρὰ Εὐφημίου τοῦ πατριάρχου . . . ἀνάξιον αὐτὸν ἀποκαλῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας*. Surely, it was Euphemios, not the emperor himself, who described Anastasios as being unworthy of reigning over Christians. Another cause of ambiguity is the intransitive or absolute use of certain verbs like *ἐπιρρίπτω* (to attack), *ἀποστέλλω*, *πέμπω*. An emperor or official often 'sends', that is an order, letter, or emissary, the object being left unexpressed; but elsewhere the same verbs are used transitively. Take the following example (AM 5951): *Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει μαθὼν Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν ἄδικον θάνατον Προτερίου καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἐλούρου ἄθεσμον προαγωγήν, πέμψας Καισάρειον ἐγλωσσοτόμησε καὶ ἀμφοτέρους ἐξώρισεν, ὡς κοινωνήσαντας τῷ φόνῳ Προτερίου*. One's initial impulse is to translate, 'The emperor Leo . . . having sent Caesarius': so did Anastasius in the ninth century (mittens Caesariam [*sic*]) and the learned author of the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* in the twentieth, although the latter was aware that the person sent to restore order in Alexandria after the murder of bishop Proterios in 457 was called Stilas and not Caesarius.[139] In this case *πέμψας* should be understood intransitively: Caesarius was not the emissary but the person whose tongue was amputated. As for the incomprehensible *ἀμφοτέρους*, it results from the careless abridgement of

[138] See Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 28 ff.

[139] ii, s.v. Stilas.

Theophanes' source as explained in our note ad loc. Abridgement is also the cause of the muddle at AM 6032: γνοὺς τοῦτο . . . Θευδέριχος, πέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν [Moundos], καὶ πεισθείς, etc., where πεισθείς refers to Moundos, not Theuderich.

Looseness, or rather sloppiness of construction and the indiscriminate use of personal pronouns and adjectives are the most pervasive sources of obscurity in Theophanes. Grammatically, it is often impossible to tell who is doing what to whom. Usually the context helps; if not, the sense can be established by consulting other accounts of the same events.

Chronographia of 528 Years

beginning in the First Year of Diocletian, down to the second Year of Michael and the Latter's Son Theophylaktos, i.e. from the Year 5777 of the World until the Year 6305 according to the Alexandrians or 6321 according to the Romans

by

Theophanes, Sinful Monk and Abbot of Agros, the Confessor

[Preface]

The most blessed Father George, who had also been *synkellos* of Tarasios, the most holy patriarch of Constantinople, a man of distinction and great learning, after he had perused and thoroughly investigated many chronographers and historians, composed with all accuracy a succinct chronicle[1] from Adam down to Diocletian, the Roman emperor who persecuted the Christians. He made a very exact study of the dates, reconciled their divergences, corrected them, and set them together in a manner surpassing all his predecessors. He recorded the lives and dates of the ancient kings of every nation and, as far as he was able, accurately inserted, with their dates, the bishops of the great ecumenical sees, I mean those of Rome, Constantinople,[2] Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, both those who had tended the Church in the right faith and those who, like robbers, had ruled in heresy. Since, however, he was overtaken by the end of his life and was unable to bring his plan to completion, but, as I have said, had carried his composition down to Diocletian when he left this earthly life and migrated unto the Lord (being in the Orthodox faith), he both bequeathed to me, who was his close friend, the book he had written and provided materials with a view to completing what was missing. As for me, not being unaware of my lack of learning and my limited culture, I declined to do this inasmuch as the undertaking was above my powers. He, however, begged me very much not to shrink from it and leave the work unfin- 3 4

ished, and so forced me to take it in hand. Being thus constrained by my obedience to him to undertake a task above my powers, I expended an uncommon amount of labour. For I, too, after seeking out to the best of my ability and examining many books, have written down accurately—as best I could—this chronicle from Diocletian down to the reign of Michael and his son Theophylaktos, namely the reigns [of the emperors] and the patriarchs and their deeds, together with their dates. I did not set down anything of my own composition, but have made a selection from the ancient historians and prose-writers and have consigned to their proper places the events of every year, arranged without confusion. In this manner the readers may be able to know in which year of each emperor what event took place, be it military or ecclesiastical or civic or popular or of any other kind; for I believe that one who reads the actions of the ancients derives no small benefit from so doing. May anyone who finds in this my work anything of value give proper thanks to God and, for the sake of the Lord, pray on behalf of me who am uneducated and sinful; and if he finds aught that is wanting, may he ascribe it to my ignorance and the idleness of my grovelling mind, and forgive me for the sake of the Lord; || for God is pleased when one has done one's best.||[a]

[a] Gregory Nazianzen, *Or. in laudem Caesarii*, *PG* 35: 776B; *Or. in laudem Basilii*, *PG* 36: 604D. Often quoted, e.g. by Ignatios Diakonos, *V. Niceph.* 140.15. The ideas expressed by Theoph. in the Preface closely resemble those of Alex. Mon. 4016: reluctance to undertake a task exceeding the author's capability, lack of formal education, danger stemming from disobedience, reliance on ancient histories, exclusion of any personal contribution.

[1] Hardly an accurate description of Synk.'s long and learned Chronicle. Cf. I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 46 (1992), 281.

[2] Ending as it does with Diocletian's accession, the Chronicle of Synk. does not, of course, include any bishops of Constantinople. Note that Theoph. instinctively lists the five patriarchates in their accepted order of precedence, whereas in the rubrics of Synk. Antioch is placed before Alexandria.

Genealogy

Diocletian and Maximianus Herculius reigned jointly at the same time. 5

Their children:

Maximianus

Maxentius, who became a usurper in Rome	Theodora, who was married to Constantius,[1] father of Constantine the Great. Constantius begat Constantine by his first wife Helena	Fausta, wife of Constantine the Great

When those [two] resigned the Empire, the Caesars who had been appointed by them both reigned at the same time, namely Maximianus Galerius, Diocletian's son-in-law by his daughter Valeria, and Constantius. The latter married Theodora, daughter of Herculius, and begat:

Constantius, father of Gallus and Julian the Apostate
Anaballianos[2]
Constantia, wife of Licinius.

By the god-loving Helena he begat: Constantine the Great.
The latter, by Fausta daughter of Herculius, begat:

Crispus[3]
Constantius
Constantine[4]
Constans
Helena, wife of Julian the Apostate.

[1] Constantine in the MSS.

[2] So spelled as also at AM 5796. The stemma omits another brother, Dalmatius, and two more sisters.

[3] Actually, the son of Constantine's first wife, Minervina.

[4] Probably illegitimate.

Chronographia

From Diocletian to the emperors Michael and Theophylaktos

AM 5777 [AD 284/5]

Year of the divine Incarnation 277
Diocletian, emperor of the Romans (20 years), 1st year[1]
Varraches, emperor of the Persians (17 years), 15th year[2]
Gaius, 29th bishop of Rome[3] (15 years), 7th year
Hymenaios, 28th bishop of Jerusalem[4] (24 years), 13th year
Theonas, 16th bishop of Alexandria (19 years), 11th year
Tyrannos, 19th bishop of Antioch (13 years), 2nd year

[1] Diocletian became Augustus on 20 Nov. 284 and abdicated 1 May 305 (*PLRE* i. 254). Theophanes' opening date is thus correct when translated into our calendar.

[2] Vahram II reigned 276–93.

[3] 28th in Synk. 472. 2, 473. 1. Gaius was pope from 17 Dec. 283 to 22 Apr. 296.

[4] 38th bishop (12 years) in Synk. 472. 6, 473. 4.

[AM 5778, AD 285/6]

Diocletian, 2nd year
Varraches, 16th year
Gaius, 8th year
Hymenaios, 14th year
Theonas, 12th year
Tyrannos, 3rd year

[AM 5779, AD 286/7]

Diocletian, 3rd year
Varraches, 17th year
Gaius, 9th year
Hymenaios, 15th year
Theonas, 13th year
Tyrannos, 4th year

[AM 5780, AD 287/8]

Diocletian, 4th year
Vararanes, emperor of the Persians (1 year), 1st year[1]
Gaius, 10th year
Hymenaios, 16th year
Theonas, 14th year
Tyrannos, 5th year

||In this year Diocletian appointed Maximianus Herculius as partner in his rule, it being his fourth year.||[a2]

[a] Euseb. *Chron.* 225d (AD 287); cf. Mal. 311, *Chron. Pasch.* 511, *Chr.* 724, 99. 23–4.

[1] Vahram III reigned for 4 months in 293.

[2] Diocletian appointed Maximian as Caesar probably on 21 July 285 at Milan, and promoted him to Augustus on 1 Apr. 286. Maximian celebrated his consular *fasces* on 1 Jan. 287 (Barnes, *NE* 6). The various chronicle sources do not mention the prior appointment as Caesar, which must be deduced from Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 20. 3.

[AM 5781, AD 288/9]

Diocletian, 5th year
Narses, 7th emperor of the Persians (8 years), 1st year[1]
Gaius, 11th year
Hymenaios, 17th year
Theonas, 15th year
Tyrannos, 6th year

[1] Narses reigned 293–303.

[AM 5782, AD 289/90]

Diocletian, 6th year
Narses, 2nd year
Gaius, 12th year
Hymenaios, 18th year
Theonas, 16th year
Tyrannos, 7th year

||In this year Diocletian and Maximianus Herculius razed to the ground Hobousiris and Koptos, cities of Thebes in Egypt, which had revolted from Roman rule.||[a1]

[a] Euseb. *Chron.* 226a (AD 293).

[1] Hobousiris is in error for Bousiris (cf. AM 6026, n. 16 for a similar mistake with the Greek article). As Maximian did not ever go to Egypt, Theophanes may be reflecting an official statement (perhaps an inscription) in which the emperors jointly claimed the victory. Euseb. *Chron.* dates this campaign to 293 between Achilleus' revolt, the establishment of the tetrarchy, and the crushing of Achilleus in 298. If *Ox. Pap.* i. 43 refers to this expedition, the date is 295 (cf. Barnes, *Phoenix*, 30 (1976), 180–1), but at least Theophanes appears to be right in separating this event from Achilleus' revolt.

[AM 5783, AD 290/91]

Diocletian, 7th year
Narses, 3rd year
Gaius, 13th year
Hymenaios, 19th year
Theonas, 17th year
Tyrannos, 8th year

[AM 5784, AD 291/2]

Diocletian, 8th year
Narses, 4th year
Gaius, 14th year
Hymenaios, 20th year
Theonas, 18th year
Tyrannos, 9th year

[AM 5785, AD 292/3]

Diocletian, 9th year
Narses, 5th year
Gaius, 15th year
Hymenaios, 21st year
Theonas, 19th year
Tyrannos, 10th year

||In this year Diocletian and Maximianus Herculius appointed Constantius and Maximianus Galerius as Caesars. Diocletian gave his daughter to Galerius in marriage and Maximianus Herculius joined his daughter, Theodora, to Constantius, though each already had a wife whom he divorced out of affection for the emperors.||[a1] 7

[a] Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 22. 1. Cf. Euseb. *Chron.* 225g (AD 291), Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39. 24, *Epit. Caes.* 39. 2, *Chr.* 724, 99. 25–6.

[1] Constantius and Galerius were appointed Caesars on 1 Mar. 293 (*Pan. Lat.* 8(5).2. 2–3. 1). Contrast Euseb. *Chron.* 225g (= AD 290). The narrative sources all associate the marriages with the appointments as Caesars, but Constantius had married Theodora by 289 (Barnes, *CE* 288 n. 55). Theophanes alone does not relate these events to the problem of the rebellions of 296.

[AM 5786, AD 293/4]

Diocletian, 10th year
Narses, 6th year
Marcellinus, bishop of Rome (2 years), 1st year[1]
Hymenaios, 22nd year
Peter the Martyr, bishop of Alexandria (11 years), 1st year
Tyrannos, 11th year

||In this year Alexandria along with Egypt was led into revolt by Achilleus but did not hold out against the Roman attack, during which very many were killed and those responsible for the revolt paid the penalty.||[a2]

[a] Euseb. *Chron.* 226e (AD 298); cf. Mal. 308–9, Ps.-Dion a.2313 from Abraham, p.111: Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 23, *Chr.* 724, 99. 28–31.

[1] Marcellinus in fact was pope from 30 June 296 to 25 Oct. 304. Theophanes may have confused Marcellinus with his successor Marcellus (27 May or 26 June 308 to 16 Jan. 309), whom he omits.

[2] Cf. AM 5782, 5788 Aurelius Achilleus is attested as *corrector* of a usurper Domitianus in 297 by papyri (Barnes, *NE* 12). The siege lasted at least till Mar. 298 (*PLRE* i. 263). Achilleus presumably replaced Domitianus as leader of the revolt after the latter's death, perhaps in Dec. 297. The cause of the revolt may well have been new tax arrangements introduced in Egypt on 16 Mar. 297. See J. D. Thomas, *ZPE* 22 (1976), 253–79, A. K. Bowman, *JRS* 66 (1976), 159 ff.

[AM 5787, AD 294/5]

Diocletian, 11th year
Narses, 7th year
Marcellinus, 2nd year
Hymenaios, 23rd year
Peter, 2nd year
Tyrannos, 12th year

||In this year Diocletian and Maximianus Herculius caused a great and most terrible persecution of the Christians and martyred many myriads, devising all kinds of tortures and working much harm.[1] Anyone who consults the eighth book of Eusebios Pamphilou's Ecclesiastical History will know about these events.||[a2]

[a] *Exc. Barocc.* 142 (215^{v}, 21–2), Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 90. 17–19.

[1] This is not mentioned in standard accounts of the persecution and Theophanes appears to have transferred material from 303/4. The parallel in Cramer (perhaps from Gelasios) places this event after the martyrdom of Anthimos (cf. Euseb. *HE* viii. 6. 6 and 13. 1), apparently in 303, and at the time of Adaktos (perhaps Adauctus, Euseb. *HE* viii. 11. 2, though the story is different).

[2] Euseb. *HE* viii is devoted to the persecutions. The reference, however, presumably comes from the 'summary' in *Exc. Barocc.* 142, which here purports to be an adaptation of Eusebios, which it is not. (*Exc. Barocc.* is here identical with Cramer's *Eccl. Hist.*)

AM 5788 [AD 295/6][1]

Year of the divine Incarnation 288
Diocletian, emperor of the Romans (20 years), 12th year
Narses, 7th emperor of the Persians (8 years), 8th year
Eusebios, 30th bishop of Rome (1 year), 1st year[2]
Hymenaios, 28th bishop of Jerusalem (24 years), 24th year
Peter, 17th bishop of Alexandria (11 years), 3rd year
Tyrannos, 19th bishop of Antioch (13 years), 13th year

||In this year, after Amandus and Aelianus had led a revolution in Gaul,[3] Maximianus Herculius went out and crushed them.||[a] 8
Krasos,[4] too, rose up and gained control of Britain while the Quinquegentians took Africa[5] and Achilleus Egypt.[6] However, the prefect Asklepiodotos destroyed Krasos after the latter had held control of Britain for three years.||[b7] In Gaul, Constantius the Caesar met with an unexpected reversal of fortune, for in a period of six hours of the same day he was both seen being defeated and revealed victorious. Indeed, when the Alamans had just overwhelmed Constantius' army and pursued it right up to the walls, Constantius followed at the rear of his fleeing army. And when, the gates being closed, he was unable to enter within the walls, the enemy were actually stretching out their hands to seize him. But then ropes were let down from the wall and he was dragged up. Once inside he exhorted his men, led them out, and gained a brilliant victory over

the Alamans, of whom six thousand fell. Maximianus Herculius overcame the Quinquegentians in Africa. Diocletian destroyed Achilleus in Alexandria.||[c] With Diocletian was Constantius' son Constantine who as a young man distinguished himself in the war. The sight of him moved Diocletian to envy and he planned to destroy him treacherously. But God preserved him miraculously and restored him to his father.||[d8]

[a] Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 20. 3. [b] Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 22. [c] Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 23 [d] Gel. Caes. frg. 4 at Theod. Lect. 158. 15–19 = Philip of Side, frg. 5 (pp. 183–4).

[1] Theophanes' handling of sources for this year needs noting. He takes a sentence from Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 20, omits ix. 21; from ix. 22 he takes a reference to Carausius/Krasos, reverses the order of Achilleus and the Quinquegentians, omits the Persian invasion under Narses, and correctly transfers the establishment of the tetrarchy and the marriage alliances to AM 5785 (292/3); from ix. 22. 2, Theophanes reduces and confuses the facts, omitting Carausius' assassination by Allectus after 7 years of rule, so that it was Allectus who was put down by Asklepiodotos after a further 3 years. Finally Theophanes substitutes (from Gelasios of Caesarea) the story of Diocletian's envy towards the young Constantine (first mentioned here) for Eutropius' account of Diocletian's harsh treatment of the defeated Egyptians.

[2] Eusebios was pope from 18 Apr. 309 or 310 to 17 Aug. 309 or 310.

[3] Theophanes has misdated this by a decade, the revolt having occurred in 286 (Barnes, *CE* 287 n. 35).

[4] Krasos (= Carausius), was appointed by Maximian to fight the pirates in 285, but usurped power as Augustus in autumn 286 (Barnes, *CE* 6–7). Maximian used Constantius (already married to Theodora) against Carausius, spring 288 (Barnes, *CE* 7, but on p. 15 inconsistently implies this was after Constantius' appointment as Caesar in 293).

[5] Cf. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39. 23, Barnes, *CE* 16; Maximian reached Africa by way of Spain from the Rhine in 297 and campaigned sporadically in 297 and 298, before returning to Italy in 299 and entering Rome in triumph (Barnes, *CE* 16, cf. id., *NE* ch. 5 for Maximian's movements 293–305).

[6] For Achilleus and Egypt, cf. AM 5786.

[7] For Asklepiodotos' role, cf. Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 39. 42; Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 22; Euseb. *Chron.* 227a (AD 300), D. E. Eicholz, *JRS* 43 (1953), 41 ff.

[8] Cf. AM 5793, n. 8.

[AM 5789, AD 296/7]

Diocletian, 13th year
Hormisdas, emperor of the Persians (6 years), 1st year[1]
Miltiades, bishop of Rome (4 years), 1st year[2]
Zabdas, 29th bishop of Jerusalem (10 years), 1st year

Peter, 3rd year
Tyrannos, 14th year[3]

||In this year the army commander Veterius mildly harassed the Christians in the army, after which the persecution began to smoulder against all.||[a4]

[a] Euseb. *Chron.* 227d (AD 301), cf. Ps.-Dion a.2317 from Abraham, p. 111, *Chr.* 724, 99. 33–5.

[1] Hormizd I reigned 303–10.

[2] Miltiades was pope from 2 July 311 to 11 Jan. 314.

[3] Elsewhere in the chronological tables, Tyrannos holds office for only 13 years.

[4] Eusebios' date is 301. Barnes, *HSCP* 80 (1976), 245–6, dates this incident to 302/3 against 297 in *PLRE* i. 955 which, he suggests, fails 'to distinguish carefully enough between Jerome's additions and the original text of Eusebios' *Chronicle* which he was translating'. Veturius is described as *magister militum* by Jerome, *Chron.* 227d, στρατοπεδάρχης (i.e. *dux*) by Eusebios, but was perhaps Galerius' praetorian prefect (Barnes art. cit. 246). Theophanes' version is thus in line with Jerome rather than Eusebios. Barnes, art. cit. 245–6, connects Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 10. 1–5 with Euseb. *HE* viii. 4. 3 f. Veturius, in line with Diocletian's instructions, commanded soldiers to obey an order incompatible with Christian beliefs. As a result many Christians lost privileges and some were executed. This incident is therefore a close precursor of the imperial edict against Christians of 23 Feb. 302. Barnes thus links this incident to events of AM 5794 (301/2 dated correctly by Barnes to 302/3) and to the persecution of AM 5795 (302/3).

[AM 5790, AD 297/8]

Diocletian, 14th year
Hormisdas, 2nd year
Miltiades, 2nd year
Zabdas, 2nd year
Peter, 4th year
Vitalius, 20th bishop of Antioch (6 years), 1st year

[AM 5791, AD 298/9]

Diocletian, 15th year
Hormisdas, 3rd year
Miltiades, 3rd year
Zabdas, 3rd year

Peter, 5th year
Vitalius, 2nd year

[AM 5792, AD 299/300]

Diocletian, 16th year
Hormisdas, 4th year
Miltiades, 4th year
Zabdas, 4th year
Peter, 6th year
Vitalius, 3rd year

[AM 5793, AD 300/1]

Diocletian, 17th year
Hormisdas, 5th year
Silvester, 32nd bishop of Rome (28 years), 1st year[1]
Zabdas, 5th year
Peter, 7th year
Vitalius, 4th year

9 ||In this year Maximianus Galerius was sent out by Diocletian against the Persian emperor Narses who had at that time overrun Syria and was plundering it.||[a] In the first battle after they met, near Kallinikon and Karrhai, Galerius was defeated.[2] On returning in flight he met Diocletian travelling in a carriage.||[b] However, Diocletian did not receive the Caesar in a manner appropriate to his rank, but made him run a considerable distance in front of the carriage.[3] Later, after a large army had been collected, the Caesar Maximianus Galerius was again sent out to do battle with Narses, this time with better luck, since he attempted and achieved what no one else had managed. For he chased Narses into inner Persia, slaughtered his entire army, captured his wives, children, and sisters and everything he had with him—quantities of treasure and distinguished Persians.[4] Returning with these, he was welcomed and honoured by Diocletian who was then based in Mesopotamia.[5] Both separately and in concert they waged many campaigns against many of the barbarians, all successfully.||[c] Exalted by these successes Diocletian demanded that the Senate make obeisance to him and not merely salute him as protocol had previously required. He adorned the imperial vestments and footwear with gold and pearls and precious stones.||[d6]

||While Constantius' son Constantine was in the East and in

Palestine espousing the cause of the Christians,[7] Galerius Maximianus saw how he was enhancing his position through his intelligence of mind, strength of body, and aptitude in education, and having learnt by divination that this man would put an end to his tyranny and his religion, planned to murder him treacherously. But through divine providence Constantine, like David, learned of the plot and escaped to safety and the protection of his own father, and with him gave bounteous thanks to Christ who had saved him.||[e8]

[a] No known source, but cf. Euseb. *Chron.* 225e (AD 289) and Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 22. 1. Theophanes is simply linking Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 22. 1 to ix. 24. 1. [b] Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 24. [c] Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 25. [d] Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 26. [e] Cf. Alex. Mon. 4049 ff., esp. 4052B.

1 Silvester was pope from 31 Jan. 314 to 31 Dec. 335.

2 Eusebios puts the defeat in 301 and the following victory in 302. Barnes, *Phoenix*, 30 (1976) 182 (cf. *NE* 196), establishes that 'the Roman defeat belongs to 296 and was incurred . . . in a campaign which he (Galerius) and Diocletian waged together'.

3 This disgrace, listed in all the sources, is either rejected as fiction or a considerable distortion by W. Seston, *RÉA* 42 (1940), 515–19, but accepted by Barnes and used to explain Galerius' quarrel with Diocletian over the persecution of Christians (*CE* 19).

4 The victory was in 298 (Barnes, *Phoenix*, 30 (1976), 184–5); for the terms of peace and treatment of captives, Barnes, art. cit., H. Chadwick in W. R. Schoedel and R. L. Wilken, *Early Christian Literature and the Classical Intellectual Tradition in honorem Robert M. Grant* (Paris, 1979) (= Théologie historique, 54), 140–1. Narses' harem was kept inviolate, Festus, *Brev.* 25 (ed. Eadie, 66). For the value of this in negotiations and the treaty terms, Petr. Patr., frg. 13, *FHG* iv. 188–9.

5 In fact 'Galerius won his Persian victories while Diocletian was in Egypt (from Autumn 297 until at least September 298)', Barnes, *Phoenix*, 30 (1976), 185.

6 For numerous other references to this, Euseb. *Chron.* 226c (AD 296) and parallels ad loc. A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche* (Darmstadt, 1970), notes that proskynesis did occur before Diocletian. O. Nicholson points out to us that in Theophanes alone the reference is to the Senate and this (unpopular) triumph would thus have been in Rome; elsewhere behaviour in the manner of an eastern potentate was acceptable. Theophanes thus may provide the key, again with a variant on Eutropius' account (this time more than a mere question of translation).

7 Constantine served under Galerius during the Persian War and then on the Danube. He accompanied Diocletian through Palestine in the winter of 301–2 and was with him in Nicomedia in Mar. 303 and Mar. 305 and presumably in the intervening period (Barnes, *HSCP* 80 (1976), 251; *CE* 25), including the journey to Rome.

[8] The story of Constantine's desperate flight to Constantius on his deathbed in Britain is developed further in other sources (Barnes, *CE* 26 and 298 n. 118). In fact, Constantine left Galerius soon after 1 May 305, met his father, who was about to cross from Gaul to Britain, campaigned successfully with him north of Hadrian's wall, and was with him till his death at York on 25 July 306 (Barnes, *CE* 27 and 298 n. 119).

Alexander the Monk, seemingly Theophanes' source, is in general more detailed than Theophanes here, but merely says that Constantine escaped like David, without referring to Constantius, though that is perhaps implied. Since the reference to Constantius is an essential part of the story, the implication must be either that Alexander is *not* Theophanes' direct source or that Theophanes is here using more than one source. The latter is unlikely given the closeness of Theophanes to Alexander. An argument for the former alternative is provided by the *Life of Constantine* ed. M. Guidi (hereafter Guidi, *Bios*), which in its later sections is often word for word the same as Theophanes. For this incident, however, its language is not close to Theophanes and indeed it works up the incident into a *tour de force* which Theophanes would not have had space to follow. The Guidi *Bios* not only has the necessary reference to Constantius but also combines this incident with the story of Diocletian's attempt to kill Constantine, which Theophanes includes at AM 5788. That Theophanes and Alex. Mon. were using a common source rather than either one of them copying the other is demonstrated by the combination of this passage (where Alex. Mon. omits an essential item) and AM 5815 (where see n. 3) where the reverse is true. The most economical explanation is to suggest the existence of a *Life of Constantine* based on the work of Gel. Caes. which ultimately was the source of Alexander, Theophanes, and the Guidi *Bios*. If Alexander wrote in the 6th cent. and Gelasios produced his history at the end of the 4th cent., this *Life* would have been composed sometime in the 5th or 6th cent. Cf., however, Kazhdan, *Byz* 57 (1987), 196–220, who suggests tentatively a late 8th-cent. date for Alex. Mon. See Introduction: Sources, IV. 4.

[AM 5794, AD 301/2]

Diocletian, 18th year
Hormisdas, 6th year
Silvester, 2nd year
Zabdas, 6th year
Peter, 8th year
Vitalius, 5th year

||In this year, persuaded by the magician Theoteknos, Galerius Maximianus was sacrificing to demons and taking oracles. Having crept into his cave, Theoteknos gave him an oracle to raise a persecution of Christians.||[a1] He invented the Memoirs of the Saviour and

sent these everywhere as an insult and ordered school-teachers to teach them to their pupils with the intention of ridiculing our mystery.||[b] 10

[a] Gel. Caes., frg. 3 at Theod. Lect. 158. 9–14 = Philip of Side, frg. 4 (p. 183).
[b] *Exc. Barocc.* cf. Euseb. *HE* ix. 5.

[1] Theophanes follows Gelasios' account, which may be accurate. Cf. AM 5796 *ad finem* where Theophanes acknowledges use of Gelasios. On Theoteknos' later career as theurgist, persecutor of Christians, curator of Antioch, and provincial governor, see *PLRE* i. 908. He is unlikely also to have been the pseudo-Theoteknos, governor of Galatia. Gelasios (and so Theophanes) alone preserves the pre-persecution story. The descent into a cave (though ἄντρου may simply mean 'cell', cf. 3 Kgs. 16: 18) is not in Eusebios and indicates that Gelasios' version is independent (the oracle may be that at Daphne near Antioch, still operating 50 years later). Theophanes thus includes unparalleled but seemingly accurate evidence on the use of the oracle by the persecutors. But cf. Barnes, *HSCP* 80 (1976), 252, that this story as it stands must be false although 'it might have a basis in fact'.

[AM 5795, AD 302/3]

Diocletian, 19th year
Sabores, 9th emperor of Persia (70 years), 1st year[1]
Silvester, 3rd year
Zabdas, 7th year
Peter, 9th year
Vitalius, 6th year

||In this year imperial orders were given that the Christian churches were to be destroyed, the sacred books be burnt, and the clergy and all Christians be handed over for torture and be compelled to sacrifice to idols. This was the most terrifying persecution of all, producing countless martyrs.||[a2]

[a] Cf. *Exc. Barocc.* 142, 215^{v}, 21–3, Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 90. 17–19.

[1] Shapur II, Persian emperor 310–79.

[2] There is no obvious surviving source for this entry. The first imperial edict against the Christians was on 23 Feb. 303 when Diocletian was in the East (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 10. 1–5, Euseb. *HE* ix. 10. 8, viii. 2. 4–5, cf. Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 13. 1).

Theophanes lists four persecutions under Diocletian. The first (AM 5787) appears to be a simple error. For the last three Theophanes has correctly listed the steps leading to and including the persecution of 303, namely the actions of Veturius (AM 5789) and Theoteknos (AM 5794) culminating in the great persecution of this year. This linking is not found elsewhere.

Theophanes appears to be changing sources here with the change of rule. From AM 5795 till mid-5797 (some 54 lines in de Boor's text) there are four passages totalling 20 lines for which de Boor could find no parallel. This is an exceptionally high rate of unparalleled passages. Of the identified passages, AM 5796 follows Eutrop. *Brev.* except near the end where Theophanes turns to a source (including a passage of Gelasios of Caesarea) also preserved in *Exc. Barocc.* 142. Then follow two unidentified passages (last sentence of AM 5796, first of AM 5797), followed by two more preserved in *Exc. Barocc.* 142, again including one from Gelasios after which, for most of Constantine's reign, the main source is Alexander the Monk (or at least Theophanes' and Alexander's common source) with occasional bits of *Exc. Barocc.* 142. This suggests that our unidentified passages will also have been from the same source as that of *Exc. Barocc.* 142, and so are most likely to be from Gelasios. The unidentified passages are also all historically accurate, and so should increase our confidence in Gelasios. One of these (AM 5795) contains several phrases which are also in both *Exc. Barocc. 142* and Cramer's *Eccl. Hist.* which may also have been drawn from Gelasios.

On Gelasios see F. Winkelmann, *ByzF* 1 (1966), 346–85, *BSl* 27 (1966), 104–30, *Untersuchungen zur Kirchengeschichte des Gelasios von Kaisareia* (Berlin, 1966) and P. Nautin, *REB* 50 (1992), 163–83.

[AM 5796, AD 303/4]

Diocletian, 20th year
Sabores, 2nd year
Silvester, 4th year
Zabdas, 8th year
Peter, 10th year
⟨Vitalius, 7th year⟩

||In this year Diocletian and Maximianus Herculius in their madness gave up their rule and assumed private status.||[a1] Diocletian lived privately in his own city at Salon[2] in Dalmatia while Maximianus Herculius lived in Lykaonia.[3] Earlier they had celebrated a triumph[4] in Rome[5] in which the mass [of captives taken] from Narses together with his wives, children, and sisters were led before their carriages. After this they retired to live in private,||[b] and appointed in their place Galerius Maximianus to rule the East and Constantius the West.||[c6] The latter was satisfied with a small share of the Empire, was very gentle and kindly in manner and did not concern himself with the public treasury. Rather he wanted his subjects to have riches. So restrained was he in the acquisition of riches that he provided public banquets and honoured many of his friends at drinking parties and so was much loved among the Gauls, who contrasted him with the severe Diocletian and the bloodthirsty Maximianus Herculius from whom they had escaped because of him.||[d] He died

in Britain after ruling eleven years,[7] having earlier announced, in the presence of the entire army, that his own first-born son Constantine should succeed him as emperor.[8] ||His other sons, born of the same father as Constantine, were still alive, namely Constantius and Anaballianos, also called Dalmatius,[9] who were born to Herculius' 11
daughter Theodora. For Constantine was the son of Constantius' first wife Helena. Their father Constantius was the grandson of the emperor Claudius,[10] while Galerius was Diocletian's son-in-law, being married to his daughter Valeria.||[e]

||Next Galerius Maximianus went to Italy and appointed two Caesars.[11] He placed his own son Maximianus[12] in charge of the East and Severus in charge of Italy.||[f] But the troops in Rome proclaimed Maxentius,[13] son of Maximianus Herculius as emperor. As a result Herculius, eager for the throne once again,||[g] attempted to depose his own son Maxentius[14] and to kill his son-in-law Constantius[15] by treachery. But he was hindered in the attempt against his son by the troops, while the plot against his son-in-law was revealed by his daughter Fausta. He was killed after these evil acts.||[h] Eusebios of Caesarea states[16] that Diocletian, having taken leave of his senses, retired from the throne along with Herculius and took up a private life. And whereas the latter ended his life by hanging, Diocletian, exhausted by a chronic illness, withered away.||[i17] On the other hand, Gelasios, bishop of the same Caesarea, states that the two, having changed their minds and longing for the throne again, were killed by the common decision of the Senate.||[j18] So with them out of the way and with the death of the pro-Christian Constantius, the Empire, as I have said, fell to Constantine Augustus and Maximianus Galerius.

[a] Alex. Mon. 4049C (from Gel. Caes., frg. 2 at Theod. Lect. 158. 4–6 = Philip of Side, frg. 3. 1–3 (p. 183); Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 90. 27–8). [b] Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 27. 2–28. [c] Gel. Caes., frg. 2 (Theod. Lect. 158. 6–7) = Philip of Side, frg. 3. 4–6 (p. 183); cf. Gel. Caes., frg. 5 (Theod. Lect. 159. 8). [d] Eutrop. *Brev.* x. 1. 2. [e] Jerome, *Chron.* 228g (AD 306), 225g–226. [f] Eutrop. *Brev.* x. 2. 1. [g] Eutrop. *Brev.* x. 2. 3. [h] Eutrop. *Brev.* x. 3. [i] Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 90. 29–30, *Exc. Barocc.* 142, 215[v], 32–4. [j] Gel. Caes., frg. 2 at Theod. Lect. 158. 7–8 = Philip of Side, frg. 3. 6–8 (p. 183). Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 91. 8–11.

[1] 1 May 305. Against the notion of voluntary retirement, see G. S. R. Thomas, *Byz* 43 (1973), 229–47.

[2] Diocletian in fact went to his palace at Spalato on the Dalmatian coast. Salon (= Salonae), close to Spalato, may have been his birthplace (Const. Porph. *De Them.*, p. 58. 1–2, Zon. 12. 32).

[3] Maximian retired to Campania (Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 26. 7) or Lucania (Eutrop. *Brev.* ix. 27. 2, x. 2. 3).

[4] As the triumph was also to celebrate the *vicennalia* of the Augusti, as is pointed out in Theophanes' source Eutropios, the date is correct. This is an early example of Theophanes' habit of concealing the evidence by which he arrived at a date. On the triumph see McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 19–20. Theophanes' version is not entirely clear in that 'the mass' could refer to carriages. In Eutropius 'the mass' refers to people and not carriages, while Narses' various relatives are led in front of a single imperial carriage.

[5] Diocletian's journey from Nicomedia to Rome occupied most of 303, where he and Maximian celebrated their twenty years as Augusti, the ten years of the Caesars, and a triumph for Galerius' Persian victory. See Barnes, *CE* 25.

[6] On changes to the tetrarchic arrangements after the abdication see Barnes, *NE* 197. The two Augusti both increased their territory, Galerius adding Asia Minor to the Danubian provinces and Constantius, despite Theophanes' claim, adding Spain to Gaul and Britain.

[7] 25 July 306. He became Caesar on 1 Mar. 293 and Augustus on 1 May 305.

[8] Constantine was proclaimed Augustus by the troops on the day his father died. He subsequently accepted appointment as Caesar from Galerius, and was invested as Augustus *c.* Sept. 307 by Maximian.

[9] Anaballianos (*PLRE* i. 406, Hannibalianus 1) and Dalmatius (*PLRE* i. 240–1, Fl. Dalmatius 6) are generally agreed to be two separate people. Since, however, none of the little evidence we have for Anaballianos' existence is inconsistent with his being Dalmatius, it is possible that Theophanes is correct. This would also explain his absence from the list of family-members who were purged in 337. For Dalmatius cf. AM 5825, n. 2, 5827, nn. 7 and 13.

[10] Constantine had invented this fiction by 310. See R. Syme, *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1971* (1974), 237–53.

[11] The abdication had taken place in Nicomedia and the Caesars were appointed on the same day (1 May 305). There is no evidence for his movements after this until his campaign against the Sarmatians in late 306 or early 307. See Barnes, *NE* 302.

[12] In error for Maximinus (C. Galerius Valerius Maximinus).

[13] 28 Oct. 306.

[14] Maxentius had earlier named his father Maximian as 'Augustus for the second time'. Maximian's attempt to depose Maxentius occurred in Apr. 307 after which he fled to Constantine, was forced to resign again (Nov. 308), again went to Constantine in Gaul, rebelled unsuccessfully, and committed suicide in about July 310. See Barnes, *NE* 13.

[15] In error for Constantine (Constantius had already died). Theophanes' error comes from assuming that Fausta was married to Constantius instead of Constantine.

[16] Euseb. *HE* viii. 13. 11, app. 3 (Barnes, *NE* 32).

[17] The varying dates for Diocletian's death offered by our sources (ranging from 311 to 316) are discussed by Barnes, *NE* 32, who, preferring Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 42, suggests 3 Dec. 314.

[18] De Boor, *TU* 5/2 (1888), 183 n. 1, notes that Theophanes only cites the

final sentence of this fragment from Philip of Side but still correctly attributes it to Gel. Caes. although Gelasios is not mentioned in the fragment as we have it. In actual fact Theophanes quotes the entire fragment but divides it between 'a', 'b', and 'c'.

AM 5797 [AD 304/5]

Year of the divine Incarnation 297
Constantine, emperor of the Romans (32 years), 1st year
Sabores, 9th emperor of the Persians (70 years), 3rd year
Silvester, 32nd bishop of Rome (28 years), 5th year
Zabdas, 30th bishop of Jerusalem (10 years), 9th year
Peter the Martyr, 17th bishop of Alexandria (11 years), 11th year
Philogonos, bishop of Antioch (5 years), 1st year

||In this year[1] the most holy and most Christian Constantine became emperor of the Romans in Gaul and Britain.[2] At the same 12
time the following four ruled with him, Maximianus Galerius with the two Caesars, Severus and Galerius' son Maximinus, and Herculius' son Maxentius, who had been proclaimed as emperor by the troops in Rome. These were eager to outdo each other in their persecution of the Christians.||[a] The usurper Maxentius, while ruling Rome illegally, committed quite terrible crimes, acts of adultery with the wives of dignitaries, murders, rapine, and the like.[3] In the east Maximinus was carrying out even worse crimes, so that the two greatest criminals, allotted to East and West, were rekindling the war against the Christians.||[b][4] At that time the Romans also proclaimed Licinius as Caesar, wishing to gratify Constantine whose brother-in-law he was.[5] For he had married Constantine's sister Constantia and was falsely pretending to be practising our religion. It should be understood that Severus had died.||[c][6]

||In this same year Peter, bishop of Alexandria, who had been imprisoned by order of Maximianus Galerius and his son Maximinus, was beheaded and underwent martyrdom gloriously.[7] It was he who excommunicated Arius,[8] who was a deacon of his church and who later, as leader of an erroneous heresy, caused many to abandon their piety. And there were many others who in the service of Christ won the martyr's crown at the hands of these tyrants. Among them are Phileas, bishop of Thmouis in Egypt; Peleus and Neilos, bishops of Egypt; Anthimos, bishop of Nicomedia; Tyrannion, bishop of Tyre; Silvanus, bishop of Emesa; and Silvanus, bishop of Gaza; Lucianus, presbyter of Antioch; Zenobios, presbyter of Sidon; Pamphilos, presbyter of Caesarea; and countless others.||[d][9]

This Galerius Maximianus was such a fornicator that his subjects
13 sought anxiously where they could hide their wives. He was so absorbed with the trickery of deceitful demons that he refrained from tasting anything without the support of divination. He ordered total destruction of the Christians not so much because of his own impiety as to plunder their property.||[e10] Divine retribution followed him because of his immense licentiousness and the intolerable harm he did to the Christians. For the organ of his intemperance developed a grievous ulcer, too virulent to be cured by human means, and a mass of feeding worms infested his corrupt parts; for he was also obese.[11] He, realizing that he had been struck because of his unjust murders, wrote ordinances to all places on behalf of the Christians, bidding them do everything as they wished and to pray on his behalf.[12] When this had happened, his worst suffering was immediately relieved beyond his hopes by the Christians' prayer, but with the wound not yet healed entirely, he began to rage all the more, continuing with his lawless deeds. Immediately once again there ensued wars and revolts, famine and plagues and incessant droughts, so that the living were insufficient to bury the dead. Thunderbolts and terrors were sent forth so that each person thought only about himself and many of the ordinances remained in abeyance.||[f13]

[a] Cf. Alex. Mon. 4049B–C. [b] Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 91. [c] Gel. Caes., frg. 5 at Theod. Lect. 159. 5–8 = Philip of Side, frg. 6 (p. 184), *Exc. Barocc.* 142. [d] Cf. Euseb. *HE* viii. 13. 1–7; *Chr.* 724, 100. 2–3. [e] Alex. Mon. 4049D–4052A. [f] Alex. Mon. 4052B–4053A.

[1] Note that for the whole of this year Theophanes introduces material from several subsequent years and includes nothing from Constantine's first year. The transfer of material was presumably made to give some substance to the opening of the great Constantine's reign. It may partly explain too the absence of any material for the following four years.

[2] Constantine was proclaimed Augustus by his father's troops on 25 July 306 on his father's death. Then he was Caesar under Galerius, made Augustus by Maximian *c.* Sept. 307 (not recognized by Galerius), recognized as Augustus in the West after 308 and by stages Caesar, son of the Augusti, and finally Augustus in the East during 308 (Barnes, *NE* 5–6).

[3] Cf. Euseb. *HE* viii. 14. 2–3. The Christian tradition quickly forgot Maxentius' early toleration and attempts to gain Christian support. The tradition of his persecutions stems from his failure to restore confiscated property and his banishment of the pope on two occasions, each the result of discord within the Church (Barnes, *CE* 38–9).

[4] Cf. Euseb. *HE* viii. 14. 7 ff.

[5] Licinius became Augustus 11 Nov. 308 and married Constantia in Feb. 313. The Gelasios/Philip of Side fragment does not include 'was falsely pretending to be practising our religion', which thus may be Theophanes' embellishment.

[6] Severus had been put to death in Rome after surrendering to Maximian at Ravenna in 307. It seems quite possible that all this paragraph (rather than simply 'c') has come from Gel. Caes.

[7] Peter was arrested and executed on Maximinus' orders on 24 or 26 Nov. 311. Cf. Euseb. *HE* ix. 6. 2. Galerius was not involved. His edict of toleration was issued at Nicomedia on 30 Apr. 311 and he died shortly thereafter. Peter is included in Eusebios' list at *HE* viii. 13. 7, which Theophanes follows, as the 'first that must be recorded'. This will explain his inclusion here at the head of the list.

[8] Cf. Soz. i. 15. Peter, who had ordained Arius, excommunicated him as a member of the Melitian sect according to Soz. or for perverse opinions according to Peter's *Acta*, though it is odd, as Valesius pointed out, that neither Alexander nor Athanasios mention this excommunication.

[9] This list is based on Eusebios' general list at *HE* viii. 13. 1–7. Theophanes has promoted Peter out of Eusebios' list and arranged the list by rank whereas Eusebios' list is arranged by location of martyrdoms. Theophanes has also promoted Phileas, who earlier receives special attention in Eusebios (*HE* viii. 9. 7–10. 12), but omits Phileas' three Egyptian colleagues.

Eusebios' list is not tied to the current martyrdom, a fact which Theophanes has not grasped. He thus includes Phileas and Anthimos who were martyred in 304 and 303 with the rest of the list who were martyred under Maximian and Maximinus between 309 and 312. Note, however, Barnes, *CE* 156 ff., especially his dating of Phileas' martyrdom to 4 Feb. 307. Anthimos is included among the martyrs under Diocletian in Cramer's *Eccl. Hist.* 90. 12–13, and Theophanes (AM 5795) seems to be following the same source, which is presumably Gelasios. This appears to be an example of Theophanes' technique in rationalizing his sources.

Those included in the list are distinguished men, including writers. This may reflect an attempt by the persecutors to weaken Christian resistance by the removal of their leaders.

[10] This description of Galerius is not supported in earlier hostile sources (Eusebios and Lactantius) and appears to be a simplified conflation of Eusebios' descriptions of Maxentius and Maximinus Daia (*HE* viii. 14).

[11] Euseb. *HE* viii. 16 and Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 33 both give similar, though different descriptions of Galerius' illness as a prelude to the so-called 'Edict of Toleration'. Theophanes and his source are alone in implying that it was the sexual organ that was affected. Note that Theophanes keeps Galerius alive for another 10 years till AM 5807 (314–15). Galerius in fact died from this illness, which should be dated to 311.

[12] The so-called Edict of Toleration was displayed at Nicomedia on 30 Apr. 311. The text is in Euseb. *HE* viii. 17. 3–10.

[13] Galerius' ill-health and subsequent death did indeed result in the edict being ignored by Maxentius and Maximinus Daia.

[AM 5798, AD 305/6]

Constantine, 2nd year
Sabores, 4th year
Silvester, 6th year
Hermon, bishop of Jerusalem (9 years), 1st year
Achillas, bishop of Alexandria (1 year), 1st year
Philogonos, 2nd year

[AM 5799, AD 306/7]

Constantine, 3rd year
Sabores, 5th year
Silvester, 7th year
Hermon, 2nd year
Alexander, 19th bishop of Alexandria (23 years), 1st year
Philogonos, 3rd year

[AM 5800, AD 307/8]

Constantine, 4th year
Sabores, 6th year
Silvester, 8th year
Hermon, 3rd year
Alexander, 2nd year
Philogonos, 4th year

[AM 5801, AD 308/9]

Constantine, 5th year
Sabores, 7th year
Silvester, 9th year
Hermon, 4th year
Alexander, 3rd year
Philogonos, 5th year

[AM 5802, AD 309/10]

Constantine, 6th year
Sabores, 8th year
Silvester, 10th year
Hermon, 5th year

Alexander, 4th year
Paulinus, bishop of Antioch (5 years), 1st year

||In this year the most holy Constantine set about the dissolution of the tyrants.||[a1] The impious Maxentius, having built a bridge of ships over the river which flows by Rome, drew up his forces against Constantine the Great.[2] The great Constantine feared the sorcery of Maxentius, who cut up new-born babes for his lawless divination. 14
While he was in great distress, there appeared to him at the sixth hour of the day the sacred Cross made of light, with the inscription 'In this conquer'. And the Lord appeared to him in a vision during the night, saying, 'Use what has been shown to you and conquer.' Then, having devised a golden cross which exists to this day, he ordered it to be carried forward into battle.[3] When the battle was joined, those with Maxentius were defeated and the majority of them perished. Maxentius fled with the survivors but the bridge collapsed by the power of God and he was thrown into the river, just as Pharaoh had been long ago with his army,[4] so that the river was filled with horses and their drowning riders. The citizens of Rome, who had begged him to come to their aid and were now released from the tyranny of the wicked Maxentius, garlanded the city and received with joy the victorious Constantine together with the victory-bringing Cross, proclaiming him as their saviour.||[b]

[a] *Exc. Barocc.* 142, 216[r], 6; cf. *Chr.* 724, 101. 4–5. [b] Alex. Mon. 4053C–4056A.

[1] Constantine began his invasion of Italy early in 312.
[2] 28 Oct. 312.
[3] Theophanes' version of Constantine's vision and making of the cross is a loose adaptation of Alex. Mon., who in fact follows the account in Euseb. *VC* i. 28–31 quite closely but with more drama.
[4] For the comparison with Pharaoh, Euseb. *HE* ix. 9. 5.

AM 5803 [AD 310/11]

Year of the divine Incarnation 303
Constantine, emperor of the Romans (32 years), 7th year
Sabores, 9th emperor of the Persians (70 years), 9th year
Silvester, 32nd bishop of Rome (28 years), 11th year
Hermon, 31st bishop of Jerusalem (9 years), 6th year
Alexander, 19th bishop of Alexandria (23 years), 5th year
Paulinus, 22nd bishop of Antioch (5 years), 2nd year

||In this year, having gained control of Rome, Constantine, God's accomplice, ordered before all else that the relics of the holy martyrs

be collected and handed over for a holy burial.[1] And the Romans celebrated a victory festival, honouring the Lord and the life-giving Cross for seven days and exalting the victorious Constantine.||[a]

[a] Alex. Mon. 4056A; Guidi, *Bios*, 24. 10–12, 21. 5.

[1] There is no other evidence to suggest that Constantine placed such immediate stress on the recovery of martyr relics. The nearest evidence is a speech made after the defeat of Licinius which refers to the transfer of relics from cemeteries to churches (Euseb. *VC* ii. 40). Alexander and Guidi, *Bios*, also date these events to Constantine's 7th year.

[AM 5804, AD 311/12]

Constantine, 8th year
Sabores, 10th year
Silvester, 12th year
Hermon, 7th year
Alexander, 6th year
Paulinus, 4th year

[AM 5805, AD 312/13]

Constantine, 9th year
Sabores, 11th year
Silvester, 13th year
Hermon, 8th year
Alexander, 7th year
Paulinus, 5th year

||In this year, Maximinus, Galerius' son, who had rushed in and given the Empire to himself, ended his life in Cilicia in disgrace.||[a] When his father, Galerius Maximianus, heard that Maxentius, the
15 son of Herculius, had fallen in Rome to Constantine through the power of the Cross, he took fright and lifted the persecution of the Christians.||[b1]

[a] Guidi, *Bios*, 30. 20–2. [b] Alex. Mon. 4056B; Guidi, *Bios*, 30. 22–6.

[1] The errors in this entry are a consequence of the errors in AM 5797 (Constantine's first year). Maximinus Daia probably died or committed suicide in mid-313 (Barnes, *NE* 7) after an illness (Euseb. *HE* ix. 10. 13–15; Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 49. 1), which closely resembles Theophanes' version of Galerius' final illness (AM 5807, AD 314/15). Galerius certainly died in 311 immediately following the illness which Theophanes places in AM 5797 (AD 304/5).

Theophanes omits any reference here to Licinius' successful campaign against Maximinus, but cf. AM 5806. Galerius' lifting of the persecution is either a doublet for the Edict of Toleration (AM 5797) or (more probably) confusion with Maximinus Daia's final edict of disputed date given in Euseb. *HE* ix. 10. 6–12.

[AM 5806, AD 313/14]

Constantine, 10th year
Sabores, 12th year
Silvester, 14th year
Hermon, 9th year
Alexander, 8th year
Paulinus, 6th year

||In this year the most holy Constantine, driven by God's zeal, together with the Caesar Licinius campaigned against Maximianus Galerius who governed the East. Galerius responded by taking the field and met them with an enormous force, relying, like Maxentius, on the prophecies of demons and on magic tricks. With the life-giving cross going on before Constantine the Great, the tyrant was routed as soon as battle was joined and his army slaughtered; he shed his imperial regalia and, disguised as a common soldier, fled with a few of his closest supporters. Going from village to village, he gathered the priests of the idols, the seers, and those famed for magic and his own prophets and murdered them as cheats.||[a1]

[a] Alex. Mon. 4056B–C; Guidi, *Bios*, 31. 3–9, and 31. 25–32. 5.

[1] The whole section should refer to the campaigns against Maximinus Daia, not Galerius. The campaign was conducted by Licinius, who had been an Augustus, not Caesar, since the conference of Carnuntum in Nov. 308. Constantine did not take part in the campaign. Cf. Euseb. *HE* ix. 10. 4–6; Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 47 for the similar description of Maximinus' flight. Theophanes makes Constantine promote Licinius to Augustus in AM 5808 (315/16).

[AM 5807, AD 314/15]

Constantine, 11th year
Sabores, 13th year
Silvester, 15th year
Makarios, 32nd bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 1st year
Alexander, 9th year
Eustathios, 23rd bishop of Antioch (18 years), 1st year

||In this year, when Galerius Maximianus was on the point of being taken alive by the most pious Constantine, divine anger intervened and destroyed him. For a flame, kindled in the depth of his innards and his marrow, left him prostrate on the ground, gasping for breath with an unbearable pain, so that both his eyes popped out and left the sinner blind, while at the same time, as a result of immense inflammation, his flesh became putrid and fell from his bones. So, having rotted away, he vomited up his God-opposing soul.||[a1]

[a] Alex. Mon. 4056D, Guidi, *Bios*, 32. 5–13.

[1] As for 5806, this should refer to Maximinus, not Galerius. For the description, cf. Euseb. *HE* ix. 10. 13–15, who, however, makes no reference to Constantine.

[AM 5808, AD 315/16]

Constantine, 12th year
Sabores, 14th year
Silvester, 16th year
Makarios, 2nd year
Alexander, 10th year
Eustathios, 2nd year

||In this year the godlike Constantine marked off and allotted a portion of the Roman territory to Licinius, who had campaigned with him and who deceitfully pretended to be a Christian.[1] Constantine proclaimed him emperor[2] and demanded from him pledges that he would do no harm to the Christians.||[a3] Thereupon through the grace of Christ the persecution of us by the tyrants ceased.

[a] Alex. Mon. 4057A; Guidi, *Bios*, 32. 13–22

[1] Constantine and Licinius met in Milan early in 313, where Licinius married Constantine's sister Constantia. Licinius, ruler of the East, still had to contend with Maximinus, who was technically his superior.

[2] Licinius had been an Augustus since 308, but in Nov. 312 the Roman Senate had declared Constantine to be the senior Augustus.

[3] The so-called 'Edict of Milan' (13 June 313). For the text, Euseb. *HE* x. 5. 2–14, Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 48. 2 ff.

16 ## [AM 5809, AD 316/17]

Constantine, 13th year
Sabores, 15th year

Silvester, 17th year
Makarios, 3rd year
Alexander, 11th year
Eustathios, 3rd year

AM 5810 [AD 317/18]

Year of the divine Incarnation 310
Constantine, emperor of the Romans (32 years), 14th year
Sabores, 9th emperor of the Persians (70 years), 16th year
Silvester, 32nd bishop of Rome (28 years), 18th year
Metrophanes, 1st bishop of Byzantium (10 years), 9th year
Makarios, 32nd bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 4th year
Alexander, 19th bishop of Alexandria (23 years), 12th year
Eustathios, 23rd bishop of Antioch (18 years), 4th year

||In this year Constantine the Great, having become sole ruler of all the Roman lands,[1] gave his mind entirely to holy matters by building churches and enriching them lavishly from public funds. First he legislated that the temples used for idols were to be handed over to persons consecrated to Christ||[a2] (his son Crispus was co-signatory of this legislation);||[b3] second, that only Christians were to serve in the army and to command foreign races and armies, while those who persisted in idolatry were to suffer capital punishment;[4] third, that public business was to cease for the two weeks of Easter (i.e. the week before the Resurrection and the following week).[5] Under these circumstances a deep and calm peace prevailed throughout the inhabited world and there was rejoicing among the faithful as whole nations came over daily to faith in Christ, accepted baptism, and broke up their ancestral idols.||[c] Constantine also legislated that in Egypt a cubit of the rise of the river Nile was to be offered to the Church and not in the Sarapion as was the pagan custom.||[d6] ||Licinius, before he finally went mad, went to Antioch and there killed the magician Theoteknos and his associates after subjecting them to many tortures.||[e7]

[a] Alex. Mon. 4057C–D; Guidi, *Bios*, 32. 22–8; cf. *Chr.* 724, 101. 6–7. [b] Guidi, *Bios*, 32. 28. [c] Alex. Mon. 4057D–4060A; Guidi, *Bios*, 33. 1–6. [d] Theod. Lect. 29 (14. 28–15. 1), cf. Sokr. i. 18. [e] Cf. Euseb. *HE* ix. 11. 6; *Exc. Barocc.* 142, 216[r], 9–10.

[1] Cf. AM 5808, n. 2.

[2] Cf. Euseb. *HE* x. 2–4 and *VC* ii. 45. *VC* iii. 54–8 refers to the destruction of temples. There appears to be no early evidence of Constantine (or

anybody else in the 4th cent.) converting temples into churches. See R. P. C. Hanson, *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 23 (1978), repr. *Studies in Christian Antiquity* (Edinburgh, 1985), 347–58, who argues that the earliest date for this practice is about the middle of the 5th cent.

[3] Cf. Theod. Lect. 3 (3. 22–3), who says that 'Crispus introduced numerous laws with his father on behalf of the Christians'. This may refer to the legislation mentioned by Theophanes here, but de Boor is going too far in seeing this as Theophanes' source.

[4] Euseb. *VC* iv. 19 says that Constantine ordered pagan soldiers to pray on Sundays. Pagans were not prohibited from holding military office until Honorius, a measure that was revoked in 409 (Zos. v. 46) and reintroduced in 416 (*CTh* xvi. 10. 21). There is no evidence of punishment for idolatry. Heretics were by the end of 4th cent. prohibited from joining any part of the imperial service except being on the office staff of provincial governors or camp soldiers, *CTh* xvi. 5. 65. 3 (AD 435). There is no mention of pagans in this connection but sacrifice was punishable. See Barnes, *CE* 210–11.

[5] Cf. *CTh* ii. 19. 3 (AD 389), which confirms these two weeks as holy days.

[6] i.e. to show that the rising of the Nile occurred through Providence and not at the pleasure of Serapis.

[7] In 313. Cf. Euseb. *HE* ix. 11. 5–6. This was part of Licinius' purge of Maximinus' supporters.

[AM 5811, AD 318/19]

Constantine, 15th year
Sabores, 17th year
Silvester, 19th year
Metrophanes, 10th year
Makarios, 5th year
Alexander, 13th year
Eustathios, 5th year

||In this year Licinius began to set in motion a persecution of Christians.||[a1] First he pursued the Christians in the palace,||[b] forgetful of the fall of the tyrants before him and of his agreements with Constantine the Great. He also did not cease fornicating, behaving
17 unjustly and slaughtering Christians. The godlike Constantine ordered him in rescripts to stop this madness[2] but did not persuade him.||[c] Licinius brought about the death through torture of Basileus, bishop of Amaseia ||[d] and, according to some sources, of the Forty holy Martyrs and many others.||[e3]

[a] Guidi, *Bios*, 33. 16. 18. (This sentence is not in Jerome as de Boor implies.) [b] Jerome, *Chron.* 230(f) (AD 320); Guidi, *Bios*, 33. 21–2, cf. Euseb. *HE* x. 8. 10, *VC* i. 52.

[c] Alex. Mon. 4057A–B; Guidi, *Bios*, 33. 22–34. 1. [d] Jerome, *Chron.* 230(g) (AD 320); cf. Euseb. *HE* x. 8. 15, *VC* ii. 1–2. [e] *Exc. Barocc.* 142, 216[r], 16.

[1] Licinius, defeated by Constantine after a campaign fought largely for dynastic reasons during 316–17, had ceded all his European territory to Constantine apart from Thrace, Moesia, and Scythia Minor and then moved his capital from Sirmium to Nicomedia. For details Barnes, *CE* 70–2 (plus 66–70 for a lucid discussion of the background, omitted by Theophanes).

[2] e.g. *CTh* xvi. 2. 5, 25 May 323.

[3] The Forty of Sebaste were martyred on 9 Mar. 320. Apart from a digression in Soz. ix. 2 (in the context of Pulcheria, early in the 5th cent.) Theophanes and *Exc. Barocc.* are the only historical narratives to refer to this martyrdom. Yet the martyrdom under Licinius is well attested and exactly right in context here, Sebaste (Sivas) being about 90 miles south-east of Amaseia (Samsun). Licinius had reason to be worried about this following a treaty between Constantine and the Persian king. Cf. M. E. Mullett, ed., *The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste* (Belfast, forthcoming).

[AM 5812, AD 319/20]

Constantine, 16th year
Sabores, 18th year
Silvester, 20th year
Alexander, bishop of Byzantium (23 years), 1st year
Makarios, 6th year
Alexander, 14th year
Eustathios, 6th year

||In this year in Alexandria Arius (from whom the madness is named) disclosed his own heresy before the congregation and brought about a schism, with the collusion of the Devil, who was unable to look upon the peace of the Church.||[a1] A most violent earthquake shook Alexandria, with many houses collapsing and considerable loss of life.||[b2]

[a] Guidi, *Bios*, 39. 24–40. 2; cf. Alex. Mon. 4060A, *Passio S. Artemii*, 6 (*PG* 96. 3; 1257A) = Philost. 155. [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. i. 242 citing 'John of Asia' (i.e. John of Ephesos) for the previous paragraph.

[1] Guidi, *Bios*, continues with a short account (4 lines) of Arius' theology. Theophanes substitutes for this an almost formulaic account of an earthquake, which traditionally accompanied bad news and which he appears to have invented (see n. 2 below). Arius (first mentioned at AM 5797) is the major issue in Theophanes' version of Constantine. On the origins of the Arian controversy see especially R. Williams, *Arius, Heresy and Tradition* (London, 1987) with R. C. Gregg and D. E. Groh, *Early Arianism: A View of*

Salvation (London and Philadelphia, 1981) and R. C. Gregg, ed., *Arianism. Historical and Theological Reassessments* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985). There is a good but brief summary in Barnes, *CE* 201–6.

[2] This is not in Alex. Mon. as implied by de Boor but is, however, likely to have come from Theophanes' Alexandrian source (see Introduction, Sources), in which case the parallel with a Syriac source here may suggest a link between the Alexandrian source and Syriac material.

Dr M. Henry has pointed out to us that Theophanes has probably created this earthquake by adapting the metaphorical language of his source, here preserved for us in the *Passio S. Artemii*. In a passage, which is otherwise verbatim Theophanes, it is said that 'Arius shook ἐτάραξε the Church'; cf. Theod. *HR* i. 10, that Arius, *τὴν γλῶτταν κεκινηκὼς, ἐνέπλησε τὴν Αἴγυπτον θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς*, 'having set his tongue in motion, filled Egypt with confusion and disturbance'. Evidence for earthquakes in the Egyptian delta is almost non-existent (though cf. AM 5934 n. 1). See M. Henry, 'Le Premier Séisme d'Egypte' (forthcoming). Since the *Passio S. Artemii* is for the most part drawn from the Arian historian Philostorgios, this passage of Theophanes can be added to those which link him with an Arian source. See Introduction: Sources, IV. 6.

[AM 5813, AD 320/1]

Constantine, 17th year
Sabores, 19th year
Silvester, 21st year
Alexander, 2nd year
Makarios, 7th year
Alexander, 15th year
Eustathios, 7th year

||In this year Constantine the Great, having learned of the Arian movement and being considerably grieved by it, wrote to Alexander and Arius jointly,[1] counselling them to end this evil controversy and be at peace with each other.||[a] He also sent out Hosios, bishop of Cordova, to Alexandria to look into the Arian question, and to the East to set right the easterners who by ancient custom were celebrating Easter in the Jewish manner. He returned unsuccessful in both missions.||[b]

In this year Constantine the Great appointed his son Constans as Caesar and sent him to Gaul.[2]

[a] Guidi, *Bios*, 41. 1–5, Theod. Lect. 10 (5. 33–5), restored from Theophanes; cf. Soz. i. 16, Sokr. i. 7. [b] Theod. Lect. 11 (6. 33–6), restored from Ps.-Pollux (278. 16–21); cf. Soz. i. 16–17.

[1] Guidi, *Bios*, incorrectly makes the letter to Alexander alone. Cf. Euseb. *VC* ii. 63–72.

[2] Constans, who was probably born in this year (320/1), was appointed Caesar on Christmas Day 333. There is no other evidence of his ever going to Gaul. This entry perhaps refers either to Constantine, who was appointed Caesar 1 Mar. 317 and later campaigned in the West including Gaul at one stage, or to Constantius, appointed Caesar 8 Nov. 324 who, while still a boy, was put in charge of the Gallic provinces by Constantine (Barnes, *NE* 85).

[AM 5814, AD 321/2]

Constantine, 18th year
Sabores, 20th year
Silvester, 22nd year
Alexander, 3rd year
Makarios, 8th year
Alexander, 16th year
Eustathios, 8th year

In this year, as some say, Constantine the Great together with his son Crispus was baptized in Rome by Silvester.[1] The inhabitants of Old Rome preserve even today the baptismal font[2] as evidence that he was baptized in Rome by Silvester after the removal of the tyrants. ||The easterners, on the other hand, claim that he was baptized on his death-bed in Nicomedia by the Arian Eusebios of Nicomedia, at which place he happened to die. They claim that he had deferred baptism in the hope of being baptized in the river Jordan.||[a] In my view[3] it is more likely to be true that he was bap- 18
tized by Silvester in Rome and the decrees addressed to Miltiades that are ascribed to him are Arian forgeries, since they were eager to win some glory from this or else wanted to denigrate this completely pious emperor by revealing in this fashion that he was not baptized, which is absurd and false. For if he had not been baptized at the Council of Nicaea, he could not have taken the holy sacraments nor joined in the prayers of the holy Fathers,[4] something that is most absurd both to say and to hold. ||Other Arians and pagans accuse Constantine the Great of being illegitimate, but they too are lying.||[b] For his imperial line goes back even earlier than Diocletian. Indeed, his father Constantius was a grandson of the emperor Claudius[5] and he fathered Constantine the Great by his first wife Helena. He had other sons by Theodora, Maximianus Herculius' daughter, the sister of that Maxentius who was usurper at Rome and who was destroyed by Constantine at the Milvian bridge (when the sign of the Cross appeared to him in the sky) and a sister also of Fausta, the wife of Constantine the Great. And let no one be amazed if, being pagans

before their baptism, father and son married two sisters. Their family trees are ⌜as given below⌝.[6]

19

||Constantius ⌜the Great⌝
by Theodora, daughter of Herculius, sired

Constantius father of Gallus and Julian the Apostate	Anaballianos (also called Gallus Dalmatius) father of Dalmatius the younger	Constantia (wife of Licinius)

by Helena he sired
Constantine the Great alone

Constantine the Great
by Fausta, daughter of Herculius, sired
Crispus, Constantine, Constantius, Constans, and Helena
(wife of Julian the Apostate)||[c]

[a] Alex. Mon. 4068A; Guidi, *Bios*, 29. 21–5; cf. Geo. Mon. 525–6. [b] Cf. Geo. Mon. 484. 23–485. 1. [c] Cf. *Exc. Barocc.* 142, 216ʳ, 45.

[1] For the traditions of Constantine's baptism, see G. Fowden, *JRS* 84 (1994), 146–70, drawing attention in particular to its links with Constantine's Persian campaign and subsequent pagan–Christian mythologizing. There is no clear source for Theophanes here, but cf. *Codex Angelicus*, 3 (Opitz, 545–6). The fictitious claim that Constantine was baptized early in his reign by Pope Silvester in Rome instead of on his death-bed by an Arian bishop in Nicomedia (or possibly Helenopolis, cf. Fowden, art. cit. 148–51) is first found in Alex. Mon. (if this work pre-dates Theophanes, cf. AM 5793, n. 7) and Mal. (though it also occurs in the Armenian version of the *Actus Sylvestri*, perhaps composed as early as 480, see F. C. Conybeare, *BZ* 10 (1901), 493–4, *BZ* 11 (1902), 400); cf. Fowden, art. cit. 154, who, arguing against W. Pohlkamp's date of around 400 for the earliest written version of the *Actus Sylvestri*, finds a date earlier than 450 difficult to imagine. The late baptism in Nicomedia (but without mention of any Arian) is given in Euseb. *VC* iv. 62, Sokr. i. 38, Soz. ii. 34, Theod. i. 32 and so was also presumably in Theod. Lect. Cf. too AM 5828. The traditional date for Constantine's Roman baptism is 324. It is unclear why Theophanes picked this date of 321/2, but it may be linked with Christian attempts at removing or reducing the 25-year gap between Constantine's conversion and his baptism. See Fowden, art. cit. 159.

[2] Constantine built a baptistery *c.*315 (Krautheimer, *Rome, Profile of a City, 312–1038* (Princeton, 1980), 22) which still survives next to the Lateran basilica (*c.*312/13). This was the only baptistery in Rome until the 5th cent. Theophanes may be reflecting an early version of the 'donation of Constantine' legend.

[3] One of Theophanes' rare authorial comments and places where he resorts to argument (cf. also AM 5827, n. 15, and AM 5847). The argument is also preserved in Guidi, *Bios*, 30. 2–13. The issue was still alive during the period of iconoclasm and Theophanes' own lifetime. See Mango, *The Homilies of Photius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 239, 255.

[4] For Constantine speaking in the debate, Euseb. *VC* iii. 13, Sokr. i. 10, Soz. i. 18; cf. Gel. Caes., frg. 15 Winkelmann (*ByzF* 1 (1966), 351).

[5] Cf. AM 5796, n. 10 for this fraudulent claim.

[6] Cf. AM 5796e.

AM 5815 [AD 322/3]

Year of the divine Incarnation 315
Constantine, emperor of the Romans (32 years), 19th year
Sabores, emperor of the Persians (70 years), 21st year
Silvester, 32nd bishop of Rome (28 years), 23rd year
Alexander, 2nd bishop of Byzantium (23 years), 4th year
Makarios, 32nd bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 9th year
Alexander, 19th bishop of Alexandria (23 years), 17th year
Eustathios, 23rd bishop of Antioch (18 years), 9th year

||In this year the pious Constantine, seeing that Licinius was continuing his persecution in a more enraged manner and was planning 20
a plot against his benefactor, took up arms[1] against him on land and sea. In the clash of open war in Bithynia, Licinius was captured alive at Chrysopolis and handed over to Constantine, who, with his customary humanity, granted him his life and sent him to be imprisoned in Thessalonica. Not much later Licinius, having hired some barbarians,[2] would have begun a revolt, had not the most gentle Constantine learned of it in advance and ordered his decapitation by the sword.[3] And thus at last the affairs of the Christian state enjoyed perfect peace, with the tyrants put out of the way through the might of the life-giving Cross, and with God's partner Constantine alone controlling the Roman Empire.||[a] With his own sons appointed as Caesars, he had the benefit of peace.||[b4] He was a man resplendent in all respects, manly in spirit, sharp in mind, well educated in speech, in justice upright, ready as a benefactor, dignified in appearance, great in the barbarian wars through courage and fortune and invincible in civil wars, strong and unswerving in his faith.||[5] As a result, he gained victory over all his enemies by prayer. And so he built churches throughout the country for the conversion of the nations to the honour of God.||[c6]

||In the same year also Martinus[7] was killed after a three-month

usurpation. Licinianus the Caesar, the son of Licinius, was stripped of his office by Constantine.

In the same year, Narses, the son of the Persian emperor, overran Mesopotamia[8] and captured the city of Amida. Constantine's son, the Caesar Constantius, made war on him[9] and, after a minor setback, finally conquered him in battle to such a degree that he even killed Narses.||[d]

[a] Alex. Mon. 4057B–C; Guidi, *Bios*, 334. 1–12; cf. Gel. Caes., frg. 6 at Theod. Lect. 159. 9–14 = Philip of Side, frg. 7 from book 24 (p. 184). [b] Cf. Guidi, *Bios*, 334. 13–14, 17–18. [c] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 526. 1–4, [Hypoth. Arian] 3a; cf. *Chr.* 724, 101. 4–7. [d] [Hypoth. Arian] 3a; cf. *Chr.* 724, 102. 23–4.

[1] Parallel sources (Alex. Mon.; Guidi, *Bios*) run this passage on directly from Licinius' persecution related in Theophanes at AM 5811 (318/19). Constantine made war on Licinius in 324. Licinius, after the defeat at Chrysopolis (18 Sept. 324), fled to Nicomedia and then abdicated to Constantine in person (19 Sept. 324).

[2] 'The hired barbarians' may be a confused recollection of a barbarian invasion, in no way connected with Licinius, in the spring of 323 which gave Constantine the excuse for straying into Licinius' territory, which was an important incident in the build-up for the war.

[3] *Epit. Caes.* 41. 7 and Zos. ii. 28 say he was strangled. The circumstances are unclear. In Alex. Mon. (and so presumably also in Theophanes' source) Constantine's epithet of 'most gentle' is appropriate, but refers to an item Theophanes has omitted while linking two separate sentences. Contrast AM 5793, where it is Alex. Mon. who omits a vital ingredient in the story. Thus neither Theophanes nor Alex. Mon. can be copying from the other, but rather they are using a common source.

[4] Crispus and Constantine had been Caesars since 317. Constantius became Caesar on 8 Nov. 324, Constans in 333.

[5] Many of these characteristics are listed in Euseb. *VC* i.19 and elsewhere. There is a useful list of sources in the introduction to E. C. Richardson's translation (1890).

[6] For churches in Rome see Krautheimer, *Rome, Profile of a City*, 20–31; for churches elsewhere see Barnes, *CE* 248–9.

[7] Martinus is in error for Mar. Martinianus, *magister officiorum* of Licinius, made emperor by Licinius after the battle of Adrianople, July 324 (Barnes, *NE* 15). Licinianus is Valerius Licinianus Licinius, Constantine's nephew, who was born in 315, appointed Caesar 1 Mar. 317. Theophanes alone, probably correctly, associates his deposition with Martinianus' execution in the same year as Licinius. Eutrop. *Brev.* and Jerome, *Chron.* have him executed along with Crispus in 326. It looks again as if Theophanes had access to something like the so-called *Kaisergeschichte* here (cf. AM 5785; 5793, n. 6, 5794; 5818, n. 1).

[8] Narses (Narseh), who was the brother, not the son, of Shapur II, probably invaded in 336. See P'awstos 3. 21, cf. W. Ensslin, *Klio*, 29 (1936), 102–10.

[9] Constantius did not make war until after Constantine's death in 337 (Barnes, *CE* 397 n. 146, Libanios, *Or.* 69. 71. Narses' death is also reported by Festus, *Brev.* 27 (as occurring at Narasarensi) and by Julian (*Or.* 1. 24D). Cf. Festus, *Brev.* 150.

AM 5816 [AD 323/4] 21

Year of the divine Incarnation 316
Constantine, emperor of the Romans (32 years), 20th year
Sabores, emperor of the Persians (70 years), 22nd year
Silvester, bishop of Rome (28 years), 24th year
Alexander, bishop of Byzantium (23 years), 5th year
Makarios, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 10th year
Alexander, bishop of Alexandria (23 years), 18th year
Eustathios, bishop of Antioch (18 years), 10th year

||In this year the *vicennalia* of Constantine Augustus' imperial rule was celebrated.||[a] And there took place the First holy and ecumenical Synod of the three hundred and eighteen fathers,[1] of whom many were miracle-workers and equal to the angels, carrying the stigmata of Christ on their bodies from previous persecutions.||[b] Among them were Paphnoutios, Spyridon, Makarios and Jacob of Nisibis, miracle-workers who had raised the dead and done many wondrous things.||[c] The holy synod was held at Nicaea in Bithynia and was presided over by Makarios of Jerusalem and Alexander of Alexandria,[2] with Viton and Vincent representing the bishop of Rome.||[d] As the Church of Antioch was vacant, the synod appointed over it Eustathios, bishop of Beroia in Syria.||[3] Alexander of Byzantium was not present at the synod because of his extreme old age and ill-health.[4] Presbyters took his place. Paul of Neocaesarea was present at this council as was a great crowd of other holy men distinguished by their lives and culture,||[e] of whom Eusebios Pamphilou has recorded much praise in the third book of his treatise addressed to the emperor.||[f][5] The most Christian emperor liberally provided for everybody's needs.||[g] This holy and ecumenical synod, with the co-operation of the holy and consubstantial Trinity, deposed Arius and his sympathizers, Eusebios of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicaea and those with them (except for Eusebios Pamphilou, who for the present accepted the term 'consubstantial')[6] and sent them into exile.||[h] The all-praiseworthy emperor Constantine was present at the synod and was an associate in all its actions that were agreeable to God. He ordered that others be ordained to 22
replace those banished, and published a written exposition of the faith that is today recited in every orthodox church.||[i] As the impious

Arius was at that time present at the synod and being condemned, Eusebios of Nicomedia, Theognis, Maris, Narkissos, Theophantos and Patrophilos contended on behalf of Arius and, having put together a blasphemous statement of faith, presented it to the synod. When this was torn up, its authors, except for Secundus of Ptolemais in Egypt and Theonas of Marmarike, wheeled about and condemned Arius. These two were expelled and anathematized with Arius.||j[7] All then dictated, subscribed to, and acclaimed the holy creed of the faith, including the all-pious emperor.[8] The assembly was then dismissed.||k[9]

In this year Crispus, the emperor's son, a Christian, died.||l[10] Also Byzantium began to be built.||m[11]

||The First holy ecumenical Synod was held on 20 May[12] in the 12th indiction of the 20th year of Constantine the Great.||n The synod wrote an encyclical letter[13] to Alexandria, Libya, and Pentapolis to announce the expulsion of Arius, Secundus and Theonas. The letter also referred to Meletios,[14] who was to remain quietly as an ordinary person in his own city; those who had been ordained by him through a secret ordination were confirmed. There was also a decision that Easter was no longer to conform to Jewish custom, but rather it was to be celebrated on Sunday as in the Italian rite.[15] Likewise the all-pious emperor sent out rescripts[16] everywhere ordaining and confirming the declarations of the holy synod, while rejecting Arius along with his supporters; they were to be designated as Porphyrians,[17] their writings were to be burned, and the penalty for non-compliance was death.||o He published also an imperial law enforcing these provisions. ||As the festival of the *vicennalia* of his rule came round at this juncture,[18] he invited all the Fathers to the feast, reclined at dinner with them and honoured them gloriously. He kissed Paphnoutios and other confessors on their eyes that had been gouged out and their limbs that had been mutilated in the persecution, receiving a blessing from them. He
23 exhorted all the bishops to maintain the peace and to refrain from reviling their neighbours. The pamphlets which some had published against one another he burned in a fire, confirming under oath that if he were to see a bishop committing adultery, he would readily shelter him in his purple cloak.[19] He bestowed many gifts on all the churches, exhorted the rulers of the nations to honour their priests, and sent them all on their way rejoicing.||p

||As the emperor was rebuked by the pagan philosophers in Byzantium on the grounds that he had acted improperly and contrary to the customs of the Roman emperors by changing the religion, the emperor resolved to send one of the philosophers to bishop

Alexander to debate with him.[20] Alexander was a holy man, but lacking in education. To the philosopher, who was skilled in dialectic and talked till his tongue ached, he said 'I order you in the name of Jesus Christ the true God to be quiet and not to talk,' and he was immediately silenced and made speechless.||q

||The emperor ordered Makarios, bishop of Jerusalem, who was present at the synod, to search out on his return the site of the holy Resurrection and that of Golgotha of the skull and the life-giving wood.||r[21]

||In this year he crowned Helena, his god-minded mother, and assigned to her as empress the privilege of coinage.||s[22] She had a vision which ordered her to go to Jerusalem and to bring to light the sacred sites which had been buried by the impious.[23] She begged her son Constantine to fulfil these commands sent to her from God. And he acted in obedience to her.||t

||When, moved by a divine sign, the pious Constantine decided to build a city bearing his own name on the plain before Troy above the tomb of Ajax where, so they say, the Greeks, campaigning against Troy, had established their anchorage, God commanded him in a dream to build the present Constantinople at Byzantium. Having built it lavishly with fine houses, he transplanted notables from Rome, and having selected people according to their descent from other places, and graciously given them large houses, he made them inhabit the city.||u At that time the Christ-loving emperor built the 24
church of Holy Eirene, and of the Apostles and of St Mokios[24] and of the Archangel at Anaplous.||v[25] He ordered that the pagan temples of idols be destroyed and churches built.[26] It was then that the temple of Asklepios at Aigai and that of Aphrodite at Aphaka and many others were demolished.||w He made a gift of the revenue from these to the churches.||x At that time many races who had earlier overrun Roman territory came forward to be baptized because of the miracles performed by captive priests who had been taken prisoner during the reign of Gallienus. These included Goths, Celts, and the western Galatians. And now, under Constantine the victorious, many races were baptized, hastening to Christ.[27] The inland Indians were converted to Christ when Meropios, a philosopher from Tyre, taking along his disciples Aidesios and Frumentius, arrived there to investigate the region and taught them the word of God. Athanasios appointed Frumentius the first bishop among them. Similarly the Iberians were converted in his reign when they saw the miracles performed by a captive Christian woman, and the mist that fell on the eyes of their emperor when hunting. Rufinus relates these events, having heard them from that very emperor of the Iberians,

Bakkourios.||[y28] Likewise the Armenians were fully converted under him, receiving their salvation through Tiridates their emperor and Gregory their bishop.||[z29] It was then, too, that there flourished Dorotheos, bishop of Tyre,[30] a man who had suffered much under Diocletian, experiencing both exile and torture. He left behind many writings in both Latin and Greek, being very skilled in both languages and very learned through his natural cleverness. He wrote an accurate account of the bishops of Byzantium and many other places. After his return from exile, he was present at the synod and then, after regaining his own see, he survived until Julian the Apostate. And since that cursed man did not maltreat Christians openly, but in secret through his officers, the blessed Dorotheos again went to Odyssopolis where, arrested by Julian's officers and subjected to many outrages, he died in extreme old age under torture for his confession of Christ, being by then 107 years old.||[aa]

[a] Theod. Lect. 20 (10. 29–30), cf. Soz. i. 25; cf. *Chr.* 724, 102. 34–5. [b] Alex. Mon. 4060B (not very close). Cf. Guidi, *Bios*, 637–8 (close at 638. 4–5); *Chr.* 724, 101. 9. [c] Cf. Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 91. 2, for first 3 names only; Sokr. i. 11–12, Soz. i. 10–11. [d] Cf. Soz. i. 17. Soz. simply names Makarios first. He does not say who presided. See n. 2. [e] Cf. Soz. i. 17, Theod. *HE* i. 7. [f] Cf. Sokr. i. 8. [g] Cf. Theod. *HE* i. 8. [h] Cf. Soz. i. 21. [i] Alex. Mon. 4061A. [j] Theod. Lect. 15 (7. 29–8. 29), restored from Ps.-Pollux, 280. 7–16; cf. Theod. *HE* i. 7. [k] Cf. Sokr. i. 8, a long chapter in which Euseb. *VC* iii is cited several times and which here appears to draw on *VC* iii. 14. [l] Cf. Soz. i. 5. [m] Cf. Sokr. i. 16. [n] Theod. Lect. 21 (11. 32–3); cf. Sokr. i. 13. [o] Theod. Lect. 17–18 (8. 34–9. 33), restored from Ps.-Pollux, 280. 24–282. 20; cf. Sokr. i. 9, Theod. *HE* i. 10. [p] Theod. Lect. 20 (10. 29–11. 30), cf. Theod. *HE* i. 11, Soz. i. 29. [q] Theod. Lect. 14 (7. 21–8); cf. Soz. i. 18; Guidi, *Bios*, 641. 15–642. 2. [r] Alex. Mon. 4061A; Guidi, *Bios*, 642. 2–8 (with additions). [s] Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 92; Guidi, *Bios*, 642. 8–10; cf. Theod. Lect. 26 (13. 22–4), Soz. ii. 2. [t] Alex. Mon. 4061B; Guidi, *Bios*, 642. 10–16. [u] Theod. Lect. 27 (13. 25–14. 22); cf. Soz. ii. 3; *Chr.* 724, 101. 21–3. [v] Theod. Lect. 28 (14. 23–24); cf. Soz. ii. 3, Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 92, Guidi, *Bios*, 338. 12–19. [w] Theod. Lect. 29 (14. 27–15. 14); cf. Soz. ii. 5, Sokr. i. 18. [x] Cf. AM 5809. [y] Theod. Lect. 30–2 (15. 15–29), mainly restored from Ps.-Pollux 304. 16–306. 3, 306. 20–2; cf. Soz. ii. 6, Sokr. i. 19. [z] Theod. Lect. 34 (17. 15–18); cf. Soz. ii. 8; Euseb. *HE* v.5; Geo. Mon. 468. 5–469. 4. [aa] Ps.-Dorotheos in *Chron. Pasch.* ii. 120B; cf. AM 5854.

[1] On the term ecumenical, see H. Chadwick, *JTS* NS 23 (1972), 132–5. The synod met in 325 (not 323/4). The traditional figure of 318 is probably symbolic, based either on Abraham's servants (Gen. 14: 14) or possibly the Greek numeral TIH being interpreted as the Cross (T) plus the first two letters of 'Jesus' (IH).

[2] Theophanes is the only source that names the presidents. He may have deduced them simply from the absence of the patriarchs of Rome, Constantinople, and Antioch. Eustathios of Antioch, according to Theod. i. 7, cf. i. 6, was present and spoke first, from which A. E. Burn, *The Council of Nicaea* (London, 1925), 28, inferred that Eustathios presided. P. Batiffol, *La Paix constantinienne et le catholicisme*, 4th edn. (Paris, 1929), 331–2, argues on unconvincing evidence that Hosios/Ossios presided, as does T. D. Barnes (with more plausibility), *AJAH* 3 (1978), 57. Barnes's main point, that Constantine did not preside, is borne out by Theophanes.

[3] This is at odds with Theophanes' rubric which makes this Eustathios' tenth year. The death of Eustathios' predecessor, Philogonos, on 20 Dec. 324 was followed by rioting over the succession. Theodoret implies that Eustathios had been appointed in Antioch and before Nicaea, presumably at the Synod of Antioch, which led to Nicaea and which Theophanes omits.

[4] Theophanes' ultimate sources here (Soz. and Theod.) both say that it was the pope (wrongly named as Julius in Theod.) who was absent because of old age and ill-health. Theophanes' or his intermediate source (presumably Theod. Lect.) has transferred this to Alexander, whose absence is not noted in either Soz. or Theod.

[5] Euseb. *VC* iii. 7–9, cited by Sokr. i. 8.

[6] Eusebios, together with Theodotos of Laodikeia and Narkissos of Neronias, had been excommunicated for heresy (i.e. Arianism) at the Synod of Antioch, but were to be given the opportunity of recanting at the synod proposed for Ancyra, which Constantine transferred to Nicaea. Eusebios arrived at Nicaea with a creed proving his orthodoxy. Constantine himself asked Eusebios to add the necessary phrase on consubstantiality, to which Eusebios reluctantly agreed. See Barnes, *CE* 213–16.

[7] Although Theophanes' direct source does not survive, the material is all to be found in a combination of Euseb. *VC* iii. 6–10, Sokr. i. 8, Soz. i. 17, 19, Theod. *HE* i. 7, and thus presumably in Theod. Lect.

[8] On the relationship between this creed and what is generally known as the Nicene Creed, see J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 2nd edn. (1960), 205–62.

[9] Theod. *HE* i. 8, cites here Eustathios of Antioch (= frg. 32).

[10] Crispus was executed by Constantine in 326, apparently for a supposed sexual offence of some kind. For the date, see *PLRE* i. 233. Theophanes' date goes back to Soz. (that Crispus died in Constantine's twentieth year).

[11] 8 Nov. 324.

[12] 20 May may be correct, but Theod. Lect.'s source (Sokr.) has both probably confused the day of accepting the creed with the opening day and also transcribed the month incorrectly, as the Latin sources give the date for accepting the creed as 19 June (i.e. a.d. xiii Kal. Iun. for a.d. xiii Kal. Iul.): see E. Schwartz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii (Berlin, 1959), 81.

[13] In 325, not 324 as here.

[14] Bishop of Lykopolis, who had without authority carried out the duties of Peter, bishop of Alexandria (who had fled during the persecution of Maximinus), and in effect developed his own schismatic church network, including monasteries, which survived to the 8th cent. See H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (London, 1925), ch. II, 'The Melitian Question'.

[15] i.e. on Sunday rather than 14 Nisan.

[16] It was standard for the synod to issue an encyclical. By writing as well Constantine stresses his role as a Christian emperor.

[17] Porphyrios (*c.*232–303), a Neoplatonist philosopher, had written *inter alia* a 15-book treatise against the Christians, the burning of which was again ordered in 448. Constantine's letter so describing the Arians was written in 332 in response to an outburst by Arius during his quarrel with Athanasios: Barnes, *CE* 233, Opitz, *Urkunde*, 33. For context AM 5827a (pp. 30–1 de Boor).

[18] The celebration began on 25 July 325 in Nicomedia (Jerome, *Chron.* 231e).

[19] Constantine's object was to prevent the public from finding an excuse for sin in the behaviour of clergy. See Theod. *HE* i. 11. (Theod. Lect.'s source here). The statement is the more surprising in that Constantine's legislation on sexual misdemeanours was particularly harsh. See Barnes, *CE* 219–20.

[20] Cf. Soz. i. 18, who preserves a more complex story.

[21] Cf. Euseb. *VC* iii. 29–30.

[22] Cf. Euseb. *VC* iii. 47, who links the issue of coins bearing her portrait with her proclamation as Augusta. Helena appears on coins immediately after Licinius' defeat. She perhaps was proclaimed Augusta (with Fausta) when Constantius became Caesar (i.e. 8 Nov. 324).

[23] Cf. AM 5817 for discussion.

[24] The reference to St Mokios, though in Theod. Lect., does not appear in Theod. Lect.'s sources. St Mokios being Constantinople's main local saint, Constantinople was later (330) dedicated on St Mokios' feast day (11 May). Some (inferior) MSS of Theophanes include Hagia Sophia. Euseb. *VC.* iii. 48 says merely that Constantine built sacred edifices including memorials of martyrs. Sokr. i. 16 credits Constantine with Holy Eirene and the church of the Holy Apostles. Soz. mentions the Archangel Michael (ii. 3) and later the Holy Apostles (ii. 34). Theod. Lect. has St Mokios and the church of the Archangel at Anaplous but credits Constantius with the Holy Apostles. For the development of a list of churches attributed to Constantine in Byzantine sources, see Dagron, *Naissance*, 391–409.

The long list in Guidi, *Bios*, virtually proves it is late, especially the two churches of the Archangel which are needed to explain Anaplous.

[25] On the European side of the Bosporus. See J. Pargoire, *IRAIK* 3 (1898), 60 ff.

[26] Pagan temples in Constantinople were not destroyed until the time of Theodosius I at the earliest. For the destruction of Aigai (in Cilicia), at Aphake (in Phoenicia/Syria) and 'everywhere', Euseb. *VC* iii. 54–6.

[27] Cf. AM 5810.

[28] On Bakkourios (Bacurius) and the conversion of Iberia, see now Braund, *Georgia*, 246–52.

[29] For a balanced account of the conversion of Armenia see R. W. Thomson, *HUS* 12/13 (1988/9), 28–45.

[30] Dorotheos of Tyre does not seem to have ever existed. The formula 'there flourished' suggests that the source was a chronicle of the Eusebian type. Theophanes has omitted to mention Dorotheos' first flight to

Odyssopolis during Diocletian's persecution, so that 'Dorotheos again went to Odyssopolis' is left unexplained. Cf. *Syn. CP* 124 (Oct. 9), 602 (Apr. 14), 731–3 (June 6); B. Latyšev, *Menologii anonymi Byzantini . . . quae supersunt* (St Petersburg, 1911–12), ii. 18–19 (June); *BHG* suppl. (vol. 3); T. Schermann, ed., *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae* (Leipzig, 1907). Cf. also Mich. Syr. i. 289.

AM 5817 [AD 324/5]

Year of the divine Incarnation 317
Constantine, emperor of the Romans (32 years), 21st year
Sabores, emperor of the Persians (70 years), 23rd year
Silvester, bishop of Rome (28 years), 25th year
Alexander, bishop of Constantinople (23 years), 6th year
Makarios, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 11th year
Alexander, bishop of Alexandria (23 years), 19th year
Eustathios, bishop of Antioch (18 years), 11th year

||In this year Jews and Persians, seeing that Christianity was flourishing in Persia, brought an accusation before the Persian emperor Sabores against Symeon, archbishop of Ctesiphon, and against the bishop of Seleukeia. They were charged with being friends of the Roman emperor and spies of Persian affairs. As a result a great persecution took place in Persia and a great many people were adorned with martyrdom for Christ's sake.[1] Among these Ousthaxades, Sabores' teacher, the archbishop Symeon, and, in addition to many others, a hundred clerics and bishops were martyred on a single day, as well as countless masses of others. Of these martyrs 18,000 are conspicuous for the terrifying tortures of an unnatural kind which destroyed them at the hands of the utterly godless Sabores. It was then that bishop Akepsimas, the presbyter Aeithalas, and Terboulia, sister of archbishop Symeon, were martyred with a great many other women. The most godlike emperor Constantine advised Sabores by means of a letter to spare the Christians and begged him to cease from this enormous cruelty.[2] This letter was brilliantly composed and most godlike but it did not persuade him.||[a]

||In the same year the godlike Constantine sent the blessed Helena to Jerusalem with money and soldiers to seek the life-giving Cross of the Lord.[3] Makarios, patriarch of Jerusalem, having met the empress with due honour, made the search for the longed-for life-giving wood along with her, in tranquillity, with earnest prayers and fasting. When these things had been done, the site was quickly revealed to 26
Makarios by God in the place where the temple and statue of the impure demon Aphrodite stood. The divinely crowned Helena, using her imperial authority, immediately arranged for a large

number of workmen to destroy the temple, which had been lavishly built long ago by Aelius Hadrian, raze it to its foundations, and remove the [excavated] soil. Straight away the Holy Sepulchre and the place of the Skull were revealed, and close by, to the east, there were three buried crosses.[4] After searching, they even found the nails. But they were all at a loss to know which cross was the Lord's. The blessed Helena was particularly grieved, but the well-named bishop Makarios solved the problem by his faith. For by bringing each of the crosses to a distinguished lady who was in despair and near death, he discovered which of them was the Lord's. For barely had its shadow come close to the sick woman when she, though hardly able to breathe or move, suddenly and immediately through God's power leaped up and began glorifying God in a loud voice. The all-pious Helena with fear and great joy took up the life-giving wood and brought part of it with the nails to her son, and having placed the rest of it in a silver casket, she handed it over to bishop Makarios as a memorial for later generations. Then she also ordered that churches be built at the Holy Sepulchre and at Calvary in the name of her son, where the life-giving wood was discovered, and also at Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives.[5] And so she returned to the all-praiseworthy Constantine. He, having welcomed her with joy, placed the particle of the life-giving wood in a golden chest, handing it over to the bishop for safe keeping. Of the nails he forged some on to his helmet, and inserted others in his horse's bridle, so that the word of the prophet might be fulfilled, saying, 'on that day there will be on the bridle of the horse holiness unto the Lord Almighty.'[6] The same all-praiseworthy Constantine wrote to the well-named Makarios to hurry with the building and sent out an officer of works with an abundance of money with orders to build the Holy Places so that there would be nothing so beautiful in the entire inhabited
27 world. He also wrote to the governors of the province to join in the work earnestly from the public account.[7] The emperor in splendid celebration gave thanks to God for having made such good things happen in his time.‖[b]

In the same year the well-named Makarios, patriarch of Jerusalem, died in peace[8] and Maximus succeeded to his throne, a gentle and distinguished man who had endured many tortures for God during the persecution and had lost his right eye.

‖During the same period the blessed Helena also died in the Lord at the age of 80, having made many exhortations to her son concerning the Christian religion.‖[c] She was buried in the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, which her son Constantine built for the burial of deceased Christian emperors.‖[d9] The blessed Helena

was the first to be buried in it, and was honoured by magnificent night-long memorial services. ‖The sacred maidens in Jerusalem, whom the god-minded Helena had entertained and served in person at the table, like a serving maid, praised her forever with divine services.‖[e]

‖The emperor ordered Eusebios Pamphilou to prepare copies of the sacred books for use in the churches of Constantinople, for which he supplied him with public money.‖[f10]

[a] Theod. Lect. 35–6 (17. 19–18. 27) partly reconstructed from Theophanes. Cf. Soz. ii. 9–15, Theod. i. 25; *Chr.* 724, 102. 8. [b] Alex. Mon. 4061B–4064C. [c] Alex. Mon. 4064C. [d] Alex. Mon. 4068C. [e] Theod. Lect. 25 (13. 18–21), cf. Soz. ii. 2. [f] Cf. Leo Gramm. 88. 22–89. 1 (almost verbatim), Mich. Syr. i. 257.

[1] There had been Persian persecution of Christians *c.*270–90, but Shapur's anti-Christian activity is post-Constantine, the first repressive measures being in 339/40 and the first martyrdoms in 340/41. For an argument that the repression was provoked by Constantine's involvement with the Persian Christians, see T. D. Barnes, *JRS* 75 (1985), 126–36.

[2] Theophanes' date for this letter (the text is in Euseb. *VC* iv. 9–13) may be accurate (cf. Soz. ii. 9) but the circumstances are unclear.

[3] Helena probably went to Jerusalem in 327. See E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312–460* (Oxford, 1982), 35.

[4] The earliest reference to the discovery of the Cross is in Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catacheses*, 4. 10; 10. 19; 13. 4; written about 347–50 and so within 25 years of Helena's visit to Jerusalem, though the later *Liber Pontificalis* dates the discovery to 310 also without mentioning Helena (*Lib. Pont.* ed. Duchesne, i. 179). The earliest surviving claim that it was Helena who discovered the Cross is in Ambrose's sermon *On the death of Theodosius*, ed. Faller, *CSEL* 73, 45, delivered on 25 Feb. 395. On the development of the legend, see Hunt, *Pilgrimage*, 37–49.

[5] Euseb. *VC* iii. 43 specifies that Helena built just two churches, at Bethlehem, and on the Mount of Olives. *VC* iii. 25–8 gives credit to Constantine both for the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre and for the church (without reference either to Helena or the Cross). For the churches, C. Couasnon, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem* (London, 1974), 14 ff.

[6] Zech. 14: 20.

[7] For Constantine's letter to Makarios, Euseb. *VC* iii. 30–2, and to the governors, *VC* ii. 29.

[8] This is at odds with the rubric.

[9] Euseb. *VC* iii. 47 says that Helena was buried 'in the imperial city'. Her sarcophagus was placed in a mausoleum on the Via Labicana in Rome. See Barnes, *CE* 221, F. W. Deichmann and A. Tschira, *JDAI* 72 (1957), 44 ff.

[10] Euseb. *VC* iv. 36–7.

AM 5818 [AD 325/6]

Year of the divine Incarnation 318
Constantine, emperor of the Romans (32 years), 22nd year
Sabores, emperor of the Persians (70 years), 24th year
Silvester, bishop of Rome (28 years), 26th year
Alexander, bishop of Constantinople (23 years), 7th year
Makarios, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 12th year
Alexander, bishop of Alexandria (23 years), 20th year
Eustathios, 23rd bishop of Antioch (18 years), 12th year

||In this year the most pious and victorious Constantine campaigned against the Germans, Sarmatians, and Goths, and won a mighty vic-
28 tory through the power of the Cross; and having devastated them he reduced them to absolute servitude.||[a1]

||In the same year he restored Drepana in honour of its martyr Lucian and named it by his mother's name Helenopolis.||[b2]

In a letter to his fellow citizens which interpreted the sense of the words, Eusebios Pamphilou testified to the total orthodoxy of the creed of faith published at Nicaea by the fathers.[3] Athanasios for his part, in a letter to the Africans, gave evidence that [Eusebios] Pamphilou had accepted the term 'consubstantial'. Theodoret, however, says that Eusebios Pamphilou was in agreement with the Arians,[4] such as Eusebios of Nicomedia and his associates,|| for which reason he lent his support to the deposition of the divine Eustathios of Antioch, and, having joined with them in persuading the emperor that Eustathios was rightly deposed, he caused him to be exiled to Illyricum.||[c5]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. i. 259, Sokr. i. 18; [Hypoth. Arian] 4a. [b] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 527. 9–11; Jerome, *Chron.* 231h (AD 327); *Chron. 1234*, p. 115 cf. p. 119; [Hypoth. Arian] 4a; *Chr. 724*, 101. 9–12. [c] Theod. Lect. 47 (23. 32–3), cf. Theod. *HE* i. 21.

[1] Constantine claimed victories over the Sarmatians in 323 and again in 334; over the Goths in 332 and over the Germans in 307, 308, *c.*314 and 328/9 (Barnes, *NE* 258, cf. 75–9). He also claimed a victory over the Dacians in 336; Barnes, ibid. Our main narrative sources here are Euseb. *VC* iv. 5–6, *Exc. Val.* 1. 31–2. *Chron. Pasch.* 527. 16–17 dates the bridge over the Danube, the necessary prerequisite for these campaigns, to 328. Theophanes' source here is presumably something like the so-called *Kaisergeschichte* (cf. AM 5815, n. 7).

[2] *Chron. Pasch.* and Jerome date this to 327. Barnes suggests 328. Lucian, martyred in 312, was particularly revered by Helena. Theophanes' statement, however, is important because it is reasonably accurate though independent of our sources. Drepana, a village of Nicomedia in Bithynia, is the

modern Hersek. According to Prok. *Aed.* v. 2, Constantine merely gave it the name of a city and it was Justinian who provided it with proper urban amenities, including an aqueduct, baths, churches, and stoas. Cf. C. Mango, *TM* 12 (1994), 146–50.

[3] For Eusebios' letter, Opitz, *Urkunde*, 22, Sokr. i. 8. The reference to Athanasios is probably an error for Eustathios of Antioch who did attack Eusebios Pamphilou over his interpretation of the Nicene creed to which Eusebios counter-attacked with a charge of Sabellianism. Since Athanasios is always right in Theophanes, this is part of his own attack on Eusebios.

[4] Theod. *HE* i. 21 does say that Eusebios Pamphilou supported the Arians but the rest of Theophanes' sentence bears little resemblance to Theod.

[5] Eusebios in fact presided over the Synod of Antioch in 327 which deposed Eustathios. The decision was reviewed and endorsed by Constantine, who examined Eustathios in person.

[AM 5819, AD 326/7]

Constantine, 23rd year
Sabores, 25th year
Silvester, 27th year
Alexander, 8th year
Makarios, 13th year
Alexander, 21st year
Eustathios, 13th year

||In this year there began the construction of the octagonal church in Antioch.||[a1]

[a] Cf. Jerome, *Chron.* 231i (AD 327), Mich. Syr. i. 259; [Hypoth. Arian] 5.

[1] For a description of the church, Euseb. *VC* iii. 50 and *Speech*, ix. 15, ed. Heikel, 221.

[AM 5820, AD 327/8]

Constantine, 24th year
Sabores, 26th year
Silvester, 28th year
Alexander, 9th year
Makarios, 14th year
Alexander, 22nd year
Eustathios, 14th year

||In this year the pious Constantine, after crossing the Danube, built a stone bridge over it and subdued the Scythians.||[a1]

[a] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 527. 16–17; Mich. Syr. i. 259; [Hypoth. Arian] 6a.

[1] This is the bridge from Oescus to Sucidava. Constantine claimed a victory over the Dacians in 336: see Barnes, *CE* 221 n. 135.

[AM 5821, AD 328/9]

Constantine, 25th year
Sabores, 27th year
Mark, 32nd bishop of Rome (2 years), 1st year[1]
Alexander, 10th year
Makarios, 15th year
Alexander, 23rd year
Eustathios, 15th year

||In this year the pious Constantine, while founding Constantinople, decreed that it was to be styled 'New Rome' and ordered it to have a senate. He set up a porphyry column with a statue of himself on top of it at the place where he began to build the city in the western part, by the gate leading out towards Rome. He decorated the city and brought to it works of art and statues of bronze and marble from every province and city.||[a2]

[a] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 529–30; [Hypoth. Arian] 7a.

[1] Mark was pope from 18 Jan. 336 to 7 Oct. 336. He ought, however, to be 33 on Theophanes' list.

[2] This refers to the dedication of Constantinople on 11 May 330 over which Theophanes is surprisingly vague. Properly the title *New Rome* was only acquired in 381 through canon 3 of the Synod of Constantinople. See Dagron, *Naissance*, 54 and 458. For earlier use of the term, see ibid. 43–7. The statue on the porphyry column was allegedly a reworked Apollo from Ilium. Other sources place it in the centre of the forum: see J. Karayannopoulos, *Historia*, 5 (1966), 341 ff., Barnes, *CE* 222. For a list of the art works, Euseb. *VC* iii. 48–9; *Chron. Pasch.* 528–30. For the porphyry column, cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 528; Mal. 320; C. Mango, *JDAI* 80 (1965), 306–13, and *DChAE* 10 (1980/1), 103–10.

[AM 5822, AD 329/30]

Constantine, 26th year
Sabores, 28th year
Mark, 2nd year
Alexander, 11th year
Makarios, 16th year

Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria (46 years), 1st year
Eustathios, 16th year

||In this year the pious Constantine intensified the destruction of idols and their temples and they were demolished in [various] places.||[a] The revenues from these were bestowed upon the churches of God.||[b]

[a] Cf. Jerome, *Chron.* 233b (AD 331), Euseb. *VC* iii. 48; [Hypoth. Arian] 8.
[b] Cf. AM 5816x.

AM 5823 [AD 330/1]

29

Year of the divine Incarnation 323
Constantine, emperor of the Romans (32 years), 27th year
Sabores, emperor of the Persians (70 years), 29th year
Julius, bishop of Rome (15 years), 1st year[1]
Alexander, bishop of Constantinople (23 years), 12th year
Makarios, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 17th year
Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria (46 years), 2nd year
Eustathios, bishop of Antioch (18 years), 17th year

||In this year the basilica at Nicomedia was burned down by a divine fire.||[a2]

[a] [Hypoth. Arian] 9.

[1] Julius was pope from 6 Feb. 337 to 12 Apr. 352.

[2] Euseb. *VC* iii. 50 refers to Constantine building a fine church at Nicomedia after embellishing Constantinople.

[AM 5824, AD 331/2]

Constantine, 28th year
Sabores, 30th year
Julius, 2nd year
Alexander, 13th year
Makarios, 18th year
Athanasios, 3rd year
Eustathios, 18th year

||In this year, when the 7th indiction[1] was about to follow, a famine occurred in the East||[a] which was so extremely severe that villagers gathered together in great throngs in the territory of the Antiochenes and of Kyros and assailed one another and stole [food] in attacks by

night and, finally, even in daylight they would break into the granaries, looting and stealing everything in the storehouses before they went away. A *modius* of corn cost 400 pieces of silver.[2] ||Constantine the Great graciously gave an allowance of corn to the churches in each city to provide continuous sustenance for widows, the poor in hostels, and for clerics. The Church in Antioch received 36,000 *modii* of corn.||[b]

||In the same year, during a very severe earthquake in Cyprus, the city of Salamis collapsed and killed a considerable number.||[c3]

[a] Cf. Jerome, *Chron.* 233e (AD 333); Kedr. 519. 8–10; [Hypoth. Arian] 10. [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. i. 259; [Hypoth. Arian] 10. [c] Mal. 313. 8–15. Cf. AM 5834, for which this may be a doublet; Kedr. 519. 10–12, [Hypoth. Arian] 10.

[1] AM 5824 in fact coincides with indiction 5. Kedr. also dates this to year 28 of Constantine.

[2] As Dr. R. Burgess reports, at a price of 400 *arguria* per *modius*, an *argurion* cannot be a *solidus*, a silver *siliqua* struck at 96 to the pound (and rare in this period)—which would render a value 16.7 *solidi* to the *modius* (assuming 24 *siliquae* to the *solidus*)—or a *denarius*, when normal prices at the time ranged between 10 and 40 *modii* per *solidus* and a *solidus* was worth about 115,021 *denarii* (see below). The only coin left is the small bronze coin of the period, the so-called *follis*, but generally referred to at the time as a *nummus*, struck at about 12 carats (*c.*2.48g.) with 1.1% silver and the legend GLORIA EXERCITUS with two standards. If in 333 there were approximately 100 *denarii* to the *nummus* and there were approximately 8,281,500 *denarii* to the pound of gold, the price of wheat during the famine in Antioch was 40,000 *denarii* per *modius* or almost 3 *modii* per *solidus*.

[3] Mal. not only dates the earthquake to the reign of Constantius Chlorus but makes it the only event in the reign worthy of record, crediting Constantius with both taxation-relief and the reconstruction of buildings, in consequence of which the city was renamed Constantia. Commentators are agreed in rejecting Mal. but it is possible that Theophanes, who does not associate Constantius with events in the Eastern Empire at all, has deliberately redated this by linking it with the chronicle tradition preserved in Jerome, who records for this year that 'an innumerable multitude perished in Syria and Cilicia from pestilence and hunger'.

[AM 5825, AD 332/3]

Constantine, 29th year
Sabores, 31st year
Julius, 3rd year
Alexander, 14th year
Makarios, 19th year

Athanasios, 4th year
Eulalios, bishop of Antioch (3 years), 1st year

||In this year Dalmatius was proclaimed Caesar.||[a1] Kalokairos, the usurper on the island of Cyprus, did not resist the Roman attack.||[b] After being defeated, along with those responsible, he was executed by the Caesar Dalmatius at Tarsus in Cilicia by being burned alive.||[c2]

||In the same year Arius was recalled from exile following a feigned repentance and sent to Alexandria.||[d] He was not accepted by Athanasios.||[e3]

[a] Cf. Jerome, *Chron.* 233i (AD 335); *Chron. Pasch.* 531. 17–18 (a.335); Anon. Val. 6. 35; [Hypoth. Arian] 11a. [b] Cf. Jerome, *Chron.* 233g (AD 334); [Hypoth. Arian] 11a. [c] Cf. Aur. Vict. *Caes*, 41. 11–12; [Hypoth. Arian] 11a. [d] Theod. Lect. 37 (18. 28); cf. Soz. ii. 16. [e] Theod. Lect. 39 (19. 25–6); cf. Sokr. i. 27.

[1] Flavius Julius Dalmatius, son of Constantine's half-brother Flavius Dalmatius, appointed Caesar 18 Sept. 335.

[2] Although Kalokairos' revolt and defeat are recorded in several sources (with no more information than in 'b'), Theophanes alone mentions the information in this sentence. The Dalmatius in question was, however, the father Flavius Dalmatius, Censor *c.*333 (W. Ensslin, *RhM* 78 (1929), 199–212), not the young Caesar. Theophanes, not realizing that there were two Dalmatii, has rearranged the order so as to have Dalmatius' appointment precede his victory. Cf. AM 5827, n. 7.

[3] Arius (with Euzoios) was reinstated by the Synod of Nicomedia in 327 with Constantine's support. Alexander of Alexandria refused to readmit Arius to communion but he died on 17 Apr. 328 and was succeeded by Athanasios on 8 June 328, who continued Alexander's opposition to Arius.

[AM 5826, AD 333/4]

Constantine, 30th year
Sabores, 32nd year
Julius, 4th year
Alexander, 15th year
Makarios, 20th year
Athanasios, 5th year
Eulalios, 2nd year

||In this year the *tricennalia* of the most pious and victorious Constantine was celebrated with great munificence.||[a1]

||In Antioch a star appeared in the eastern part of the sky during the day, emitting much smoke as though from a furnace, from the third to the fifth hour.||[b2] 30

||Arius along with Eusebios of Nicomedia and those of like mind

were stirred up and offered sworn statements of their orthodoxy to the emperor, who was thirsting for unity among the divided. They persuaded him falsely that they were in agreement with the fathers of Nicaea. Convinced by them, the emperor was annoyed with Athanasios for not accepting back Arius and Euzoios who had been deposed by Alexander,‖[c] Euzoios being then a deacon. Eusebios and his supporters, having found a pretext, campaigned against Athanasios as a champion of the true faith.[3]

[a] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 531. 14–15; [Hypoth. Arian] 12a. [b] [Hypoth. Arian] 12a.
[c] Theod. Lect. 39 (19. 22–8); cf. Sokr. i. 25–7, Ps.-Pollux, 296. 13–20.

[1] For descriptions, Euseb. *VC* iv. 46–80; cf. iv. 7 and *Speech*.

[2] No comet is recorded elsewhere for 334, but this is the *hui* (broom star) recorded in the Chinese sources for 16 Feb. 336. See Ho Peng Yoke, *Vistas in Astronomy*, 5 (1962), 159.

[3] This is partly confused with the account of AM 5825.

AM 5827 [AD 334/5]

Year of the divine Incarnation 327
Constantine, emperor of the Romans (32 years), 31st year
Sabores, emperor of the Persians (70 years), 33rd year
Julius, bishop of Rome (15 years), 5th year
Alexander, bishop of Constantinople (23 years), 16th year
Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem (6 years), 1st year
Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria (46 years), 6th year
Eulalios, bishop of Antioch (3 years), 3rd year

‖In this year[1] the emperor's annoyance with Athanasios for not accepting back Arius and Euzoios after their feigned turnabout provided an opportunity for evil to the supporters of Eusebios of Nicomedia together with the Melitians,[2] and they began plotting against Athanasios. First, they found fault with his ordination, even though Apolinarios the Syrian gave strong evidence in favour of the said ordination of Athanasios. Second, there was the linen clothing which his enemies alleged that the holy man used to wear. Third, they alleged falsely that he had sent a great quantity of gold to Philoumenos to arrange a plot against the emperor.[3] The emperor, having summoned Athanasios and found that these were all lies, sent him back to Alexandria with [official] letters and much honour.‖[a4]

‖In the same year Ischyras concocted a plot against Athanasios in Mareotis. This man Ischyras, having disguised himself as a priest,[5] travelled about celebrating mass. When Athanasios learned of this,

he forbade this outrageous behaviour through the presbyter Makarios. Ischyras then fled to Eusebios of Nicomedia and accused Athanasios of having thrown the sacred vessels off the altar at the time of the divine service and of having burned the sacred books through the agency of Makarios. They also lied about the much-vaunted hand of Arsenios,[6] claiming that he had used it for magic, and so shamelessly slandered the holy man. When the emperor had heard of these accusations against Athanasios he first entrusted the inquiry to his nephew Dalmatius[7] who was in Antioch. He later transferred the trial to Caesarea, but since Athanasios put it off because of Eusebios Pamphilou,[8] he was tried at Tyre‖[b9] by those opponents of truth, particularly Eusebios of Nicomedia, who had tricked the emperor with his supposed longing [to see] the holy sites that had been built up and to be present at their consecration. The emperor sent Eusebios on his way with great honour,‖[c] ordering that the slanders against Athanasios be dismissed, and thereafter that he together with Athanasios should be present at the feast for the consecration.[10] And so when they had gathered in Tyre,[11] Maximus of Jerusalem[12] was also present unaware of the plot against Athanasios. Athanasios entered the assembly of these malignant men and scattered the calumnies of his accusers like cobwebs, so that they, having been seen to be lying in these matters, confused everything in their rage and began shouting 'Remove the man who has silenced everyone by magic!' The Caesar Dalmatius, the emperor's nephew,[13] and his band of soldiers were scarcely able to save Athanasios from impending death at their hands.‖[d] It was then that Arsenios arrived in Tyre by God's providence and, when the fiction about him had been exposed, the enemies had recourse to the calumny of Ischyras. Because of these unendurable plots against him Athanasios left Tyre. The Arian-thinkers, having initiated an action with only one party represented, now deposed Athanasios in his absence and, having taken communion with Arius and Euzoios, sent them to Alexandria. And so they went up to the consecration with their hands bloodied. The instigator of all these crimes was Eusebios of Nicomedia.‖[e] 31

‖There is a true story that the great Athanasios, after fleeing from Tyre, went up to Jerusalem and, having offered his prayers and anointed and sanctified the churches with holy oil before the arrival of those impious men, presented himself to the emperor and explained all the circumstances concerning himself.[14] The all-blessed Constantine, amazed at the evil of his adversaries, treated him with great honour and sent him with [official] letters to Alexandria.‖[f15] 32

||After their return from the consecration, that stranger to all piety, Eusebios of Nicomedia, and also Theognis, Ursacius, and Patrophilos, on reaching Byzantium, were silent about the initial slanders against Athanasios and produced four men with the rank of bishop as false witnesses. These men dared to affirm on oath that they had heard Athanasios threatening to prevent the corn supply from Egypt coming to Byzantium. As a result they moved the Christ-loving emperor to anger and drove him to banish the great Athanasios to Treviri in Gaul. With Athanasios banished, Arius once again began troubling Egypt. On being informed of this the emperor summoned him and asked whether he was in agreement with the teachings of Nicaea on the consubstantial. He swore on oath, though he was effecting a trick even then as he always did. For he had composed two sheets, one supporting the consubstantial, the other against it. The latter was written in his own hand, the first by someone else. Having, therefore, sworn that he held the faith, he persuaded the emperor to order that he be received into the catholic Church. When he heard of this, the divine Alexander lamented before God in the church called Eirene. But swifter than a word, divine justice overtook Arius, cutting him off from this life and the life to come in a place suited to the filth that flowed from his tongue,||[g] after he had gushed out his bowels in the latrines at the very hour when he was about to go up unworthily into the sacred precincts.

These events took place in the 31st year of Constantine the Great while the divine Alexander was bishop of Constantinople, and it was not, as Eusebios alone states, while Eusebios of Nicomedia was holding the throne of Constantinople that he plotted against Athanasios at the consecration. That this is false is shown from the total period of time, since Constantine ruled in all for 32 years. After his first decade, in his 13th year he arrived in Byzantium and found Alexander's predecessor Metrophanes was bishop, after whom Alexander was bishop for 23 years. The period from the beginning of
33 Constantine the Great's rule to the death of Alexander was consequently 37 years, which Constantine did not attain. Thus from the total period of time it can be shown that Eusebios did not rule the throne of Constantinople in Constantine's time.[16] This also follows from what has been said above about Arius and Athanasios. For Athanasios' banishment and Arius' death occurred after Constantine's 30th year and after the consecration at Jerusalem. The great Alexander was still alive at that time.

[a] Theod. Lect. 40–1 (19. 29–20. 17); cf. Sokr. i. 27, Soz. ii. 17. [b] Theod. Lect. 42–4 (20. 18–21. 34); cf. Soz. ii. 21, 23, Theod. *HE* i. 20, 28, Sokr. i. 27. [c] Cf.

Theod. Lect. 44 (21. 35–6), 46 (22. 29–31), and 47 (23. 25–7); cf. Sokr. i. 28, 33, Theod. *HE* i. 21, 28, Soz. ii. 26. [d] Alex. Mon. 4065B–C. [e] Theod. Lect. 45–6 (22. 19–31); cf. Sokr. i. 29–33, Soz. ii. 26–7. [f] Alex. Mon. 4065C–D. [g] Theod. Lect. 49–50 (24. 30–26. 28); cf. Sokr. i. 34–7, Theod. *HE* i. 31.

[1] For a clear account of the events related in this year, Barnes, *CE*, ch. 13; also id. *Athanasius*, ch. 3.

[2] The Arian–Melitian alliance was formed in 330 or early 331.

[3] For the charges, see Barnes, *CE* 232 and 386 n. 69 with the references. The 'wearing of linen' appears to be a substitution by Theod. Lect. for a 'tax on linen' (in Sokr.), though Theod. Lect.'s Greek is not absolutely clear.

[4] Athanasios was summoned to Nicomedia in 331 and reached Alexandria on his return in mid-Lent 332. In between this sentence and the next should be placed Arius' outburst over Constantine's failure to restore him and Constantine's retaliatory letter, describing Arians as Porphyrians and ordering the burning of Arius' works. Cf. AM 5816.

[5] Ischyras had been ordained by Colluthus, a schismatic priest whose ordinations had been declared invalid at the Synod of Alexandria, presided over by Ossios early in 325.

[6] Bishop of Hypsele in upper Egypt, a Melitian. Athanasios' opponents produced a hand as evidence of Athanasios' having murdered Arsenios, who had been secreted in a monastery in the Thebaid.

[7] Actually the father of this Dalmatius, i.e. Constantine's half-brother (Sokr. i. 27). Cf. AM 5825, n. 2.

[8] Theod. Lect. has 'Palestinian Eusebios', both versions being rather stronger than those of Sokr., Soz. or Theod.

[9] From 'a' to this point Theophanes is embroidering on the material in his sources.

[10] Constantine dissolved the synod and sent Athanasios a letter, accepting his innocence. This sentence should refer to Caesarea, not Tyre, a case of Theophanes' clumsy switch of sources. The matter, however, was dealt with by an exchange of letters. Neither Athanasios nor Constantine was at Caesarea, nor did Constantine attend the consecration of Jerusalem.

[11] Theophanes by inserting a section ('c') from Alex. Mon., confuses two synods at Tyre. Athanasios did not attend the first one, which was dissolved. The trial at Tyre was in response to further charges being laid by Athanasios' opponents. It was conducted by Flavius Dionysius, ex-governor of Syria, supported by a military detachment. It is unlikely that Athanasios' disapproval of Eusebios of Caesarea had anything to do with the location.

[12] Alex. Mon. does not miss a chance to refer to Jerusalem. That this is also retained by Theophanes may reflect a similar interest. Maximus became bishop in 333.

[13] Not Dalmatius but *comes* Flavius Dionysios, former governor of Syria.

[14] In fact Athanasios fled to Constantinople to seek an audience with the emperor. Alex. Mon.'s version attempts to make the consecration orthodox rather than Arian.

[15] In fact Constantine granted Athanasios an audience (6 Nov. 335) and

summoned the bishops from Tyre, a select few of whom happened to reach Constantinople a few hours later. See Barnes, *CE* 239–40.

[16] Theophanes' determination to demonstrate that the Arian Eusebios of Nicomedia could not have been bishop of Constantinople in Constantine's lifetime is presumably linked to iconodule arguments in Theophanes' lifetime for the orthodoxy of Constantine. Cf. AM 5814, n. 3, 5847, for other rare examples of Theophanes resorting to argument with a similar objective.

[AM 5828, AD 335/6]

Constantine, 32nd year
Sabores, 34th year
Julius, 6th year
Alexander, 17th year
Maximus, 2nd year
Athanasios, 7th year
Euphronios, 25th bishop of Antioch (8 years), 1st year

||In this year there flourished Eustathios, a presbyter in Constantinople, who had devoted himself to an apostolic life and had reached the summit of virtue; as also the builder Zenobios, who erected the Martyrium in Jerusalem at Constantine's instruction.||[a1]

||In the same year many of the Assyrians in Persia were being sold in Mesopotamia by the Saracens,||[b2] and the Persians declared war on the Romans. The pious Constantine went out to the city of Nicomedia on his way to fight the Persians, but became ill and died in peace.[3] Some Arians claim that he was then deemed worthy of holy baptism at the hands of Eusebios of Nicomedia, who had been transferred to Constantinople.||[c4] This is false, as has been pointed out; for he was baptized by Silvester in Rome, as we have already demonstrated. ||He lived in all 65 years and was emperor for 31 years and 10 months.[5] He wrote a will in which he left the Empire to his three sons, Constantine, Constans, and Constantius,||[d6] having carried out his office with piety and mercy. Becoming by God's providence the first emperor of the Christians, he gained power over many barbarians from Britain to Persia and over usurpers of his own race, destroying his enemies by the sign of the life-giving Cross. ||He entrusted his will to a certain Arian presbyter who had been introduced with evil intent by his sister Constantia, enjoining on him to hand it to none other than Constantius, the emperor of the East. He also ordered Athanasios to return from exile.||[e7]

||Constantius, after arriving from the East, buried his father in [the church of] the Apostles. The unholy Arian presbyter, after handing over the will to Constantius, enjoyed great influence in the palace 34

and even persuaded the empress herself to become an Arian. His accomplices in this were the chief eunuch Eusebios,||[f8] Eusebios of Nicomedia, and other Arians of their persuasion.

[a] Cf. Jerome, *Chron.* 233n (AD 336); [Hypoth. Arian] 13a. [b] Cf. *Chron.* 724, 101. 30–1 (p. 130); [Hypoth. Arian] 13a. [c] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 532. 7–13; Sokr. i. 39; [Hypoth. Arian] 13a. [d] Theod. Lect. 51 (26. 29–27. 16); cf. Sokr. i. 38–40, *Chron. Pasch.* 532. 13–19. [e] Theod. Lect. 51 (27. 17–20); cf. Sokr. i. 39, Theod. *HE* i. 32, Mich. Syr. i. 260. [f] Theod. Lect. 52 (27. 22–28. 21); cf. Sokr. i. 40, ii. 2, Soz. iii. 1, *Chron. Pasch.* 533. 5–17.

[1] Theophanes credits only Zenobios with the martyrium. Jerome credits only Eustathios and does not even mention Zenobios. On the church, cf. Mango, *Art*, 14.

[2] Apart from Theophanes, our sole source for this is the Syriac *Chr.* 724, which puts it early in Constantius' reign. For an analysis of Theophanes' use of Syriac and Greek material for the remainder of this and the following year, see Introduction: Sources, IV. 4.

[3] 22 May 337. That Constantine's death did occur when he was setting out to campaign against the Persians and that this campaign was in reaction to Persian provocation of some sort is implied by other 4th-cent. accounts. On the implications of this for 4th-cent. and later interpretations of Constantine, both pagan and Christian, and its links to the varied versions of Constantine's baptism, see G. Fowden, *JRS* 84 (1994), 146–70.

[4] Cf. AM 5814. Theophanes invents the false claim regarding Eusebios of Nicomedia's translation, which was two years later and had nothing to do with his actual baptism of Constantine in Nicomedia.

[5] In fact 30 years and 10 months.

[6] The promotion of Dalmatius to Caesar in late 335 argues against this. Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 532. 19–21.

[7] Cf. AM 5829b. Constantine's son Constantine (rather than Constantius), on his father's death, recalled all exiled bishops. In particular he sent Athanasios to Alexandria with a letter of commendation. Cf. Barnes, *CE* 263.

[8] This is Eusebios 11, *PLRE* i. 302–3.

AM 5829 [AD 336/7][1]

Year of the divine Incarnation 329
Constantius, emperor of the Romans (24 years), 1st year
Sabores, emperor of the Persians (70 years), 35th year
Julius, bishop of Rome (15 years), 7th year
Alexander, bishop of Constantinople (23 years), 18th year
Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem (6 years), 3rd year
Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria (46 years), 8th year
Euphronios, bishop of Antioch (8 years), 2nd year

||In this year, following the death of the great and holy Constantine, his three sons became rulers of the Romans: Constantius of the East, Constans of the Gauls, and Constantine of Italy.||[a2] Constantius recalled Athanasios from banishment and sent him to Alexandria with a letter of commendation. The Alexandrians received him with great joy, especially the clergy.||[b3]

||Eusebios Pamphilou[4] in his first book against Marcellus and also in his third, vehemently attacks those who dared call the son of God a creature. Sokrates defends Eusebios by citing quotations [from his work] in an attempt to show that he was not an Arian sympathizer. The truth shows him as being without a fixed view and varying his position according to different circumstances.||[c] Eusebios died soon after Constantine the Great,[5] leaving his pupil Akakios as successor to his throne at Caesarea. Akakios was a distinguished man, and the author of the Medley, but was closely associated with the Arians and clearly of one mind with his teacher.||[d6]

||In the same year, Sabores, the Persian emperor, invaded Mesopotamia, planning to destroy Nisibis, and besieged it for 63 days.[7] But lacking the strength to capture it, he then withdrew.||[e] Jacob, bishop of Nisibis, remaining true to the proper worship of God, by his prayers easily achieved his purpose. For when it seemed likely that the Persians would destroy Nisibis, it was he who cheated them of their expectation.||[f8] For they immediately retreated from the city pursued by the breath of his prayer, and arriving in their own country they suffered in turn from hunger and plague as the wages of the sin they had committed.||[g]

||The Caesar Dalmatius was killed by the troops immediately after the death of Constantine the Great. Constantius did not order his murder nor yet did he prevent it.||[h9]

[a] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 532. 13–18; [Hypoth. Arian] 13a. [b] Theod. Lect. 53 (28. 22–5); cf. Soz. iii. 2, Theod. *HE* ii. 2. [c] Cf. Sokr. ii. 21. [d] Theod. Lect. 55 (28. 30–2); cf. Soz. iii. 2. [e] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 533. 18–20; *Chron.* 724, 101. 32–3; [Hypoth. Arian] 13f. [f] *Chron.* 724, 101. 33–4; cf. Jerome, *Chron.* 234f [AD 338]; [Hypoth. Arian] 13f. [g] *Chron.* 724, 101. 34–6 (p. 130); cf. AM 5841, Mich. Syr. i. 266, [Hypoth. Arian] 13f. [h] Eutrop. *Brev.* x. 9. 1.

[1] For a discussion of Theophanes' apparent use of Syriac sources for this year, see Introduction: Sources, IV. 14.

[2] The three sons declared themselves Augusti on 9 Sept. 337 (*Cons. Const.* a.337, Euseb. *VC* iv. 6).

[3] Athanasios reached Alexandria on 23 Nov. 337, Barnes, *AJAH* 3 (1978), 65; id., *Athanasius*, 36 and 250 n. 12. Cf. AM 5828, n. 7.

[4] Theophanes transfers to AM 5830 an item (= Theod. Lect. 54) on the Arians persuading a stupid Constantius to eject the *homoousion* and banish Athanasios.

[5] Eusebios died on 30 May of either 338 or, more probably, 339.

[6] Akakios was bishop of Caesarea to 366, when he was succeeded by Euzoios. Akakios and Euzoios both tried to preserve Pamphilos' library and probably both revised some of Eusebios' works. Akakios was a bitter opponent of Cyril of Jerusalem, who, on Akakios' death, tried to establish his own nephew Gelasios at Caesarea, where he eventually replaced Euzoios.

[7] In 338. The invasion aimed at restoring Persian control of Armenia, now a Christian kingdom where Constantine had attempted to install his nephew Hannibalianus as king in the winter of 336/7. Nisibis was quickly relieved since Shapur was called away to defend his kingdom against an invasion of Chionites, on which cf. Christensen, *Iran*, 236.

[8] The story of Jacob at Nisibis is available briefly in Jerome and thence Gregory of Tours. The miraculous section first appears in Syriac in Saint Ephraem (but not in *Chr. Edess.* of *c.*540 though that gives a date of 337/8 or 340 for his death). The *Liber Chalipharum* (= Brooks, *Chr. 724*) has one sentence the same as Jerome, the second the same as Theophanes. Brooks has argued strongly that Theophanes on the one hand and Ps.-Dionysios of Tel-Mahrē and Michael the Syrian on the other, are derived from a common source, almost certainly a Melkite from Palestine who wrote in Greek. Theophanes, writing almost a century after *Chr. 724*, is very close to it but would not, according to Peeters, have used a Syriac source. Theophanes' 'final' story was not known to *Chron. Pasch.* but it is indeed possible that George Synkellos picked up the account in Jerusalem. There is no need to posit an unknown 'Greek' source, though [*Hypoth. Arian*] is certainly a possibility. (Theod. *HR* has a confused doublet.) Otherwise Jacob's effort was not known in Greek till Theophanes. For discussion see P. Peeters, *Bull. Acad. Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres*, 17 (1931), 10–47. Cf. N. Baynes, *EHR* 25 (1910), 625–43. Jacob probably died before the siege ended. For a discussion of the sources, P. Peeters, *AnBoll* 38 (1920), 285–373, esp. 285–9. Theophanes' source here may well go back to the Syriac text. See Introduction: Sources, IV. 14.

[9] Other relatives of Constantine eliminated at much the same time by the army included Dalmatius' father and Julius Constantius (Constantine's half-brother), Hannibalianus (the recent king of Armenia), as well as other dignitaries.

[AM 5830, AD 337/8]

Constantius, 2nd year
Sabores, 36th year
Julius, 8th year
Alexander, 19th year
Maximus, 4th year
Athanasios, 9th year
Euphronios, 3rd year

||In the same year when young Dalmatius had been murdered by the troops, the same fate was about to befall Gallus and Julian, the sons of Constantius, the brother of Constantine the Great. Ill-health saved Gallus, his infancy Julian, for he was 8 years old.||[a1]

||Constantius, who had at first accepted the consubstantial, later changed his view, being of frivolous mind and deceived by the Arian presbyter and by Eusebios, the chief of the eunuchs, and by Eusebios of Nicomedia and their followers.||[b2]

[a] Theod. Lect. 119 (56. 5–7); cf. Sokr. iii. 1. [b] Theod. Lect. 54 (28. 26–8); cf. 77 (38. 22–5), Theod. *HE* ii. 3, Soz. iii. 18.

[1] Julian was born in 331 (Bidez, Bowersock) or 332 (*PLRE* i. 477, Browning); see Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 22 n. 1.

[2] Theod. Lect.'s source, Theod., associates the change with Athanasios' expulsion. The presbyter was the conveyor of Constantine's will. Theoph. substitutes Eusebios the eunuch for various less known names in Theod. Lect. For Constantius' weakness of character and subjection to pressure, cf. Amm. Marc. xxi. 16. 16.

AM 5831 [AD 338/9]

Year of the divine Incarnation 331
Constantius, emperor of the Romans (24 years), 3rd year
Sabores, emperor of the Persians (70 years), 37th year
Julius, bishop of Rome (15 years), 9th year
Alexander, bishop of Constantinople (23 years), 20th year
Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem (6 years), 5th year
Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria (46 years), 10th year
Euphronios, bishop of Antioch (8 years), 4th year

||In this year Constantine, the son of Constantine the Great, after invading the territories of his brother Constans and meeting him in battle, was killed by the troops.||[a1] Constans was now sole ruler of the western lands.||[b] Constantius, ruler of the East, sent Gallus and
36 Julian[2] to be brought up at a place called Demakelle[3] near Caesarea in Cappadocia. The two brothers became lectors and were eager to build a church to the holy martyr Mamas. But the earth would not support the part which Julian happened to be building.||[c] So he cut off his hair and pretended [to undertake] monastic training.

||Constantius and Constans made a law that a Jew could not buy a slave, and that any such was to be confiscated by the public treasury. And if [a Jew] should dare to circumcise a slave, he was to be punished by the sword and have his property confiscated.||[d4]

[a] Cf. Theod. Lect. 56 (29. 19–20); cf. Soz. iii. 2, Eutrop. *Brev.* x. 9. 2, Jerome, *Chron.* 235a (AD 340), *Chron. Pasch.* 518. 2–3, [Hypoth. Arian] 14. [b] [Hypoth. Arian] 14. [c] Theod. Lect. 120 (56. 8–12); cf. Soz. v. 2. [d] Theod. Lect. 76 (38. 18–21); cf. Soz. iii. 17.

[1] At Aquileia in 340.

[2] In 342 (Baynes, *JRS* 45 (1925), followed by Bidez, Norman, Bowersock) as against 344 (Browning).

[3] Usually called Macellum.

[4] *CTh* xvi. 9. 2 (13 Aug. 339).

[AM 5832, AD 339/40]

Constantius, 4th year
Sabores, 38th year
Julius, 10th year
Alexander, 21st year
Maximus, 6th year
Athanasios, 11th year
Euphronios, 5th year

||In this year Constantius built Amida and fortified it strongly. He also founded Constantia, naming it after himself. It was previously known as Antonioupolis and is 700 stades south of Amida.||[a1]

[a] *Chr.* 724, 102. 17–20. Cf. *Chr. Edess.* years 660, 661, Jac. Edess. a.660, *Chr. Maron.* 53. 22, *Chr.* 846, 150, Mich. Syr. i. 267, [Hypoth. Arian] 15.

[1] The wealth of Syriac parallel passages here and the absence of Greek or Latin sources is remarkable. Amida is the modern Diyarbakır while Constantia–Tella–Antonioupolis–Antipolis is Viranşehir. According to Amm Marc. xviii. 9. 1, it was while Constantius was still a Caesar that he fortified Amida and built (*struxit*) Antonioupolis, wanting the latter to be named after him (its earlier name had perhaps been in honour of Caracalla). Theophanes appears to have confused the distance from Constantia to Amida with that on to Nisibis, giving 700 stades (131 km.) for the former and, at AM 5996, 56 stades for the total, which de Boor rightly emended to 506 stades (reading $\phi\zeta$ for $\nu\zeta$) or 94. 6 km. The actual distances are Viranşehir–Diyarbakır, 90 km. and Viranşehir–Nisibis, 133 km. See Dillemann, *Mésopotamie*, 172.

[AM 5833, AD 340/1]

Constantius, 5th year
Sabores, 39th year
Julius, 11th year

Alexander, 22nd year
Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (15 years), 1st year
Athanasios, 12th year
Euphronios, 6th year

||In this year at a synod held in Antioch,[1] [attended by] one hundred and ninety bishops under the presidency of Eusebios of Nicomedia, Eusebios of Emesa was elected bishop of Alexandria. When he was not accepted, although he was a Sabellian,||[a] they dispatched the Arian Gregory with a large force and a certain general Syrianos to expel Athanasios from the throne of Alexandria or to kill him.[2] Thereupon Athanasios, after wisely taking advice from God, went out of the church together with the choristers and escaped his threatened death.||[b] Since Eusebios was not accepted by the Alexandrians[3] they themselves altered the creed, openly accepting Arius, even after his death.[4] They published a second statement of faith but remained silent about the consubstantial.||[c] Then they held the consecration of the church of Antioch which Constantine the Great had built.||[d]

||In the same year Antioch was shaken by severe earthquakes for three days. The church that was consecrated was in the shape of a sphere and had taken six years to build. Constantine the Great had laid its foundations, while Constantius completed and consecrated it.||[e5]

[a] Theod. Lect. 58–9 (29. 28–30. 28); cf. Sokr. ii. 9. [b] Theod. Lect. 61 (31. 23–5); cf. Sokr. ii. 11. [c] Theod. Lect. 59 (30. 28–32), Sokr. ii. 10. [d] Theod. Lect. 58 (29. 27–8); cf. Soz. iii. 5; cf. *Chr.* 724, 101. 12. [e] Cf. *Chr.* 724, 102. 2–8; Mich. Syr. i. 270); Jerome, *Chron.* 234c, g (AD 341, 342); Soz. iii. 6; Sokr. ii. 10; [Hypoth. Arian] 16.

[1] Held in Jan. 341, attended by 90 bishops (97 in two MSS of Theod. Lect. based on Soz.) and also Constantius, it examined four creeds aimed at replacing the Nicene creed.

[2] Theoph. has confused the 341 synod with one of the winter of 337/8. Athanasios hid in Alexandria to avoid arrest on 17 Mar. 339. George arrived on 22 Mar. and Athanasios fled in Apr. 339. See Barnes *Athanasius*, 46 (cf. Barnes, *AJAH* 3 (1978), 65–6, with slightly different dates). The incident told here had nothing to do with Gregory. In fact Syrianos entered Alexandria on 6 Jan. 356 to drive out Athanasios. See *PLRE* i. 872.

[3] De Boor argues for a lacuna which he fills from Sokr. ii. 9 as 'those in Antioch sent him back to Emesa and'. This is unnecessary as Theoph. is following Theod. Lect., whose next clause is 'the Arians elected Gregory as bishop of Alexandria', information which Theophanes has already implied two sentences previously.

[4] Theophanes has substituted 'after his death' for Theod. Lect.'s extravagant and colourful 'casting a protective shield over his memory'.

[5] The source is not clear. The Syriac passages are much closer to Theoph. than the 'western' passages. But since Sokr. and Soz. mention both the earthquake and the consecration, it is likely that the source is Theod. Lect. If so, Theophanes' handling is unusually clumsy with a double reference to the consecration. It is at least possible that Theophanes' two references to the consecration are a result of changing from Theod. Lect. to a Syriac source. Theophanes' handling of this whole year is complex and involves rearrangement of material to suit his own purposes.

AM 5834 [AD 341/2]

37

Year of the divine Incarnation 334
Constantius, emperor of the Romans (24 years), 6th year
Sabores, emperor of the Persians (70 years), 40th year
Julius, bishop of Rome (15 years), 12th year
Alexander, bishop of Constantinople (23 years), 23rd year
Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (15 years), 2nd year
Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria (46 years), 13th year
Euphronios, bishop of Antioch (8 years), 7th year

||In this year Constantius celebrated a triumph for his victory over the Assyrians.||[a1] The Persian emperor Sabores persecuted the Christians subject to him in addition to his other crimes.||[b] Constans destroyed the Franks in the West.||[c2] During a severe earthquake in Cyprus, the greater part of the city of Salamis fell.||[d]

[a] Source unknown, but cf. n. 1. [b] Cf. Jerome, *Chron.* 236b (AD 344); *Chr.* 724, 102. 9; [Hypoth. Arian] 17. [c] Cf. Jerome, *Chron.* 235e (AD 342); [Hypoth. Arian] 17. [d] Source unknown but cf. AM 5833 or 5835 or perhaps a doublet for 5824. Cf. Mich. Syr. i. 271), citing John of Asia (i.e. of Ephesos), [Hypoth. Arian] 17.

[1] i.e. for victory over the Persians near Singara in mid-343. Cf. Festus, *Brev.* 2. McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 39, argues that the celebration was genuine and was held at Antioch.

[2] For Constans' victory, Sokr. ii. 13, Kedr. 522. 11, Lib. *Or.* 59. 131, *Cons. Const.* a.342.

[AM 5835, AD 342/3]

Constantius, 7th year
Sabores, 41st year
Julius, 13th year
Paul the Confessor, bishop of Constantinople (3 years), 1st year
Cyril, 3rd year

Athanasios, 14th year
Euphronios, 8th year

||In this year, during a severe earthquake, Neocaesarea in Pontos was destroyed except the church, the bishop's palace, and the pious men who were there.||[a] The Romans made war on the Persians and killed many of them.||[b1]

||In the same year Paul the Confessor was ordained bishop of Constantinople.||[c2]

[a] Cf. Jerome, *Chron.* 236c (AD 344); *Chr.* 724, 102. 10–11; John of Ephesos, cited by Mich. Syr. i. 271, [Hypoth. Arian] 18. [b] Cf Jerome, *Chron.* 236. l (AD 348) or h (AD 346); [Hypoth. Arian] 18. [c] Cf. Theod. Lect. 57 (29. 21–3), cf. Sokr. ii. 6.

1 It is not clear to what this refers. Cf. Eadie, *Festus*, 150 and sources cited in Helm's edition of Eusebios.

2 This should refer to Paul's first tenure of 337–9. His second term was from late 341 to early 342 (Grumel, 434–5), following Eusebios of Nicomedia's period in office. Cf. AM 5837.

[AM 5836, AD 343/4]

Constantius, 8th year
Sabores 42nd year
Julius, 14th year
Paul, 2nd year
Cyril, 4th year
Athanasios, 15th year
Phlakitos, 26th bishop of Antioch (12 years), 1st year

||In this year the island of Rhodes collapsed during a severe earthquake.||[a] The Alexandrians killed Gregory,[1] who had attacked Athanasios like a bandit and seized the throne of Alexandria for six years.||[b] The Arian George was ordained by the Arians, a Cappadocian monster.||[c]

[a] [Hypoth. Arian] 19. [b] Theod. Lect. 61 (31. 25–7); cf. Theod. *HE* ii. 4. [c] Theod. Lect. 63 (32. 26–7); cf. Sokr. ii. 14.

1 Gregory's death is dated variously to 344, 345, 348. Paul was unable to take control in Alexandria till much later, if at all. Grumel, 443, dates his tenure from 24 Feb. 357.

[AM 5837, AD 344/5]

Constantius, 9th year
Sabores, 43rd year
Julius, 15th year
Paul, 3rd year
Cyril, 5th year
Athanasios, 16th year
Phlakitos, 2nd year

||In this year Dyrrachium in Dalmatia was destroyed by an earthquake and Rome suffered tremors for three days. Twelve cities in Campania were destroyed.||[a1] Constantius, on reaching Byzantium[2] expelled Paul the bishop of Constantinople from his throne and installed in his place, illegally and like a robber, the most impious Eusebios of Nicomedia, the receptacle of iniquity.||[b3] 38

[a] Cf. Jerome, *Chron.* 236f (AD 346); Kedr. 522. 10; Mich. Syr. i. 271 citing John of Ephesos; [Hypoth. Arian] 20. [b] Theod. Lect. 57 (29. 24–6); cf. Sokr. ii. 6.

1 Mich. Syr. confirms the earthquake at Rome and Campania being in Constantine's ninth year, but omits Dyrrachion.

2 i.e. after conferring with his brothers in Pannonia in Sept. 337. This assumes Paul's tenure was at most a few months and not 3 years as given in various sources. Cf. Grumel, 434.

3 Theod. Lect. simply says 'installed Eusebios of Nicomedia'. The epithets are thus likely to be Theophanes' additions. Probably late in 339 (Grumel, 434).

[AM 5838, AD 345/6]

Constantius, 10th year
Sabores, 44th year
Liberius, bishop of Rome (6 years), 1st year[1]
Eusebios of Nicomedia, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 1st year
Cyril, 6th year
Athanasios, 17th year
Phlakitos, 3rd year

||In this year[2] Constantius built the harbour at Seleukeia in Syria by cutting deep into a mountain, and rebuilt the city.||[a] He also founded a city in Phoenicia, which he named Constantia. It had previously been known as Antarados.||[b] Sabores, the Persian emperor, invaded Mesopotamia and besieged Nisibis for 78 days, but once again retreated in shame.||[c3]

||In the same year, there occurred an eclipse of the sun on the 6th of the month Daisios so that the stars were visible in the sky at the third hour of the day.||[d4]

||Athanasios and Paul and all the others who had been expelled for the sake of their correct belief sought refuge with Julius in Rome, where each explained his personal circumstances to Julius. He restored each to his own church with letters [of appointment].||[e]

[a] Cf. *Chr.* 724, 102. 13–14, Jerome, *Chron.* 236g (AD 346); Kedr. 523. 13; Julian, *Or.* 1. 40d; [Hypoth. Arian] 21.
[b] Cf. *Chr.* 724, 102. 15–16; [Hypoth. Arian] 21. [c] Cf. *Chr.* 724, 103. 13–15; Jerome, *Chron.* 236h or l; [Hypoth. Arian] 21. [d] Cf. Jerome, *Chron.* 236k (AD 347); Kedr. 523. 16; [Hypoth. Arian] 21. [e] Theod. Lect. 63 (32. 27–33. 7); cf. Sokr. ii. 14–15.

[1] Liberius was pope from 17 May 352 to 24 Sept. 366.
[2] Theophanes appears to be relying on an eastern (Syriac) source for much of this year.
[3] Constantius was at Nisibis in May 345 (*CTh* 11. 7.5) but probably was not there when the siege was lifted (Barnes, *Phoenix* 30 (1976), 163). So Jerome's date should be kept.
[4] 6 June 346 (Boll, *RE* vi. 2362).

AM 5839 [AD 346/7]

Year of the divine Incarnation 339
Constantius, emperor of the Romans (24 years), 11th year
Sabores, emperor of the Persians (70 years), 45th year
Liberius, bishop of Rome (6 years), 2nd year
Eusebios, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 2nd year
Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (15 years), 7th year
Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria (46 years), 18th year
Phlakitos, 26th bishop of Antioch (12 years), 4th year

||In this year Athanasios and Paul and their companions, relying on the letters of Julius, the Pope at Rome, returned to their own sees.||[a] But when Constantius, who was residing in Antioch, learned that Julius had restored Paul and Athanasios to their thrones by means of his letters, he angrily ordered their expulsion from their thrones.||[b1]
39 ||In the same year the sun again became darker at the second hour on a Sunday.||[c2]

[a] Theod. Lect. 63 (33. 7–8); cf. Sokr. ii. 15. [b] Theod. Lect. 64 (33. 12–13); cf. Sokr. ii. 16. [c] [Hypoth. Arian] 22.

[1] Theophanes combines and confuses several events. Athanasios, Paul (of Constantinople), and others, who had been restored in 337 and subsequently

ejected, were in Rome in 339–40. They gained Julius' support following the Council of Rome in 340, but Athanasios' deposition was reconfirmed by the Synod of Antioch in 341 (see AM 5833): see Barnes, *Athanasius*, chs. 5–10. Constantius' anger at the restoration of Paul (Theophanes has added Athanasios who is not mentioned in Theod. Lect. or Sokr.) was probably in 344 (see *PLRE* i. 696, Philippus 7) and is related by Theophanes at AM 5849. Theophanes is right, perhaps by chance, to place Athanasios' return to Alexandria in 346 (in fact on 21 Oct.) while Constantius was in Antioch, but the return was made with Constantius' approval. This triumphant return is mentioned late in AM 5849.
[2] 9 Oct. 348 (Boll, *RE* vi. 2363).

[AM 5840, AD 347/8]

Constantius, 12th year
Sabores, 46th year
Liberius, 3rd year
Eusebios, 3rd year
Cyril, 8th year
Athanasios, 19th year
Phlakitos, 5th year

||In this year most of the city of Berytos in Phoenicia collapsed during a severe earthquake. As a result, many pagans entered the Church professing to be Christians just like us. Thereupon some of them introduced an innovation and went forth after robbing, as it were, the Church of her usages. They appointed a place of prayer and received the throng into it, imitating all the customs of the Church and becoming very close to us (just as the heresy of the Samaritans [is close] to the Jews), while still living in the pagan fashion.||[a]

[a] [Hypoth. Arian] 23.

[AM 5841, AD 348/9]

Constantius, 13th year
Sabores, 47th year
Liberius, 4th year
Eusebios, 4th year
Cyril, 9th year
Athanasios, 20th year
Phlakitos, 6th year

||In this year Sabores, the emperor of Persia, once again besieged Nisibis[1] and troubled it considerably, since he had brought a

number of elephants capable of fighting on his side and mercenary princes and all kinds of war engines by which he threatened to destroy the city to its foundations unless they agreed to depart. When the people of Nisibis refused to surrender, he determined that he would next flood the city by [redirecting] the river that is next to it. But the men overcame the enemy by their prayers having God's goodwill on their side. For as the waters were about to bring down the walls and flatten them to the ground, one part of the wall gave way, indeed by God's dispensation, as will be made clear in what follows. For it came about straight away that the city was saved and the enemy were swimming in the waters and many [of them] were destroyed by the water. Even after this set-back, the enemy threatened to come in through the collapsed section of the wall, having brought up armed elephants and having made their troops ready to pursue the war more vehemently with all kinds of engines. But the soldiers guarding the city then gained the victory through divine providence by filling the place with all manner of weapons and by using catapults to kill most of the elephants. Some fell in the mud of the ditches. Others, after being struck, were forced back and over
40 ten thousand of their troops died. A thunderbolt from heaven struck the rest and the din of thunder, of gloomy clouds, and violent rain brought panic to all so that the majority died of fright. Assailed on all sides, the new Pharaoh, Sabores, was overcome by the waves of fear. Directing his gaze at the collapsed section of wall, he saw an angel in brilliant apparel standing on the top, holding the emperor Constantius by the hand.[2] Terrified by this, he threatened the magi with instant death. When they had learned the reason, they admitted in their interpretation to the emperor that the vision had greater power than they had. Having, therefore, recognized the cause of the danger and being filled with fear, he ordered that the war engines be burned and that the remaining equipment which had been prepared for the war be destroyed. He himself with his entourage made for his country in flight, but they perished first from a pestilential disease.||[a]

[a] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 536. 18–539. 3, citing a letter by bishop Valageses of Nisibis as the source, i.e. Vologeses, third bishop of Nisibis, *c.*350–361/2, [Hypoth. Arian] 24d.

[1] Cf. the invasion accounts of AM 5829 (336/7), 5838 (345/6). See J.-M. Fiey, *Nisibe, métropole syrienne orientale* (*CSCO* 388, sub. 54, Louvain, 1977).

[2] *Chron. Pasch.*'s version is more detailed than Theophanes here in a way that suggests more clearly divine support for the (Arian) Constantius. Theophanes appears to have minimized deliberately these details which

were presumably in his source since much of the rest of the narrative is word for word identical with *Chron. Pasch.*, though overall Theophanes' narrative is clearer than that of *Chron. Pasch.* Cf. AM 5849, n. 21. See now Whitby and Whitby, *Chron. Pasch.* 28–9 n. 89.

[AM 5842, AD 349/50]

Constantius, 14th year
Sabores, 48th year
Liberius, 5th year
Eusebios, 5th year
Cyril, 10th year
Athanasios, 21st year
Phlakitos, 7th year

||In this year Constantius, ruling as sole Augustus, proclaimed that his own cousin Gallus was to have a share in his empire as Caesar.[1] After bestowing on him the surname Constantius, he dispatched him to Antioch in the East while the Persians were still attacking.||[a]

[a] Cf. Sokr. ii. 28 (very close to Theoph.), [Hypoth. Arian] 25a.

[1] Gallus was proclaimed Caesar on 15 Mar. 351, see *PLRE* i. 224–5.

[AM 5843, AD 350/1]

Constantius, 15th year
Sabores, 49th year
Liberius, 6th year
Eusebios, 6th year
Cyril, 11th year
Athanasios, 22nd year
Phlakitos, 8th year

||In this year there was an uprising of the Jews in Palestine. They killed a great many aliens, both pagans and Samaritans. Then their whole race was destroyed by the Roman army, and their city, Diocaesarea, was wiped out.||[a]

||In the same year Constantius, becoming angry with Liberius, who had written to him in defence of the consubstantial and about the holy Athanasios, sent orders that he be banished to Beroia in Thrace,[1] at the instigation of the chief eunuch Eusebios, an Arian supporter. They ordained in his place Felix, a deacon of the same church, who had accepted the Synod of Nicaea, but foolishly was in

communion with the Arians. The people of Rome would not suffer to be in communion with him, so they established a separate con-
41 gregation of their own. At Constantius' command a synod was held in Milan,[2] attended by 300 western bishops but very few eastern ones. It disbanded with nothing accomplished as the westerners again would not accept the charges against the holy Athanasios. At the request of the Romans the emperor was forced to recall Liberius and to restore him to his throne. Felix departed from Rome, never to return.||[b3]

[a] Theod. Lect. 90 (43. 15–17); cf. Soz. iv. 7, Sokr. ii. 33, Jerome, *Chron.* 238f (AD 352), [Hypoth. Arian] 26a. [b] Theod. Lect. 94 (44. 32–45. 23); cf. Theod. *HE* ii. 16–17.

[1] Liberius was deposed in 355, and recalled on 2 Aug. 358 by Constantius on condition that he ruled jointly with Felix.

[2] In 355.

[3] Theophanes quotes exactly from Theod. Lect., whereas the source (Theod.) accurately has 'retired to another city'. On Felix's future and his fame in the medieval tradition, see Duchesne, ii. 360–1.

[AM 5844, AD 351/2]

Constantius, 16th year
Sabores, 50th year
Felix, 35th bishop of Rome (1 year), 1st year[1]
Eusebios, 7th year
Cyril, 12th year
Athanasios, 23rd year
Phlakitos, 9th year

[1] Felix was a Roman martyr, not a pope, but appears in lists as pope from 355 to 22 Nov. 365.

[AM 5845, AD 352/3]

Constantius, 17th year
Sabores, 51st year
Damasus, 36th bishop of Rome (28 years), 1st year[1]
Eusebios, 8th year
Cyril, 13th year
Athanasios, 24th year
Phlakitos, 10th year

[1] Damasus was pope from 1 Oct. 366 to 11 Dec. 384.

[AM 5846, AD 353/4]

Constantius, 18th year
Sabores, 52nd year
Damasus, 2nd year
Eusebios, 9th year
Cyril, 14th year
Athanasios, 25th year
Phlakitos, 11th year

||In this year Gallus, also known as Constantius, who as Caesar had met with success at war, was not content with his good fortune and plotted a usurpation. He killed Domitian, the prefect of the East, and the quaestor Magnus, both of whom had revealed his plot to Constantius. Constantius recalled Gallus and ordered his execution on the island of Thalmon and also had his brother Julian put under arrest.||[a] But Eusebia, the wife of Constantius, made a plea on his behalf and sent him to Athens.||[b1]

[a] Theod. Lect. 90 (43. 17–23); cf. Sokr. ii. 32–4, Theod. Lect. 121 (56. 13–15), Soz. v. 2. [b] Theod. Lect. 121 (56. 15–16); cf. Soz. v. 2.

[1] Amm. Marc. xiv. 11–xv. 2 offers a more detailed account of these events.

AM 5847 [AD 354/5]

Constantius, emperor of the Romans (24 years), 19th year
Sabores, emperor of the Persians (70 years), 53rd year
Damasus, bishop of Rome (28 years), 3rd year
Eusebios, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 10th year
Hilarius, bishop of Jerusalem (12 years), 1st year
Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria (46 years), 26th year
Phlakitos, bishop of Antioch (12 years), 12th year

||In this year Akakios of Caesarea and Patrophilos of Skythopolis, being Arians, deposed Maximus of Jerusalem and replaced him with Cyril||[a] whom they believed to be of their persuasion.[1]

||At this time, while Cyril was bishop of Jerusalem, the sign of the life-giving Cross appeared in the sky on the day of Pentecost. It was luminous and stretched from Golgotha, where Christ was crucified, to the Mount of Olives, where He was taken up. All round the sign that appeared was a crown like the rainbow.[2] And on the same day it was seen by Constantius. Concerning this [event] there exists a 42
letter from Cyril to Constantius||[b] in which he refers to the emperor

as most pious.[3] For this reason some people accuse Cyril of Arianism, alleging also that he had omitted the term 'consubstantial' in his catechisms which he gave for the benefit of the uninitiated masses who had come forward to receive holy baptism because of the miracle of the life-giving Cross. They are, however, deceived and in error.||[c] For it was essential to refer to the emperor in a spirit of compromise as 'most pious' inasmuch as he had been beguiled into heresy by the evil work of the Arians, through his own simplicity and not by his intent, and considering also that paganism had not yet been finally overthrown. [It was also essential] not to utter the term 'consubstantial' which was as yet confusing many persons and, because of the opposition of its enemies, discouraging those who sought baptism, but instead to make clear the meaning of the consubstantial through equivalent words. This is what the blessed Cyril had done by unfolding the Nicene creed word for word and preaching that the Son was truly God from a truly divine Father.

[a] Theod. Lect. 100 (47. 27–8); cf. Sokr. ii. 38, [Hypoth. Arian] 25a. [b] Theod. Lect. 87 (42. 28–31) (Theophanes' account is more detailed); cf. Soz. iv. 5, *Chron. Pasch.* 540. 13–19, Jacob of Edessa in Elias of Nisibis, 256, Mich. Syr. i. 267, [Hypoth. Arian] 25a. [c] [Hypoth. Arian] 25a.

[1] Theophanes adds 'whom they believed to be of their persuasion' (not in Theod. Lect. or Sokr.). Cyril replaced Maximus in 350 or 351 (Grumel, 451). Note the discrepancy with the chronological list which makes AM 5846 Cyril's last year.

[2] 'In the year 663 (= AD 352), a cross appeared in the sky in the East on the fifth of the month iyar (= May)', Jacob of Edessa in Elias Nis. 256.

[3] Soz. does not refer to the emperor's piety, which appears to be Theophanes' addition, although Cyril's letter is extant (*PG* 33: 1165–76). It appears to be important for Theophanes that Cyril of Jerusalem be shown to be orthodox. This is perhaps evidence of a Jerusalem influence.

[AM 5848, AD 355/6]

Constantius, 20th year
Sabores, 54th year
Damasus, 4th year
Eusebios, 11th year
Hilarius, 2nd year
Athanasios, 30th year
Stephen 1st Arian and 27th bishop of Antioch (3 years), 1st year

[AM 5849, AD 356/7][1]

Constantius, 21st year
Sabores, 55th year
Damasus, 5th year
Eusebios, 12th year
Hilarius, 3rd year
Athanasios, 31st year
Stephen, 2nd year

||In this year, after the death of the impious Eusebios who had ruled the throne of Constantinople, Athanasios and Paul went back again to Rome[2] to Pope Julius and the emperor Constans, the brother of Constantius.||[a] For on Eusebios' death the people had restored Paul to the throne at Constantinople, whereas the Arians ordained Makedonios instead, so that a civil war broke out. When Constantius, who was residing in Antioch, heard of this, he commanded Hermogenes, who had been sent as *magister militum* to Thrace, to expel Paul from the Church as an incidental job along the way.[3] When Hermogenes attempted to carry out the task, the people burned down his house, killed him, and threw his body into the sea.[4] And so when news of this reached the emperor at Antioch, he proceeded to the capital, and, after expelling Paul from the throne, delayed for a while the enthronement of Makedonios. And because of his anger over the murder of Hermogenes, he fined the city 40,000 daily loaves of bread out of the 80,000 that it had been given by his father.||[b] It was then that Paul, as has been said, went to Julius of Rome and returned to Constantinople with a letter from him.||[c] Constantius was again in Antioch, but at the news that Julius had restored Paul to his throne, he angrily ordered the prefect Philip to drive Paul out[5] and in his place establish Makedonios on the throne. The prefect, in fear over what had happened to Hermogenes because of Paul, summoned Paul to the baths of Zeuxippos, let him out through a window and exiled him to Thessalonica, of which he was a native. Then, taking Makedonios up in his own carriage and acting like a brigand, he established him as a tyrant over the Church, while the orthodox put up so much opposition that 3,150 men were killed. It was in this manner that the Arians gained control of the Church.||[d] Then Constantius threatened Athanasios with death and he, in fear, fled to Rome once more, as did also Paul from Thessalonica.[6] They both approached Constans and gave an account of their situation. Constans, grieving over these holy men, wrote[7] in sorrow to his brother Constantius that he should give Paul and Athanasios back their thrones;||[e] otherwise he threatened to declare

war on him.||[f] He also urged him to hold a synod at Serdica, which was attended by 300 western bishops and 36 eastern ones.[8] The latter opposed the westerners by requesting that Athanasios and Paul be expelled first. But Hosios, bishop of Cordova, and Protogenes of Serdica would not accept that the holy men Athanasios and Paul should not be present. Thereupon the easterners gathered at Philippoupolis and shamelessly anathematized the consubstantial.[9] The orthodox at Serdica ratified the correct definition of the Nicene creed and anathematized the 'unlikeness'. They restored Athanasios and Paul to their thrones and also Marcellus of Ancyra, who confessed the consubstantial and defended his position by saying that his accusers had misinterpreted his writings.||[g] After the synod of Serdica had taken such measures against the dissident easterners and had ratified the consubstantial, Constantius pretended to receive Athanasios and Paul with honour and gave them back their thrones.||[h] So Athanasios came to Alexandria[10] and, after driving out the Arian George, was received with great rejoicing.||[i] When the Augustus Constantius, who was residing at Antioch, heard that
44 Magnentius had usurped power in Gaul[11] and murdered the pious Constans he immediately sent instructions that Paul be exiled from the city to Koukousos, where he was killed by Arians.[12] Thereupon Makedonios took over the throne.||[j]

||Constantius set out for Italy against Magnentius.||[k13] The Roman Senate invested Nepotianus with authority and sent him against Magnentius, with whom he clashed in Rome, but was killed by him after three months[14] as emperor.||[l] Before the emperor reached Rome, Constantia, also known as Helena (Constantius' sister),[15] proclaimed Bretanion[16] as emperor, a man of high rank, and sent him to do battle with Magnentius. When Constantius reached Rome he received Bretanion with great honour||[m] and they both fought Magnentius near Mursa.[17] Magnentius was defeated and fled to Italy.||[n] After many encounters with Constantius' generals, Magnentius clashed with them on Mount Seleukos, was defeated and fled to Lugdunum. After first killing his brother and his mother, he later committed suicide.[18] His brother, the Caesar Dicentius, hanged himself.[19] Next Silvanus, who had usurped power in Gaul,[20] was killed by Constantius' generals.||[o]

||After reaching Rome, Constantius made his entry with much pomp and ostentation and was given titles exceeding those of the emperors before him.[21] He was accompanied by his wife Eusebia and he stayed in Rome for fourteen days.||[p] During his stay in Rome he went to the Campus Tribunalis and, standing on a height in the presence of the army and of Bretanion, he addressed the host, arguing

that a [necessary] consequence of imperial government was that authority should remain in the hands of the one who had inherited it from his imperial ancestors, and that it was of benefit to the commonwealth that public affairs be managed by a single authority, and so forth. He then stripped Bretanion (who had ruled for 10 months) of his power but at the same time shared his table with him at a ban- 45
quet, and then sent him to Prousa in Bithynia bestowing on him full honours, a bodyguard, and many favours. Being a Christian, Bretanion frequented the church and gave many alms to the poor. He also honoured the priests until his last day.||[q]

||Constantius returned to Byzantium||[r] and, at the request of his wife Eusebia, released Gallus' brother Julian from prison,||[s] promoted him to Caesar[22] and, after uniting him in marriage to his own sister Helena (also known as Constantia), sent him to Gaul.||[t23]

||In the same year Julius the pope died in Rome and Liberius was elected in his place.||[u24] He was an admirable man in every respect, and orthodox. ||The Arians so moved the emperor against Athanasios that he was condemned on a capital charge. But the holy man fled once again and gained safety.||[v25]

[a] Theod. Lect. 63 (32. 26–9); cf. Sokr. ii. 14–15 with a considerably different arrangement from that of Theophanes. [b] Theod. Lect. 62 (31. 28–32. 25); cf. Sokr. ii. 12. [c] Cf. 'a' plus Theod. Lect. 63 (32. 26–33. 7); cf. Sokr. ii. 14–15. [d] Theod. Lect. 64 (33. 12–19); cf. Sokr. ii. 16. [e] Theod. Lect. 66 (34. 11–17); cf. Theod. *HE* ii. 4. [f] Theod. Lect. 71 (36. 30–1); cf. Sokr. ii. 22. [g] Theod. Lect. 69 (35. 19–31); cf. Sokr. ii. 20. [h] Theod. Lect. 71 (36. 28–9, 31–2); 80 (39. 22–5); cf. Sokr. ii. 22, 23. [i] Theod. Lect. 81 (39. 30–1); cf. Sokr. ii. 24, [Hypoth. Arian] 24a. [j] Theod. Lect. 84 (41. 20–4); cf. Sokr. ii. 26. [k] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 536. 15–17, [Hypoth. Arian] 24a. [l] Cf. Theod. Lect. 83 (40. 32–5); cf. Sokr. ii. 25. [m] *Chron. Pasch.* 539. 5–10. [n] *Chron. Pasch.* 540. 21–3, [Hypoth. Arian] 25b. [o] Theod. Lect. 89 (43. 10–14); cf. Sokr. ii. 32, *Chron. Pasch.* 541. 10–13, [Hypoth. Arian] 27a, 29a. [p] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 542. 19–543. 2, [Hypoth. Arian] 29a. [q] *Chron. Pasch.* 539. 10–16, 539. 19–540. 6. Cf. Theod. Lect. 86 (42. 23–5), (but it is not close), Sokr. ii. 28. [r] Cf. Jerome, *Chron.* 240a (AD 355), and many parallel accounts, [Hypoth. Arian] 28a. [s] Theod. Lect. 121 (56. 14–16); cf. Soz. v. 2, [Hypoth. Arian] 28a. [t] *Chron. Pasch.* 541. 19–542. 3, [Hypoth. Arian] 28a. [u] Theod. Lect. 91 (43. 24–5); cf. Sokr. ii. 34. [v] Theod. Lect. 84 (41. 25–7); cf. Sokr. ii. 26.

[1] The errors and confusions in Theophanes' account of this year are too numerous to receive more than a superficial listing.

[2] Athanasios did flee from Alexandria in 356 but not to Rome (he hid in the desert 356–62): see Barnes, *Athanasius*, 121 f. That was after Syrianos was sent to eject him following the Council of Serdica, but Theophanes has already described this incident at AM 5833.

[3] The remaining incidents in the paragraph all belong to about 342–50 and not to 355/6.

[4] In 342.
[5] *C.*344 (see *PLRE* i. 696).
[6] Cf. the doublet of this at AM 5839.
[7] *C.*344 (Sokr. ii. 22).
[8] Constans' letter followed rather than preceded the Synod at Serdica in 343.
[9] Also in 343.
[10] In 346 (see Barnes, *Athanasius*, 90–2).
[11] 18 Jan. 350 (see *PLRE* i. 532). Constans was murdered in the same year.
[12] In 350 by Philippos. For Koukousos see AM 5969, n. 4.
[13] Late in 351.
[14] In fact 28 days (3–30 June 350). Nepotianus was a nephew of Constantine.
[15] Not in fact Constantia-Helena but Constantina, also a sister of Constantius. She was married to Hannibalianus 337 to 339 and to Gallus 351 to 354, cf. *PLRE* i. 222.
[16] Bretanion is Vetranio (*PLRE* i. 954) in Sokr. and Soz. The proclamation was at Sirmium in 350.
[17] Osijek, about 110 km. north-west of Belgrade, on 28 Sept. 351.
[18] 10 Aug. 353.
[19] 18 Aug. 353.
[20] Augustus in 355. A detailed account of the revolt is given by Amm. Marc. xv. 5, with brief accounts in many other sources, including Sokr. ii. 32, Soz. iv. 7, Theod. *HE* ii. 16.
[21] The common source of Theophanes and *Chron. Pasch.* appears to have been pro-Arian, emphasizing God's suport for Constantius and his care for the churches. Theophanes has omitted this (unlike *Chron. Pasch.*) and apparently substituted the claim that Constantius received more titles than his predecessors which is not in *Chron. Pasch.* Cf. AM 5841.
[22] 6 Nov. 355.
[23] 366.
[24] Contrast both the chronological tables (Julius died at AM 5837, Liberius at AM 5843) and Theophanes' narrative. Liberius has already appeared as pope at AM 5838 in the chronological tables and AM 5843 in the narrative, and is restored by Jovian at AM 5858. Julius has received Athanasius and Paul in AM 5838 and again earlier in this year.
[25] Cf. 'a' and 'e' above.

AM 5850 [AD 357/8]

Year of the divine Incarnation 350
Constantius, emperor of the Romans (24 years), 22nd year
Sabores, emperor of the Persians (70 years), 56th year
Damasus, bishop of Rome (28 years), 6th year
Makedonios, bishop of Constantinople (1 year), 1st year
Hilarius, bishop of Jerusalem (12 years), 4th year

Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria (46 years), 32nd year
Stephen, bishop of Antioch (3 years), 3rd year

||In this year the city of Nicomedia was thrown down by a severe earthquake at about the third hour at night, and a great many people lost their lives. Among those who perished was the city's bishop Kekropios.||[a]

[a] *Chron. Pasch.* 543. 5–8. Cf. Jerome, *Chron.* 241a (AD 358); *Chr. Edess.* a.670 (= AD 359), and many parallels cited by Helm at Jerome, loc. cit.

[AM 5851, AD 358/9]

Constantius, 23rd year
Sabores, 57th year
Damasus, 7th year
Makedonios, 2nd year
Hilarius, 5th year
Athanasios, 33rd year
Leontios, bishop of Antioch (8 years), 1st year

[AM 5852, AD 359/60]

Constantius, 24th year
Sabores, 58th year
Damasus, 8th year
Eudoxios, bishop of Constantinople after Makedonios' expulsion, 1st year
Hilarius, 6th year
Athanasios, 34th year
Leontios, 2nd year

||Still holding the throne of Constantinople like a usurper, Makedonios transferred the body of Constantine the Great to St Akakios from the Holy Apostles, pleading the [imminent] collapse of that church. But when the people opposed him, there was considerable loss of life, with the result that the well and courtyard of the martyrium and the adjacent streets were filled with blood. When Constantius learned of this he became annoyed with Makedonios,||[a] ordered his deposition, and installed Eudoxios in his place, exchanging a great evil for a greater one.||[b1] 46

||In this year the Persians captured the fort named Bedzabde.[2] On hearing that Julian, who had won success in his campaigns in Gaul,

had been proclaimed emperor by the army, Constantius, who was residing in Antioch because of the Persian War, marched out against the usurper Julian.||[c] When he had reached Mampsoukrenai,[3] the first stopping point after Tarsos in Cilicia, he died on the 3rd of the month of Dios,||[d][4] having repented greatly of his folly. ||He had been baptized at that time in Antioch by the Arian Euzoios||[e] in the 5,852nd universal year of the world, at the end of the 11th period of 532 years and the beginning of the 12th.||[f][5] Then indeed Julian, as sole emperor, showed his paganism shamelessly, washing away his holy baptism with the blood of sacrifice and doing everything by which demons are served.||[g]

[a] Theod. Lect. 101 (47. 29–35); cf. Sokr. ii. 38. [b] Theod. Lect. 107 (51. 38–52. 23); cf. Sokr. ii. 43. [c] [Hypoth. Arian] 32a. [d] *Chron. Pasch.* 545. 7–12; [Hypoth. Arian] 32a. [e] Theod. Lect. 117 (55. 22–3); cf. Soz. v. 1, Sokr. ii. 47. [f] Cf. *Excerpta Latina Barbari* (ed. A. Schoene, *Eusebii Chronica*, I (1875), app. 6, p. 236). [g] Theod. Lect. 122 (56. 17–19); cf. Soz. v. 2.

[1] 27 Jan. 360.

[2] Bedzabde is usually identified as Cizre on the Tigris about 100 km. below the junction of the east and west branches. C. S. Lightfoot in S. Mitchell, ed., *Armies and Frontiers in Byzantine Anatolia*, (BAR 156; 1983), 189–204, suggests an unnamed hill a little further south.

[3] About 20 km. north of Tarsos.

[4] Dios is Nov. In fact he died in 361 but Theophanes has got the day and month right.

[5] The cycle of 532 years (the lunar cycle of 19 years multiplied by the solar cycle of 28 years) was used in determining the date of Easter. See Grumel, 129 ff. Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 534 (a.344) with the lucid notes by Whitby and Whitby, ad loc.

AM 5853 [AD 360/1]

Year of the divine Incarnation 353
Julian, emperor of the Romans (3 years), 1st year
Sabores, emperor of the Persians (70 years), 59th year
Damasus, bishop of Rome (28 years), 9th year
Eudoxios, bishop of Constantinople (10 years), 2nd year
Hilarius, bishop of Jerusalem (14 years), 7th year
Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria (46 years), 35th year
Leontios, bishop of Antioch (8 years), 3rd year

In this year Julian the transgressor became emperor and sole ruler because of the mass of our sins. ||For, puffed up by his victory over the barbarians, after taking power for himself and donning the dia-

dem before Constantius' death, he turned shamelessly to paganism.||[a] That was why Constantius, extremely penitent at the news of the murder of his kinsmen, the new departure from the faith, and the proclamation of the apostate, gave up his soul. ||So when Julian the Apostate had gained sole power by divine judgement, manifold visitations of divine wrath invaded the Roman world.||[b] Wishing to show that Constantius had been unjust and inhumane, this lawless man, feigning righteousness, recalled the exiled bishops[1] and executed Eusebios, chief of the palace eunuchs, for supposed injustice. He also drove the other eunuchs from the palace since he had dissolved the marriage by which Constantius had linked him to his sister. Similarly he expelled the cooks, because of his frugal ways, and the barbers, since one was sufficient for many, as he used to say. From the public post he removed the camels and asses, the oxen and mules, and only allowed horses to serve,||[c][2] because of the great avarice to which he was a slave, even to the point of idolatry. ||It was then that the pagans in the East, being straight away puffed up, killed the bishop George of Alexandria by dragging him and insulted his corpse in a godless way by placing it on a camel and parading it through the city and, after mixing his remains with the bones of dead animals, burned and scattered them.||[d] Then Athanasios, who had been hiding for a long time with a certain virgin, came out and convened a synod in Alexandria; he ratified the doctrines of Nicaea and received back the churches. The Arians, for their part, elected Lucius for themselves to replace George and would assemble in an ordinary house.||[e] The pagans crucified and murdered many other Christians.||[f] Having dug up the relics of St Patrophilos, bishop of Skythopolis, they insolently hung up his skull and mocked it and scattered the rest of them. In Gaza and Askalon they killed the presbyters and ever-virgins, cut open their innards, filled them with barley-corn and tossed them to the pigs. In Phoenicia the Helioupolitans killed the deacon Cyril and ate a piece of his liver, because he had overturned their idols in the times of the blessed Constantine. The man who had cut up the deacon and tasted his liver suffered as follows. After his tongue had rotted he vomited it up and lost his teeth and his sight failed and, tortured like this, he died.||[g] To the Christians of Caesarea in Cappadocia Julian did much harm, even depriving the city of its status and of its name of Caesarea, ordering that it be called Mazaka as it had been in earlier times, because the Christians there in the time of Constantius had done much harm to the pagans and pulled down the temple of Tyche.||[h] In Arethousa he did terrible things to the Christians, in particular to the most holy monk Mark,||[i] who had saved Julian by hiding him when the army

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was killing the kinsmen of Constantius' family. His innards* while he was still alive.||[j] In Emesa, he set up a statue of Dionysos in the cathedral church and pulled down the old church.||[k] Maris of Chalcedon hurled much abuse at Julian to his face while he was about to sacrifice at the temple of Tyche, but being a philosopher (as he pretended) he put up with the insults.||[l]

[a] Cf. Theod. Lect. 117 (55. 20–1) rewritten by Theophanes, Soz. v. 1, Sokr. ii. 47. [b] Theod. Lect. 149 (61. 19–20); cf. Soz. vi. 2. [c] Theod. Lect. 123–4 (57. 1–9); cf. Sokr. iii. 1. [d] *Chron. Pasch.* 546. 4–11; cf. Theod. Lect. 125 (57. 10–15), Sokr. iii. 2, [Hypoth. Arian] 33a. [e] Theod. Lect. 130 (58. 8–12); cf. Soz. v. 6–7, 12, Sokr. iii. 4, 6, 7. [f] Cf. Theod. Lect. 125 (57. 11–12); cf. Sokr. iii. 2. [g] *Chron. Pasch.* 546. 14–547. 5; cf. *Chr. 846*, p.153, 19–26, [Hypoth. Arian] 33e. [h] Theod. Lect. 126 (57. 17–22); cf. Sokr. v. 4. [i] Theod. Lect. 128 (58. 4–6) restored from Ps.-Pollux, 372. 16–20; cf. Theod. *HE* iii. 7, Greg. Naz. *Or.* 4. 86, [Hypoth. Arian] 33g. [j] [Hypoth. Arian] 33g. [k] *Chron. Pasch.* 547. 6–7; [Hypoth. Arian] 33g. [l] Theod. Lect. 127 (58. 1–3); cf. Soz. v. 4.

[1] 9 Feb. 362. cf. Amm. Marc. xxii. 5. 3, Ruf. *HE* i. 27.

[2] Cf. *CTh* viii. 5. 12 (22 Feb. 362) restricting use of the public post.

[AM 5854, AD 361/2]

Julian, 2nd year
Sabores, 60th year
Damasus, 10th year
Eudoxios, 3rd year
Hilarius, 8th year
Athanasios, 36th year
Leontios, 4th year

||In this year the impious Julian introduced a law that Christians could not take part in pagan education.[1] Apolinarios, using material from the Holy Scriptures, imitated the idioms of the ancients and composed a work against Julian which he entitled 'For Truth', which greatly benefited the Church. Julian ordered the expulsion of the great Athanasios from Alexandria being strongly urged against him by the pagans.[2] As he left, Athanasios encouraged the Christians who were weeping on his behalf. 'Take heart,' he said, 'he is just a little cloud and will pass by.' Julian also wrote to the people of Bostra to expel their holy bishop Titus from the city.||[a] Dorotheos, the sorely tried bishop of Tyre, the eloquent author of many ecclesiastical histories, who had been a confessor under Diocletian and again under Licinius, now that he had reached a venerable old age in the
49 second year of the transgressor, was discovered by that man's officials living privately in Odyssopolis, and after being severely maltreated for his belief in Christ, he was killed at the age of 107.||[b3]

||In imitation of the good works of the Christians, Julian ordered that provisions be supplied to wayfarers and beggars, so deceiving the simple-minded. The impious man ordered that representations of Zeus, Ares, Hermes, and the other demons be added to his own images, and that those who refused obeisance to them were to be punished as enemies of the emperor. At the distribution of wages to the army, he would set out fire and incense and compelled the army to burn incense.||[c]

||At Caesarea Philippi, now called Paneas, from where the woman with an issue of blood came, a statue of the Lord used to stand in front of her house, which she had set up as a mark of thanksgiving in the pagan custom. The impious Julian ordered that this be pulled down. This was done, the pagans mocking as they dragged the statue away and in its place set up an effigy in Julian's name. The Christians took their statue and placed it in the church. Fire then descended from heaven and burned the effigy of the transgressor. And at the base of the statue [of Christ] a herb grew which was a guard against every disease,||[d] and it was this which drove the apostate Julian in jealousy to overturn the statue of the Lord.

||At Nikopolis in Palestine, previously called Emmaus, there is a spring which provides cures for all kinds of diseases for both men and beasts. For they say that the Lord our God Jesus Christ washed his feet in it after a journey.||[e] That man ordered it to be covered with earth.|| At Hermoupolis in the Thebaid a persea tree stands. Anyone who takes a leaf or twig of it finds a cure for every human [disease]. And they say that when the Lord was in this region with the Mother of God and Joseph, fleeing to Egypt from Herod, the tree bent down to the ground and did homage to Him and up to the present it keeps the shape of its adoration.||[f]

||Julian, who was residing in Antioch and continually went up to Daphne to honour the idol of Apollo, did not receive any reply from it, which he was expecting. And realizing that the relics of the holy martyr Babylas, which lay in Daphne, were keeping the idol silent, he sent out a decree that all the relics of the dead buried there, 50
including those of the martyr, were to be moved. When this happened, the temple was burned down completely during the night [by a fire] from heaven, and the idol was so burned up that not a trace of it remained (it was said to have stood for years), while the temple was so utterly destroyed that men in later times who saw its ashes marvelled at this miracle of God's miracle-working. Julian, being amazed at this, and suspecting that it was the result of a plot by the

Christians, began an investigation of the priests who lived there, subjecting them to all kinds of tortures, so that some of them died. The only thing he learned from them was that this was not the work of Christians nor any human plot, but that the fire which burned the temple and the statues had descended from heaven, and that on that night, as the fire came down, it had appeared to some people in the countryside. And so in fury and like a man doing battle with God, the emperor closed the cathedral church and confiscated all the sacred utensils. Two *comites* were sent out for this purpose, Felix and Julian, both apostates, who said, 'We used to believe that there was some overseeing power which ought to stop us.' Felix added, 'See what kind of utensils were used for the service of the son of Mary.' A little later Felix suddenly began vomiting blood, and ended his life in torment. On the same day *comes* Julian was brought down with a most dire illness, so that even his bowels were destroyed and he vomited excrement, and he died in torment.||[g][4]

[a] Theod. Lect. 131–3 (58. 13–22); cf. Soz. v. 15, 18, Sokr. iii. 13, 14. [b] From AM 5816x; cf. Mich. Syr. i. 289), [Hypoth. Arian] 34. [c] Theod. Lect. 135–7 (59. 4–14); cf. Soz. v. 16–17, Theod. *HE* iii. 16–17, Greg. Naz. *Or.* 4. 82–4. [d] Theod. Lect. 142 (60. 14–22); cf. Soz. v. 21. [e] Theod. Lect. 143 (60. 23–5); cf. Soz. v. 21. [f] Theod. Lect. 144 (60. 26–61. 3); cf. Soz. v. 21–2. [g] Cf. Theod. *HE* iii. 10–12 (and therefore presumably in Theod. Lect.), [Hypoth. Arian] 35.

[1] Julian, *Ep.* 42 (17 June 362), cf. *CTh* xiii. 3. 5 and see now T. M. Banchich, *Ancient World*, 24 (1993), 5–14.

[2] Julian, *Ep.*6 (Oct. 362), ordered Athanasios' exile from Alexandria; *Ep.* 51 (Nov.–Dec. 362) banished him from Egypt. Athanasios was away from 23 Oct. 362 to 14 Feb. 364.

[3] Cf. AM 5816, n. 27. It is unlikely that Dorotheos of Tyre ever existed.

[4] Cf. Amm. Marc. xxiii. 1. 5. A third *comes*, Helpidius, was also involved, but he survived.

AM 5855 [AD 362/3]

Year of the divine Incarnation 355
Julian, emperor of the Romans (3 years), 3rd year
Sabores, emperor of the Persians (70 years), 61st year
Damasus, bishop of Rome (28 years), 11th year
Eudoxios, bishop of Constantinople (10 years), 4th year
Hilarius, bishop of Jerusalem (12 years), 9th year
Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria (46 years), 37th year
Leontios, bishop of Antioch (8 years), 5th year

||In this year some soldiers under examination were tricked into apostasy, either by the promise of gifts and rank, or else by constraint placed on them by their own officers. Likewise Theoteknos, a presbyter to whom had been entrusted a church in a suburb of Antioch, was tricked from his vow, and voluntarily went over to 51
idolatry. God punished him immediately. For he was eaten by worms, lost his sight, ate his tongue, and died. And Heron, bishop of the Thebaid, voluntarily apostatized in the city of Antioch. God immediately punished him as follows as an example to frighten the multitude. His limbs became weak with putrefaction and he lay prostrate in the street and expired before the eyes of all. There were also some who were conspicuous for their confession of Christ. Valentinian, at the time tribune of a *tagma*, in the *numerus* known as the Cornuti, not only disregarded his rank, but was driven into exile.[1] This is the man who later was proclaimed emperor by God.||[a] Likewise Jovian handed in his service-belt shouting 'I am a Christian'. The troops loved him as their commander and implored the emperor not to punish him.[2] This is the man who was proclaimed emperor after Julian.||[b] Artemios, *dux* of the diocese of Egypt,[3] inasmuch as he had shown great zeal against idols in Alexandria in the time of Constantius, had his possessions confiscated and was beheaded. Aemilianus, who had served as a soldier, was martyred at Dorostolon in Thrace, having been consigned to the flames by Capitolinus.[4] And many others in various places and ways were conspicuous for their confession of Christ. A certain Thalassios, notorious for his licentiousness and profligacy, a man who had procured his own daughter for prostitution, was honoured by the emperor as an examiner of entrails and lived close to the palace in Antioch. So when his house collapsed he alone perished||[c] along with one eunuch with whom he was found entwined. All those who were present with him were saved, since the members of his household were Christians, including his wife and her companions. A child, about 7 years old, who was found there and was saved, when asked how, said 'I was held up by an angel.'

||Julian of evil name, seeking to overturn God's decree, ordered the temple of the Jews to be built, and appointed a certain pagan Alypios, a zealous opponent of Christ, as overseer of the work.[5] After he had dug out even the hidden parts of the foundations in the course of excavation,[6] a violent wind blew with a hurricane force and com- 52
pletely destroyed the 200,000 *modii* of lime that had been prepared. As the Jews were persisting in the undertaking, a fire shot out and consumed them, so putting an end to their effrontery.||[d]

The impious Julian wrote a refutation of the holy gospels which

Cyril the Great of Alexandria brilliantly overturned in an outstanding treatise.[7]

||Porphyrios, the man who raged against us, a Tyrian by birth, a wretched fellow who had earlier been a Christian, was beaten up by the Christians of Caesarea in Palestine and in anger converted to paganism, and then the dog dared to write an attack on the truth.||[e][8]

||In these times the holy Cross was seen shining in the heavens, from Golgotha to the holy Mount of Olives, circled by a wreath of light; it was even brighter than in the time of Constantius. Of its own accord the sign of the Cross appeared on altar-cloths, books and church vestments as well as on clothes not only of Christians but also of Jews, not only in Jerusalem but in Antioch and other cities. Those Jews and pagans who impudently did not believe, found their clothes covered with crosses. On some they were even black.||[f]

||Julian dispatched numerous emissaries to oracles that gave prophecies in different places so as to appear to be undertaking his war against Persia under the protection of demons. Of the numerous oracles that were brought to him from various places, I shall mention just one. It was as follows: 'All we gods have set out to bring the trophies of victory to the wild beast river. I am their leader, impetuous Ares, raising the din of war.'||[g] Placing his trust in these, he armed for war against the Persians, imposing severe financial penalties on the Christians. When he was in Antioch on the pretext of [buying] supplies, he was strongly insulted by the Antiochenes. It was then that he wrote 'The Beard-Hater', [a work][9] concerning Antioch in which he attempted to defend himself. He cruelly tormented a young man called Theodore for initiating the insults directed at him.||[h] After inflicting many great ills on the Christians and promising to inflict many more after the Persian War, he miser-
53 ably ended his abominable life during the war.||[i] For while in foreign territory, he was destroyed by divine justice. In this year, having ruled for two years and nine months, he was killed by God in Persia,||[j] on 26 January[10] in the 6th indiction being 31 years of age.||[k]

In the month of Daisios,[11] while he was in Persia, there appeared a sign. In the house of a Christian country-woman a pitcher full of water was changed into wine, frothing up like must at eventide. At the same hour the filled vessel was brought into the church of that village. The local presbyter filled a small bucket from it and brought it to bishop Augaros.

||In Karrhai a woman was found hanged by her hair, and in Antioch many human skulls were found by means of which the Apostate had carried out his divination about the Persian War. He had locked up these places with seals and bars.||[l]

[a] *Chron. Pasch.* 548. 12–549. 11; [Hypoth. Arian] 36. [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. i. 288, who appears to be producing a doublet for Valentinian, [Hypoth. Arian] 36. [c] *Chron. Pasch.* 549. 12–550. 4, [Hypoth. Arian] 36. [d] Cf. Amm. Marc. xxiii. 1. 2, Philost. vii. 9, Ruf. *HE* x. 38, Theod. Lect. 145 (61. 4–7), Soz. v. 22, Sokr. iii. 20, *Chr. 846*, 153. 27–34, [Hypoth. Arian] 36. [e] Theod. Lect. 153 (62. 7–10); cf. Sokr. iii. 23. [f] [Hypoth. Arian] 37. [g] Cf. Theod. Lect. 146 (61. 8–11), Theod. *HE* iii. 21, [Hypoth. Arian] 37. [h] Theod. Lect. 140 (60. 3–9); cf. Sokr. iii. 17–19, Soz. v. 19–20. [i] Theod. Lect. 147 (61. 12–15), cf. Theod. *HE* iii. 21. [j] [Hypoth. Arian] 38. [k] Theod. Lect. 147 (61. 12–14); cf. Theod. *HE* iii. 21, 25, Soz. vi. 1–2, Sokr. iii. 21, [Hypoth. Arian] 38. [l] Theod. Lect. 150 (61. 24–6); cf. Theod. *HE* iii. 26.

[1] Sokr. iv. 1 says that Valentinian offered to resign but was retained which is perhaps supported by Ambrose, *De ob. Val.* 55 (see *PLRE* i. 933–4); he was exiled according to Theod. *HE* iii. 16 and other sources (*PLRE* i. 933).

[2] The developed version of the story (Sokr. iii. 22, Oros. vii. 31, Zon. xiii. 14) that Julian refused to accept Jovian's resignation, appears to have been invented to explain Jovian's unbroken service career.

[3] Artemios was *dux Aegypti* in 360, while Amm. Marc. xxii. 11. 2 describes him as *ex duce* when he was tried and condemned. He had also been one of the pursuers of Athanasios and had been entrusted by Constantius with bringing the relics of the apostles Andrew, Luke, and Timothy to Constantinople. See *PLRE* i. 112.

[4] There exists a late and untrustworthy *Martyrium S. Aemiliani* (*AASS* 4 July, 373–6). Dorostolon (Durostorum) was in Lower Moesia on the south bank of the Danube, the modern Silistra in Bulgaria. Capitolinus was *vicarius* of Thrace 361–3.

[5] Delete comma after *κατορύξαντος* and place it after *ἐκχοϊσμόν*.

[6] Alypios was rebuilding the temple in 363, Amm. Marc. xxiii. 1. 2, *PLRE* i. 46–7.

[7] Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Iulianum libri X*, *PG* 76: 569–1058. This was used by C. I. Neumann to reconstruct Julian's *Against the Galilaeans* (Leipzig, 1880).

[8] Porphyrios of Tyre probably died *c.*302 (he was born in 233). Sokr., the ultimate source here, does not claim the events occurred in Julian's reign. It is unlikely that Porphyrios was ever a Christian.

[9] For an English translation, W. C. Wright, *Julian* (Loeb edn., 1913), ii. 418–511.

[10] Julian died on 26 June (Sokr. iii. 21), but the error of January goes back to Theod. Lect.

[11] i.e. June. Theophanes has not noted that this makes the 'January' of the previous sentence impossible.

AM 5856 [AD 363/4]

Year of the divine Incarnation 356
Jovian, emperor of the Romans (1 year), 1st year

Sabores, emperor of the Persians (70 years), 62nd year
Damasus, bishop of Rome (28 years), 12th year
Eudoxios, bishop of Constantinople (10 years), 5th year
Hilarius, bishop of Jerusalem (12 years), 10th year
Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria (46 years), 38th year
Leontios, bishop of Antioch (8 years), 6th year

||In this year the chiliarch Jovian, a most gentle man and an orthodox Christian, was acclaimed Roman emperor[1] by the whole army, the generals, and the consuls||[a] in that same part of the Persian land where the Apostate had been killed. And after a single clash in battle peace was proclaimed, as though from God, by both Romans and Persians acting in unison and fixed for thirty years.||[b2] Jovian declined the Empire, claiming he was unable to command an army that had become pagan under Julian. To which they all shouted out with one voice that they were Christians.||[c] Jovian handed over the great city of Nisibis to the Persians to ensure the safety of the remaining army and made peace.||[d] He issued general laws on behalf
54 of the churches throughout the Roman Empire, restoring the catholic Church to the status and honour established in the time of the blessed Constantine the Great.||[e] He recalled the exiled bishops and wrote to the holy Athanasios asking him to provide an accurate statement in writing of the creed which is without fault, which Athanasios accomplished in a letter of complete orthodoxy that he wrote to Jovian.[3] As a result Jovian became more strongly orthodox and showered benefactions as well as a remission of taxes on those who espoused the consubstantial. Akakios, that extremely wicked Arian from Caesarea, after a meeting with other bishops at Antioch, drew up a feigned statement of orthodoxy, professing the consubstantial and the Synod of Nicaea,||[f] through fear of the pious emperor, and not because of God.

||The emperor Jovian reached the city of the Antiochenes in the month of Hyperberetaios. A child was born to a country gardener outside the city gate at the place called Tripylon. It was female, the product of a seven month pregnancy, and had two separate heads, each completely formed, being separated at the neck. It was stillborn in the month Dios, that is November.||[g] Jovian set out from Antioch to Constantinople and, after reaching Ancyra in Galatia, he made a procession as consul with his son Varonianus, proclaiming him *epiphanestatos* but without granting him the purple.||[h]

||In the same year upon reaching Dadasthana,[4] a village in Bithynia, the most Christian Jovian died[5] after a rule of nine months and fifteen days. The army proclaimed as emperor Valentinian[6]

Augustus [who ruled] eleven years, because of his high repute as a Christian confessor. He immediately set out for Constantinople, and when he reached the Imperial City, he proclaimed his brother Valens as partner in the Empire,||[i] assigning him the eastern parts while he himself took the West.||[j]

[a] Cf. Theod. Lect. 151 (62. 1–2), Theod. *HE* iv. 1, Sokr. iii. 22, [Hypoth. Arian] 39. [b] Cf. Theod. *HE* iv. 2, Mich. Syr. i. 290, Amm. Marc. xxv. 7. 14, [Hypoth. Arian] 39. [c] Cf. Theod. Lect. 151 (62. 2–4), Theod. *HE* iv. 1, Sokr. iii. 22. [d] Cf. Theod. Lect. 152 (62. 5–6), Sokr. iii. 22. [e] Theod. Lect. 154 (62. 11–13) restored from Theophanes; cf. Soz. vi. 3, [Hypoth. Arian] 40. [f] Theod. Lect. 155–7 (62. 14–23); cf. Theod. *HE* iv. 2–4, Soz. vi. 3–4, Sokr. iii. 25. (Theophanes has added the phrase 'that extremely wicked Arian'.) [g] Cf. Mich. Syr. i. 290, Amm. Marc. xxv. 10. 1, Jac. Edess. 212 (p. 254. 31), [Hypoth. Arian] 41. [h] [Hypoth. Arian] 41; cf. Amm. Marc. xxv. 10. 11. [i] Cf. Theod. Lect. 158 (62. 24–63. 3), Soz. vi. 6, Sokr. iv. 1, Theod. *HE* iv. 6, [Hypoth. Arian] 41. [j] Cf. Mich. Syr. i. 292.

[1] Jovian was proclaimed Augustus on 27 June 363.

[2] By the terms of the 30 year-peace, Rome ceded to Persia not only the five districts on the upper Tigris (Arzanene, Moxoene, Zabdicene, Rehimene (possibly Sophene), Corduene), which had been tributary to the Romans since 297, but also the fortresses of Nisibis and Singara, which had been Roman since Septimius Severus. Cf. R. C. Blockley, 'The Roman–Persian Peace Treaties of A.D. 299 and 363', *Florilegium*, 6 (1984), 28–49.

[3] Athanasios' letter to Jovian, *PG* 26: 813–20.

[4] On the border of Galatia and Bithynia.

[5] 17 Feb. 364 (*PLRE* i. 934).

[6] 28 Mar. 364 (*PLRE* i. 931).

AM 5857 [AD 364/5]

Year of the divine Incarnation 357
Valentinian, emperor of the Romans (11 years), 1st year
Sabores, emperor of the Persians (70 years), 63rd year
Damasus, bishop of Rome (28 years), 13th year
Eudoxios, bishop of Constantinople (10 years), 6th year
Hilarius, bishop of Jerusalem (12 years), 11th year
Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria (46 years), 39th year
Leontios, bishop of Antioch (8 years), 7th year

||In this year the Augustus Valentinian proclaimed his son Gratian 55
Augustus, both as partner in the Empire||[a] and as consul,||[1] having previously proclaimed, as has been said, his brother Valens emperor, an ardent Arian who had been baptized by Eudoxios.||[b] The orthodox approached Valentinian through Hypatios, bishop of Herakleia, begging him to allow them a meeting to set aright the doctrine of the

consubstantial. To them Valentinian replied, 'It is not proper for me, whose place is with the laity, to interfere in such matters. Therefore, conduct yourselves as seems best to you, priests.' Having then assembled at Lampsakos and spent two months there, they finally declared the actions of Eudoxios and Akakios in Constantinople invalid, and announced the validity of the creed of Seleukeia.[2] The impious Valens overturned what had been done in Lampsakos and sent the bishops who had gathered there into exile.[3] He gave the churches of Constantinople to Eudoxios, who was of the same mind as he was.||[c] The orthodox now had neither a shepherd nor a church.||[d]

[a] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 557. 7–9 (year 367), Jerome, *Chron.* 245b (AD 367), Mich. Syr. i. 292, [Hypoth. Arian], 42. [b] AM 5856h. [c] Theod. Lect. 158–9 (63. 5–17); cf. Soz. vi. 7. Theophanes varies the language on a point of 'dogma'. *Inter alia* 'those supporting the *homoousion*' becomes 'the orthodox'; Theoph. adds the epithet 'of the same mind'. [d] Theod. Lect. 160 (63. 23–4); cf. Sokr. iv. 1.

[1] Gratian was consul in 366, Augustus on 24 Aug. 367 (*PLRE* i. 401).

[2] The Synod of Seleukeia in the East, corresponding to the Synod of Ariminum in the West, took place in 359. It was anti-Arian.

[3] In Spring 365.

[AM 5858 AD 365/6]

Valentinian, 2nd year
Sabores, 64th year
Damasus, 14th year
Eudoxios, 7th year
Hilarius, 12th year
Athanasios, 40th year
Leontios, 8th year

||In this year Liberius, bishop of Rome, Athanasios of Alexandria, Meletios of Antioch, and Eusebios of Samosata, who had been recalled from exile by Jovian, were conspicuous in the right cause and likewise Cyril of Jerusalem and other bishops who were champions of orthodoxy.[1] Lucius was leader of the Arians in Alexandria and Euzoios in Antioch, while of the orthodox, who were divided into two groups, one was headed by Paulinus and the other by Meletios.||[a]

[a] Theod. Lect. 155 and 160 (62. 14 and 63. 18–23); cf. Theod. *HE* iv. 2–4, Sokr. iv. 1.

[1] Note the discrepancy between the narrative and chronological list of patriarchs. In the chronological list Liberius ends his patriarchate in AM 5844. Meletios became patriarch in AM 5865, Cyril in 5858. The conventional dates (see Grumel) for their patriarchates are Liberius, 352–66; Meletios, 360–81; Cyril, 350 or 351–86.

[AM 5859, AD 366/7]

Valentinian, 3rd year
Sabores, 65th year
Damasus, 15th year
Eudoxios, 8th year
Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (35 years), 1st year
Athanasios, 41st year
Eudoxios, bishop of Antioch (2 years), 1st year

||In this year Prokopios led an uprising in Constantinople in the month of September.[1] He set out for Nakoleia,[2] protected by a large army, which terrified Valens, who for a while gave up his war against the churches until Prokopios had been betrayed by his own generals Agelon and Gomaris. Valens had Prokopios tied by his limbs to two trees which had been bent towards each other and then ordered that the trees be released. The force of the trees springing upright tore the usurper apart. Valens ordered that Agelon and Gomaris, the two generals who had betrayed Prokopios, be cut up with a saw, a fate suf- 56
fered by the poor wretches who had shown goodwill to a dishonourable man.[3] At that time he also pulled down the walls of Chalcedon from his fear of Prokopios. Having killed Prokopios he returned to his attack on the truth. He then forced Eleusios of Kyzikos to agree to the Difference in Substance. This Eleusios, after he arrived in Kyzikos, announced his own transgression publicly and said that he was unworthy to administer the sacraments and urged that someone else be nominated as bishop of Kyzikos. When the evil-thinking Eudoxios heard of this, he appointed Eunomios bishop of Kyzikos in his place.||[a4]

||In the same year the emperor Valens spent some time at Markianoupolis in Mysia.[5] In indiction 8[6] there was a great earthquake by night throughout the whole world, so that in Alexandria ships moored to the shore were lifted high up over the top of tall buildings and walls and were carried within [the city] into courtyards and houses. When the water had receded, they remained on dry land. The people fled from the city because of the earthquake but when they saw the ships on dry land they went up to them to loot their cargoes. But the returning water covered them all. Other sailors related that they were sailing in the Adriatic at that hour when they were caught up and suddenly their ship was sitting on the sea-bed;

after a short time the water returned again and so they resumed their voyage.||[b]

[a] Theod. Lect. 162–4 (64. 3–15). (Theoph. adds epithets abusing the Arians), cf. Soz. vi. 8, Sokr. iv. 3, 5, 8. [b] Cf. Sokr. iv. 3 (so Theoph.'s source is probably Theod. Lect.), *Chron. Pasch.* 556 (year 365), Jerome, *Chron.* 244c (AD 366), Amm. Marc. xxvi 10. 15 (AD 365), *V. Athan.* 29 (*PG* 25: cciC–D), Ps.-Dion. *Chron.*, AG 676 (AD 364/5), Mich. Syr. i. 292, [Hypoth. Arian], 43.

[1] Prokopios was proclaimed emperor on 28 Sept. 365 and was executed in May 366 (*PLRE* i. 743).

[2] Nakoleia (modern Seyitgazi) is between Dorylaion (modern Eskişehir) and Kotyaion (modern Kütahya).

[3] Agelon (Agilo) and Gomaris (Gomoarius) were pardoned according to Amm. Marc., Zosimos, and Philost., cf. *PLRE* i. 28–9, 397–8.

[4] Sokr. iv. 6, Soz. vi. 8, and Philost. ix. 13 say that the Kyzikenes retained Eleusios as bishop despite the appointment of Eunomios.

[5] i.e. Moesia.

[6] AM 5859 in fact corresponds to ind. 10, while ind. 8 ran from Sept. 364 to Aug. 365. Grumel dates this earthquake to 21 July 365, sensibly trusting Theoph.'s (and *Chron. Pasch.*'s) indiction date in conjunction with Amm. Marc. and Hydatius rather than Theoph.'s AM date.

[AM 5860, AD 367/8]

Valentinian, 4th year
Sabores, 66th year
Damasus, 16th year
Eudoxios, 9th year
Cyril, 2nd year
Athanasios, 42nd year
Eudoxios, 2nd year

||In this year Valentinian the elder, while his wife Severa, Gratian's mother, was still living, illegally married Justina after Severa had testified to her beauty. The children he had by her were Valentinian the younger, whom the army proclaimed emperor after his father's death, and three daughters, Justa, Grata, and Galla, whom Theodosios the elder wed at his second marriage and by whom he had Placidia. Arkadios and Honorius were Theodosios' children by his first wife Placilla. Valentinian composed an illegal law that there was no bar to anyone who wished having two wives at the same
57 time.||[a] The impious Valens had two daughters, Anastasia and Carossa, in whose names he built two baths and the aqueduct which even now is known as the Valentinianic.||[b1]

||Some say that it was Valens' wife Domnica who persuaded him

to become such a vehement Arian. Others relate that after he became emperor, when he was baptized by Eudoxios, he confirmed on oath at his baptism that his views were Arian and that he would not accept the consubstantial,||[c] and thus the unholy pair launched numberless persecutions against the orthodox. They[2] sent the Armenian Eustathios, Silvanus of Tarsos, and Theophilos of Kastabala to Liberius of Rome, promising through them that they would accept the consubstantial. They handed to Liberius a written document in support of the consubstantial, stating that they shunned every heresy that was contrary to the Synod of Nicaea. Liberius received them, admitted them to communion, and sent a letter to those in the East testifying to their orthodoxy.||[d]

||While campaigning against the Goths, Valens wintered at Markianoupolis.||[e]

[a] Theod. Lect. 212 (74. 9–17) (Theoph. adds words 'illegally', 'illegal'), cf. Sokr. iv. 31. [b] Theod. Lect. 166 (64. 19–21) (Theoph. adds 'impious'); cf. Sokr. iv. 9. [c] Theod. Lect. 193 (71. 11–14); cf. Theod. *HE* iv. 12–13. [d] Theod. Lect. 167 (64. 22–9) (Theoph. adds the epithet 'unholy' to Valens and Eudoxios); cf. Soz. vi. 10. [e] Cf. Mich. Syr. i. 292, Amm. Marc. xxvii. 5. 5–6 (368 and 369), [Hypoth. Arian], 44.

[1] Zos. v. 9. 3 supports this account, but Amm. Marc. xxvi. 6. 14 states that the Anastasian baths were named after Constantine's sister. On Valens' aqueduct, see K. O. Dalman, *Der Valens-Aquädukt in Konstantinopel* (Bamberg, 1933), Mango, *Développement*, 56. An immensely elaborate system, stretching almost to the present Bulgarian frontier, it became operational in 373 according to Jerome, *Chron.* Cf. AM 6068 and 6258.

[2] In Theopanes the subject of 'sent' appears to be 'the unholy pair' Valens and Eudoxios. In fact the subject is 'the orthodox', or rather the Macedonians, as is clear in both Theod. Lect. and Soz. Theophanes has omitted a reference in Theodore to Valens' persecution of the Macedonians.

AM 5861 [AD 368/9]

Year of the divine Incarnation 361
Valentinian, emperor of the Romans (11 years), 5th year
Sabores, emperor of the Persians (70 years), 67th year
Damasus, bishop of Rome (28 years), 17th year
Eudoxios, bishop of Constantinople (10 years), 10th year
Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (35 years), 3rd year
Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria (46 years), 43rd year
Anianos, bishop of Antioch (4 years), 1st year

||In this year there was a synod at Tyana. Those present included Eusebios of Caesarea in Cappadocia and Gregory of Nazianzos, the

father of the Theologian, Hotreios of Melitene, and others who, rejoicing at Liberius' letter, announced to all orthodox bishops that they should proceed to Tarsos to confirm the true faith. When Valens heard this, he prevented the meeting. Eudoxios once again impelled Valens to command the regional magistrates to banish all the bishops who had been banished by Constantius and who had
58 been recalled by Julian and Jovian. Thereupon Athanasios voluntarily left Alexandria since the people would not let the governor banish him. He stayed hidden for a long time in the family tomb. Later Valens, fearing an uprising in Alexandria, ordered Athanasios' recall.

Eunomios seceded from communion with Eudoxios because Eudoxios was not in communion with Aëtios, Eunomios' teacher.[1] For though they were both of the same persuasion, Eudoxios shunned Aëtios because he was universally hated, and clearly did not shun him in shame because his beliefs were sacrilegious. For Eunomios, who had been the godless Aëtios' secretary, had been trained in sophistic studies, as a result of which he used to boast, it would seem, that he was completely unacquainted with the Holy Scriptures, as his seven volumes make very clear. The people of Kyzikos had expelled Eunomios for being a heretic and a blasphemer and he had then come and united with Eudoxios. Indeed, he was extremely blasphemous, even having the effrontery to say that God knew no more than we do about His own essence. Worse things happened to the orthodox during the period of the impious Valens and Eudoxios than during the pagan persecution.

In this period, after Eudoxios' death, the Arians elected Demophilos as bishop, while the orthodox chose a certain Evagrios who was ordained by the holy Eustathios of Antioch who was living secretly in Constantinople after returning from banishment under Jovian.[2] When he heard that Jovian was dead, he remained in hiding in the city. When Valens, who was staying in Markianoupolis, heard of the ordination of Evagrios, he banished the holy Eustathios to Bizye,[3] expelled Evagrios from the city, and handed over the churches to the Arian Demophilos.‖[a]

[a] Theod. Lect. 169–74 (65. 4–66. 14); cf. Soz. vi. 12–13, Sokr. iv. 7, 13, 14.

[1] Eunomios, who was an Anomoean (supporters of a doctrine similar to Arianism), wrote his *Apologetikos* (*c.*360), which was answered by Basil, and a rejoinder to Basil in three books (*c.*378), two further books on the same controversy, a commentary on Romans, letters, and another treatise.

[2] Theophanes, ultimately following Sokr. iv. 14 and Soz. vi. 13, represents Eustathios as being still alive, but Theod. *HE* iii. 2, states that Eustathios

was dead when Meletios was elected in 360 (Theophanes admittedly dates Meletios' election to AM 5865 = AD 372/3), nor is he mentioned after being exiled by Constantine to Trajanopolis in Thrace (Euseb. *VC* iii. 39, Jerome, *De Viris*) where his tomb was, though Theophanes (AM 5981) and Vict. Tonn., a.490. 2, say his relics were brought back to Antioch from Philippi.

[3] The modern Vize in Thrace. On its Byzantine monuments see S. Ioannides, *Θρακικά*, 22 (1957).

[AM 5862, AD 369/70]

Valentinian, 6th year
Sabores, 68th year
Damasus, 18th year
Demophilos, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 1st year
Cyril, 4th year
Athanasios, 44th year
Anianos, 2nd year

‖In this year, when the impious Valens came to Nicomedia, the orthodox sent an embassy to him of eighty priestly men, led by Theodoros, Urbanus,[1] and Menedemos. Valens ordered that they all be set on fire along with their ship.[2] And so they were all burned, together with the ship, which held out as far as Dakidiza.‖[a][3]

[a] Theod. Lect. 175 (66. 15–19); cf. Soz. vi. 14, Sokr. iv. 15–16.

[1] Interestingly Theophanes correctly reads Urbanus as against Urbasus, the reading preserved in Theod. Lect.

[2] The orders were executed by Modestus, praetorian prefect of the East 369–77. The date was 370 (Jerome, *Chron.* Cf. *PLRE* i. 607).

[3] Dakidiza, wrongly for Dakibyza, in Bithynia on the road from Chalcedon to Nicomedia, is the modern Gebze, near the north coast of the bay of Astakos.

AM 5863 [AD 370/1]

[Year of the divine Incarnation] 363
Valentinian, 7th year
Sabores, 69th year
Damasus, 19th year
Demophilos, 2nd year
Cyril, 5th year
Athanasios, 45th year
Anianos, 3rd year

||In this year the accursed Valens granted immunity to the pagans to
59 hold their sacrifices and festivals.[1] Likewise he cherished and honoured the Jews, persecuting terribly the orthodox alone and the apostolic Church.||[a]

[a] Theod. Lect. 180 (67. 22–4) (Theoph. adds the epithet 'accursed'); cf. Theod. *HE* iv. 24.

[1] In fact Valens cracked down on paganism in 371–2, with executions, confiscations, and a prohibition of blood sacrifices, his aim being to prevent divination. See Stein, *BE* i. 177.

[AM 5864, AD 371/2]

Valentinian, 8th year
Sabores, 70th year
Damasus, 20th year
Demophilos, 3rd year
Cyril, 6th year
Athanasios, 46th year
Anianos, 4th year

||In this year Valens, after coming to Antioch in Syria gave a display of outrageous acts against the orthodox, killing many by the sword and drowning others in the Orontes river which flows by. Likewise, after reaching Edessa, he carried out even worse deeds, ordering the prefect Modestus to arrest the crowd of the orthodox who were assembled in the shrine of St Thomas and slaughter them. The case of a woman, who happened to be dragging her child hastily to death, put, however, Valens to shame and shocked the prefect and so prevented the crime, this being obviously due to God's dispensation. Valens banished Eusebios of Samosata to Thrace. When the people would not allow this, the holy man amazed them the more by leaving the city voluntarily and going along with those who were expelling him. In his place the Arians elected a certain Eunomios, an ardent Arian, with whom no one at Samosata had communion. When he was bathing and encouraging the populace to bathe with him, they refused to bathe unless they first emptied the water from the pool which Eunomios had entered and filled it with new water, since they said that the original water had been defiled by Eunomios. When he learned this he fled from the city, implacably hated. After he had left, the Arians appointed a certain Lucius, who was truly lupine.||[a1] Likewise Valens was eager to hand the churches in Cappadocia over to the Arians, having come to grips with the oppo-

sition he had faced from Basil the Great who was then presbyter of the church of Caesarea||[b] and was arousing bishop Eusebios to defend orthodoxy and not to yield to the impiety of Valens.||[c]

[a] Theod. Lect. 177–79 (66. 24–67. 18); cf. Sokr. iv. 17, Theod. *HE* iv. 13–15, 17, Soz. vi. 18, Ruf. *HE* ii. 5. [b] Theod. Lect. 176 (66. 20–3); cf. Soz. vi. 15. [c] Cf. Soz. vi. 15.

[1] A play on the name *Λούκιος* and the word *λύκος*, a wolf.

[AM 5865, AD 372/3]

Valentinian, 9th year
Artaxer, emperor of the Persians (4 years), 1st year[1]
Damasus, 21st year
Demophilos, 4th year
Cyril, 7th year
Peter, bishop of Alexandria (1 year), 1st year
Meletios, again, 31st bishop of Antioch (25 years), 1st year

||In this year, while Valens was in Antioch, some people were found to be preparing a plot against him and a crowd of impious people were put to death. For they were carrying out their plot by means of 60
divination and sacrifices.||[a]

||The much-enduring and hard-toiling Athanasios departed to the Lord,[2] having been bishop for forty-six years, forty of them under persecution and in peril on behalf of piety. Peter succeeded him as bishop, but the Arians drove him out through a certain Magnus, steward of the imperial treasures, and appointed Lucius in his place. Then many orthodox men, women, and virgins were maltreated in an ungodly way and many died under torture. Peter fled to Damasus in Rome as to one who shared his views. At that time he wrote in a letter about the frightful acts of the Arians in Alexandria.||[b]

||In the same year also Basil became bishop of Caesarea after the death of the pious Eusebios.||[c]

[a] Cf. Amm. Marc. xxix. 1. 4–2. 28, Zos. iv. 13–15, [Hypoth. Arian] 45. [b] Theod. Lect. 183–4 (68. 9–19); cf. Soz. vi. 19, Theod. iv. 21–2. [c] Cf. Jerome, *Chron.* 248e (AD 376).

[1] Ardashir II (Artaxerxes) ruled from 379 to 383 in succession to Shapur, who died in 379. Theophanes makes both this year and AM 5866 his first year.

[2] Athanasios died on 2 May 373.

AM 5866 [AD 373/4]

Year of the divine Incarnation 366
Valentinian, emperor of the Romans (11 years), 10th year
Artaxer, emperor of the Persians (4 years), 1st year[1]
Damasus, bishop of Rome (28 years), 22nd year
Demophilos, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 4th year
Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (35 years), 8th year
Lucius, bishop of Alexandria (6 years), 1st year
Meletios, bishop of Antioch (25 years), 2nd year

||In this year Ambrose became leader of the church of Milan in succession to Auxentios in the following manner. As the people rioted over the appointment of a bishop, Ambrose, who was governor of the region,[2] was sent by the emperor Valentinian, who was residing there, to put an end to the disturbance. Ambrose was still not baptized but showed great concern for justice, and bravely reprimanded the more important officials who were doing wrong. And so the people, after ending their strife, voted unanimously for Ambrose to be bishop. When Valentinian heard this, he ordered that Ambrose be baptized and ordained bishop, giving thanks to God in the sight of all and saying, 'Thanks be to Thee, all powerful Lord, our Saviour, that Thou hast entrusted the souls of men to this man whom I had appointed as ruler of their bodies, and that Thou hast vindicated my decrees.'||[a]

||Lucius along with the Arians did much wrong in Alexandria. For they used to sing the songs of demons in the church of Theonas and
61 brought in dancers, and taking off the virgins' clothing and snorting angrily through the nose, took them round the city naked, treating them lewdly. Some of the virgins they killed and did not even give the bodies for burial to the sadly grieving parents. They even brought in a lewd youth to perform obscenities within the altar precincts.||[b]

||With the whole of the West supporting the consubstantiality of the Trinity,||[c] they made a request to Valentinian to hold a synod in Illyricum where they confirmed the faith of Nicaea.[3] Valentinian wrote an edict to the bishops of Asia, Phrygia, and all the East exhorting them to observe the definitions made at the synod, and including his brother Valens and his son Gratian as partners in the edict.||[d] Then Gregory the Theologian became leader of the church at Constantinople at the instigation of Basil and Meletios and the other champions of piety. And if he had not recalled the city from error just in time, it would have been entirely filled with the taint of Arius and Eunomios, for they had gained control of all the churches

apart from the chapel of the martyr Anastasia.[4] Demophilos was bishop of the Arians.

At that time Gregory of Nyssa and Peter, the brothers of Basil, were eminent, as were Optimus in Pisidia and Amphilochios in Ikonion. Valens banished Barses, bishop of Edessa, and Pelagios of Laodikeia for being champions of orthodoxy. Valentinian reproached his brother Valens for his false beliefs, and did not send him the support he requested against the Goths, but said, 'It is not right to come to the aid of one who fights against God.'||[e]

[a] Theod. Lect. 189 (70. 8–16); cf. Sokr. iv. 30, Theod. *HE* iv. 7, Soz. vi. 24. [b] Theod. Lect. 184 (68. 19–69. 1); cf. Theod. *HE* iv. 22. [c] Theod. Lect. 188 (70. 5–6); cf. Soz. vi. 23. [d] Theod. Lect. 190 (70. 19–23); cf. Theod. *HE* iv. 7. [e] Theod. Lect. 203, 205–7 (73. 1–4, 8–14). Theophanes adds 'at the instigation of Basil and Meletios'; cf. Sokr. iv. 7, v. 7, Soz. vi. 17, Theod. *HE* iv. 13, 16, 30, 31.

[1] See above, AM 5865, n. 1 on Theophanes' error of assigning two first years to Ardašir.

[2] The date is correct. Ambrose had been *consularis Aemiliae et Liguriae* Dec. 373 to 7 Dec. 374.

[3] July 378 (Stein, *BE* i. 508).

[4] Gregory Nazianzen did not come to Constantinople till 379. He was leader inasmuch as his preaching at the church of the Anastasis was influential in restoring the Nicene faith. He did not become bishop of Constantinople till the synod of 381. Cf. AM 5876c. The opposition to Gregory was technically on the grounds that it was contrary to the canon of Nicaea, which forbade transfer from one see to another. See Stein, *BE* i. 198, following Bardy in Fliche–Martin, iii (1936), 282 ff.

[AM 5867, AD 374/5]

Valentinian, 11th year
Artaxer, 2nd year
Damasus, 23rd year
Demophilos, 5th year
Cyril, 9th year
Lucius, 2nd year
Meletios, 3rd year

||In this year Valentinian the elder, having been emperor for eleven years, died at the age of 84,[1] in the following manner. The Sauromatai,[2] a small and pitiable tribe, after revolting against him and being defeated, sent envoys to him to seek peace. When Valentinian asked the envoys whether all Sauromatai had such a pitiable physique as they did, they replied that 'The strongest of us

all are the ones you see before you.' He then shouted out violently, 'The Roman Empire is in terrible trouble now it has ended up with Valentinian if Sauromatai such as these are revolting against the
62 Romans.' From the extension of his arms and from the clapping of his hands he burst a vein and lost a great deal of blood and so died in some fort in Gaul||[a3] on the 17th of the month Dios in the 3rd indiction.||[b4] Since his son Gratian was not there and Valens was residing in Antioch, the army that happened to be at the place where Valentinian the elder died proclaimed his 4-year-old son Valentinian Augustus, his mother Justina being also present in Pannonia. When Gratian heard this, he accepted his brother as joint emperor with him, but punished those who had proclaimed him in various ways since this had taken place without his consent.||[c]

||Valens sent the general Trajan against the Goths. He was defeated and returned in dishonour. Rebuked by Valens for cowardice, he replied, 'It is not I who am defeated, Emperor, but you who campaign against God and have secured His divine aid for the barbarians.' Valens put to death many people whose name began with the letter 'theta', whom as a result of divination he suspected of being destined to reign. Among these was a certain Theodore, first among the patricians.||[d5]

||In the same period some of the Novatians in Phrygia, who had gathered at a village called Pazos, began to celebrate Easter with the Jews and they published a law that they would have Easter with the Jews. It is from them that the Sabbatians, named after a certain Sabbatios, later developed.[6] It was then also that the Syrian Apolinarios[7] openly separated from the Church. Damasus of Rome and Peter of Alexandria were the first to condemn them. The impious Eunomios[8] dared to carry out baptism in a single immersion, saying 'One ought to be baptized not in the Trinity but in the death of Christ'; and he would re-baptize those who had been baptized in the Trinity.||[e] Julian, surnamed Sabas,[9] a holy ascetic, after coming to Antioch from Edessa sustained the orthodox, who paid honour to the consubstantial, by openly anathematizing the Arians. In Antioch the holy Aphraates[10] with great boldness charged Valens with impiety to his face. One of the eunuchs, who had come down to get the emperor's bath ready, after insolently abusing and threatening Aphraates, went out of his mind, threw himself into the hot water and perished.||[f11] The great Ephraim,[12] outstanding for his asceticism and holy teaching,
63 poured forth through the Holy Ghost many ascetic tracts, and even more doctrinal ones. He gave some of his works to be sung by the Syrians so as to entice the more sluggish through the

music. At any rate it is said that he, being truly full of divine wisdom, published three million lines.||[g13]

[a] Theod. Lect. 210 (73. 23–74. 6). Theophanes has expanded the rhetoric, introduced direct speech and changed figures; cf. Soz. vi. 36. [b] Cf. Sokr. iv. 31, Amm. Marc. xxx. 5. 15, [Hypoth. Arian] 46. [c] Cf. Theod. Lect. 211 (74. 7–8), Soz. vi. 36, Mich. Syr. i. 293–4, [Hypoth. Arian] 46. [d] Theod. Lect. 208–9 (73. 15–22); cf. Theod. *HE* iv. 33, Soz. vi. 35. [e] Theod. Lect. 194–6 (71. 15–72. 2) [Theophanes adds 'impious' to Eunomios]; cf. Soz. vi. 24–6. [f] Theod. Lect. 181–2 (68. 1–8); cf. Theod. *HE* iv. 26–7. [g] Theod. Lect. 75 (37. 21–3); cf. Soz. iii. 16.

1 Valentinian in fact died at the age of 54 in 375 (he was born in 321, Amm. Marc. xxx. 6. 6), see *PLRE* i. 933.

2 i.e. the Quadi. See Amm. Marc. xxx. 6.

3 Actually at Bregitio (modern Szőny, near Komárom, in Hungary).

4 3rd indiction is 374/5, so Theophanes is out by one indiction as Valentinian died in Nov. (Dios in the Antiochene system).

5 On Theodore, see *PLRE* i. 898, Theodorus 13.

6 Novatians were rigorously orthodox but their vigorous opposition to those who had compromised with paganism in the Decian persecution (249–50) had led to their schism and excommunication. According to Sokr. v. 21, Sabbatios had been a Jewish convert to Novatianism, who separated during Valens' reign.

7 Cf. AM 5854 for the Apollinarii under Julian. This is the son who had become bishop of Laodikeia about 360. His Christological teaching was condemned by synods at Rome 374–80. He appears to have argued *inter alia* that Christ, while possessing perfect Godhead, lacked complete manhood.

8 Eunomios was Arian bishop of Kyzikos from *c.*360 (cf. AM 5859). He was an Anomean (cf. AM 5861, n.1).

9 St Julian Sabas (*c.*300–77 or 380), lived in a cave in the desert of Osrhoene between Antioch and the Euphrates (Theod. *HR* 2), but came to Antioch to refute Arian claims that he supported them.

10 Presumably the same Aphraates who was the first of the Syriac Church Fathers who lived in Persia through the persecutions of Shapur II (310–79) and whose surviving writings can be dated to between 337 and 345. See A. Vöobus, *JAC* 3 (1960), 152–5.

11 Theophanes reverses the order of Theod. Lect. and Theod., giving the story of Julian first, omitting their account of Antony, and making Valens' attendant a eunuch.

12 Ephraim (*c.*306–73), after the cession of Nisibis to Persia in 363, had settled in Edessa, where most of his extant works were written.

13 Soz. and Theod. Lect. have 300,000 lines.

AM 5868 [AD 375/6]

Year of the divine Incarnation 368
Valens, emperor of the Romans (3 years), 1st year

Artaxer, emperor of the Persians (4 years), 3rd year
Damasus, bishop of Rome (28 years), 24th year
Demophilos, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 6th year
Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (35 years), 10th year
Lucius, bishop of Alexandria (6 years), 3rd year
Meletios, bishop of Antioch (25 years), 4th year

||In this year the heresy of the Messalians, that is of the Euchites and Enthusiasts, sprouted up. They dance and rattle castanets while singing psalms because of their crude and stupid interpretation of David's words.[1] The leaders of this heresy were Dadoes, Sabas, Adelphios, and, according to some, Eustathios of Sebasteia. They were nobly resisted by Amphilochios of Ikonion, Letoios of Melitene, and later by Flavian of Antioch.||[a]

||Valens, having destroyed every church, came to Caesarea from the East, raging against the holy Basil. He did those deeds which Gregory the Great related in the Funeral Oration on Basil. It was at that time that Valens' son Galates died after a severe illness[2] and his wife Domnica fell seriously ill. When Demosthenes, one of Valens' cooks, had come upon the holy Basil in conversation with the emperor, and had spoken like a barbarian, the teacher smiled a little and said to him, 'Well, we see that even Demosthenes is unlettered.' Valens, in awe of Basil, granted him numerous fine estates for the lepers he cared for. Seeing how firm and unswerving Basil was he
64 decided to banish him, but when he wanted to sign the letter of banishment, he was unable to do so: he broke three pens and finally even his hand was paralysed.||[b]

[a] Theod. Lect. 192 (71. 5–9); cf. Theod. *HE* iv. 11. [b] Theod. Lect. 199–202 (72. 12–24); cf. Theod. *HE* iv. 19, Soz. vi. 16.

[1] With reference to Ps. 150. This description is not taken from either Theod. Lect. or his source Theod. *HE* iv. 11, and appears to have been inserted by Theophanes from an unknown source. The Messalians (from the Syriac for 'praying people', hence their Greek name as Euchites), were a mendicant sect who aimed at continuous prayer which, by removing all passion, would expel the demon present in men's souls.

[2] Galates probably died in about 370 (see *PLRE* i. 381).

[AM 5869, AD 376/7]

Valens, 2nd year
Artaxer, 4th year
Damasus, 25th year

Demophilos, 7th year
Cyril, 11th year
Lucius, 4th year
Meletios, 5th year

||In this year Mauia, queen of the Saracens, who had done much harm to the Romans, sought peace and asked that a certain Moses, one of the desert ascetics, be made bishop for those of her Saracens who practised Christianity. When the emperor accepted this eagerly, Moses insisted that he be ordained not by the Arian Lucius, but by one of the orthodox who were in exile. This was done. Mauia took him and made many Christians among the Saracens. They say that she herself was a Christian and a Roman by race, and that after she had been taken prisoner, she pleased the emperor of the Saracens by her beauty, and so she gained control of the empire. Sozomen relates many things about this race, its origins and name and that they are circumcised at the age of 13.||[a]

||The Goths, after the Huns had made war on them, sought help from Valens through Euphilas,[1] their Arian-minded bishop, who had earlier been an associate of the Arians Eudoxios and Akakios in the time of Constantius. It was he who taught the Goths to be Arians. The Goths were divided into two. Athanarich led one group, Fritigern the other; the latter was defeated but, after receiving help from Valens, defeated the supporters of Athanarich. In order to please Valens he taught the Goths to become Arian all the more.||[b]

[a] Theod. Lect. 185 (69. 6–17); cf. Soz. vi. 38. [b] Theod. Lect. 213 (74. 18–75. 3); cf. Soz. vi. 37, Sokr. iv. 33.

[1] Euphilas, better kown as Ufilas or Ulphilas, was the first translator of the Bible into Gothic, on whom see J. F. Matthews and P. J. Heather, *The Goths in the Fourth Century*, TTH (Liverpool, 1991), ch. 5.

AM 5870 [AD 377/8]

Year of the divine Incarnation 370
Valens, emperor of the Romans (3 years), 3rd year
Sabores, emperor of the Persians (5 years), 1st year[1]
Damasus, bishop of Rome (28 years), 26th year
Demophilos, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 8th year
Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (35 years), 12th year
Lucius, bishop of Alexandria (6 years), 5th year
Meletios, bishop of Antioch (25 years), 6th year

65 ||In this year the Goths, united again,||[a] invaded Roman territory and devastated numerous provinces, Scythia, Mysia,[2] Thrace, Macedonia, Achaea, and all of Greece, about twenty provinces in all. In this period clouds in the shape of armed men were seen in the sky, and in Antioch a child was born, complete in its other parts, but having one eye in the middle of the forehead, four arms, four legs, and a beard. When Valens, who was residing in Antioch, heard about the Goths, he went to Constantinople.||[b] The Byzantines insulted him for being a coward who shunned war. Isaakios, the holy monk, grabbed hold of the bit of Valens' horse when he finally set out for war against the Goths and said to him, 'Where are you going, Emperor, you who are marching against God and have God as your opponent?' In fury the emperor had him imprisoned and threatened him with death if he ever returned, as Ahab[3] once threatened Micah.||[c]

After his departure, some of his household acknowledged that on his command divination was carried out concerning his proposed rush into war. ||When battle was joined with the Goths, Valens was defeated and fled with a few others to a hut.[4] The barbarians overtook him, set fire to the house and in ignorance incinerated all those inside.||[d] They say that the holy Isaakios, while in prison, became aware of the foul smell of Valens' being burned, and, by the grace of God and the pureness of his soul, foretold his death to those who were with him before the messengers from the war arrived to announce what had happened.

||After the defeat and death of Valens by fire, the Goths, exulting in their victory, began to ravage terribly the suburbs of Constantinople. But Mauia, queen of the Saracens, sent a Saracen army, and Valens' wife Domnica, leading out the people from the city, chased off the barbarians.||[e]

When the Augustus Gratian learned how matters stood he marched down to Pannonia so as to offer assistance and, in the place
66 of Valens, invested Theodosios as Augustus,[5] proclaimed him emperor, and sent him to make war on the Goths. The patrician Trajan[6] states in his History that the Scythians are called Goths in the local dialect.

||Dorotheos, numbered among the holy, was martyred under the impious Valens having been thrown by the Arians to the wild beasts in the Kynegion[7] at Alexandria.||[f 8]

[a] Theod. Lect. 216 (75. 8); cf. Soz. vi. 39–40, Sokr. iv. 38, Theod. *HE* iv. 34. [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. i. 294, [Hypoth. Arian] 47. [c] Theod. Lect. 216 (75. 8–13); cf. Soz. vi. 40, Jac. Edess. 224. [d] Theod. Lect. 217 (75. 14–16); cf. Soz. vi. 40, Mich.

Syr. i. 294, [Hypoth. Arian] 48. [e] Theod. Lect. 219 (75. 21–4); cf. Soz. vii. 1. [f] Cf. *Excerpta Latina Barbari*, 616, p. 238, 4–7, Nik. *Chron.* 97(B).

1 Shapur III (Sabores) ruled from 383 to 388.
2 i.e. Moesia.
3 Cf. 1 Kgs. 22: 1–35, 2 Chr. 18.
4 At Adrianople, 9 Aug. 378.
5 Theodosios was proclaimed on 19 Jan. 379 (*PLRE* i. 905).
6 For Trajan see Introduction, Sources IV, 20 (i).
7 i.e. amphitheatre.
8 Dorotheos may be a doublet for the Dorotheos allegedly killed by Julian, cf. AM 5816, 5854. The Alexandrian reference and the parallel in the *Excerpta Barbari*, which is linked with an Alexandrian chronicle, shows that this will have come from Theophanes' Alexandrian source.

AM 5871 [AD 378/9]

Year of the divine Incarnation 371
Theodosios, emperor of the Romans (16 years), 1st year
Sabores, emperor of the Persians (5 years), 2nd year
Damasus, bishop of Rome (28 years), 27th year
Demophilos, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 9th year
Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (35 years), 13th year
Lucius, bishop of Alexandria (6 years), 6th year
Meletios, bishop of Antioch (25 years), 7th year

||In this year the emperor Gratian took Theodosios as partner in the Empire. He was a western Iberian by race, of noble birth and admirably capable in war. Being pious and orthodox,[1] he immediately won a victory by force of arms over the barbarians in Thrace.||[a]

||Gratian and Valentinian introduced a law recalling the bishops in exile and expelled the Arians, with the help of Damasus, the Pope of Rome.||[b] Then Peter, bishop of Alexandria, returned and after driving out Lucius, regained his own throne,||[c] but died a short time thereafter. His brother Timothy was ordained in his place as bishop of the Church of the orthodox in Alexandria.||[d] At Antioch in Syria, where the orthodox were split in two following the events surrounding the holy Eustathios, one group had Paulinus as their bishop, the other had the holy Meletios after the promotion of Euzoios, the bishop of the Arians in Antioch who had seceded from them. The emperors introduced a law in favour of the orthodox and entrusted a certain general Sapor to convey it to the East. When he arrived in Antioch, he found that there was strife between Paulinus, who was laying claim to the bishop's office, and Apolinarios, who was also making a bid for the throne, while the holy Meletios was 67

keeping his peace and avoiding conflict. Flavian, a presbyter at the time, being opposed to Paulinus and putting Apolinarios to shame, recommended that the general Sapor hand over the throne to Meletios; after establishing the latter he departed. Then the great Meletios ordained Diodoros bishop of Tarsos.

Eusebios, bishop of Samosata, after returning from banishment, ordained many bishops in various cities. He went to Doliche[2] to ordain Maris as bishop, but as he entered the city, he was killed by an Arian woman who, from high up, threw a tile at the holy man's sacred head, this being allowed by God's inscrutable judgement; concerning which Gregory the Theologian says, 'I seek for myself your sacrifice of yesterday, the old man descended from Abraham'.[3] At that time Gregory the Theologian was teaching with great boldness in Constantinople at the chapel of St Anastasia, where, they say, marvellous miracles occurred through the manifestation of our all-holy lady, the Mother of God.‖[e]

[a] Theod. Lect. 225 (76. 26–8); cf. Sokr. v. 2, Soz. vii. 2, Theod. *HE* v. 5. [b] Theod. Lect. 220 (76. 1–4); cf. Theod. *HE* v. 2, Sokr. v. 2. [c] Theod. Lect. 215 (75. 6–7); cf. Soz. vi. 39, Sokr. iv. 37. [d] Theod. Lect. 218 (75. 17–19); cf. Sokr. iv. 37. [e] Theod. Lect. 221–8 (76. 5–77. 13); cf. Theod. *HE* v. 2–6, Sokr. v. 2–6, Soz. vii. 2–4. Note that Theod. Lect. 222 is restored entirely from Theophanes.

[1] 'Admirably capable in war' and 'being pious and orthodox' are Theophanes' additions to his source; thus he defines Theodosios' capabilities and explains his victories in terms of piety and correct belief.

[2] Near modern Dulukbaba, about 48 km. south-west of Samosata.

[3] Greg. Naz. *Or.* 33. 5.

[AM 5872, AD 379/80]

Theodosios, 2nd year
Sabores, 3rd year
Damasus, 28th year
Demophilos, 10th year
Cyril, 14th year
Timothy, bishop of Alexandria (8 years), 1st year
Meletios, 8th year

[AM 5873, AD 380/1]

Theodosios, 3rd year
Sabores, 4th year
Siricius, bishop of Rome (15 years), 1st year[1]

Demophilos, 11th year
Cyril, 15th year
Timothy, 2nd year
Meletios, 9th year

[1] Siricius was pope from 15 or 22 or 29 Dec. 384 to 26. Nov. 399.

AM 5874 [AD 381/2]

Year of the divine Incarnation 374
Theodosios, emperor of the Romans (16 years), 4th year
Sabores, emperor of the Persians (5 years), 5th year
Siricius, bishop of Rome (15 years), 2nd year
Demophilos, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 12th year
Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (35 years), 16th year
Timothy, bishop of Alexandria (8 years), 3rd year
Meletios, bishop of Antioch (25 years), 10th year

‖In this year the emperor Gratian was killed by the deceit of Andragathios, the general of the usurper Maximus.[1] For this man arrived in a carriage pretending to be Gratian's wife. Thus 68
Andragathios was able to meet Gratian when he was unprotected and killed him.‖[a] On his death Valentinian gained control of the Roman Empire.

‖At the same time Theodosios the elder, after falling ill, was baptized in Thessalonica by bishop Acholios. He wrote a law on the consubstantial in support of the orthodox, which he dispatched to Constantinople. After arriving in Constantinople Theodosios made it clear to Demophilos that he must either abandon the error of Arius or leave the churches with all speed. Demophilos collected the throng of the Arians and held church services outside the city, being also accompanied by Lucius, the Arian bishop of Alexandria. And thus at last the holy Gregory, with those whom he himself had baptized into the orthodox faith, received back all the churches, which the Arians had held for rather more than forty years.‖[b]

[a] Theod. Lect. 244 (80. 3–6); cf. Soz. vii. 13. [b] Theod. Lect. 227, 229 (77. 4–7, 14–20); cf. Soz. vii. 4–7, Sokr. v. 6–7.

[1] 25 Aug. 383 (*PLRE* i. 401). Interestingly Theophanes has the correct account of Gratian's death as against the anti-Arian version preserved in *Chron. Pasch.* 562. 1–7 and the original Mal. (cf. 344. 5–8). Since Theophanes would probably have exploited such a story had he known of it, he presumably did not read Mal. for this period or have access to *Chron. Pasch.*

[AM 5875, AD 382/3]

Theodosios, 5th year
Vararanes, 12th emperor of the Persians (11 years), 1st year[1]
Siricius, 3rd year
Gregory the Theologian, bishop of Constantinople (2 years), 1st year
Cyril, 17th year
Timothy, 4th year
Meletios, 11th year

In this year in Antioch, in the district of the Iobitai (as it is called) a woman gave birth to male quadruplets. They survived for two months, and then, one by one, all four died.

[1] Vahram III ruled from 388 to 399.

[AM 5876, AD 383/4]

Theodosios, 6th year
Vararanes, 2nd year
Siricius, 4th year
Gregory, 2nd year
Cyril, 18th year
Timothy, 5th year
Meletios, 12th year

||In this year[1] the Second great and holy ecumenical Synod of the 150 orthodox bishops was gathered in Constantinople by Theodosios the elder to confirm the tenets of Nicaea. It even summoned the 36 bishops of the heresy of Makedonios who were led by Eleusios. The leaders of the 150 holy fathers were Timothy of Alexandria, the most sacred Meletios of Antioch,[2] the most sacred Cyril of Jerusalem,||[a] and the holy Gregory of Constantinople. ||The 36 bishops who followed the views of Makedonios were urged by the fathers to accept
69 the tenets of Nicaea, just as the supporters of Silvanus, who had been sent to Rome in the time of Valens, had agreed to give statements to Liberius. But they refused to agree to the truth and left, being a laughing-stock to all, believing one thing and agreeing to another,||[b] while fraudulently introducing Liberius' letters as evidence of their orthodoxy.[3]

||The holy synod ratified the see of Constantinople for Gregory the Theologian, and installed him, despite his reluctance, on his throne inasmuch as he had toiled greatly and had freed the city from the disease of the heresies.[4] But when Gregory, wise in all matters and most

blessed, learned that some of the Egyptians begrudged this action, he made a valedictory speech and voluntarily withdrew from the throne of the capital. After he had renounced it, the emperor and the synod appointed Nektarios, a native of Tarsos who held at the time the office of praetor and happened not to be yet baptized, but was living a worthy and devout life. The holy ecumenical synod ratified the consubstantial and added the doctrine of the Spirit to the creed. It also published canons in which it assigned the privileges of New Rome to the see of Constantinople.||[c5]

||Gregory of Nyssa, Pelagios of Laodikeia, Eulogios of Edessa, and Amphilochios of Ikonion acted with distinction at this synod together with Gregory the Great and those previously mentioned.

The holy synod anathematized Arius and Eusebios of Nicomedia, Euzoios and Akakios, Theognis and Euphronios and the others, and in addition to these it condemned Makedonios, the enemy of the Spirit, Eudoxios, Aëtios, and Eunomios.||[d] After the completion of the synod the great Meletios died in peace in Constantinople. His holy body was conveyed to Antioch and placed near the tomb of the holy martyr Babylas. Flavian was ordained bishop of Antioch while Paulinus was still alive, even though oaths had been given that Flavian would not receive episcopal ordination. And so disorder prevailed again in the Church of Antioch, with some obeying Paulinus and others Flavian.

At that time the emperor brought the body of Paul the confessor to Constantinople and placed it in the church which Makedonios had built while plotting against Paul.||[e]

[a] Theod. Lect. 231 (77. 26, 78. 3); cf. Soz. vii. 7. [b] Theod. Lect. 232 (78. 5–9); cf. Soz. vii. 7. [c] Theod. Lect. 233–5 (78. 10–23); cf. Soz. vii. 6, 8, 9, Theod. *HE* v. 8, Sokr. v. 8. [d] Cf. Theod. *HE* v. 8, Jac. Edess., year 225, Mich. Syr. i. 322. [e] Theod. Lect. 238, 240, 241, 239 (79. 7–19); cf. Sokr. v. 9, Soz. vii. 10–11.

[1] In 381 (not 383/4 as here).
[2] Meletios presided over the synod but died during its course.
[3] This appears to be Theophanes' own comment. He has also substituted 'being a laughing-stock' for Theod. Lect.'s 'were hated'.
[4] Gregory, summoned to Constantinople from Isauria in 379, had through his preaching in the church of the Anastasis done much to restore the Nicene faith. Cf. AM 5866, n. 4.
[5] The synod gave Constantinople precedence in honour over all churches except Rome and elevated its bishop to patriarch.

70 **[AM 5877, AD 384/5]**

Theodosios, 7th year
Vararanes, 3rd year
Siricius, 5th year
Nektarios, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 1st year
Cyril, 19th year
Timothy, 6th year
Meletios, 13th year

||In this year the Augustus Theodosios proclaimed Honorius, his son by the most pious Placilla,[1] as consul [with the title] *epiphanestatos*.[2] He made preparations for war against the usurper Maximus.||[a] While he was fighting him in the West,[3] a false rumour was spread that Maximus had won, whereupon the Arians went on a rampage and set fire to the house of Nektarios, the bishop of Constantinople.||[b]

[a] Cf. Theod. Lect. 245 (80. 9–10); cf. Sokr. v. 12, Soz. vii. 14. [b] Theod. Lect. 247 (80. 13–15); cf. Soz. vii. 14, Sokr. v. 13.

[1] Placilla is Flacilla (*PLRE* i. 34).

[2] Neither de Boor nor Hansen cite Theod. Lect. as a source for Theophanes here, but Theod. Lect. contains the same information except the references to consul and title. Honorius was consul for 386, and the title (most notable) is confirmed by inscriptions in both Greek (ἐπιφανέστατος) and Latin (*nobilissimus*).

[3] Theodosios departed from Thessalonica in June 388 and defeated Maximus at Aquileia on 28 Aug. 388.

[AM 5878, AD 385/6]

Theodosios, 8th year
Vararanes, 4th year
Siricius, 6th year
Nektarios, 2nd year
Cyril, 20th year
Timothy, 7th year
Meletios, 14th year

||In this year in Antioch an extension was made to the so-called Taurian gate to the full width of the bridge and was covered with a roof.[1] A small basilica was also built at the old Basilica, near the great one.||[a2] In the village of Emmaus in Palestine, a child was born perfectly normal below the navel but divided above it, so that it had two chests and two heads, each possessing the senses. One would eat

and drink but the other did not eat; one would sleep but the other stayed awake. There were times when they played with each other, when both cried and hit each other. They lived for a little over two years. One died while the other lived for another four days and it, too, died.||[b]

In the same year the emperor Theodosios set up the column of the Tauros.[3]

[a] Cf. Mal. 338–9. [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 8–9, dated to reign of Arkadios.

[1] G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton, 1961) 347–8, suggests that 'the gate and the bridge stood on the outer (western) side of the island at the terminus of the road from Cilicia and the Taurus mountains'.

[2] Downey, op. cit. 434, takes this to be an addition to the Great Church and was a thank-offering for the imperial pardon of the city following insurrection.

[3] i.e. a column surmounted by his statue in what was later to become the Forum Tauri, or Forum of Theodosios (inaugurated in 393). The statue fell in the earthquake of 480, and in 506 Anastasios put his own statue on the column. See AM 5970 and 5998 (end).

[AM 5879, AD 386/7]

Theodosios, 9th year
Vararanes, 5th year
Siricius, 7th year
Nektarios, 3rd year
Cyril, 21st year
Timothy, 7th year
Meletios, 15th year

||In this year after the death of Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, on the 26th of the month Epiphi, Theophilos was ordained in his place.||[a1]

[a] Cf. *Excerpta Latina Barbari* 63a (ed. Schoene 239. 15–18).

[1] This will have come from Theophanes' Alexandrian source which has links with the *Excerpta Barbari*.

[AM 5880, AD 387/8]

Theodosios, 10th year
Vararanes, 6th year
Siricius, 8th year
Nektarios, 4th year

Cyril, 22nd year
Theophilos, bishop of Alexandria (28 years), 1st year
Meletios, 16th year

||In this year the pious emperor Theodosios, after defeating the usurper Maximus, killed him on the 12th day before the kalends of August, and also Andragathios, Maximus' general, who had murdered Gratian.||[a1]

[a] Cf. Hyd. Lem. a.388.

1 Cf. AM 5877. Maximus was killed on 28 July or Aug. 388, not 21 July as here (*PLRE* i. 588). Andragathios committed suicide by drowning after Maximus' death (*PLRE* i. 63).

[AM 5881, AD 388/9]

Theodosios, 11th year
Vararanes, 7th year
Siricius, 9th year
Nektarios, 5th year
Cyril, 23rd year
Theophilos, 2nd year
Meletios, 17th year

||In this year Theodosios came to Rome with his son Honorius and established him as emperor there on the 5th day before the Ides of June, and then went back to Constantinople.||[a1]

[a] Cf. Hydatius a.389.

1 Theodosios entered Rome on 13 June (not 9 June as here), but, although he did distribute *congiaria*, he did not proclaim Honorius Augustus until Jan. 393 (*PLRE* i. 442). Theodosios left Rome on 1 Sept. 389. After the fall of Eugenios (Sept. 394), Honorius together with Galla Placidia was summoned to Milan by Theodosios. Cf. AM 5886.

71 **[AM 5882, AD 389/90]**

Theodosios, 12th year
Vararanes, 8th year
Siricius, 10th year
Nektarios, 6th year
Cyril, 24th year
Theophilos, 3rd year
Meletios, 18th year

||In this year occurred the usurpation of Eugenios, the ex-schoolmaster turned secretary, who donned the imperial regalia, with Argabastes, a native of the lesser Galatia, as his associate.[1] When Valentinian the younger, son of the elder Valentinian and Justa, heard of this, he committed suicide by hanging himself.[2] After Theodosios heard the news, he began arming to go out and avenge him.||[a]

||Theophilos, bishop of Alexandria, after applying to the emperor Theodosios, cleansed the pagan temple in Alexandria and turned it into a church and also made public the secret rites of the pagans, including their phalli and other things even more lewd and more profane. As a result, the mass of pagans out of shame committed numerous murders. When Theodosios learned of the murders committed by them, he lauded the murdered Christians as martyrs and promised to forgive the pagans if they converted to Christianity. He ordered that their temples be destroyed and that the idols be melted down and given for the needs of the poor. When the temple of Serapis in Alexandria was being pulled down, hieroglyphic writings were discovered in the shape of the cross; when the pagans who became Christian saw them they said that according to the meaning of hieroglyphic writing the cross signified the life to come.||[b3]

[a] Theod. Lect. 275–6 (85. 5–9); cf. Sokr. v. 25, Soz. vii. 22, 24. [b] Theod. Lect. 250–2 (80. 22–81. 7); cf. Soz. vii. 14–15, Theod. *HE* v. 15, Sokr. v. 16–17.

1 Argabastes (i.e. Arbogastes) proclaimed Eugenios Augustus in Aug. 392 (*PLRE* i. 293).

2 Valentinian was probably driven to suicide in May 392, i.e. three months before Eugenios' proclamation; see B. Croke, *Historia*, 25 (1976), 235–44.

3 Only a swarm of rats emerged when the Serapion was struck, Jones, *LRE* 167–8. The date is uncertain, 389 according to Marcell. com. and 391 according to the Gallic Chronicle (*Chron. Min.* i. 650).

AM 5883 [AD 390/1]

Year of the divine Incarnation 383
Theodosios, emperor of the Romans (16 years), 13th year
Vararanes, emperor of the Persians (11 years), 9th year
Siricius, bishop of Rome (15 years), 11th year
Nektarios, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 7th year
Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (35 years), 25th year
Theophilos, bishop of Alexandria (28 years), 4th year
Meletios, bishop of Antioch (25 years), 19th year

||In this year Marcellus, the bishop of Apameia in Syria, moved by divine zeal, overthrew the temples of the pagans in Apameia, and because of this was murdered by the pagans. As for Nektarios of Constantinople, he issued an interdict against the presbyter in
72 charge of penance because of a sin committed in church by a certain deacon against a woman who was there to do penance. In Rome and throughout the West this [institution] is carefully preserved even up to the present,[1] and a place is set aside for the penitents. The emperor Theodosios introduced a law that a woman could not advance to the diaconate unless she had passed the age of 60 in accordance with the Apostle.[2] He banished Eunomios for setting up a rival congregation and for deceiving the people. Eunomios died in exile.||[a]

||In the same year Theodosios' wife, Placilla,[3] died. She was pious and charitable to the poor and used to minister to lepers and the sick with her own hands. The people of Antioch smashed her statue and dragged it about in fury over the taxes which the emperor had imposed on them. He was exceedingly angry because of his affection for the most pious Placilla and would have put them all to death had not Flavian, the bishop of Antioch, gone and made representations on behalf of the people of Antioch. John Chrysostom, who was then a presbyter at Antioch and present [at these events], delivered some magnificent orations[4] to reprove those who had shown such daring against the imperial statues.||[b]

[a] Theod. Lect. 253–6 (81. 8–19); cf. Theod. *HE* v. 21, Soz. vii. 15–17.
[b] Theod. Lect. 272 (84. 17–25); cf. Theod. *HE* v. 18–20.

[1] Theophanes has replaced Theod. Lect.'s present tense with 'up to the present'.
[2] Soz. has 'the apostle Paul'.
[3] i.e. Flacilla. She died in 386 (*PLRE* i. 341–2).
[4] John Chrysostom, *On Statues* (*PG* 49: 15–222), a series of twenty-one sermons preached in Antioch between Mar. and Apr. 387.

[AM 5884, AD 391/2]

Theodosios, 14th year
Vararanes, 10th year
Siricius, 12th year
Nektarios, 8th year
Cyril, 26th year
Theophilos, 5th year
Meletios, 20th year

||In this year,[1] when Theodosios had marched against the usurper Eugenios and reached Thessalonica with his army and entered the city, the inhabitants rioted because of the billets for the army||[a] and on some excuse concerning a charioteer and the prefect's son.||[b] They insulted the emperor and murdered the prefect.[2] The emperor restrained his temper for a while and having silenced the people ordered the races to be held. But when the people and the partisans were gathered to watch the races, he ordered the army to shoot them with arrows. Fifteen thousand people perished.||[c]

||When Theodosios entered Milan, the bishop Ambrose refused to let him enter the church. At the festival of the birth of the Saviour, when the *magister* Rufinus had come to intercede [on the emperor's behalf] Ambrose reproved him severely. When Theodosios at the 73
instigation of Ambrose introduced a law that a thirty-day respite for further examination be granted to those condemned to death or confiscation, then Ambrose received him into the church outside the altar precinct, and not inside it as had been the previous practice. From this comes the excellent custom which has prevailed until now that emperors should stand outside the altar precinct with the congregation.||[d]

||In the same year, when the river Nile did not rise in the usual way, the pagans rejoiced claiming that the reason for this was that they had been prevented from sacrificing to their gods. When the pious emperor learned of this, he replied, 'May it never happen that a river, which rejoices in sacrifice, should flood the land.' And God gave His assent and blessed the rising of the river to such an extent that everyone in Egypt feared lest the flooding of the water submerge even Alexandria itself.||[e3]

[a] Mal. 347. 16–19. [b] Theod. Lect. 270 (84. 1–2); cf. Soz. vii. 25, Theod. *HE* v. 18. [c] Mal. 347. 19–21. [d] Theod. Lect. 270 (84. 3–11). Theophanes inserts, 'an excellent custom'. Cf. Soz. vii. 25, Theod. *HE* v. 18. [e] Theod. Lect. 265 (83. 3–8); cf. Soz. vii. 20.

[1] In fact 390.
[2] Rather it was the master of soldiery Butheric, *PLRE* i. 166.
[3] For general discussion see A. Hermann, *JAC* 2 (1959), 30–69.

AM 5885 [AD 392/3]

Year of the divine Incarnation 385
Theodosios, emperor of the Romans (16 years), 15th year
Vararanes, emperor of the Persians (11 years), 11th year
Siricius, bishop of Rome (15 years), 13th year

Nektarios, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 9th year
Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (35 years), 27th year
Theophilos, bishop of Alexandria (28 years), 6th year
Meletios, bishop of Antioch (25 years), 21st year

||In this year the pious emperor Theodosios fought bravely against Eugenios at the passes to the Alps, and, after capturing him alive, executed him.[1] Argabastes escaped and committed suicide.

In the same year, the relics of the prophets Habakkuk and Micah were found with God's aid in two villages in the district of Eleutheropolis[2] by Zebenos, bishop of Eleutheropolis in Palestine, who had had a vision.

When the emperor reached Rome[3] a number of bishops approached him with a motion from Innocent[4] of Rome against Flavian, bishop of Antioch. The most Christian emperor, after exhorting them to peace united them after seventeen years,[5] order-
74 ing that bishops from the East should come to Rome for this, among whom was sent Akakios of Beroia. Theodosios conferred many benefits on the Romans. He also put an end to the outrageous practice in the bakeries whereby condemned foreigners were locked away in the mills until they reached old age, and similarly he would not allow adulterous women to be outraged any longer by being locked up in brothels and being reproved for their deed by the ringing of a bell.||[a]

[a] Theod. Lect. 274, 276–8 (85. 1–4, 9–22); cf. Soz. vii. 24, 29, Sokr. v. 18, 25. Theod. *HE* v. 23.

[1] 6 Sept. 394.

[2] Eleutheropolis, the Betogabri of the Peutinger tables, is the modern Beit-Jebrin, about 32 km. west of Hebron.

[3] Cf. AM 5881. F. Paschoud, *Cinq études sur Zosime* (Paris, 1975), 100–24, argues that Theodosios' ill-health would have prevented his travelling to Rome, against A. D. E. Cameron, *HSCP* 73 (1969), who defends the account of the visit in Zos. iv. 59. Cf. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 48.

[4] Innocent did not become pope until 401. Theophanes rightly has Siricius in the chronological table.

[5] Theophanes has weakened Theod. Lect.'s emphasis, 'At last after 17 years the churches were united' and added the epithet 'most Christian' to Theodosios.

[AM 5886, AD 393/4]

Theodosios, 16th year
Vararanes, 12th year

Siricius, 14th year
Nektarios, 10th year
Cyril, 28th year
Theophilos, 7th year
Meletios, 22nd year

||In this year, after the destruction of the usurper Eugenios and the settlement of affairs, the pious emperor Theodosios departed from Rome and set out for Constantinople. But on reaching Milan he fell sick and sent for his son Honorius, and having seen him, he felt better. After watching the races, he was suddenly taken ill after lunch, and not having the strength to attend the races in the afternoon, he ordered his son to complete them. The following night he died in the Lord at the age of 60,[1] having been emperor for sixteen years, and leaving his two sons as emperors, the elder Arkadios in the East and Honorius in the West. Arkadios brought his body to Constantinople and buried it at the Holy Apostles.||[a]

[a] Theod. Lect. 279 (85. 24–86. 4); cf. Soz. viii. 29. 3, viii. 1. 1, Sokr. vi. 1. 3.

[1] Theodosios died on 17 Jan. 395.

[AM 5887, AD 394/5]

Arkadios, son of Theodosios, emperor of the Romans (14 years), 1st year
Isdigerdes, emperor of the Persians (21 years), 1st year[1]
Siricius, 15th year
Nektarios, 11th year
Cyril, 29th year
Theophilos, 8th year
Meletios, 23rd year

||In this year Arkadios, on being appointed *autokrator*, built the big portico opposite the Praetorium.||[a2]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 1.

[1] Yazdgerd (I) ruled in fact from 399 to 421.

[2] Since Theophanes was making considerable use of his Alexandrian material at this period, this too may well have come from the Alexandrian source and so refer to Alexandria rather than Constantinople.

[AM 5888, AD 395/6]

Arkadios, 2nd year
Isdigerdes, 2nd year
Anastasios, 38th bishop of Rome (3 years), 1st year[1]
Nektarios, 12th year
Cyril, 30th year
Theophilos, 9th year
Meletios, 24th year

[1] Anastasios was pope from 27 Nov. 399 to 19 Dec. 401. Despite the rubric Theophanes allows Anastasios two years only.

[AM 5889, AD 396/7]

Arkadios, 3rd year
Isdigerdes, 3rd year
Anastasios, 2nd year
Nektarios, 13th year
Cyril, 31st year
Theophilos, 10th year
Meletios, 25th year

75 AM 5890 [AD 397/8]

Year of the divine Incarnation 390
Arkadios, emperor of the Romans (14 years), 4th year
Isdigerdes, emperor of the Persians (21 years), 4th year
Innocent, bishop of Rome (15 years), 1st year[1]
Nektarios, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 14th year
Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (35 years), 32nd year
Theophilos, bishop of Alexandria (28 years), 11th year
Flavian, bishop of Antioch (22 years), 1st year

In this year the relics of the holy prophet John the Forerunner and Baptist were translated to Alexandria, on the 6th day before the kalends of July, the 2nd of the month Pauni.[2]

[1] Innocent was pope from 22 Dec. 401 to 12 Mar. 417.

[2] The Roman date converts to 26 June, the Alexandrian to 27 June. This has presumably come from Theophanes' Alexandrian source, which, interestingly, Theophanes has prefered to the account of Theod. Lect. 268 (83. 14–24) that the head was brought to Constantinople. In the latter story the discovery is attributed to Macedonian heretics, which may explain

Theophanes' choice of source, though in Theod. Lect. the story is turned against Valens, which should have appealed to Theophanes.

[AM 5891, AD 398/9]

Arkadios, 5th year
Isdigerdes, 5th year
Innocent, 2nd year
Nektarios, 15th year
Cyril, 33rd year
Theophilos, 12th year
Flavian, 2nd year

In this year Anatalios the *illustrissimus* was burned in Alexandria.[1] ||The emperor Arkadios created his own military unit in Constantinople, which he called the Arcadiaci.||[a]

[a] Cf. Mal. 349. 5–6, Leo Gramm. 104. 19.

[1] This is the only known reference to Anatolios.

[AM 5892, AD 399/400]

Arkadios, 6th year
Isdigerdes, 6th year
Innocent, 3rd year
Nektarios, 16th year
Cyril, 34th year
Theophilos, 13th year
Flavian, 3rd year

||In this year Nektarios, bishop of Constantinople, died.[1] Theophilos, bishop of Alexandria, who was present, was eager to prevent the election of John Chrysostom, and [recommended] his own presbyter, a certain Isidore, testifying that he should be bishop of the capital. Isidore had served Theophilos at the time when Theodosios was waging war on the tyrant Maximus and had been entrusted by him (Theophilos) with two letters and gifts. But the emperor and the whole city were pleased to ordain John, who had been summoned from Antioch by the emperor for this purpose.[2] John was among the most distinguished men of Antioch; his father was Secundus and his mother Anthousa. He was extremely eloquent, largely from divine grace, and was admired even by the most skilled sophists among the pagans; hence, when Libanios was close to death and was asked by

his students, 'Who should take over the school after you?' he replied, 'I would have said John, had not the Christians snatched him away from us.' Chrysostom was taught the holy scriptures by a certain Karterios, abbot of a monastery, and received his general education from the aforementioned Libanios.||[a][3]

76 ||In the same year a son was born[4] to the emperor Arkadios by the Augusta Eudoxia, namely Theodosios the younger||[b] whom John Chrysostom sponsored at his baptism.

[a] Theod. Lect. 280–1 (86. 5–17); cf. Sokr. vi. 2–3, Soz. viii. 2. [b] Theod. Lect. 284 (87. 8–9); cf. Soz. viii. 4, Sokr. vi. 6, AM 5893.

1 27 Sept. 397.
2 John Chrysostom was appointed on 26 Feb. 398.
3 For Libanios, Theod. Lect. has Diodoros, bishop of Tarsos. Soz. has both. Thus either Theophanes' access to the 5th cent. ecclesiastical historians is not via Theod. or more probably, our fragments of Theod. Lect. have also suffered from abbreviation.
4 10 Apr. 401.

[AM 5893, AD 400/1]

Arkadios, 7th year
Isdigerdes, 7th year
Innocent, 4th year
John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople (6 years), 1st year
Cyril, 35th year
Theophilos, 14th year
Flavian, 4th year

||In the seventh year of Arkadios, a son was born to him by Eudoxia, namely Theodosios the younger.||[a][1]

[a] Theod. Lect. 284 (87. 8–9); cf. Soz. viii. 4, Sokr. vi. 6.

1 Cf. AM 5892. This time the date is right.

[AM 5894, AD 401/2]

Arkadios, 8th year
Isdigerdes, 8th year
Innocent, 5th year
John, 2nd year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (16 years), 1st year

Theophilos, 15th year
Flavian, 5th year

||In this year Gaïnas usurped power from Arkadios and did much harm in Byzantium.[1] After exchanging oaths with Arkadios in the church of St Euphemia in Chalcedon, he broke them and, after doing more harm, he entered the city where he went plundering and committing other atrocities. He then left for the Thracian Chersonese where, after building rafts, he made preparations to cross over into Asia to seize the eastern cities. But after a violent war had broken out there on land and sea he perished with his army.||[a]

[a] Theod. Lect. 284 (87. 1–8); cf. Soz. viii. 4, Sokr. vi. 6.

1 Gaïnas' revolt occurred in 400. On the revolt, in effect a mutiny by Gothic (Arian) soldiers, see Bury, *HLRE*[2] i. 129–35, P. J. Heather, *Phoenix*, 42 (1988), 152–72.

[AM 5895, AD 402/3]

Arkadios, 9th year
Isdigerdes, 9th year
Innocent, 6th year
John, 3rd year
John, 2nd year
Theophilos, 16th year
Flavian, 6th year

||In this year Honorius stirred up confusion and discord in Rome. Aroused against the citizens because of some minor matters and not checking his anger, he moved to Ravenna,[1] a coastal city in Italy. He then sent one of his ministers, a barbarian of Gallic race,[2] at the head of a large army with orders to plunder and harass those who had wronged him. So Rome was besieged by him and narrowly escaped being completely destroyed.[3] But Alaric put himself at the disposal of the senators of the city,[4] and after taking all the money from the palace and Honorius' sister (on his father's side) Placidia,[5] who was then a young maiden, returned to his own nation in Gaul. But a certain Constantius,[6] who was a *comes* with Alaric, being entrusted with the maiden Placidia, fled with her and brought her to the emperor Honorius. The emperor received Constantius and made him a senator. A little later he gave Constantius the girl in marriage[7] 77
and proclaimed him emperor.[8] He had a son by her whom he called Valentinian the younger.[9] Constantius campaigned with Honorius

and destroyed the usurpers in Rome,[10] and they confiscated their houses and brought peace to the city.‖[a]

‖The great teacher John illuminated not only the Church of Constantinople, but also those of Thrace, Asia, and Pontos so that, even before the holy Synod at Chalcedon, the bishop of Constantinople was the leader of those Churches.‖[b] A certain follower of Makedonios returned to the Church because of the Father's teaching. This man, after exhorting his wife to convert and take communion, was scarcely able to persuade her. She, for her part, gave to her maid the sacraments of the Macedonians, and bade her keep them. She then approached Chrysostom, received the sacrament from his holy hands, and, pretending to partake of it, at the last moment gave it to her maid and took the Macedonians' sacrament, which she put in her mouth but found it had turned to stone. Shuddering with fear she fell at the feet of John, confessing her effrontery, and sincerely joined the Church. The stone was placed in the sacristy for safe keeping.‖[c]

‖Chrysostom's letter to Theodore of Mopsuestia was addressed not to the first [Theodore] but to the later one.‖[d]

The great Arsenios, [at first] a layman, renounced everything and began practising sacred philosophy in Egypt, and so became conspicuous in the monastic order for his way of life, his teaching and his miracles.[11]

‖In the same year Arkadios set up the column of Xerolophos[12] and founded Arkadioupolis[13] in Thrace.‖[e]

[a] Mal. 349. 12–350. 12; cf. Nik. Kall. xiv. 5. [b] Theod. Lect. 283 (86. 21–4); cf. Theod. *HE* v. 28, Chalcedon, Canon 28 (*ACO* ii. 1. 3). [c] Theod. Lect. 285 (87. 10–21); cf. Soz. viii. 5. [d] Theod. Lect. 282 (86. 18–20); cf. Soz. viii. 2, John Chrys. *PG* 47: 297. [e] Cf. Geo. Mon. 489. 9, Leo Gramm. 104. 20, Mich. Syr. ii. 1.

[1] Probably autumn of 402, see Bury, *HLRE*[2] i. 163.

[2] Alaric was a Visigoth. Theophanes' confused version, derived from Malalas, is difficult to sort out.

[3] This appears to be a conflation of Alaric's sieges and threats on Rome in 408. At this stage the post which Alaric held was probably *comes Illyrici*.

[4] This presumably refers to the Senate's submission to Alaric's demands, leading to his proclamation of Priscus Attalus as emperor at Rome.

[5] Placidia was taken during the capture of Rome in 410. See AM 5903.

[6] Constantius led forces against Athaulf, Alaric's brother and successor, in 414 to recover Placidia. Placidia was restored in 416 when Vallia, the new Visigothic king, accepted peace terms. The version given here appears in various sources. See *PLRE* ii. 323.

[7] Constantius' marriage to Placidia took place on 1 Jan. 417, the day he celebrated his second consulship.

[8] Augustus 8 Feb. to 2 Sept. 421. See AM 5913, the only source to provide this date.

[9] Valentinian III, Augustus 425–55, born 2 July 419 (*PLRE* ii. 1138).

[10] Cf. Oros. viii. 42. 15, which perhaps lends some support for this statement.

[11] On Arsenios see *PLRE* i. 14. A former tutor to Arkadios and Honorius, he turned monk at the age of 40 and spent the rest of his long life (he died at 95) in various monasteries in the Egyptian desert. Fifty-five *apophthegmata* about him exist (*PG* 65: 88–108). Theophanes may have been aware of a Laudation of Arsenios by Theodore the Studite. On 'sacred philosophy' meaning monasticism, see H. Hunger in M. Mullett and R. Scott, eds., *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition* (Birmingham, 1981), 40–1.

[12] Cf. AM 6041, 6232. In the patriographic tradition the Xerolophos was linked with prophetic powers. See G. Dagron and J. Paramelle, *TM* 7 (1979), 491–523. For illustrations see E. H. Freshfield, *Archaeologia*, 72 (1921–2), 87–104.

[13] Lüleburgaz, about half way between Istanbul and Edirne. See AM 6051, n. 17.

AM 5896 [AD 403/4]

Year of the divine Incarnation 396
Arkadios, emperor of the Romans (14 years), 10th year
Isdigerdes, emperor of the Persians (21 years), 10th year
Innocent, bishop of Rome (15 years), 7th year
John, bishop of Constantinople (6 years), 4th year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (16 years), 3rd year
Theophilos, bishop of Alexandria (28 years), 17th year
Flavian, bishop of Antioch (22 years), 7th year

‖In this year John Chrysostom was particularly conspicuous for his way of life, his teaching, and his divine gifts as well as for being 78
scrupulous in every virtue. He was loved by the whole congregation, which was greatly edified by his teaching, but those who lived a profligate life shunned him and collaborated to make war on him. At this juncture occurred the affair of the eunuch Eutropios,[1] and furthermore the rivalry between Severianus of Gabala and John's archdeacon Sarapion,[2] the matter of the Tall [Brothers][3] who had fled from Egypt because of Theophilos, and Theophilos' correspondence with Epiphanios.[4] In all of these John, the servant of God, was being plotted against. Epiphanios of Cyprus came to the Hebdomon,[5] and held ordinations and services contrary to John's wish. But although John overlooked this because of his holy love and indeed invited Epiphanios to stay in the episcopal residence with him, Epiphanios

did not choose to do so, having been won over by Theophilos' slanders against the blessed John.||[a]

[a] Theod. Lect. 287–8 (88. 5–17) (Theophanes adds of John Chrysostom 'the servant of God' and 'against the blessed John'); cf. Soz. viii. 2, 7, 10, 12–14, Sokr. vi. 5, 9, 11–12, 14.

[1] According to Sokr. vi. 5, John attacked Eutropios in his sermon while Eutropios was actually lying under the altar. Eutropios was removed from the church, exiled, recalled, and beheaded. The date is 399. See *PLRE* ii. 440–4.

[2] See Sokr. vi. 11. The date is probably 401. Cf. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 70–1.

[3] See Sokr. viii. 12. The tall brothers were four monks who led the Origenist movement in Egypt. Oppressed by Theophilos in Alexandria in 399, they won the support of John in Constantinople but as that was ineffective, they turned to Eudoxia, who promised to arrange a synod aimed at Theophilos. This led to the Synod of the Oak (autumn 403, see AM 5897) but with John replacing Theophilos as the accused. See Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 73–4.

[4] See Soz. viii. 14. Epiphanios, a strong opponent of Origenism, came to Constantinople in 400 after corresponding with Theophilos of Alexandria.

[5] On the Hebdomon cf. AM 5930, n. 3.

[AM 5897, AD 404/5]

Arkadios, 11th year
Isidgerdes, 11th year
Innocent, 8th year
John, 5th year
John, 4th year
Theophilos, 18th year
Flavian, 8th year

||In this year John Chrysostom gave a sermon against evil women, which the enemies of truth, who were ill-disposed to him, used in order to provoke Eudoxia by claiming that the sermon had been aimed against her.[1] She then told Arkadios how terribly she had suffered through John and drove him to summon Theophilos, who was obviously John's enemy. When Theophilos arrived at the Oak, which is now called Rufinianae, he contrived a plot against John, whom they banished from the city.[2] When the people came to know of this, they caused a great riot and would not allow John to be expelled. At this Eudoxia, moved by the lament of the people, appealed to the emperor Arkadios, who sent the eunuch Brison to

recall John from Prainetos.[3] John, however, refused to enter the city before there was an inquiry by the synod and resided in a suburb at Anaplous. The people, shouting at the emperors, forced them to bring John back and establish him on his throne. As a result Theophilos and his party fled in fear from the city. Thereupon sixty bishops gathered and justly confirmed that all the charges made by Theophilos and his supporters against the holy John were invalid.||[a] 79

[a] Theod. Lect. 293 (89. 10–24) (Theophanes inserts 'the enemies of truth'); cf. Soz. viii. 16–19, Sokr. vi. 15.

[1] It probably had been. See Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 72–3. The date is probably 403.

[2] The Synod of the Oak, in the palace that had once belonged to Rufinus near Chalcedon, took place in July 403. It was stacked with supporters of Theophilos (all but seven of the 36 or 45 bishops who attended were from Egypt). On Rufinianae see Janin, *Grands centres*, 36 ff.

[3] Prainetos, a market town in Bithynia, modern Karamürsel.

[AM 5898, AD 405/6]

Arkadios, 12th year
Isdigerdes, 12th year
Innocent, 9th year
John, 6th year
John, 5th year
Theophilos, 19th year
Flavian, 9th year

||In this year the empress Eudoxia had a silver statue made of herself and set it up in a place called Pittakia near St Eirene.[1] The City Prefect, being a Manichaean and a supporter of paganism, organized noisy choirs and dancing in front of the statue and raised a commotion, which distressed John since it did not allow him to celebrate the holy liturgy in peace. For it frequently interrupted the psalm-singing. The holy John inveighed verbally against the prefect, who roused Eudoxia against John, saying that the latter was annoyed by the honour given to her statue. So once again there was hatred and anger against John. He then delivered a sermon that began, 'Once again Herodias is frenzied'.[2] At this the empress's hostility towards him reached its peak and, once again, came deposition and banishment.[3] The people set fire to the church and many risked danger on John's behalf. John was driven from the city||[a] and banished to

Koukousos,[4] from where he was transferred to Pityous.[5] When he was at Komana[6] in the approaches of Armenia, he died in the Lord.||[b]

||After his banishment Arsakios was ordained. He was the brother of Nektarios who had preceded Chrysostom. However, Innocent of Rome and Flavian of Antioch did not agree to John's banishment, but wrote a letter of consolation to the clergy of the city and showed their displeasure at these shameless acts.||[c]

||Epiphanios set sail for Cyprus, for it seems that God forewarned him of his death. They say that he also revealed to John his death in exile and John told Epiphanios that his would be on a ship. Epiphanios said to those who were seeing him off, 'I go in haste and I leave to you the books, the city, and the [art of] hypocrisy.'||[d]

||In the same year Eudoxia, too, died.||[e7]

[a] Cf. Theod. Lect. 293 (89. 24–90. 2), Soz. viii. 20, Sokr. vi. 18, Mich. Syr. ii. 1 and 6. [b] Theod. Lect. 298 (90. 18–19); cf. Theod. *HE* v. 34, Soz. viii. 28. [c] Theod. Lect. 294–5 (90. 3–9); cf. Soz. viii. 23–25. [d] Theod. Lect. 291 (89. 1–5); cf. Soz. viii. 15. [e] Theod. Lect. 296 (90. 14); cf. Soz. viii. 27, Sokr. vi. 19. Not marked in de Boor or Hansen.

[1] Theod. Lect., following Soz., does not give the location of the statue. Sokr. locates it 'near Hagia Sophia'. Mich. Syr. agrees with Theophanes in placing it near St Eirene, so that Michael and Theophanes seem to be independent of Theod. Lect. here. Differences in their versions of this story further suggest that they have produced different interpretations of a common source rather than that Michael was following Theophanes. On the Pittakia and Eudoxia's statue, whose pedestal is preserved, see P. Speck, *Hellenika*, 22 (1969), 430–5; I. Ševčenko, *Annals of the Ukrainian Acad.* 12 (1969–72), 204–16.

[2] *PG* 59: 485. The prefect is identified with Simplicius 4, *PLRE* ii. 1014.

[3] 20 June 404. For Chrysostom's disputes with Eudoxia and her circle, see J. W. H. G. Liebeschuetz in A. Moffatt, ed., *Maistor* (Canberra, 1984), 85–111.

[4] For Koukousos see AM 5969, n. 4.

[5] Modern Pitzunda in Lazica, the last Roman station/fortress along the Pontos, two days journey from Sebastopolis (Prok. *Aed.* iii. 7. 8–9, *BG* iv. 4. 4).

[6] Theophanes adds 'died in the Lord' and defines Komana as 'in the approaches of Armenia'. On the site of Komana in Pontos Polemoniakos (modern Gumenek), see F. and E. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, ii (Brussels, 1906), 248 ff.

[7] Eudoxia died on 6 Oct. 404 (*PLRE* ii. 410).

[AM 5899, AD 406/7]

Arkadios, 13th year
Isdigerdes, 13th year

Innocent, 10th year
Arsakios, bishop of Constantinople (2 years), 1st year
John, 6th year
Theophilos, 20th year
Flavian, 10th year

||In this year, while the emperor Arkadios was at Karya[1] where, they say, the holy martyr Akakios had suffered, he prayed and left the church and immediately after that the huge church at Karya collapsed. The crowd, who were saved, ascribed their safety to the emperor's prayer.||[a] 80

[a] Theod. Lect. 299 (90. 21–4); cf. Sokr. vi. 23, Soz. ix. 1, Mich. Syr. ii. 1.

[1] Karya was in Constantinople: see Berger, *Patria*, 466 ff. The word means a nut tree, there being a tradition that Akakios had been martyred by being hanged from that tree (as against being beheaded). *Chron. Pasch.* 570 records damage elsewhere in Constantinople from an earthquake on 1 Apr. 407. See Whitby and Whitby, *Chron. Pasch.* 61.

[AM 5900, AD 407/8]

Arkadios, 14th year
Isdigerdes, 14th year
Innocent, 11th year
Arsakios, 2nd year
John, 7th year
Theophilos, 21st year
Flavian, 11th year

||In this year the earth in Rome groaned for seven days.[1] And in Ravenna Stilicho, the *illustrissimus*, was murdered, as well as other powerful people, in the very year Arkadios died, on the eleventh day before the kalends of September.||[a2]

||Arkadios, perceiving that his son, the young Theodosios, was still very small and unprotected and fearing that someone would plot against him, proclaimed him emperor and in his will appointed the Persian emperor Isdigerdes his guardian. Isdigerdes, the Persian emperor, after accepting Arkadios' will, behaved most pacifically towards the Romans and preserved the Empire for Theodosios. After dispatching Antiochos,[3] a most remarkable and highly educated adviser and instructor, he wrote to the Roman Senate as follows: 'Since Arkadios has died and has appointed me as his child's guardian, I have sent the man who will take my place. Let no one

attempt a plot against the child so that I need not stir up an implacable war against the Romans.' After Antiochos had come, he stayed at the emperor's side. Theodosios was educated wisely in Christian matters by his uncle Honorius and his sister Pulcheria.[4] And there was peace between the Romans and the Persians, especially since Antiochos produced many writings on behalf of the Christians; and thus Christianity was spread in Persia, with the bishop of Mesopotamia, Marouthas,[5] acting as mediator.||[b]

[a] Cf. Marcell. com. a.408, *Auct. Prosp.* a.408 (*Chron. Min.* i. 299), *Chron. Pasch.* 570, Mich. Syr. ii. 10, Theod. Lect. 299 (90. 20), Soz. ix. 4, Sokr. vi. 23. [b] Cf. Nik. Kall. xiv. 1. Prok. *BP* i. 2. 7–10, *Chr. 1234*, 136–7 (p. 173), Mich. Syr. ii. 2.

[1] Cf. Mich. Syr., 'The earth groaned for seven days and earth tremors did not cease in the imperial city (? = Constantinople) by night or day for four months. Everyone said "It is the vengeance of God, who is chastising the city . . . because of the illegitimate deposing of St. John." ' *Prosp. Cont. Havn.* makes the earthquake signify the capture of Rome in two years' time. The *Gallic Chronicle* (*Chron. Min.* i. 652, a.408) places the earthquake in Utica. *Chron. Pasch.* 570. 3–5 (a.407), 'there was rain, thunder, lightning and an earthquake on 1 Apr.' (in Constantinople); 570. 15–17 (a.408): 'there was rain, thunder, lightning and an earthquake on 5 July' (also in Constantinople). Mich. Syr. and Marcell. com. alone cover all of Theophanes' items, but Mich. Syr. may be referring to AM 5930.

[2] 22 Aug. In the Greek it looks as if this was meant to refer to Arkadios' death, which in fact was on 1 May 408 (*PLRE* i. 99) rather than that of Stilicho, for whom it would be accurate (22 Aug. 408, *PLRE* i. 857). Certainly news of Arkadios' death had reached Italy before Stilicho's downfall.

[3] As is pointed out in *PLRE* ii. 102, this story cannot be correct as it stands since Antiochos was already in Constantinople when Arkadios died. Possibly Yazdgerd simply approved Antiochos as Theodosios' tutor. On the role of Antiochos see J. Bardill and G. Greatrex, *DOP* 50 (1996).

[4] Theophanes gives AM 5905 (AD 412/13) as the year when Pulcheria took over from Antiochos.

[5] On whom see E. Tisserant, art. Marouta de Maypherqat, *DTC* x (1927), 142 ff., J. Noret, *AnBoll* 91 (1973), 77 ff. Cf. also AM 5916.

AM 5901 [AD 408/9]

Year of the divine Incarnation 401
Theodosios, emperor of the Romans (42 years), 1st year
Isdigerdes, emperor of the Persians (21 years), 15th year
Innocent, bishop of Rome (15 years), 12th year
Attikos, bishop of Constantinople (20 years), 1st year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (16 years), 8th year

Theophilos, bishop of Alexandria (28 years), 22nd year
Flavian, bishop of Antioch (22 years), 12th year

In this year, on the death of the emperor Arkadios, who had ruled after the death of his father Theodosios 14 years, 3 months, and 14 days (having already ruled jointly with his father for twelve years), he left his son Theodosios as emperor, then 8 years old, who had ruled jointly with his father Arkadios for six years.[1] ||When Theodosios became sole ruler, his sister Pulcheria, who was a virgin 15 years old,[2] managed the Empire excellently with the help of God. He had two other sisters, Arkadia and Marina, whom Pulcheria persuaded to live a virgin life. Possessing great wisdom and a holy mind, she educated her brother Theodosios. She gave her brother Theodosios a royal training, above all in piety towards God, but also in character, speech, gait, laughter, dress, deportment, and behaviour. After building numerous churches, poor-houses, hostels, and monasteries, she endowed all of them with appropriate income in imperial style. Sozomen says about her that she was even deemed worthy of divine manifestation.||[a] 81

[a] Theod. Lect. 301–2 (91. 4–13); cf. Soz. ix. 1.

[1] Theodosios was born 10 Apr. 401 and became an Augustus 10 Jan. 402, so Theophanes' calculation is sound.

[2] Pulcheria was born 19 Jan. 399. '15 years old' comes originally from Soz. Theophanes has placed it in the wrong year. Cf. AM 5905, where it would be almost correct.

[AM 5902, AD 409/10]

Theodosios, 2nd year
Isdigerdes, 16th year
Innocent, 13th year
Attikos, 2nd year
John, 9th year
Theophilos, 23rd year
Flavian, 13th year

||In this year, Attikos, bishop of Constantinople, having admonished a certain Jew who was paralytic, and having persuaded him and baptized him, brought him from the font restored to health. For Attikos was said to have lived according to God.||[a]

[a] Theod. Lect. 303 (91. 14–16); cf. Sokr. vii. 2, Ps.-Dion a.724 (AD 413), pp. 142–3.

[AM 5903, AD 410/11]

Theodosios, 3rd year
Isdigerdes, 17th year
Innocent, 14th year
Attikos, 3rd year
John, 10th year
Theophilos, 24th year
Flavian, 14th year

||In this year Rome was captured by Alaric on the 9th day before the kalends of September.||[a1] And after a few days Constantine, the *illustrissimus*, was put to death along with many others.||[b2]

[a] Cf. Prosp. Tiro, a.410 (*Chron. Min.* i. 466), Ps.-Dion a.728 (AD 417), p. 143, Mich. Syr. ii. 10. [b] Cf. Marcell. com. a.411. See *PLRE* ii. 316, Constantine 21, for a list of parallels.

[1] 24 Aug. The year in fact was 410.

[2] Constantine (*PLRE* ii. 316, Constantine 21) had been proclaimed Augustus by the armies in Britain in 407, surrendered to Honorius' generals in 411, and was murdered by them.

[AM 5904, AD 411/12]

Theodosios, 4th year
Isdigerdes, 18th year
Innocent, 15th year
Attikos, 4th year
John, 11th year
Theophilos, 25th year
Flavian, 15th year

||In this year Jovian and Sebastian, both *illustrissimi*, were put to death in Gaul.[1] Their heads were brought to Rome,[2] and fifteen days later Salustius and Herakleianos were put to death.||[a3]

[a] Cf. esp. Hyd. Lem. a.413, *Ann. Rav.* a.412. For full list of parallels, see *PLRE* ii. 621–2, Iovinus 2.

[1] Jovian (in fact Iovinus) was proclaimed emperor in Gaul in 411 and proclaimed his brother Sebastian emperor in 412. He was captured (probably in 413, but the Ravenna Annals give 30 Aug. 412, supporting Theophanes' date) by Athaulf and murdered by Claudius Postumus Dardanus. See *PLRE* ii. 621–2. Although Soz. ix. 15 mentions Jovian, Theophanes appears to be depending on the annalistic tradition.

[2] Probably Ravenna rather than Rome.

[3] Salustius (for Sallustius) was Jovian's brother. The Ravenna Annals again support Theophanes' date against the general tradition. Herakleianos, appointed *comes Africae* in 408 as a reward for murdering Stilicho, rebelled in 413 but after being defeated fled to Carthage, where he was killed (on 7 Mar. 413 according to the Ravenna Annals). See *PLRE* ii. 539–40.

[AM 5905, AD 412/13]

Theodosios, 5th year
Isdigerdes, 19th year
Zosimos, bishop of Rome (8 years), 1st year[1]
Attikos, 5th year
John, 12th year
Theophilos, 26th year
Flavian, 16th year

||In this year the Jews in Alexandria did much harm to the Christians. For after agreeing among themselves to wear a ring of palm wood, they caused the heralds to shout out during the night that the church had been set on fire. When the Christians had gathered together, the Jews slaughtered them. When this act was discovered, the Christian magistrates expelled the Jews from Alexandria and confiscated their property.||[a2] 82

||In the same year Antiochos the Persian departed and the blessed Pulcheria gained complete control of affairs.||[b3]

[a] Theod. Lect. 310 (92. 10–15); cf. Sokr. vii. 13; Theophanes substitutes 'Christian magistrates' for Theod. Lect.'s 'Cyril of Alexandria'. [b] Cf. AM 5900 and 5936.

[1] Zosimos was pope from 18 Mar. to 26 Dec. 418.

[2] The incident took place after Cyril became bishop (17 Oct. 412, Sokr. vii. 7) and before the murder of Hypatia (Mar. 415, Sokr. vii. 15). Sokr. simply says 'about this time', so Theophanes' date is correct, but he has misplaced Cyril (AM 5907). The incident is also described by John of Nikiu, 84. 91–3 and by Mich. Syr. ii. 12, but their versions seem to be taken from Sokr. independently of Theophanes.

[3] Two, possibly three, interrelated events need to be dated: (i) the date at which Pulcheria assumed control; if Pulcheria was then 15 (cf. AM 5900) the year is 414; (ii) the date of Antiochos' departure, which may be the same as (i) or (iii); and (iii) the date of Theodosios' dismissal of Antiochos, which is disputed (cf. AM 5936). On this chronological muddle see now J. Bardill and G. Greatrex, *DOP* 50 (1996).

AM 5906 [AD 413/14]

Year of the divine Incarnation 406
Theodosios, emperor of the Romans (42 years), 6th year
Isdigerdes, emperor of the Persians (21 years), 20th year
Zosimos, bishop of Rome (8 years), 2nd year
Attikos, bishop of Constantinople (20 years), 6th year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (16 years), 13th year
Theophilos, bishop of Alexandria (28 years), 27th year
Flavian, bishop of Antioch (22 years), 17th year

||In this year certain persons killed violently the philosopher Hypatia, the daughter of the philosopher Theon.||[a1]

||In the same year the Persian emperor, Isdigerdes, who had earlier been persuaded by the preachings of Marouthas, bishop of Mesopotamia, and Abdaas, bishop of the capital city in Persia, reached the pinnacle of piety,[2] so that he was almost on the point of being baptized because of Marouthas' working of miracles, and was chastizing the magi for being impostors. But in his 20th year he was deceived by the magi and stirred up a great persecution of the Christians in Persia.||[b] He died in his 21st year.

||The cause of the persecution was this. Abdaas, bishop of the capital city in Persia, driven by his zeal for God, but not applying this zeal where it was appropriate, set fire to the temple of Fire. When the emperor learned of this, he decreed that the churches in Persia be destroyed and punished Abdaas with various torments. The persecution lasted five years and many were declared martyrs beyond counting.||[c] For the magi carefully hunted down through the cities and villages those who had escaped notice. Some gave themselves up voluntarily so that they would not appear to have denied Christ by
83 their silence. With the Christians being killed unsparingly, a great many were destroyed even in the emperor's palace.||[d] Many others sought refuge among the Romans.||[e]

[a] Theod. Lect. 311 (92. 16–17); cf. Sokr. vii. 15. [b] Theod. Lect. 313 (92. 24–7); cf. Sokr. vii. 8, Theod. *HE* v. 39. [c] Cf. Theod. *HE* v. 39, Mich. Syr. ii. 15. [d] Cf. Soz. ii. 11. [e] Cf. Sokr. vii. 18.

[1] Hypatia was killed in Mar. 415 (Sokr. vii. 15). Theophanes again (cf. AM 5905) omits any reference to Cyril.

[2] Theophanes has introduced 'pinnacle of piety'; and has added 'in his 20th year' and 'died in his 21st year', presumably from another source. The persecutions did take place in the 20th year of Yazdgerd's reign, which was, however, in 419/20: see, AM 5918, n. 3.

[AM 5907, AD 414/15]

Theodosios, 7th year
Isdigerdes, 21st year
Zosimos, 3rd year
Attikos, 7th year
John, 14th year
Theophilos, 28th year
Flavian, 18th year

||In this year, Theophilos, bishop of Alexandria, died, and his nephew Cyril was appointed in his place.||[a1]

||In the same year Hesychios, presbyter at Jerusalem, flourished in his teaching.||[b2]

[a] Theod. Lect. 305 (91. 22–3); cf. Sokr. vii. 7, Ps.-Dion a.721 (AD 410), p. 142. [b] Cf. Ps.-Dion a.758 (AD 447), p. 164.

[1] Cyril was appointed 17 Oct. 412.

[2] Hesychios' dates are not known with any precision but he died after 451. His works are said to have included a history of the Council of Chalcedon in four books, a Church History, and a commentary on the entire Bible. For his life, Cyr. Scyth. *V. Euth.* 31 ff.

[AM 5908, AD 415/6]

Theodosios, 8th year
Vararanes, emperor of the Persians (20 years), 1st year[1]
Zosimos, 4th year
Attikos, 8th year
John, 15th year
Cyril, bishop of Alexandria (32 years), 1st year
Flavian, 19th year

||In this year the Jews caught a Christian boy at Immon,[2] and, in jest, as it were, and to mock the cross they hanged the boy from a piece of wood, tortured, and killed him. When the emperor learned of this he punished the Jews suitably.||[a]

[a] Theod. Lect. 312 (92. 19–23); cf. Sokr. vii. 16, Mich. Syr. ii. 12.

[1] Vahram V ruled from 421 to 438.

[2] Sokr. has 'Immestar' in Syria between Antioch and Chalkis and dates this event to 'soon after' the murder of Hypatia.

[AM 5909, AD 416/17]

Theodosios, 9th year
Vararanes, 2nd year
Zosimos, 5th year
Attikos, 9th year
John, 16th year
Cyril, 2nd year
Flavian, 20th year

[AM 5910, AD 417/18]

Theodosios, 10th year
Vararanes, 3rd year
Zosimos, 6th year
Attikos, 10th year
[*No entry for Jerusalem*]
Cyril, 3rd year
Flavian, 21st year

[AM 5911, AD 417/18]

Theodosios, 11th year
Vararanes, 4th year
Zosimos, 7th year
Attikos, 11th year
Praÿlios, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 1st year
Cyril, 4th year
Flavian, 22nd year

||In this year Attikos baptized the daughter of the philosopher Leontios, namely Athenais, and renamed her Eudokia. On the advice of Pulcheria she was married to Theodosios.[1] She was remarkable for the beauty of her body, for the intelligence of her mind, and for her culture.||[a]

||In the same year Valentinian, the son of Constantius and Galla Placidia, was born in Ravenna.||[b2]

[a] Theod. Lect. 316 (93. 16–18); cf. Sokr. vii. 21. [b] Theod. Lect. 317 (93. 19–22); cf. Soz. ix. 16.

[1] 7 June 421.

[2] 2 July 419 (cf. AM 5912). Theophanes adds 'in Ravenna', presumably from a chronicle source.

AM 5912 [AD 419/20]

Year of the divine Incarnation 412
Theodosios, emperor of the Romans (42 years), 12th year
Vararanes, emperor of the Persians (20 years), 5th year
Zosimos, bishop of Rome (8 years), 8th year
Attikos, bishop of Constantinople (20 years), 12th year
Praÿlios, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 2nd year
Cyril, bishop of Alexandria (32 years), 5th year
Theodotos, bishop of Antioch (4 years), 1st year

||In this year the bishop Attikos, on seeing that the Johannites held their services outside the Church, ordained that the name of John Chrysostom be commemorated in the diptychs of the Church, and united many people with the Church.||[a] 84

||In the same year Valentinian the younger, the son of Constantius and cousin of Theodosios, was born in Ravenna.||[b]

[a] Theod. Lect. 321 (94. 10–12); cf. Sokr. vii. 25. [b] Cf. AM 5911.

[AM 5913, AD 420/1]

Theodosios, 13th year
Vararanes, 6th year
Boniface, bishop of Rome (4 years), 1st year[1]
Attikos, 13th year
Praÿlios, 3rd year
Cyril, 6th year
Theodotos, 2nd year

||In this year Constantius, the father of Valentinian, became emperor on the 6th day before the ides of February.[2] He was murdered on the 4th day before the nones of September.||[a3]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 10.

[1] Boniface was pope from 28 or 29 Dec. 418 to 4 Sept. 422.
[2] 8 Feb. 421.
[3] 2 Sept. 421. Theophanes is the only source for the dates and, with Mich. Syr. the only source for his being murdered. Other sources say he died through illness. Cf. AM 5895, where again Theophanes' material on Constantius is unique (but partly supported by Orosius).

[AM 5914, AD 421/2]

Theodosios, 14th year
Vararanes, 7th year
Boniface, 2nd year
Attikos, 14th year
Praÿlios, 4th year
Cyril, 7th year
Theodotos, 3rd year

In this year the *augustalis* Kallistos was murdered by his own slaves in Alexandria on the 10th of the month Thoth.[1]

[1] 7 Sept. Theophanes is the only witness, presumably depending on his Alexandrian source.

[AM 5915, AD 422/3]

Theodosios, 15th year
Vararanes, 8th year
Boniface, 3rd year
Attikos, 15th year
Praÿlios, 5th year
Cyril, 8th year
Theodotos, 4th year

||In this year the emperor Honorius died in Rome on 15 August.[1] This was announced in Constantinople and the city was closed for seven days.||[a] After his death, a certain John,[2] one of the imperial secretaries, seized the Empire in Rome and sent an embassy to Theodosios asking to be accepted as emperor. Theodosios locked the envoys up in prison and sent the general Ardabourios against him; but Ardabourios was apprehended by the usurper and locked up in Ravenna. When Theodosios learned of this, he sent the general's son, Aspar, against the usurper, and in answer to the prayer of the god-loving emperor, an angel of the Lord appeared in the shape of a shepherd who guided Aspar and his companions and led them across the lake adjacent to Ravenna, which was impassable but which God made passable as He did in the time of the Israelites. So having got across by a dry path and finding the city gates open, they killed the usurper and freed Arbadourios from his chains. With the usurper killed, the emperor Theodosios, having appointed Valentinian, the son of Constantius and Galla Placidia, as Caesar,[3] sent him to the

West with his mother and also sent out the patrician Helion to see that he became established. He ruled 32 years.||[b]

[a] Cf. Sokr. vii. 22, Olymp., frg. 39, *Gallic Chron.* (*Chron. Min.* i. 658). See *PLRE* i. 442. [b] Cf. Sokr. vii. 23–4, Mich. Syr. ii. 10.

[1] Although Sokr. mentions Honorius' date of death, Theophanes has not apparently used him but rather a chronicle or archival source. Honorius did die on 15 Aug. 423.

[2] On John, see *PLRE* ii. 594–5, Ioannes 6. He seized power on 20 Nov. 423 and was killed in 425. Cf. AM 5938, 5943.

[3] Valentinian became Caesar on 23 Oct. 424, Augustus on 23 Oct. 425, and was killed in Rome in 455.

[AM 5916, AD 423/4]

Theodosios, 16th year
Vararanes, 9th year
Boniface, 4th year
Attikos, 16th year
Praÿlios, 6th year
Cyril, 9th year
John, bishop of Antioch (18 years), 1st year

||In this year there was much disorder and mutual slaughter in Alexandria.||[a1]

||In the same year Theodosios sent, through the patrician Helion, the imperial crown to Valentinian in Rome.||[b]

||Marouthas, bishop of Mesopotamia, cured by means of prayer and fasting Isdigerdes, the son of the Persian emperor, who was possessed by a demon. As a result Isdigerdes gained much confidence in Christianity.||[c2]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 11. [b] Cf. Sokr. vii. 24. [c] Cf. Sokr. vii. 8, Mich. Syr. ii. 3 and notes.

[1] Cf. AM 5813 where again Mich. Syr. is the only parallel for Alexandrian material.

[2] Yazdgerd II (later emperor 438–57) was the son of Vahram (V), emperor 421–38, and grandson of Yazdgerd I, emperor 399–421. Sokr. vii. 8 dates this about the time of Cyril's appointment to Alexandria (i.e. *c.*412) and the death of Flavian in Antioch (i.e. *c.*404). For more chronological confusion on Persia, see AM 5918a. On Marouthas see AM 5900, n. 5.

AM 5917 [AD 424/5]

Year of the divine Incarnation 417
Theodosios, emperor of the Romans (42 years), 17th year
Vararanes, emperor of the Persians (20 years), 10th year
Celestinus, bishop of Rome (10 years), 1st year[1]
Attikos, bishop of Constantinople (20 years), 17th year
Praÿlios, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 7th year
Cyril, bishop of Alexandria (32 years), 10th year
John, bishop of Antioch (18 years), 2nd year

[1] Celestinus was pope from 10 Sept. 422 to 27 July 432.

[AM 5918, AD 425/6]

Theodosios, 18th year
Vararanes, 11th year
Celestinus, 2nd year
Attikos, 18th year
Praÿlios, 8th year
Cyril, 11th year
John, 3rd year

||In this year, on the death of Isdigerdes, his son Vararanes succeeded both to his throne[1] and to the persecution of piety,||[a] and sent ambassadors to Theodosios to demand back the fugitives.[2] The Roman emperor Theodosios refused to hand them over. As a result, the peace treaty was annulled and a terrible war broke out.[3] Theodosios sent out the general Ardabourios with a Roman force while Vararanes sent out the general Narsaios with a Persian force, together with many tens of thousands of Saracens in support. Ardabourios reached Persia, devastated the province called
86 Arzanene, and proceeded to Mesopotamia; similarly the Persian general reached Mesopotamia near the Euphrates. The Persians, thinking that the Roman force was attacking them, and made cowardly through God, threw themselves fully armed into the river and thus about one hundred thousand perished by drowning.||[b] The Romans encircled all the rest and killed all of them, including the ten thousand of the Immortals, as they are called by them, together with their generals. Thus Christ exacted justice from the Persians in retribution for the many pious people whom they had killed unjustly.||[c]

[a] Cf. Theod. *HE* v. 39. [b] Cf. Sokr. vii. 18, Theod. Lect. 314 (93. 4–11).
[c] Cf. Sokr. vii. 20.

[1] Theophanes' narrative and chronological tables are muddled. Vahram's accession has been placed in the 11th year of his reign. In fact he ruled 421–38.
[2] i.e. those Christians who had fled to the Roman Empire from Persia because of persecution. See Sokr. vii. 18.
[3] Aug. 421–2, see Stein, *BE* i. 280–1; also O. J. Schrier, *GRBS* 33 (1992), 75–86 and G. Greatrex *Florilegium* 12 (1993), 1–14.

AM 5919 [AD 426/7]

Year of the divine Incarnation 419
Theodosios, emperor of the Romans (42 years), 19th year
Vararanes, emperor of the Persians (20 years), 12th year
Celestinus, bishop of Rome (10 years), 3rd year
Attikos, bishop of Constantinople (20 years), 19th year
Praÿlios, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 9th year
Cyril, bishop of Alexandria (32 years), 12th year
John, bishop of Antioch (18 years), 4th year

||In this year the relics of the prophet Zacharias[1] were discovered in a village in the district of Eleutheropolis, and likewise those of Stephen, the first martyr,[2] in the village of Kapargamala, where Gamaliel, the teacher of the apostle Paul, and his son Abibos had buried the body of the first martyr.||[a]

[a] Theod. Lect. 319 (93. 26–94. 2); cf. Soz. ix. 17, *Chr. 846*, 160, *Chr. 724*, 158. 23–4.

[1] i.e. the prophet Zechariah.
[2] The relics of St Stephen were discovered in 415 by the priest Lucian, whose letter about the discovery survives, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, 5 (St Petersburg, 1898), 25–53. Cf. S. Vanderlinden, *RÉB* 4 (1946), 178–217. For St Stephen's martyrdom, Acts 7: 58–8. 2; for Gamaliel as teacher of Paul, Acts 22: 3.

[AM 5920, AD 427/8]

Theodosios, 20th year
Vararanes, 13th year
Celestinus, 4th year
Attikos, 20th year
Praÿlios, 10th year
Cyril, 13th year
John, 5th year

||In this year the pious Theodosios, in imitation of the blessed Pulcheria, sent much money to the archbishop of Jerusalem for

distribution among those in need. He also sent a golden cross, set with precious stones to be fixed on the holy site of Calvary. The archbishop sent as a return gift the relics of the right hand of the first martyr Stephen, by means of Passarion, one of the holy men.[1] In the very night that he reached Chalcedon the blessed Pulcheria saw St
87 Stephen saying to her in a vision, 'Behold, your prayer has been heard, your request is fulfilled, and I have come to Chalcedon.' She arose and, taking her brother, went out to meet the holy relics and, taking them into the palace, she built a wonderful church for the holy First Martyr and deposited his holy relics there.||[a]

[a] Cf. Nik. Kall. xiv. 9.

[1] Cf. AM 5919; K. G. Holum and G. Vikan, *DOP* 33 (1979), 113–33, and J. Wortley's reply, *GRBS* 21 (1980), 381–94, Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 102–9. Cf. also AM 6044, n. 3. On Passarion, F. Delmas, *ÉO* 3 (1900), 162–3.

[AM 5921, AD 428/9]

Theodosios, 21st year
Vararanes, 14th year
Celestinus, 5th year
Sisinnios, bishop of Constantinople (2 years), 1st year
Praÿlios, 11th year
Cyril, 14th year
John, 6th year

||In this year, moved by much goodness, the emperor Theodosios, although he had vanquished the Persians by force of arms, embraced peace to spare the Christians who were living in Persia, and sent as ambassadors the patrician Helion,[1] whom he held in high esteem, and Anatolios, the *magister militum per Orientem*, to arrange peace. Vararanes, aware of his defeat, received the embassy and thus the persecution against the Christians ceased.||[a] The emperor Theodosios, giving thanks to God for such great benefits, never ceased from honouring Him with hymns. To join him in these songs of praise he had his sisters who practised a life of virginity.||[b]

||In the same year Sisinnios, bishop of Constantinople, ordained Proklos as bishop of Kyzikos. But the people of Kyzikos would not accept him and, against Sisinnios' wish, ordained a certain monk called Dalmatius. Not having his own church, Proklos carried on his distinguished teaching in Constantinople, at the instigation of Sisinnios.||[c]

||In the same year the persecution against the Christians in Persia ceased.||[d]

[a] Cf. Sokr. vii. 20, Ps.-Dion a.737 (AD 426), pp. 154–5. [b] Cf. Theod. *HE* v. 26. [c] Cf. Theod. Lect. 325 (94. 22–4), Sokr. vii. 28. [d] Cf. n.'a' above, Mich. Syr. ii. 22.

[1] Theophanes, though consistent, is wrong to describe Helion as 'patrician' here, as these events took place in 422 and Helion became a patrician between Oct. 424 and Oct. 425. See *PLRE* ii. 533.

[AM 5922, AD 429/30]

Theodosios, 22nd year
Vararanes, 15th year
Celestinus, 6th year
Sisinnios, 2nd year
Praÿlios, 12th year
Cyril, 15th year
John, 7th year

||In this year Philip, presbyter of Side, who had written a Christian history in thirty-six books, made many charges against Sisinnios because he, along with Proklos, had been preferred to Philip for the bishopric.||[a] Sisinnios died forthwith.||[b][1]

[a] Theod. Lect. 324 (94. 18–21); cf. Sokr. vii. 27. [b] Cf. Theod. Lect. 326 (94. 25–6), Sokr. vii. 27.

[1] Sisinnios died on 24 Dec. 427. Proklos had been secretary to the patriarch Attikos. On Philip of Side, see Sokr. vii. 26–7.

AM 5923 [AD 430/1]

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Year of the divine Incarnation 423
Theodosios, emperor of the Romans (42 years), 23rd year
Vararanes, emperor of the Persians (20 years), 16th year
Celestinus, bishop of Rome (10 years), 7th year
Nestorios, bishop of Constantinople (3 years), 1st year
Praÿlios, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 13th year
Cyril, bishop of Alexandria (32 years), 16th year
John, bishop of Antioch (18 years), 8th year

||In this year, following the death of Sisinnios, bishop of Constantinople, Nestorios, a native of Germanikeia,[1] succeeded to

the bishopric.||[a2] As soon as he mounted the throne, his heresy and his doctrinally distorted mind were straight away revealed. For he gave a homily on the faith to his own *synkellos*[3] and ordered him to preach it in church. It was as follows: 'No one is to call Mary the Mother of God. For Mary was human, and it is not possible for God to be born from a human being.'||[b4] A certain Eusebios,[5] a *scholasticus* in the Basilica of Constantinople, was the first to object to this statement which agitated many of the people of Byzantium. Nestorios, eager to confirm his statement, removed everywhere the expression 'the Mother of God', saying that the Lord was an ordinary man. One Sunday when Nestorios was presiding, Proklos, who had been invited to preach, gave a homily on the Mother of God,[6] which began, 'Today is the Virgin's festival, brothers.'||[c] Then the impious Nestorios became hated by all for his vanity and heresy. For he also had with him a certain Anastasios, a presbyter from Antioch, to whom he showed great favour for being of the same persuasion, a most outrageous fellow who blasphemed in church against the ever-virgin Mother of God. Eusebios, bishop of Dorylaion, was the first to denounce him. By acting in this manner he [Nestorios] stirred up considerable uproar and disturbance.||[d7]

||In the same year in Ephesos there occurred the remarkable miracle of the seven holy youths who arose after 184 years.||[e8]

[a] Cf. Theod. Lect. 326 (94. 25–6), Sokr. vii. 29. [b] Cf. Nik. Kall. xiv. 32, Sokr. vii. 32. [c] Cf. Nik. Kall. xiv. 32, Evagr. i. 9. [d] Theod. Lect. 327–8 (95. 1–7); cf. Sokr. vii. 32. [e] Cf. Geo. Mon. 498. 18, Mich. Syr. ii. 17.

[1] Sokr. also states that Nestorios was from Germanikeia (modern Maraş), and then adds 'Nestorios arrived from Antioch', whereas our surviving fragment of Theod. Lect. simply has 'Nestorios bishop of Antioch'. This is proof that Theophanes had access to a more detailed version of Theod. Lect. than is preserved in the fragments.

[2] Nestorios was appointed on 10 Apr. 428.

[3] i.e. 'cell-mate', a title of an associate of the patriarch, usually a high official. Theophanes means the presbyter Anastasios. See Sokr. vii. 32 and 'd'.

[4] Nestorios' sermon survives in the Latin version of his enemy Marius Mercator, *PL* 48: 775 ff., and *ACO* i. 5. 9.37.

[5] Eusebios the advocate is the same person as the bishop of Dorylaion (below). See *PLRE* ii. 430 Eusebius 15, and *RE* vi. 1444. He was an *agens in rebus*.

[6] The text is in *ACO* i. 1. 1.103–7.

[7] This sentence appears to be Theophanes' addition.

[8] They were said to have been walled up in a cave when taking refuge during the Decian persecution, and now awoke as proof of the resurrection of the dead. The legend was known in both East and West by the 6th cent., being recorded by Jacob of Sarug (d. 521) and Gregory of Tours. See C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1979), 42 f.

[AM 5924, AD 431/2]

Theodosios, 24th year
Vararanes, 17th year
Celestinus, 8th year
Nestorios, 2nd year
Praÿlios, 14th year
Cyril, 17th year
John, 9th year

||In this year, when Cyril, the bishop of Alexandria, learned of Nestorios' blasphemies, he wrote begging him and admonishing him like a brother to refrain from his distorted views and to cling to the correct faith. But Nestorios replied in a manner that was both insulting and blasphemous. Cyril then wrote to Celestinus, the Pope of Rome, on the matter of Nestorios and made known to him the blasphemous statements that Nestorios had written him. Then Celestinus wrote to Nestorios giving him a time-limit of ten days to cease from his blasphemies and repent: but if he remained in his heresy he would no longer be a priest admitted to communion. Likewise Celestinus and Cyril wrote to John, archbishop of Antioch, and to Juvenal of Jerusalem concerning Nestorios and his heresy.[1] John wrote to Nestorios, counselling him to abandon his heresy and reminding him of the saying of the apostle: 'God sent forth his Son made of a woman'.[2] Nestorios, realizing that the patriarchs would not be content to pass this over in silence since the churches were so disturbed, persuaded the emperor to send a rescript to Cyril which censured him severely,[3] but though he thought he would strike Cyril through this, he actually stirred him all the more. Aroused, Cyril wrote to the emperor and to his sisters about the correct faith and Nestorios' heresy,[4] while at the same time requesting that an ecumenical synod be held to examine canonically the question of Nestorios.[5] Then the emperor Theodosios wrote to all the bishops within his jurisdiction to present themselves at Ephesos without delay after Easter, ordaining that 'he who is not present at the synod in Ephesos on the day of holy Pentecost will have no excuse before God or us'.[6] Celestinus of Rome asked Cyril of Alexandria to take his place at the synod, as he was unable to be present because of the toilsome navigation in winter.||[a] 89

[a] Cf. Nik. Kall. xiv. 33–4.

[1] The correspondence between Cyril, Celestinus and Nestorios, *ACO* i. 1. 1.23–8, 33–42 (Cyril to Nestorios); i. 1. 5, 10–12, i. 1. 1.7, 171–2 (Cyril to Celestinus); i. 1. 1.33–34, 113–14, i. 1. 2.37, i. 1. 5.12–13 (Celestine to Cyril); Nestorios, *Epistles*, 1–2 to Cyril, 1–3 to Celestine.

[2] Gal. 4: 4.

[3] *ACO* i. 1. 1.1. 73–4.

[4] Cyril, *Address to the pious emperor Theodosios on the correct faith*, *ACO* i. 1. 1.42–72, *Address to the most pious princesses*, *ACO* i. 1. 5.62–118.

[5] Cyril in fact seems to have tried to prevent the holding of a synod, see Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 161–2.

[6] Theodosios' letter went out on 19 Nov. 430, convoking the synod for 7 June 431.

[AM 5925, AD 432/3]

Theodosios, 25th year
Vararanes, 18th year
Celestinus, 9th year
Nestorios, 3rd year
Praÿlios, 15th year
Cyril, 18th year
John, 10th year

||In this year the Third holy and ecumenical Synod of 200 fathers was assembled in Ephesos.[1] Accordingly, when all the [other] bish-
90 ops had come, John of Antioch and the eastern bishops had not observed the appointed time-limit and on the sixteenth day after the appointed one, when John had not yet come, Nestorios arrived with a good deal of posturing. And on 20 June the synod was convened, with Nestorios, Cyril, and Juvenal presiding, Cyril taking the place of the bishop of Rome. While they all discoursed about God, Nestorios spoke ⌜with great boastfulness⌝, 'I would not name as divine him who is two or three months old. And for this reason I am innocent of your blood. From this moment I am not coming back to you.' Having made his statement, he left with six bishops who followed his doctrine. Cyril's party gathered on the next day and sent three bishops to summon him, but he refused. Likewise, when he was summoned a second and third ⌜and a fourth⌝ time, he did not come, but ordered that the emissaries be insulted and dishonoured. Then the holy and ecumenical synod, having received its emissaries, the bishops who had been insulted and dishonoured, decided against him and stripped him of all priestly rank. They arranged for his depo-

sition to be announced to him in person.||[a] Three days after this was accomplished, John, bishop of Antioch, arrived accompanied by twenty-six bishops[2] who, having learned of the deposition of Nestorios, seceded from the holy synod; they assembled with Nestorios and deposed, as they believed, Cyril and Memnon of Ephesos. Theodoretos, indeed, thinking to inveigh against Cyril, having misinterpreted there the twelve chapters,[3] vomited up Nestorios' poison. But the sainted Cyril stood up bravely and gave a defence of those same chapters, interpreting them and revealing the treasure of church doctrine contained in them and making clear to everyone his own pious intentions. When John of Antioch had been called by the holy synod and had refused to present himself for the third time, he received the verdict that he and his companions were 91
to be deprived from all ecclesiastical communion, until such time as they repented and admitted their own error. The holy synod also decided that the statements made[4] illegally and uncanonically by the easterners to insult the most holy leaders of the Church, Cyril and Memnon, should have no validity whatever.

And so when all these matters had been reported to the emperor Theodosios in a memorandum, the bishops from both factions were ordered to come to Constantinople, and having come, those from the holy synod were victorious with God's co-operation.[5] On the confirmation of Nestorios' deposition Maximianus was ordained bishop of Constantinople, being a presbyter of the same church. The easterners took Nestorios with them to the East. In the fourth year of Nestorios' deposition, John the bishop of Antioch, possessed with the fear of God, and seeing that many of the leading people in Antioch were being led astray by Nestorios, wrote to the emperor asking him to expel Nestorios from the East. The emperor banished Nestorios to the Oasis,[6] and sent instructions to Cyril and John to be united without delay in order to free the churches from every discord. John yielded to the decree and wrote to Cyril [a statement of] his faith, accepting the confession of the fathers at Nicaea and that of the 150 at Constantinople and the actions taken at Ephesos. The holy Cyril welcomed this and wrote a letter to John and the eastern bishops, which began: 'Let the heavens be pleased and the earth rejoice.'[7] When both of them had agreed on the same confession, their respective churches were united in peace and harmony.||[b]

||At this time the God-bearing Nonnos acted as shepherd for the church of the Edessenes.[8] He consecrated to God the foremost mime of Antioch and offered her to Christ as the holy Pelagia[9] instead of her being Margarito the prostitute. This holy man, rejoicing at the harmony of the saints, wrote to the archbishop John words of advice

and teaching, among which was this statement, 'Cleanse the church,
92 O man of God, from the Nestorian tares and their terrible [effects]'.||[c] Divine justice followed the impious and blasphemous Nestorios in exile. After suffering from putrefaction in all his limbs, and above all in his abominable tongue, he was destroyed by death,[10] thus anticipating his recall from the Oasis [by being summoned] to another place.||[d]

[a] Cf. Theod. Lect. 329 (95. 8), Sokr. vii. 34, Nik. Kall. xiv. 34. [b] Cf. Nik. Kall. xiv. 35, Sokr. vii. 34, Theod. Lect. 329 (95. 9), 526 (152. 19–20 from John Diakrinomenos), Evagr. i. 5. [c] Cf. Nik. Kall. xiv. 30, Sokr. vii. 26. [d] Theod. Lect. 528 (153. 1–2 from John Diakrinomenos); cf. Evagr. i. 7.

[1] Theodosios' summons was for Pentecost (7 June) 431. The synod opened on 22 June. For discussion see Chadwick, *Early Church*, 194–200, Young, *From Nicaea*, 213–65.

[2] 43 bishops according to Theodoret, *Ep.* 112 (*PG* 83: 1309–11). They arrived on 26 (or 27) June.

[3] i.e. Cyril's 'Twelve Anathemas'. These were twelve propositions which had previously been agreed to by an Egyptian synod, and which Cyril called upon Nestorios to anathematize. For their Apollinarian leanings (already anathematized at the Second ecumenical Synod), see Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 19.

[4] The word λαληθέντα has dropped out: see J. Duffy, *GRBS* 21 (1980), 261.

[5] For Cyril's bribes and Pulcheria's guiding influence, see Frend, op. cit. 20. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 180, refers the bribes to a later occasion.

[6] *ACO* i. 1. 3.67–70, dated to 3 Aug. 435 from *CTh* xvi. 5. 66. The Oasis of Khargeh is in the Nubian desert on the borders of Upper Egypt.

[7] *Ep.* 39, *ACO* i. 1. 4.15.

[8] Duchesne, iii. 392, argued that Nonnos replaced Ibas in 449 rather than after Ibas' death in 447 (the usual date). Either way Theophanes' date is well astray.

[9] A legendary figure attached to the name of the historical St Pelagia (died *c.*311). See *Pélagie la Pénitente*, i (Paris, 1981).

[10] Nestorios died *c.*June 451.

AM 5926 [AD 433/4]

Year of the divine Incarnation 426
Theodosios, emperor of the Romans (42 years), 26th year
Vararanes, emperor of the Persians (20 years), 19th year
Celestinus, bishop of Rome (10 years), 10th year
Maximianus, bishop of Constantinople (2 years), 1st year
Praÿlios, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 16th year
Cyril, bishop of Alexandria (32 years), 19th year
John, bishop of Antioch (18 years), 11th year

||In this year Valentinian, the son of Galla Placidia and Constantius, came from Rome to Constantinople and took for his wife Eudoxia, the daughter of the emperor Theodosios and Eudokia, and returned to Rome.||[a1]

In the same year Hesychios, the presbyter of Jerusalem, died.[2] And the blessed Melane, the granddaughter of the elder Melane, died in Jerusalem after a life spent in spiritual training and [the pursuit of] perfection.[3]

[a] Theod. Lect. 332 (95. 15–17); cf. Sokr. vii. 44.

[1] The date of the marriage is given as 436 by Sokr., 437 by *Chron. Pasch.* (29 Oct.) and Marcell. com.

[2] For Hesychios see AM 5907. He died after 451.

[3] Melania died at Bethlehem on 31 Dec. 438 or 439 depending on the interpretation of Gerontius, *V. Mel.* and the date of Eudokia's journey to Jerusalem. See *PLRE* i. 593 and AM 5927.

[AM 5927, AD 434/5]

Theodosios, 27th year
Vararanes, 20th year
Xystos, bishop of Rome (8 years), 1st year[1]
Maximianus, 2nd year
Praÿlios, 17th year
Cyril, 20th year
John, 12th year

||In this year the emperor Theodosios sent his wife Eudokia to Jerusalem to offer hymns of thanksgiving to God. She bestowed very many gifts on the churches and, after venerating the holy Cross and the Holy Places, she returned to the palace.||[a2]

[a] Theod. Lect. 334 (95. 23–5); cf. Sokr. vii. 47. Theophanes adds 'venerating the holy Cross and Holy Places'.

[1] Xystos (Sixtus) was pope from 31 July 432 to 19 Aug. 440.

[2] Eudokia met Melania in Jerusalem in the year of Melania's death. Marcellinus dates the journey to 439, claiming that Eudokia brought back the relics of St Stephen the protomartyr to Constantinople. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 185–8, argues for 438.

[AM 5928, AD 435/6]

Theodosios, 28th year
Isdigerdes, emperor of the Persians (17 years), 1st year[1]
Xystos, 2nd year
Proklos, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 1st year
Praÿlios, 18th year
Cyril, 21st year
John, 13th year

In this year the theatre of Alexandria collapsed with the loss of 572 men during the all-night festival of the Niloa.[2]

[1] Yazdgerd II ruled from 438 to 457.
[2] Nothing else is known of this incident. On Theophanes' Alexandrian source, see Introduction, IV. 5.

[AM 5929, AD 436/7]

Theodosios, 29th year
Isdigerdes, 2nd year
Xystos, 3rd year
Proklos, 2nd year
Praÿlios, 19th year
Cyril, 22nd year
John, 14th year

[AM 5930, AD 437/8]

Theodosios, 30th year
Isdigerdes, 3rd year
Xystos, 4th year
Proklos, 3rd year
Praÿlios, 20th year
Cyril, 23rd year
John, 15th year

||In this year, Proklos, the most holy bishop of Constantinople, after
93 seeking permission from the emperor Theodosios, transferred the relics of John Chrysostom from Komana to the capital.[1] In the following year, after 33[2] years, he took them on a public procession escorted by the emperor and the blessed Pulcheria, and placed them in the church of the Apostles, thus uniting those who had been separated following his deposition from the Church.||[a]

||In the time of the same holy Proklos, severe earthquakes

occurred in Constantinople lasting for four months so that the Byzantines fled in fear from the city to the Campus,[3] as it is called, and they spent the days in procession with the bishop in supplication to God. On one occasion while the earth was swaying and all the people were chanting earnestly, 'Lord, have mercy,' suddenly at about the third hour, before the eyes of all, a youth happened to be lifted by divine power into the air and to hear a divine voice ordering him to tell the bishop and the people to say the following [words] in their litany, 'God, who art holy [and] strong, holy [and] immortal, have mercy upon us,' and to add nothing extra. The sainted Proklos accepted this decree and ordered the people to sing in that way and immediately the earthquake stopped.[4] The blessed Pulcheria and her brother, marvelling exceedingly at this miracle, issued a decree that this divine hymn was to be sung throughout the whole world. And from that time all the churches have accepted the custom of singing it to God each day.||[b]

[a] Theod. Lect. 333 (95. 18–22); cf. Sokr. vii. 45. [b] Cf. Nik. Kall. xiv. 46; Kedr. 599–600; Geo. Mon. 604–5; *Patria*, 150 (Preger); *Syn. CP* 79–80. These are probably all derived from Theod. Lect. See H. G. Opitz, *RE* 5 A (1934), 1874, 'Theodorus' 48. Cf. also Mich. Syr. ii. 11.

[1] Proklos sought permission in 437 and the deposition occurred on 28 Jan. 438. Other sources are Theod. *HE* v. 36, Marcell. com. 438, Proklos, *Or.* 20 (*PG* 65: 827–34).
[2] 35 years in Theod. Lect. and Sokr. Theophanes includes details, notably the presence of the emperor and Pulcheria, which are not in Theod. Lect. or Sokr., again suggesting that there is an intermediate source. Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 11, who includes the emperor and Pulcheria, and Ps.-Dion 158, who does not.
[3] i.e. the suburban palace by the parade ground seven milestones from Constantinople, used for imperial proclamations and addresses to troops. See Janin, *CP* 139–40, R. Demangel, *Contribution à la topographie de l'Hebdomon* (Paris, 1945).
[4] The earliest surviving version of the story is by Pope Felix (438–92) in a letter to Peter of Antioch to show that the *Trishagion* had divine approval (*Ep.* 3, *PL* 58: 909–10). Though closer to the event Nestorios in exile had written that God was sending earthquakes until the *Trishagion* was adopted (*Bazaar*, 364). See B. Croke, *Byz* 51 (1981), 127–31. The liturgical commemoration of this was on 25 Sept. Theophanes has placed the account after the deposition of Chrysostom's relics (Jan. 438) so the date may well be Sept. 438 rather than Theophanes' 437. See B. Croke, art. cit. 130 following A. Schneider's suggestion that the impossible date in the *Patria* (the fifth year of Theodosios) has been corrupted from 'the fifth year of Proklos' (i.e. Apr. 438–Apr. 439). See also Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 189. Mich. Syr. links the four months of earthquakes to John Chrysostom's exile. Cf. AM 5900, n. 1.

AM 5931 [AD 438/9]

Year of the divine Incarnation 431
Theodosios, emperor of the Romans (43 years), 31st year
Isdigerdes, emperor of the Persians (17 years), 4th year
Xystos, bishop of Rome (8 years), 5th year
Proklos, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 4th year
Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem (38 years), 1st year
Cyril, bishop of Alexandria (32 years), 24th year
John, bishop of Antioch (18 years), 15th year

||In this year Valentinian was not only unable to preserve Britain, Gaul, and Spain,||[a1] but even lost in addition western[2] Libya, called the land of the Africans,[3] in the following manner. There were two generals, Aëtios and Boniface, whom Theodosios sent to Rome at
94 Valentinian's request.[4] When Boniface obtained the governorship of western Libya, Aëtios, in envy, brought an accusation[5] against him of plotting a rebellion and aiming to gain control of Libya. He alleged these things to Valentinian's mother Placidia, but also wrote to Boniface as follows, 'If you are summoned back, do not come. For you have been slandered and the emperors intend to capture you by trickery.' After Boniface received this, he did not come when summoned for he trusted Aëtios as a true friend. The emperors thereupon accepted Aëtios as being loyal.||[b]

||There were at that time numerous extremely large Gothic tribes living beyond the Danube in the districts to the far north. Of these, four are particularly worthy of note, namely the Goths, the Visigoths, the Gepids, and the Vandals, who differ from one another in name alone and speak the same dialect. They all subscribe to the Arian heresy.[6] After crossing the Danube in the time of Arkadios and Honorius, they were settled on Roman territory. The Gepids, from whom the Lombards and Avars were later derived, settled in the area around Singidunum[7] and Sermium.[8] The Visigoths, after destroying Rome under Alaric,[9] went to Gaul and gained control of territory there.||[c] The Goths first took Pannonia and later, in the 19th year of the rule of Theodosios the younger[10] and with his permission, they settled in the region of Thrace||[d] and, after staying in Thrace for 58 years,[11] they gained control over the Western Empire under the leadership of Theuderich, patrician and consul, Zeno having allowed them to do so.||[e] The Vandals, in association with the Alans and the Germans, who are now called Franks, after crossing
95 the Rhine under the leadership of Godigisklos, settled in Spain,[12] which is the first country in Europe this side of the western Ocean.||[f]

||Boniface, in fear of the Roman emperors, crossed from Libya to

Spain and came to the Vandals.[13] Discovering that Godigisklos had died and that the rule had passed to his sons Gontharis and Gizerich, he roused them by promising that he would divide western[14] Libya into three parts on condition that each (including himself) would rule a third part[15] and that they would combine in defence against any enemy whatever. Under these terms, the Vandals crossed the strait[16] and settled in Libya from the Ocean as far as Tripolis beside Cyrene.[17] The Visigoths, setting out from Gaul also gained control of Spain. Some Roman senators, who were friends of Boniface, reported to Placidia that Aëtios' accusation was false, even showing her Aëtios' letter to Boniface, which Boniface had sent them. Placidia was astonished but did not harm Aëtios. She did, however, send a missive of encouragement to Boniface, supported by oaths. On Gontharis' death[18] Gizerich became sole ruler of the Vandals. Boniface, having received the assurance, campaigned against the Vandals, with a large army that had come to help him from Rome and Byzantium under the command of Aspar. War against Gizerich broke out and the Roman army was defeated. And so Boniface came to Rome with Aspar, dispelled the suspicion, and revealed the truth; but Africa came under the control of the Vandals. It was then that Marcian, who later became emperor but was at the time a soldier serving Aspar, was captured alive by Gizerich.||[g19]

[a] Prok. *BV* i. 2. 31. [b] Prok. *BV* i. 3. 12–21. [c] Prok. *BV* i. 2. 1–13.
[d] Prok. *BV* i. 2. 39. [e] Prok. *BV* i. 2. 40; cf. AM 5977. [f] Prok. *BV* i. 3. 1–2.
[g] Prok. *BV* i. 3. 22–4. 1.

[1] Prok.'s version in fact refers to the reign of Honorius when, in 407, Constantine (cf. AM 5903) usurped power in Britain and invaded Spain and Gaul (in that order), where he died after suffering a defeat. For a reliable account, see Bury, *HLRE*[2] i. 188–94. Theophanes' date for this entry, however, has been deduced from Prok. *BV* ii. 3. 26 (see AM 6026, n. 51), who stated that the Vandals ruled Africa for 95 years, i.e. until Belisarius' victory in 534 (AM 6026). Prok., however, was calculating from the fall of Carthage in 439, not from the crossing to Africa, so Theophanes has some justification for his statement.

[2] Prok. has simply 'Libya' here and 'all Libya' just below. Perhaps Theophanes misread ἅπασα (all) as ἑσπέρια (western). The remainder of the paragraph is a competent précis of Prok., apart from two additions which Theophanes may have felt necessary. See nn. 3 and 4.

[3] 'Called the land of the Africans' appears to be Theophanes' addition which may have been necessary for a 9th-cent. audience, although he does refer to Libya three times after the 6th cent. (AM 6107, 6298, 6301).

[4] The relative clause appears to be Theophanes' invention. The careers of both Aëtios and Boniface (the 'whom' is plural) were entirely in the West,

though Boniface may have owed his appointment as *comes Africae* (423/4) to Theodosios. See *PLRE* ii. 238.

[5] In 427. See *PLRE* ii. 239.

[6] Prok. has 'Arian faith'.

[7] Modern Belgrade.

[8] Modern Sremska Mitrovica in the former Yugoslavia.

[9] Cf. AM 5895, 5903.

[10] Prok. does not give a date or name the emperor, but simply has 'afterwards'. Theophanes' date is 426/7 and it is by no means clear what his evidences for this is, though it is characteristic of him to devise a precise date. It is possible that he has connected it with his next event, Boniface's appeal for aid, which Prosper Tiro dated to 427 (429 in most sources). In fact Theodosios I agreed to the Goths crossing from Pannonia and settling in Thrace in Oct. 382.

[11] This appears to be Theophanes' own unfortunate deduction. Prok. simply has 'After spending no great time there, they conquered the West. But this will be told in the narrative concerning the Goths.' Theophanes, who appears to know only the *Vandal* and *Persian Wars* and not the *Gothic War*, has identified it with Theuderich Amal's move to Italy which he dates to AM 5977. This in turn has enabled him to improve on Prok.'s vague 'no great time' with a precise 58 years from the 19th year of Theodosios II. Cf. AM 6026, where Theophanes appears to confuse Theuderich Amal with a Visigothic king of Spain.

[12] Theophanes follows Prok., who unfortunately got it wrong. Godigisklos may have led the Vandals from Pannonia towards the Rhine but was killed shortly before the Vandals invaded Gaul at the end of 406. It was Godigisklos' son Gontharis (Gunderic) who led the Vandals into Gaul and later to Spain (before 418). See *PLRE* ii. 516, 522.

[13] In 427 (*PLRE* ii. 239).

[14] Again Theophanes has added 'western'. Here Prok. has no epithet.

[15] There is no support for this in other sources. On the supposedly common allocation of a third of the land by Romans to barbarian invaders, see W. Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans, A.D. 418–584* (Princeton, 1980), 58–102.

[16] In 429.

[17] Theophanes has added 'from the Ocean . . . Cyrene'.

[18] Probably in 428 and before the crossing into Africa.

[19] Cf. AM 5943.

[AM 5932, AD 439/40]

Theodosios, 32nd year
Isdigerdes, 5th year
Xystos, 6th year
Proklos, 5th year
Juvenal, 2nd year

Cyril, 25th year
John, 17th year

In this year the holy martyr Euphemia was translated to Alexandria on the sixth day before the kalends of October.[1]

[1] 26 Sept. For the Alexandrian source, see Introduction. However Euphemia's church was at Chalcedon and her 'uncorrupted body' was there until the Persian atacks in the early 7th cent. See F. Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcédoine* (Brussels, 1965).

[AM 5933, AD 440/1]

96

Theodosios, 33rd year
Isdigerdes, 6th year
Xystos, 7th year
Proklos, 6th year
Juvenal, 3rd year
Cyril, 26th year
John, 18th year

In this year the Kantharos, which is a bath in Alexandria, was completed.[1]

||Some monks who came to Constantinople caused the emperor much annoyance by bringing a posthumous charge of heresy against Theodore who had been bishop of Mopsuestia. The emperor[2] instructed Proklos to write to the bishops of the East to make an inquiry and, if they were right, to anathematize Theodore. John of Antioch, with the support of his synod, replied to Proklos and the emperor, testifying to Theodore's orthodoxy.||[a]

[a] Theod. Lect. 338–9 (96. 12–97. 2).

[1] For the Alexandrian source, see Introduction.

[2] Theophanes has 'emperor' for Theod. Lect.'s 'emperors' and so 'corrects' Theod. Lect.'s 'they' to 'the emperor'.

[AM 5934, AD 441/2]

Theodosios, 34th year
Isdigerdes, 7th year
Xystos, 8th year
Proklos, 7th year
Juvenal, 4th year

Cyril, 27th year
Domnus, bishop of Antioch (8 years), 1st year

In this year the earth was shaken and groaned on the fifteenth day before the kalends of May.[1]

[1] 17 Apr. As Theophanes is making considerable use of his Alexandrian source in these years, the earthquake may refer to Alexandria. It could have been the same one which occurred in Crete during Theodosios' reign (Mal. 359). As Dr Martine Henry points out to us, the Delta, although not a zone of epicentres, is affected by Mediterranean earthquakes having their epicentres near the deep troughs south of Crete and south-east of Rhodes. The tremors can be strong enough to damage buildings, which is not surprising in an alluvionic area. Dr Henry also suggests that Evagr. ii. 14 (earthquakes affecting Knidos and Crete) may refer to the same set of seismic events with Evagr. picking up the wrong fire in Constantinople (465 instead of 433). Grumel's reference, 477, to an earthquake in Rome in this year appears to be without foundation.

[AM 5935, AD 442/3]

Theodosios, 35th year
Isdigerdes, 8th year
Leo, bishop of Rome (21 years), 1st year[1]
Proklos, 8th year
Juvenal, 5th year
Cyril, 28th year
Domnus, 2nd year

In this year Charmosynos, the *augustalis* in Alexandria, was struck in the face at the Kynegion and died on the 1st of the month of Epiphi.[2]

[1] Leo (the Great) was pope from 29 Sept. 440 to 10 Nov. 461.
[2] 25 June. This is the only evidence for Charmosynos.

[AM 5936, AD 443/4]

Theodosios, 36th year
Isdigerdes, 9th year
Leo, 2nd year
Proklos, 9th year
Juvenal, 6th year
Cyril, 29th year
Domnus, 3rd year

||In this year the emperor Theodosios made priest the *praepositus* and patrician Antiochos, who was also his *bajulus*, and confiscated his house on the grounds that he had disparaged the emperor and disregarded him.[1] For this reason he introduced a law that no eunuch was to rise to the rank of patrician.||[a]

[a] Mal. 361. 1–13. Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 16. Also AM 5905(b) for Theophanes' alternative dating of Antiochos' departure.

[1] *PLRE* ii. 102, Antiochus 5, dates the dismissal to 421 following Zonaras that it took place shortly after Theodosios' marriage to Eudokia. Blockley, *FCH* ii, 381, cf. i. 117, suggests the error may have arisen from a link in Priscus with the fall of Kyros (implying that Theophanes' source was not Malalas but some lost user of Priscus). J. Bardill and G. Greatrex, *DOP* 50 (1996), linking it with Kyros' City Prefecture (439–41 or 439–43), date Antiochos' fall to 439 with tentative support from archaeological evidence. Malalas places it after the death of Valentinian in 455, his previous datable event being the death of Hypatia in 415. Theophanes, making the link with Kyros' fall (AM 5937), has perhaps simply placed this in the year preceding his and Malalas' next notice.

AM 5937 [AD 444/5]

Year of the divine Incarnation 437
Theodosios, emperor of the Romans (42 years), 37th year
Isdigerdes, emperor of the Persians (17 years), 10th year
Leo, bishop of Rome (21 years), 3rd year
Proklos, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 10th year
Juvenal, bishop of Alexandria (38 years), 7th year
Cyril, bishop of Alexandria (32 years), 30th year
Domnus, bishop of Antioch (8 years), 4th year

||In this year Kyros, the City prefect and praetorian prefect, a very learned and competent man, who had both built the city walls[1] and restored all Constantinople, was acclaimed by the Byzantines in the Hippodrome, in the presence and hearing of the emperor [as follows], 'Constantine built [the city], Kyros restored it.' The emperor became angry that they said this about him and, alleging that Kyros was a pagan, he removed him from office and confiscated his property. Kyros fled to the church and himself became a priest. The emperor, feeling compassion towards him, ordered that he be made bishop of Smyrna in Asia.[2] He arrived just before Christmas and the people of Smyrna, suspecting that he was a pagan, wanted to kill him. But when he had entered the church and been invited to address the congregation, he said, 'Brother men, may the birth of God our Saviour 97

Jesus Christ be honoured in silence since the Word of God was conceived in the holy Virgin by hearing alone. Glory be to Him for ever and ever. Amen.'[3] The congregation rejoiced and praised him and he served piously as their bishop.||[a]

[a] Mal. 361. 14–362. 18, *Chron. Pasch.* 588. 6–589. 5 (a.450).

[1] Kyros did not build (or rebuild) the city walls. He has been confused with the praetorian prefect Constantine (*PLRE* ii. 317, Constantinus 22), who oversaw the reconstruction of the land walls which had been damaged in 447: see Dagron, *Naissance*, 270. He was, however, responsible for much building work in Constantinople, including a system of street lighting, the Baths of Achilles, and a church of the Theotokos in the district later known as *Ta Kyrou*. See *PLRE* ii. 337–8, Cyrus 7. Again the original source may be Priscus apart from the final anecdote. See Blockley, *FCH* i. 116, ii. 381.

[2] So too *Chron. Pasch.*, the Slavonic Mal., and John of Nikiu, but in fact Kotyaeion, in Phrygia. So the *V. Dan. Styl.* 31 and Mal.

[3] Much has been written on this sermon. See K. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 193; A. D. E. Cameron, *YCS* 27 (1982), 243–5; T. E. Gregory, *GRBS* 16 (1975), 317–24; B. Baldwin, *Vigiliae Christianae*, 36 (1982), 169–72. Its point of reference is the notion that the Virgin Mary conceived Christ through hearing the Logos, an idea which the then patriarch Proklos had apparently made popular since he refers to it in his first seven sermons (*PG* 65: 679–763).

[AM 5938, AD 445/6]

Theodosios, 38th year
Isdigerdes, 11th year
Leo, 4th year
Proklos, 11th year
Juvenal, 8th year
Cyril, 31st year
Domnus, 5th year

||In this year another John, called the Vandal, rebelled against Valentinian in Rome.[1] Theodosios sent out a force under the generals Aspar and Ardabourios, who fought John in battle and defeated him.||[a] John, after receiving a pledge, gave himself up alive, and they brought him to the emperor Theodosios and arranged for him to be treated honourably. But Chrysaphios, a eunuch who had great influence in the palace, killed him by treachery. However, justice caught up with Chrysaphios not much later.||[b]

[a] Cf. AM 5915. [b] Cf. Marcell. com. a.441; *Chron. Pasch.* 583. 12 (a.441); Joh. Ant., frg. 206.

[1] Both here and at AM 5943 Theophanes has confused John, Augustus 423–5 (see AM 5913) with John the Vandal, *magister utriusque militiae* of Thrace in 441. See *PLRE* ii. 594–5, Ioannes 6 and 13. Nik. Kall. xiv. 7 describes John as a Goth, but there is no other evidence for his being either Goth or Vandal.

[AM 5939, AD 446/7]

Theodosios, 39th year
Isdigerdes, 12th year
Leo, 5th year
Proklos, 12th year
Juvenal, 9th year
Cyril, 32nd year
Domnus, 6th year

||In this year Cyril of Alexandria and Proklos of Constantinople died piously.[1] Proklos was succeeded by Flavian, the presbyter and sacristan of the church of Constantinople, a most holy and virtuous man. But Cyril was succeeded by the impious Dioskoros, who was in no respect a teacher but wild and savage, especially towards Cyril's family, so that he even converted their house into a church though it rose to a great height and had three storeys at the top.||[a]

[a] Theod. Lect. 342–3 (97. 11–18); cf. Nik. Kall. xiv. 47. Theophanes has rearranged the material carefully.

[1] On 27 June 444 and 12 July 446 respectively.

AM 5940 [AD 447/8]

98

Year of the divine Incarnation 440
Theodosios, emperor of the Romans (42 years), 40th year
Isdigerdes, emperor of the Persians (17 years), 13th year
Leo, bishop of Rome (21 years), 6th year
Flavian, bishop of Constantinople (2 years), 1st year
Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem (38 years), 10th year
Dioskoros, bishop of Alexandria (5 years), 1st year
Domnus, bishop of Antioch (8 years), 7th year

||In this year Chrysaphios, a eunuch who exercised power over the palace and the emperor Theodosios and who was jealous of Flavian for his ordination, suggested to the emperor, who was quite innocent and was staying at Chalcedon, that he should instruct the patriarch

to send him *eulogiai* on the occasion of his appointment. So Flavian sent him pure loaves by way of *eulogiai*. But Chrysaphios returned these, declaring that the emperor wanted *eulogiai* of gold. The bishop stated in reply that he did not have any money to send, 'unless I use some of the sacred vessels'.[1] On this account there was a considerable feeling of grievance between them, though Pulcheria was not informed of it.

Such were the events in Constantinople. But in Alexandria Dioskoros had from the very beginning set about ruining Cyril's family and plundering their property and deposed without cause his nephew Athanasios who was a presbyter, and entirely confiscated his goods.[2] He behaved in this way out of opposition to Cyril's orthodoxy, being himself a heretic and holding the views of Origen from his earliest youth. And he was at loggerheads with Flavian because Flavian had provided some small support for the family of the blessed Cyril.

Chrysaphios, being impious and not suffering to see harmony among the churches, made it his purpose to disturb them and did all he could to expel Flavian from his bishopric, in the hope that a certain Eutyches, an archimandrite of his own persuasion, would be elected to the bishop's office.[3] Having failed in this, since Pulcheria was in control of affairs, he first approached Eudokia, who lacked experience, and roused her to envy against her own mother and suggested to her that she abuse Pulcheria to the emperor with a view to obtaining the *praepositus*,[4] whom Pulcheria necessarily kept since
99 she controlled the management of affairs. The emperor, vexed by his wife, summoned her and said, 'Do not let this trouble you, for it is impossible for you to have a *praepositus*, nor am I going to set aside my sister who manages affairs with excellence, skill and piety.' Unsuccessful in this ploy, Chrysaphios followed with another and suggested to Eudokia that she trouble the emperor into ordering the patriarch to appoint Pulcheria a deacon since she had chosen a life of virginity. And so Eudokia, by troubling the emperor all the more, got the better of his innocence. When the blessed Flavian[5] was ordered by the emperor to do this, he was greatly distressed as he foresaw the difficulties that would spring from such action. So he both made a promise to the emperor and also wrote to Pulcheria advising her not to receive him into her presence 'so that I am not compelled,' he added 'to do anything that will annoy you.' But she, realizing from the letter what was being plotted, handed over the *praepositus* to Eudokia and departed to the Hebdomon[6] where she took her rest. As a result of this, the emperor and Eudokia were extremely annoyed with Flavian for revealing the secret.

So with Pulcheria staying quiet and Eudokia directing the Empire, something like this happened.‖[a7] A certain Paulinus, the *magister*, was greatly loved by Eudokia for being very educated and handsome and she used to meet him frequently in private. And so on Christmas Day,[8] someone brought to the emperor a large and marvellous apple. After admiring it, the emperor sent it to Eudokia who sent it to Paulinus. Two days later Paulinus sent it to the emperor. Recognizing it, the emperor hid it, went away, and asked the Augusta, 'By my salvation, where is the apple I sent you?' She replied 'By your salvation, I have eaten it.' Then, moved to anger, he ordered that the apple be brought in and that Paulinus be exiled to Cappadocia and executed there.‖[b9]

‖Eusebios the *scholasticus*, who was mentioned earlier as the first person to tackle Nestorios, after being promoted to the bishopric of Dorylaion,[10] happened to be conversing about the faith with the archimandrite Eutyches, and discovered that his views were not correct. After admonishing him at length, he was unable to help him. So Eusebios raised the matter with bishop Flavian who, after gathering a synod of 40 bishops summoned Eutyches, and after examining him according to the whole procedure of the ecclesiastical canons, 100
found that he was a deceitful heretic and so deposed him.[11] But when Chrysaphios, his sympathizer, who controlled the palace, learned about this, he was fired to anger against Flavian all the more, and announced to Dioskoros of Alexandria that he would co-operate with him in all his wishes if he would concur in accusations against Flavian and Eusebios and fight on behalf of Eutyches. He stirred up the Augusta Eudokia over this reminding her, to Flavian's detriment, of her painful experiences regarding Pulcheria. And the pair of them pressed the emperor into decreeing that a second synod be assembled in Ephesos,[12] and they allowed Dioskoros to be the president of the synod,[13] sending a large army to assist him.‖[c14]

[a] Cf. Nik. Kall. xiv. 47. [b] Mal. 356. 17–357. 17; cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 584. 5–585. 3. [c] Cf. Evagr. i. 9.

[1] The account also occurs in Evagr. ii. 2.

[2] He used the money so extorted to attempt to win popularity by distributing bread and wine. See Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 198.

[3] Eutyches was Chrysaphios' baptismal sponsor and so had influence over him. Nestorios, *Bazaar of Heracleides*, in F. Nau, tr., *Le Livre d'Héraclide de Damas* (Paris, 1910), 295; Liberatus, *Brev.* ii (*ACO* ii. 5. 11. 4).

[4] i.e. *praepositus cubiculi augustae*, the chamberlain largely responsible for financial arrangements: see Jones, *LRE* i. 425–6. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, suggests such a position was introduced *c.*421–3.

[5] This must have occurred while Eudokia was in Constantinople, and thus before 443 after which she remained in Jerusalem. Holum, 191, suggests 441, arguing that Theophanes wrongly counted Theodosios' regnal years from 408 instead of 402. Holum also suggests that Proklos, an ally of Pulcheria, will have been in Theophanes' source but 'thinking the year was 447, he felt obligated to insert Flavian instead'.

[6] On the Hebdomon see AM 5930, n. 3.

[7] Nik. Kall., who provides the only parallel we have for the whole of 'a' (a long section), probably derived his material from Theophanes. The subject-matter is of a kind that Theophanes is most likely to have derived from Theod. Lect.

[8] Or else Epiphany (6 Jan.), it often being difficult to decide to which of the two feasts *theophaneia* refers.

[9] The conventional date for this incident is 443, assuming that is also the date of Eudokia's final departure for Jerusalem. A. D. E. Cameron, *YCS* 27 (1981), 217–89, argues that Eudokia left for Jerusalem in 440 before Kyros' fall. Theophanes (with Nik. Kall. xiv. 23. 48) is the only source to add that Paulinus was executed in Cappadocia.

[10] Cf. AM 5923d. Dorylaion (modern Eskişehir), on the river Tembris in Phrygia Salutaris.

[11] Eusebios' accusation was made on 8 Sept. 448; the trial opened on 12 Nov. and Eutyches was excommunicated on 22 Nov.

[12] Theodosios' letter of 30 Mar. 449 convened a general synod for August in Ephesos.

[13] *ACO* ii. 1. 1.74. 51.

[14] *ACO* ii. 1. 1.75–6. See Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 201–2.

[AM 5941, AD 448/9]

Theodosios, 41st year
Isdigerdes, 14th year
Leo, 7th year
Flavian, 2nd year
Juvenal, 11th year
Dioskoros, 2nd year
Domnus, 8th year

‖In this year, at the command of the emperor Theodosios, the Robber Synod[1] was illegally convened in Ephesos so that the affair of Flavian and Eutyches would be judged by the impious Dioskoros, on the recommendation of Chrysaphios the eunuch, surnamed Tzoumas, who had prevailed upon the emperor's simplicity. When they had all gathered at Ephesos, Dioskoros as president did not allow any other secretary to be present in the synod but caused his own secretaries alone to write down the proceedings. And so, after

an inquiry had taken place, Eutyches was required to elucidate his own views, to which he replied by saying, 'I confess that before the union our Lord consisted of two natures, but after the union I confess one nature.' Then Dioskoros said, 'We also all agree with this.' The delegates of Pope Leo of Rome, on seeing Dioskoros' haste and because he did not allow the pope's letter to Flavian to be read, nor indeed his letter to the synod (which were disregarded), fled and went back to Rome. Dioskoros restored the priesthood to Eutyches and readily deposed Eusebios of Dorylaion and Flavian of Constantinople. Flavian, in addition to being deposed, was driven out with kicks and blows from Dioskoros' people and on the third day departed from this life.[2]

On the next day under pressure from the soldiers and their swords the bishops were compelled to sign. But on regaining his senses, Domnus, bishop of Antioch, who had signed under pressure, opposed Dioskoros and the rulers by denouncing what had been done, describing the synod as impious and seeking to withdraw his signature.‖[a] When he learned of this, Pope Leo approached the emperor Valentinian and the empresses and in tears begged that letters be sent to the emperor Theodosios to correct the illegal and uncanonical actions taken in Ephesos.[3] Theodosios replied to his daughter Eudoxia as follows: 'I wish to make this known to your Sweetness that Flavian was banished by the holy decision of the churches for being responsible for many disturbances.'‖[b] 101

‖Dioskoros deposed Theodoret, Ibas, Andrew, Domnus of Antioch, and other eastern bishops in their absence.‖[c 4]

‖The emperor Theodosios was easily swayed, carried by every wind, so that he often signed papers unread. Among these even the most wise Pulcheria inserted unread a donation ceding his wife Eudokia to slavery, which he signed and for which he was severely reproached by Pulcheria.‖[d]

‖In the same year[5] Gizerich, who had become powerful among the Vandal people, described himself as king[6] after gaining control of land, sea, and many islands which had been tributary to the Romans. This grieved Theodosios and so he sent out[7] eleven hundred cargo ships with a Roman army commanded by the generals Areobindos, Ansilas, Inobindos, Arintheos, and Germanus. Gizerich was struck with fear when this force moored in Sicily and he sent an embassy to Theodosios to discuss a treaty.‖[e 8]

[a] Cf. Evagr. ii. 1, Nik. Kall. 158 xiv. 47, Theod. Lect. 347 (98. 28–31). [b] Cf. Nik. Kall. xiv. 49. [c] Theod. Lect. 347 (98. 31–99. 9); cf. *Chron. Edess.* 7. 25–8. [d] Theod. Lect. 352 (99. 22–100. 3); cf. Geo. Mon. 505. 10. [e] Cf. Nik. Kall. xiv. 57, Mich. Syr. ii. 26, Prosp. Tiro a.441 (*Chron. Min.* i. 478).

[1] The Robber Synod (otherwise Ephesos II), so called from Leo's letter to Pulcheria (*Ep.* 95) in which he describes it as *non iudicium, sed latrocinium* because of its violence, took place in Aug. 449. See Chadwick, *Early Church*, 200–2.

[2] At Hypaipa in Lydia. It was reported at the Council of Chalcedon that Flavian had been killed. See J. Chadwick, *JTS* NS 6/1 (1955), 17–34.

[3] Leo's letters, *PL* 54: 593–1218.

[4] i.e. Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Ibas of Edessa. The identification of Andrew is unclear, and he is not listed in other sources, apart from Theod. Lect. The others were Daniel of Harran, Sophronios of Tella, Irenaios of Tyre, and Aquilinus of Byblos.

[5] This and AM 5942 are Theophanes' only items on Africa which are independent of Prok.'s *BV*.

[6] He had been king of the Vandals since 428. He led the Vandal invasion of Proconsular Africa in late 439. See *PLRE* ii. 457.

[7] In 441.

[8] Cf. AM 5942c. In 442 Gizerich made peace with Valentinian III (emperor in Rome 425–55), and secured a further division of Africa.

[AM 5942, AD 449/50]

Theodosios, 42nd year
Isdigerdes, 15th year
Leo, 8th year
Anatolios, bishop of Constantinople (9 years), 1st year
Juvenal, 12th year
Dioskoros, 3rd year
Maximus, bishop of Antioch (3 years), 1st year

||In this year Theodosios, after collecting his thoughts, realized that he had been deceived by Chrysaphios' villainy, and grieved over the unholy treatment of Flavian and the injustice to the other bishops. In great anger he first banished Chrysaphios[1] to an island and then inveighed severely against Eudokia, naming her as responsible for all
102 the evils and in particular for driving Pulcheria from the palace and also reproaching her over the affair of Paulinus. She in despair asked to be sent away to Jerusalem. So, taking with her the presbyter Severus and John the deacon, she went to Jerusalem.[2] When the emperor learned that these men had frequented her in Constantinople and were with her in Jerusalem, and that she bestowed on them many gifts, he sent orders that they should be beheaded. Then the emperor, after earnestly beseeching the blessed Pulcheria, brought her back to the palace. She immediately sent to Ephesos to bring back the relics of the holy Flavian. Accompanied by an escort, she carried these along the Mesê and buried them in the

Holy Apostles.||[a] Then she built the church of the Coppermarket for the holy Mother of God, which had previously been a Jewish synagogue.||[b3]

||While the fleet was waiting in Sicily, as we have mentioned,[4] for the arrival of Gizerich's ambassadors and the emperor's commands, Attila, in the meantime, overran Thrace. He was the son of Moundios, a Scythian, a brave and arrogant man who, after getting rid of his elder brother Bdellas, became sole ruler of the empire of the Scythians whom they call Huns.[5] It was on his account above all that Theodosios made a treaty with Gizerich and recalled the fleet from Sicily. He sent out Aspar with his force together with Areobindos and Argagisklos against Attila, who had already subdued Ratiaria, Naissos, Philippoupolis, Arkadioupolis, Constantia,[6] and very many other towns, and had collected vast amounts of booty and many prisoners. After the generals had been thoroughly defeated in the battles, Attila advanced to both seas, to that of Pontos and to that which flows by Kallipolis and Sestos,[7] enslaving every city and 103
fort except Adrianople and Herakleia,[8] which was once called Peirinthos, so that he came as far as the fort of Athyras[9] itself. So Theodosios was compelled to send an embassy to Attila and to provide 6,000 pounds of gold to secure his retreat, and also to agree to pay an annual tribute of 1,000 pounds of gold for him to remain at peace.||[c10]

||A short while after the Roman army had returned from the war against Attila, the emperor Theodosios died on 20 July in the 3rd indiction.||[d11] The blessed Pulcheria, before the emperor's death was known to anyone, summoned Marcian, a man distinguished by his prudence and dignity and now old and very capable, and said to him, 'Since the emperor has died, and I have chosen you from the whole Senate for being a virtuous man, give me your word that you will guard my virginity, which I have dedicated to God, and I shall proclaim you emperor.' When he had promised this, she summoned the patriarch and the Senate and proclaimed him emperor of the Romans.||[e12]

[a] Cf. Nik. Kall. xiv. 49. [b] Cf. Theod. Lect. 363 (102. 23–5), Geo. Mon. 498. 13. [c] Priscus, frg. 9. 4, restored from Theophanes. Cf. Nik. Kall. xiv. 57. [d] Cf. Nik. Kall. xiv. 58. [e] Cf. Geo. Mon. 504. 14.

[1] 'Certainly false' according to *PLRE* ii. 296, but rightly defended as possible by Holum, *Theodosian Empresses*, 207 n. 195.

[2] Most probably in 443. Cf. AM 5940, n. 5.

[3] Cf. AM 6069, where it is claimed that Justin II also built a church of the Theotokos in the Coppermarket in place of a synagogue. See Ebersolt,

Sanctuaires, 44–60, Janin, *Églises*, 237–42, Mathews, *Churches*, 28–33. Cf. also AM 5943 for Pulcheria's churches.

[4] Cf. 5941e. The date is 441/2.

[5] Probably in 445. Bdellas is usually known as Bleda.

[6] Ratiaria, in Upper Moesia on the Danube, is usually identified with Arzar-Palanca; Naissos is Niš; Philippoupolis is Plovdiv; Arkadioupolis, Lüleburgaz; Constantia, Constanța.

[7] Gelibolu (Gallipoli) and Eceabat.

[8] Edirne and Marmara Ereğlisi. [9] Büyük Çekmece.

[10] In fact the annual tribute was raised to 2,100 lbs. of gold, trebling the earlier tribute, which had already been doubled by Attila shortly after his accession. See Jones, *LRE* i. 193.

[11] 28 July according to (?) Theod. Lect. in *PG* 86/1: 214–15. But the year is correct both by AM and indiction, which is notable given the peculiarities of Theophanes' dates for Theodosios' reign.

[12] Marcell. com. and *Chron. Pasch.* say Theodosios told Marcian he would succeed as emperor. Sources vary as to whether Pulcheria, the Senate, or the patriarch crowned Marcian (Bury, *HLRE*[2] i. 236), but *Chron. Pasch.* gives the date as 26 Aug., i.e. a month after Theodosios' death. Stein, *BE* i. 311 suggests the influence of Aspar. Cf. AM 5943e and 5940, n. 1. Marcian's age at accession was 58 (see *Chron. Pasch.* 592; he died aged 65).

AM 5943 [AD 450/1]

Year of the divine Incarnation 443
Marcian, emperor of the Romans (7 years), 1st year
Isdigerdes, emperor of the Persians (17 years), 16th year
Leo, bishop of Rome (21 years), 9th year
Anatolios, bishop of Constantinople (9 years), 2nd year
Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem (38 years), 13th year
Dioskoros, bishop of Alexandria (5 years), 4th year
Maximus, bishop of Antioch (4 years), 2nd year

||In this year the pious Marcian, appointed sole ruler by divine decree, recalled all those in exile.||[a] The blessed Pulcheria handed over the universally detested eunuch Chrysaphios to Jordanes.||[b1] The latter was the son of that John who, after usurping power in Rome, had then surrendered to Ardabourios and Aspar, come to Byzantium,[2] and been treated with honour, but who had then been treacherously killed by Chrysaphios. Jordanes took Chrysaphios and killed him.||[c]

104 ||It is fitting to indicate that from the beginning the choice of God fell on Marcian as emperor. In earlier times[3] when the Persian War was undertaken, Marcian, being a common soldier, set out from Greece with his detachment against the Persians, and, when he had

come to Lycia, was struck with an illness. So he was left behind in the city of Sidema,[4] and while he was tarrying there he made friends with two brothers, called Julius and Tatianus, who took him to their own house and looked after him. Once, when they went out hunting they took him with them, and growing tired they went to sleep about midday. Tatianus woke up first and saw Marcian asleep in the sun, and an enormous eagle that had come over him and, spreading out its wings, provided shade for him. After gazing at this, Tatianus woke his brother and showed him the miracle. Having marvelled for a long time at the bird's kindly service, they woke Marcian up and said, 'If you are to become emperor, what will you grant us?' He said, 'Who am I that this should happen to me?' They asked him a second time and Marcian said, 'If this should happen through God, I shall appoint you senators.' Then they gave him two hundred *nomismata*, saying, 'Go to Constantinople and remember us when God elevates you.'||[d5]

||So he departed and joined the generals Ardabourios and Aspar, who where Arians, and spent fifteen years with them and having become their *domesticus*, he went with Aspar to Africa to do battle against Gizerich and was captured in battle by Gizerich.||[e] So Gizerich, having locked up the prisoners in his own palace, was observing them from an upper storey, and about midday, he leaned out and saw Marcian asleep, while an eagle had come and, spreading its wings, shaded him. Seeing this, Gizerich concluded that it happened through divine dispensation. And so he summoned the man and, when he learned that he was the *domesticus* of Aspar, he knew that he was going to be elevated to the Empire. Gizerich decided not to kill him, since he calculated that no one is able to hinder the will of God, so he demanded an oath from Marcian that if it was pleasing 105
to God to make him emperor, he would never fight the Vandals. And so Marcian was set free unharmed and came to Byzantium. A little while later, on the death of Theodosios, he was proclaimed emperor, as we have already mentioned. He was a kind man to all his subjects.||[f]

||Attila rose up against the emperors* because Valentinian at Rome did not give his own sister Honoria in marriage to him.[6] He advanced as far as the city of Aurelia,[7] engaged with the Roman general Aëtios in battle, and was defeated, losing most of his forces at the river Ligys,[8] and retreated in shame.||[g]

||Marcian, recalling the favour that had been shown him in Lycia, summoned Tatianus and Julius and proclaimed them senators. He made Tatianus City prefect[9] and appointed Julius governor of Lycia.||[h]

||The blessed Pulcheria erected many different churches [dedicated] to Christ and notably, at the beginning of the reign of the pious Marcian, the church at Blachernai[10] to our mistress worthy of all praise, the Mother of God.||[i]

||Leo, the blessed Pope of Rome, wrote to Marcian[11] to ask that the presumptuous actions of Dioskoros and Eutyches at Ephesos against the holy Flavian be examined by an ecumenical synod. So the emperor ordered all the bishops to assemble.||[j]

[a] Cf. Theod. Lect. 358 (100. 21–2). [b] Cf. Theod. Lect. 353 (100. 8). [c] Contrast Theod. Lect. 320 (94. 3–9). [d] Cf. Nik. Kall. xv. 1. [e] Cf. Evagr. ii. 1. [f] Cf. Prok. *BV* i. 4. 4–11. [g] No clear source but cf. *PLRE* ii. 183 for various parallel passages. [h] Cf. Nik. Kall. xv. 1. [i] Cf. Theod. Lect. 363 (102. 23–5), AM 5945a. [j] Cf. Nik. Kall. xv. 2. Contrast Theod. Lect. 345, 347, 349 (98. 19–99. 15).

1 Theod. Lect. places the handing over of Chrysaphios between Theodosios' death and Marcian's accession, against Mal. 368.

2 Cf. AM 5938, where Theophanes has also confused Jordanes' father (John the Vandal) with the usurper of 423.

3 About 422.

4 Usually written Sidyma, modern Todurga in south-west Lycia, not far from the sea.

5 For other reported prophecies of Marcian's elevation, Ps.-Dion 160–1 (a.757 = AD 445/6). These, being Monophysite, are hostile: see R. W. Burgess, *BZ* 86/7 (1993/4), 47–68.

6 Honoria had invited Attila to save her from a marriage arranged by her brother Valentinian III. Attila, taking this as an offer of marriage, sought a share of empire for himself. See J. B. Bury, *JRS* 9 (1919), 1–13; F. M. Clover, *Historia*, 22 (1973), 104–17.

7 Orléans.

8 The Loire. This is the battle of Maurica (also known as the Catalaunian Plains), on which cf. Bury, *HLRE*[2] i. 293–4.

9 Tatianus was certainly in office by 18 Dec. 450 (*CJ* i. 39. 2, *PLRE* ii. 1053).

10 The great church of Blachernai (to distinguish it from the adjoining reliquary chapel or *soros*) was in fact built by Justin I (Prok. *Aed.* i. 3. 3–5) rather than by Pulcheria, to whom it is usually attributed, as here. Cf. AM 6064. Pulcheria's (other) churches were Hodegoi, Chalkoprateia, and St Laurentius (cf. AM 5945). See Mathews, *Churches*, 28–33.

11 Leo wrote two letters to Theodosios (not Marcian) asking that Ephesos should not have effect until it had been examined by a synod in Italy. After Theodosios' death, he wrote to Marcian (*Ep.* 83, *PL* 54: 919–21) that a synod was out of the question because of the Hun invasion. On 17 May 451 Marcian ordered the bishops to meet at Nicaea on 1 Sept. 451. After they had assembled (22 Sept.), he ordered the transfer to Chalcedon since he could not go far from Constantinople because of the Hun invasion. See Kidd, iii. 309–15.

[AM 5944, AD 451/2]

Marcian, 2nd year
Isdigerdes, 17th year
Leo, 10th year
Anatolios, 3rd year
Juvenal, 14th year
Dioskoros, 5th year
Maximus, 3rd year

||In this year the Fourth holy Synod was held in Chalcedon in October of the 5th indiction, a year and two months after the proclamation of Marcian [as emperor].||[a1] When all the bishops and the Senate had gathered in the martyrium of St Euphemia, they examined the actions taken in the 1st indiction against Eutyches and Dioskoros' innovations at Ephesus. When Dioskoros was accused of these, he sought refuge by claiming ignorance of what had taken place, but being unable to escape conviction because of the acts themselves, he became perplexed and the truth was exposed. Since 106
he had no defence, he was disgraced. Those who had sat with him at the Robber Synod charged him with the violence and constraint they had suffered at his hands and, after seeking pardon from the synod, they were admitted. Among them was Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem.[2] Dioskoros, now in confusion and unable to put up any defence, no longer dared to show himself at the synod. Thereupon the synod, with the emperor Marcian and the Senate also present, decided against Dioskoros and Eutyches and deposed them.||[b] The emperor banished Dioskoros to Gangra||[c3] and praised the synod with these words, 'I give the greatest thanks to the God of us all that, with the discord removed, we have all come together to one and the same confession.' And after rewarding the 630 fathers[4] he dismissed them in peace, each to his own seat.||[d5] Proterios was ordained bishop of Alexandria in place of Dioskoros.||[e]

[a] Cf. Nik. Kall. xv. 4, 20A. [b] Cf. Nik. Kall. xv. 4, 20B–C, Evagr. ii. 5. [c] Cf. Theod. Lect. 362 (102. 13), Nik. Kall. xv. 5, 21D–24A. [d] Cf. Theod. Lect. 360 (101. 25–6). [e] Theod. Lect. 362 (102. 13–14); cf. Vict. Tonn. a.453.

1 The date and calculation are both accurate, the first meeting of the synod being on 8 Oct. 451 (indiction 5), while Marcian's proclamation was on 25 Aug. 450.

2 Probably because of assurances that Jerusalem would be raised to the status of a patriarchate, as indeed it was.

3 Dioskoros died 4 Sept. 454 at Gangra (modern Çankırı) in Paphlagonia.

4 Probably about 520 bishops attended, all easterners apart from two from

Africa and two papal legates, but still the largest gathering of bishops up to that time. Only about 350 signed the synod's definition.

[5] On the synod see A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht, eds., *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, 3 vols. (Würzburg, 1951–4), or more briefly Chadwick, *Early Church*, 203–5, Young, *From Nicaea*, 229–40. Theophanes' treatment of this most controversial and influential of synods, though brief, is accurate so far as it goes in that the purpose of the synod was to deal with the Eutychian heresy and to annul the Robber Synod at Ephesos. Theophanes, however, does not mention that the synod, in addition to reaffirming the decisions made by the synods of Nicaea and Constantinople, also affirmed the title of *Theotokos* (God-bearer), for the Virgin Mary and that Christ is 'made known to us in two natures' (rather than 'in one nature' or 'from two natures'). This last point was the issue which made Chalcedon unacceptable to much of the Eastern Church. Canon 28 of the synod also not only confirmed the status of Constantinople as 'New Rome', second in honour only to old Rome but accepted the extension of its jurisdiction into Thrace, Asia, and Pontos. Jerusalem was raised to the status of a fifth patriarchate.

AM 5945 [AD 452/3]

Year of the divine Incarnation 445
Marcian, emperor of the Romans (7 years), 3rd year
Perozes, emperor of the Persians (24 years), 1st year[1]
Leo, bishop of Rome (21 years), 11th year
Anatolios, bishop of Constantinople (9 years), 4th year
Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem (38 years), 15th year
Proterios, bishop of Alexandria (6 years), 1st year
Maximus, bishop of Antioch (4 years), 4th year

||In this year the blessed and pious Pulcheria died in the Lord.[2] She had done many good deeds and left all her possessions to the poor. Marcian readily distributed these large amounts. She herself had founded numerous houses of prayer, poor-houses, hostels for travellers, and burial-places for strangers, among which was the church of the holy martyr Laurentius.||[a]

||After Dioskoros' banishment and Proterios' promotion, the supporters of Dioskoros and Eutyches created an enormous amount of trouble and even threatened to stop the transport of corn. When Marcian learned of this, he ordered that the Egyptian corn be brought
107 down the Nile to Pelusium instead of Alexandria, and so be shipped to the capital. As a result the Alexandrians, who were starving, asked Proterios to supplicate the emperor on their behalf and so they stopped making trouble.||[b3]

In this year the baths of Diocletian in Alexandria were restored. ||Also Attila burned the city of Aquileia.||[c]

||In the same year a certain monk called Theodosios, a destructive man, went in haste to Jerusalem after the Synod of Chalcedon, and after learning that the Augusta Eudokia was favourable to Dioskoros, who had been deposed by the synod, he began to bawl out that the synod had distorted the correct faith and quite convinced the Augusta and the monks. By means of murder he seized the bishop's throne in a barbaric manner, and with the Augusta's men as his assistants, he ordained bishops in every city, while the [other] bishops were still at the synod. When Severianus, bishop of Skythopolis, would not submit to his heresy, Theodosios drove him out of the city and murdered him and then incited a persecution of those who refused to be in communion with him. Many he tortured, others he punished with confiscation, and he had the houses of yet others burned down, so that the city seemed to have been captured by the barbarians.||[d4] He slaughtered Athanasios, deacon of the church of the Holy Resurrection, for reproaching and chiding him for his godlessness, and after parading that man's holy body round the city, he threw it to the dogs. Domnus, bishop of Antioch, fled into the desert and so, too, did Juvenal of Jerusalem. After the corrupter Theodosios had held the see of Jerusalem for twenty months, the emperor Marcian was informed of it and ordered his arrest. Theodosios went as a fugitive to Mount Sinai. With him and those ordained by him out of the way, Juvenal regained his own see once more.||[e5]

[a] Theod. Lect. 363 (102. 21–5). [b] Theod. Lect. 362 (102. 13–20). [c] Cf. Prosp. Tiro a.452 (*Chron. Min.* i. 482). [d] Cf. Nik. Kall. xv. 9. [e] Cf. Nik. Kall. xv. 9.

[1] Peroz ruled from 459 to 484. He succeeded not Yazdgerd (II) but Hormizd III (457–9), whom Theophanes has omitted.

[2] July 453.

[3] There is a similar account of these events in Evagr. ii. 5, who gives Priscus of Panium as his source. In that account the people supplicate the prefect Florus and there is no mention of Proterios.

[4] There are several early accounts of the monks' revolt: *ACO* ii. 1. 3.125–6, Zach. *HE* iii. 3–9, Cyr. Scyth., *V. Euth.* 27–8, Evagr. ii. 5. See esp. E. Honigmann, *DOP* 5 (1950), 207–79, Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 148–54.

[5] July 453.

[AM 5946, AD 453/4]

Marcian, 4th year
Perozes, 2nd year

Leo, 12th year
Anatolios, 5th year
Juvenal, 16th year
Proterios, 2nd year
Basil, bishop of Antioch (2 years), 1st year

||In this year Valentinian, the emperor in Rome, suspicious of the power of the patrician and general Aëtios, treacherously killed him, with one of the eunuchs, Herakleios, as his accomplice.||[a1] Attila got ready to make war on Marcian for refusing to pay him the tribute as appointed by Theodosios. But in the meantime he fell in love with a beautiful girl, and while celebrating his marriage to her, he became thoroughly intoxicated and was overwhelmed by sleep; after discharging a copious amount of blood through his nose and mouth, he ended his life.[2] His sons inherited his great power but were killed quarrelling with each other.||[b] The Romans of the East, however, enjoyed complete peace, justice, and happiness during Marcian's rule. Those were indeed golden years because of the emperor's goodness, and tranquillity prevailed in all affairs.||[c]

[a] Priscus, frg. 30. 2, restored from Theophanes. Cf. Nik. Kall. xv. 9.
[b] Priscus, frg. 24. 2, restored from Theophanes. [c] Cf. Nik. Kall. xv. 15.

[1] Theophanes, though not obviously following any particular known source, reflects the accounts in other chronicles, especially Joh. Ant., frgs. 200–1. Cf. PLRE, ii. 28, Aëtius 7. The account at AM 5947 suggests the source is Theod. Lect. and that Maximus was involved.

[2] For the date cf. Hyd. Lem. a.452, Prosp. Tiro a.453, Marcell. com. a.454.

[AM 5947, AD 454/5]

Marcian, 5th year
Perozes, 3rd year
Leo, 13th year
Anatolios, 6th year
Juvenal, 17th year
Proterios, 3rd year
Basil, 2nd year

||In this year Valentinian, the emperor in Rome, though supporting the correct doctrines of the Church, committed many transgressions in his private life. For though having a very beautiful wife, Eudoxia, the daughter of the emperor Theodosios, he cohabited with other women[1] in demonic fashion and continually conversed even with those who practised magic. So he was given over to a most shameful

death. For one of the patricians in Rome, Maximus,[2] the grandson and namesake of the Maximus who had been a usurper in the times of Theodosios the elder, entered the palace, murdered Valentinian, raped Eudoxia, and gained control of the Empire. For where anyone sins, there will he be punished. Eudoxia, distressed by these events and calculating that she would get no aid from Byzantium now that both her father Theodosios and Pulcheria had died, invited Gizerich to Rome, exhorting him to free her from Maximus' tyranny. So Gizerich sailed to Rome with a large fleet and Maximus fled in fear. His associates killed him after he had ruled one year.[3] Gizerich, with no one to stop him, entered Rome on the third day after the murder 109
of Maximus, and taking all the money and the adornments of the city, he loaded them on his ships, among them the solid gold and bejewelled treasures of the Church and the Jewish vessels which Vespasian's son Titus had brought to Rome after the capture of Jerusalem. Having also taken the empress Eudoxia and her daughters, he sailed back to Africa. He married Eudokia to his eldest son, Onorich,[4] but after learning that Placidia had a husband, the patrician Olybrius, he held her in custody with her mother Eudoxia.||[a]

After learning of Maximus' death, Majorinus ruled two years, and after him Avitus held Rome's Empire for two years, and after him Severus three years.[5] After these men there was no emperor,[6] but Rekimer controlled affairs, commanding the army and invested with great power.[7]

In the same year Eudokia died in Jerusalem, having made many donations to the churches.[8]

[a] Cf. Nik. Kall. xv. 11, Joh. Ant., frg. 200, Theod. Lect. 366 (103. 8–14).

[1] These included Maximus' wife according to Joh. Ant., frg. 200, Prok. *BV* i. 4. 16–23.

[2] It is unlikely that Maximus (Petronius Maximus, *PLRE* ii. 749) was descended from the usurper Magnus Maximus, although the claim is also made by Prok. *BV* i. 4. 16, Nik. Kall., and Kedr. i. 605. Valentinian was actually killed by two dependants of Aëtios in the Campus Martius, though probably at Maximus' instigation.

[3] In fact two months (17 Mar.–31 May).

[4] Spelled Hunirix in official documents. See *PLRE* ii. 572–3.

[5] Theophanes' chronology in this paragraph is confused. Majorinus (Majorian) was emperor 457–61 (see *PLRE* ii. 702–3). At AM 5955 Theophanes recognizes that he was succeeded by Severus. Avitus (*PLRE* ii. 196–8), was emperor 455–6. He succeeded Maximus. At AM 5948 Theophanes places Avitus in the correct year but calls him Amitos. Severus (*PLRE* ii. 1004) was emperor 461–5. Cf. AM 5955, which almost gets the date right. Avitus was

not recognized by Leo in the East, so it is interesting that Theophanes includes him.

[6] Contrast AM 5964 for further emperors to 476.

[7] Rekimer (Ricimer) was *magister utriusque militiae* from 456 to his death in 472.

[8] Aelia Eudokia (Athenais) who had been living in Jerusalem probably since 443 (cf. AM 5942). She died on 20 Aug. 460.

[AM 5948, AD 455/6]

Marcian, 6th year
Perozes, 4th year
Leo, 14th year
Anatolios, 7th year
Juvenal, 18th year
Proterios, 4th year
Martyrios, bishop of Antioch (13 years), 1st year[1]

||In this year Ravenna was burned, and a few days later the patrician Ramitos was killed at Classe. Twenty-nine days later Amitos was defeated by Remikos and went to the city of Placentia in Gaul.||[a2]

[a] Cf. e.g. *Fasti. Vind. Post.* a.455, *Auct. Prosp.* a.456, Mar. Avent. a.456.

[1] Between Basil and Martyrios Theophanes has omitted Akakios, mentioned by Nik. *Chron.* 131, with a tenure of one year. Cf. P. Peeters, *Orient et Byzance: Le Tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine*, Subs. hag. 26 (Brussels, 1950), 129. The dates of Akakios are given by Grumel, 446, as 458–9.

[2] Ramitos is Remistus (*PLRE* ii. 939). Amitos is Avitus, emperor 455–6 (cf. AM 5947), who became bishop of Placentia but died soon afterwards. Remikos (Rekimer at AM 5947) is Ricimer. Theophanes, despite his own inaccuracies here, seems to have had access to a reasonably accurate western source. One suspects that this was more likely to have been available in Jerusalem than Constantinople, judging by the lack of similar detailed information in other Byzantine chronicles. Alternatively this may have been his Alexandrian source, which has links with the *Excerpta Barbari* and provides information from the West. Placentia (modern Piacenza) is in Italy, rather than Gaul.

[AM 5949, AD 456/7]

Marcian, 7th year
Perozes, 5th year
Leo, 15th year

Anatolios, 8th year
Juvenal, 19th year
Proterios, 5th year
Martyrios, 2nd year

||In this year the emperor Marcian died on the day before the kalends of May.[1] Leo the elder became emperor.||[a] In the same year in Alexandria Trajan's bath was restored and also the great basilica at the Stoicheion. ||Marcian was very pious and God-fearing.||[b] He used to go out on foot to the litanies in the Campus, performing many good works for the needy. As a result of seeing him the patriarch Anatolios no longer performed the litany while being carried in a sedan-chair, as was customary, but on foot.||[c]

||In this year Timothy the Cat, having had recourse to magic, went round at night to the cells of the monks, calling each of them by name, and when there was a reply, he would say, 'I am an angel and I have been sent to tell everyone to refrain from communion with Proterios and the party of Chalcedon, and to appoint Timothy the Cat bishop of Alexandria.'||[d] 110

||In the same year Eudoxia, the daughter of the emperor Theodosios and wife of Valentinian the third, returned from Africa[2] with one of her daughters, Placidia, the wife of Olybrius. For Eudokia was married to Gizerich's son Onorich and did not return.||[e]

[a] Cf. Theod. Lect. 367 (103. 18–20). [b] Cf. Theod. Lect. 364 (102. 26–103. 2). [c] Theod. Lect. 365 (103. 3–7). [d] Theod. Lect. 369 (104. 15–20). [e] Theod. Lect. 393 (110. 17–20).

[1] i.e. 30 Apr. Theod. Lect. gives the date as 27 Jan. (cf. Mal. 368). Cf. AM 5950, where Theophanes puts Leo's accession in Feb. See B. Croke, *Byz* 48 (1978), 5–9.

[2] The date is wrong. Eudoxia's return post-dates Eudokia's marriage to Huneric, which occurred *c.*462. See *PLRE* ii. 411.

AM 5950 [AD 457/8]

Year of the divine Incarnation 450
Leo, emperor of the Romans (17 years), 1st year
Perozes, emperor of the Persians (24 years), 6th year
Leo, bishop of Rome (21 years), 16th year
Anatolios, bishop of Constantinople (9 years), 9th year
Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem (38 years), 20th year
Proterios, bishop of Alexandria (6 years), 6th year
Martyrios, bishop of Antioch (13 years), 3rd year

||In this year Leo became emperor,[1] a Thracian by race and a tribune in rank, and was crowned by the patriarch Anatolios[2] in February of the 10th indiction.||[a3]

||In the same year almost the whole city of Antioch collapsed in a terrible earthquake.||[b4]

A giraffe, a buffalo, and other beasts came to Alexandria. ||At the same time as these, Timothy, known as the Cat, was causing trouble in the city of Alexandria. For having bribed a throng of disorderly men, he seized the throne of Alexandria like a usurper, and, though he had been suspended, was ordained by two men[5] who were themselves under suspension.||[c] From this source grew all the snares in Alexandria. For while all the priests of the whole world had accepted the definition of the Synod at Chalcedon, this abominable man, in an uncontrollable frenzy, insulted it and ordained bishops, though not himself ordained, and performed baptisms, though not even being a presbyter. The blessed Proterios, perceiving the plot that was being hatched against him by the Cat, gave place unto wrath[6] and sought refuge in the sacred baptistery on the first day of Easter. But
111 the forerunner of the Antichrist, respecting neither the holy day, nor the revered places, ||sent out men to kill the innocent high priest and six others who were with him.[7] Dragging his corpse with ropes, they hauled it from the holy font and paraded it through the whole city insulting it without pity. Finally they burned it in a fire and scattered the ashes in the air.||[d]

||In the same year the relics of St Anastasia[8] were brought from Sermium and deposited in her church in the portico of Domninus.||[e]

||Timothy the Cat, after discovering some unpublished writings of Cyril the Great, falsified them in many places, as Peter the presbyter of Alexandria records.||[f]

[a] Theod. Lect. 367 (103. 19–20). [b] Mal. 369. 5–8; cf. Evagr. ii. 12. [c] Theod. Lect. 370 (104. 21–2). [d] Theod. Lect. 368 (103. 22–104. 14); cf. Nik. Kall. xv. 16, 49C. [e] Theod. Lect. ii. 65 (*PG* 86/1: 216A–B, not in Hansen). [f] Cf. Nik. Kall. xv. 16.

[1] As with Marcian (cf. AM 5942, n. 12), Leo's elevation may have been arranged by Aspar; cf. AM 5961b. *Cer.* i. 91, in addition to giving other details of Leo's accession, describes him as *comes* and tribune of the Mattiarii, a legion under the control of the *magister militum in praesenti*, who was almost certainly Aspar. See Jones, *LRE* iii. 41 (= ii. 1111, pbk.) n. 5, Bury, *HLRE*[2] i. 314–15.

[2] Mal. has Leo crowned by the Senate. Theod. Lect. does not mention either Anatolios or the indiction. The description of Leo's elevation in Const. Porph. excludes the actual coronation ceremony.

[3] Feb. of the 10th indiction fell in 457. Cf. AM 5949a.

[4] De Boor gives Evagr. rather than Mal. as the source here, but Evagr. himself refers to a more detailed account in 'John the Rhetor', who almost certainly must be the unabridged Mal. Theophanes has apparently deduced that the earthquake was in Leo's first year from Mal.'s date of the year 506 of Antioch (= AD 457/8), but Mal. also dates the earthquake to Sunday 13th Sept. and the consulship of Patricius, both of which imply AD 459. (Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, dates it to Sept. 458.)

[5] Peter of Iberia, ejected from Palestine, and Eusebios of Pelusium, ejected as a supporter of Dioskoros, were suspended on 16 Mar. 457. See Duchesne, iii. 332. 'For having bribed . . . usurper' is not in Theod. Lect. This and the following two sentences appear to be Theophanes' own comment.

[6] Cf. Rom. 12: 19.

[7] Proterios was murdered on 28 Mar. 457 (Duchesne, iii. 332).

[8] The translation of the relics of St Anastasia, supposedly martyred in Sirmium in 304, underlines the influence of Aspar, Ardabourios, and the Goths. Aspar and Ardabourios had paid for the reconstruction of the church under St Marcian, who arranged for the scriptures to be read in Gothic on festal days. See Janin, *Églises*, 23.

[AM 5951, AD 458/9]

Leo, 2nd year
Perozes, 7th year
Leo, 17th year
Gennadios, bishop of Constantinople (13 years), 1st year
Juvenal, 21st year
Timothy the Cat, who held Alexandria like a robber for 2 years, 1st year
Martyrios, 4th year

||In this year the emperor Leo, having learned of the unjust death of Proterios and the illegal promotion of the Cat,||[a] after sending [instructions] cut out the tongue of Caesarius[1] and banished both for having taken part together in the murder of Proterios. But he did not punish the unholy Timothy, saying it was the prerogative of bishops to make a decision about him.||[b]

In the same year, too, Zeno was married to Areadne,[2] the daughter of Leo.

[a] Theod. Lect. 371 (104. 23–4). [b] Theod. Lect. 372 (105. 10–14).

[1] Our translation is based on the assumption that Theophanes is trying to reproduce the sense of Theod. Lect.: 'Having sent to Alexandria for this purpose, he deprived Nikolaos the *augustalios* of his property. He cut out the tongue of Caesarius the *dux* and banished the two of them for having taken part together in the murder of Proterios.' Otherwise it would be natural to

translate: 'the emperor Leo, having sent Caesarius, cut out the tongues of both (? = 'all') who had taken part in the murder of Proterios and banished them.' This is the sense understood both by Anastasius in the 9th cent. and by *PLRE* ii. 1032, Stilas. *PLRE* has recognized that the name of the official sent to restore order was Stilas, not Caesarius, but assumes, probably correctly, that the two are identical. Since the nouns behind ἀμφοτέρους (= 'both') are not identified, one might also assume that this has its alternative medieval meaning of 'all', which again is how Anastasius understood it (cf. J. B. Bury, *CR* 11 (1897), 393–5; id. *BZ* 11 (1902), 111). *PLRE* also presumes that Stilas (= Caesarius) 'succeeded Dionysius 7 as *comes et dux Aegypti*'. But elsewhere Caesarius is identified with Dionysius (see *PLRE* ii. 364), who is presumably also Stilas. The 'both' then must refer to Caesarius and Nikolaos the latter of whom Theophanes has unfortunately omitted. Support comes from Zach. *HE* iv. 2, who points out that some of the Romans (i.e. imperial officials) were supporters of Timothy and also alleges that Proterios was killed by a Roman. The failure to punish Timothy can also be explained as being due to the unwillingness or inability of the Alexandrian authorities to banish Timothy amidst the rioting in his favour.

[2] The marriage was probably 8 years later in 466/7. See *PLRE* ii. 141.

[AM 5952, AD 459/60]

Leo, 3rd year
Perozes, 8th year
Leo, 18th year
Gennadios, 2nd year
Juvenal, 22nd year
Timothy the Cat, 2nd year
Martyrios, 5th year

||In this year the emperor sent a letter[1] to the bishops of each province,||[a] asking every one of them to write him his personal view on whether they approved the definitions made at Chalcedon and what they felt about the ordination of the Cat.||[b] Among these [he wrote] to St Symeon the Stylite, Baradatos the monk, and Jacob the miracle-worker, calling them to witness that, as they would have to render an account to the God of all, so should they make a judgement about the matters in dispute.||[c] They, being of one accord,
112 unanimously ratified the synod of Chalcedon as being holy and accepted the definitions set out by it. They unanimously condemned Timothy as a murderer and a heretic.||[d] Gennadios, too, was eager for the emperor to avenge Timothy's audacity, while the Arian Aspar sought to counteract him.||[e] The pious emperor banished the Cat to Gangra,[2] where his teacher Dioskoros had previously [been banished]. There, too, the Cat began to hold rival assemblies and

cause disturbances, on learning of which the emperor re-exiled him to Cherson.||[f] Another Timothy, surnamed the White (the same as Salophakialos), an orthodox and good man who was loved by all, was ordained bishop of Alexandria in his place.||[g3]

[a] Theod. Lect. 372 (105. 8–9). [b] Cf. Theod. Lect. 371 (104. 26–8). [c] Source not known but cf. Theod. Lect. 374–5 (105. 20–106. 7) regarding Jacob and Symeon. [d] Theod. Lect. 373 (105. 15–17). [e] Theod. Lect. 378 (106. 17–19). [f] Theod. Lect. 380 (107. 14–16). [g] Theod. Lect. 379 (106. 21–3).

[1] The text is preserved in Evagr. ii. 9 and the replies at ii. 10.

[2] Cf. Evagr. ii. 11 for the banishment of Timothy. For Gangra see AM 5944.

[3] Timothy Salophakiolos' first tenure was Mar. 457–Jan. 460, his second was Sept. 477–June 482 (Grumel, 443).

[AM 5953, AD 460/1]

Leo, 4th year
Perozes, 9th year
Leo, 19th year
Gennadios, 3rd year
Juvenal, 23rd year
Timothy surnamed the White, bishop of Alexandria (15 years), 1st year
Martyrios, 6th year

In this year Juvenal, the most holy bishop of Jerusalem, died[1] and Anastasios was ordained in his place. ||In the same year there also died Symeon the great Stylite, the one of the *mandra*,[2] who was the first to practise that kind of asceticism and who became a worker of miracles.||[a]

[a] Cf. Evagr. i. 13, Mal. 369. 10–11.

[1] Juvenal probably died on 2 July 458: E. Honigmann, *DOP* 5 (1950), 261. Note Theophanes' inconsistency in listing Juvenal as patriarch of Jerusalem until AM 5968.

[2] Symeon died in 459, probably on 24 July (see H. Delehaye, *Les Saints Stylites* (Brussels and Paris, 1923), ix–xv). *Mandra*, originally a sheepfold, was the term used by Symeon to indicate the modesty of his accommodation. From this it acquired the meaning of monastery, particularly for the complex of buildings that sprang up after his death at Qa'lat Sem'ān between Antioch and Cyrrhus. See H. Delehaye, op. cit. cliv–clxvi; A.-J. Festugière, *Byz* 45 (1975), 221 n. 57.

[AM 5954, AD 461/2]

Leo, 5th year
Perozes, 10th year
Leo, 20th year
Gennadios, 4th year
Juvenal, 24th year
Timothy, 2nd year
Martyrios, 7th year

||In this year a great fire occurred in Constantinople on 2 September of the 15th indiction.[1] It began in the Neorion[2] and spread as far as the church of St Thomas in the district of Amantius.[3] Marcianus, the *oikonomos*, went up on to the roof-tiles of St Anastasia holding the gospel and preserved that church from harm by his prayers and tears.||[a]

[a] Theod. Lect. 394 (110. 21–5).

[1] Wednesday 2 Sept. of indiction 3 according to *Chron. Pasch.* 595. 2–3, which makes the year 464 (given as 465 by *Chron. Pasch.* as also in Marcell. com). This combination is more likely to be right than Theophanes' version, even though his indiction and AM data do correspond. The most detailed description of the fire is in Evagr. ii. 13, probably taken from Priscus, via Eustathios of Epiphaneia (though cf. AM 5961). Theod. Lect., however, is certainly Theophanes' source here. The fire, one of the worst to affect Constantinople, burned eight of the city's regions according to *Chron. Pasch.*, although the fire also shows similarities with the one dated by *Chron. Pasch.* to 469. For a list of ancient references to fires in Constantinople, see A. M. Schneider, *BZ* 41 (1941), 383–4.

[2] For the *Neorion*, the most ancient port in Constantinople, see Ahrweiler, *Mer*, 430–9; Mango, *Développement*, 55–6.

[3] According to the *Patria*, the Amantius who built the church was Anastasios' *parakoimomenos* (Preger, iii. 249), but it is possible that the Amantius who gave his name to the quarter was the consul of 345 or else Eudoxia's eunuch, the enemy of John Chrysostom. On the church of St Anastasia, cf. AM 5950.

[AM 5955, AD 462/3]

Leo, 6th year
Perozes, 11th year
Leo, 21st year
Gennadios, 5th year
Juvenal, 25th year

Timothy, 3rd year
Martyrios, 8th year

||In this year Majorinus was killed by the patrician Remikios at Tartion,[1] and Severus, also called Serpentius,[2] was elevated to be emperor on the nones of July.||[a3]

||In the same year when a painter dared to depict the Saviour in the likeness of Zeus, his hand became withered. When he had confessed, Gennadios cured him by his prayer. Some historians say that the form with short curly hair is more appropriate for the Saviour.||[b] While Gennadios was praying one night inside the sanctuary, he is said to have seen an apparition of a demon whom he rebuked and then heard him cry out that he would yield as long as Gennadios was alive, but after his death would surely rule the Church. Terrified, 113
Gennadios addressed many pleas to God on this account.||[c]

||In the same year Studius[4] built the church of the Forerunner and established in it monks from the monastery of the Sleepless Ones.[5] The *praepositus* Gratissimus[6] built the church of St Kyriakos outside the Golden Gate and became a monk in it.||[d]

[a] Cf. *Fast. Vind. Prior.* a.461, but cf. n. 3. [b] Theod. Lect. 382 (107. 21–4).
[c] Theod. Lect. 396 (111. 3–6). [d] Theod. Lect. 384 (108. 29–32).

[1] Dertona (modern Tortona) in Liguria, on the high road from Genoa to Placentia (modern Piacenza).

[2] The name Serpentius is supported by *Chron. Pasch.* 593. 11, despite *PLRE* ii. 1004. Severus was not recognized in the East by Leo.

[3] 7 July, the date also given by Vict. Tonn., who often reflects Theod. Lect., presumably Theophanes' source here. Other sources have 19 Nov. The year was 461.

[4] Studius was consul for 454. It is, however, likely that he built the church before 454 and was rewarded with the consulship. See Mango, *BMGS* 4 (1978), 115–22.

[5] So-called because, divided into separate choirs, they maintained continuous prayer in their monastery, day and night. They were formed about 420 in Constantinople, but following their support of Nestorios, they had been expelled and taken refuge at the monastery of Rufinianae. Later they moved to Eirenaion (modern Çubuklu) opposite Sosthenion (Stenia), on the Asiatic shore of the Bosporus. See Janin, *Grands centres*, 13–15.

[6] Gratissimus is only known from this passage and Theod. Lect., who adds that Gratissimus completed the duties of *praepositus* while being a monk.

AM 5956 [AD 463/4]

Year of the divine Incarnation 456
Leo, emperor of the Romans (17 years), 7th year
Perozes, emperor of the Persians (24 years), 12th year
Hilary, bishop of Rome (6 years), 1st year[1]
Gennadios, bishop of Constantinople (13 years), 6th year
Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem (38 years), 26th year
Timothy, bishop of Alexandria (15 years), 4th year
Martyrios, bishop of Antioch (13 years), 9th year

||In this year the emperor Leo made his son-in-law Zeno *magister militum per Orientem*,[2] and Basiliskos, the brother of the Augusta Verina, *magister militum per Thracias*.||[a3] Zeno went to Antioch and met the bishop there, the holy Martyrios. Peter the Fuller, a presbyter of the church of the martyr Bassa at Chalcedon, was in Zeno's entourage. After persuading Zeno to co-operate with him, he hired some people of the Apolinarian persuasion and aroused numberless disturbances[4] against the creed and bishop Martyrios. He anathematized those who denied that God had been crucified, and having split the people of Antioch, he added to the thrice-holy hymn the phrase 'who was crucified for us',||[b5] which from that time right up to the present has continued to be said by the Theopaschites. ||Martyrios went to the emperor Leo and was received with much honour by the efforts of Gennadios, bishop of Constantinople. After returning to Antioch and finding the people in revolt and Zeno lending them aid, he resigned from his bishopric in front of the congregation,[6] saying, 'With the clergy insubordinate, the people disobedient, and the Church polluted, I resign, keeping for myself the dignity of the priesthood.' When he had gone, Peter the Fuller leaped upon the throne of Antioch, immediately ordaining John
114 bishop of Apameia, a man previously deposed. When Gennadios learned of this, he referred it all to the emperor, who ordered Peter the Fuller to be banished.[7] When Peter heard this, he escaped banishment by flight. By a common vote a certain Julian was appointed bishop of Antioch.||[c]

In the same year on the 5th day before the ides of May[8] the prophet Elisha was translated to Alexandria and placed in the monastery of Paul the Leper. For he cured a leper, made a leper, and was placed in [the church] of the Leper.

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 126, Theod. Lect. 390, 398–9 (109. 19–21, 111. 13–14, 19–20).
[b] Theod. Lect. 390 (109. 19–110. 6). [c] Theod. Lect. 391–2 (110. 7–16).

[1] Hilary was pope from 19 Nov. 461 to 29 Feb. 468.

[2] Probably in 469 as successor to Flavius Iordanes (*magister utriusque militiae* 466–9), who succeeded Ardabourios, who was dismissed in 466. See *PLRE* ii. 1201. Zeno had previously been *magister militum per Thracias* (probably 467/8) succeeding Basiliskos, when the latter was appointed to the campaign against the Vandals (see AM 5961).

[3] Theophanes is our only evidence for the date.

[4] Cf. *CJ* i. 3. 29 of 1 June 471, forbidding monks to leave their monasteries in order to create disturbances at Antioch and in the towns of the Orient.

[5] The addition of 'who was crucified for us' which could be interpreted to mean that Christ as God had suffered on the cross (the Theopaschite formula) thus became a Monophysite catch-cry. 'If the Trishagion was addressed to our Lord, then the addition was unexceptionable and Peter probably regarded it as addressed to Him. But at Constantinople the Trishagion was addressed to the Trinity and the addition would then be denounced as patripassion or theopaschite' (Kidd, iii. 408). Cf. Evagr. iii. 44, AM 5967 and 5982 n. 6.

[6] Note that in the chronological tables, Martyrios remains patriarch until AM 5960 (he in fact resigned in 470) with Julian succeeding in AM 5961. Julian's tenure was probably *c.*471–5 (Grumel, 446).

[7] Cf. again *CJ* i. 3. 29 for his recall. He was presumably banished in 470.

[8] 11 May.

[AM 5957, AD 464/5]

Leo, 8th year
Perozes, 13th year
Hilary, 2nd year
Gennadios, 7th year
Juvenal, 27th year
Timothy, 5th year
Martyrios, 10th year

In this year the Tetrastoon and sanctuary of St John were built in Alexandria. Also the public bath Heptabizos was restored to the city.

||In these years Daniel the Stylite ascended his column at Anaplous,[1] a marvellous man. John, a man of consular rank surnamed Vincomalus,[2] having implored the holy Bassianos, became a monk with him. He continued to go on processions in the palace as one of the senators and when he left [the palace] he was escorted as a consular as far as the monastery of Bassianos. But once inside the monastery, he immediately put on the monastic goat's-hair cloak and fulfilled his duties in the kitchen and the stable and in other work of this kind.

In the same year Anthimos and Timokles, the composers of *troparia*, became famous.||[a3]

||In the same year following an embassy from the Senate in Rome, the emperor Leo sent out Anthimios,[4] the son-in-law[5] of the previous emperor Marcian, as emperor in Rome, a most Christian man who piously ruled the Empire for six years.||[b]

[a] Theod. Lect. 385–8 (109. 1–13). [b] Cf. Evagr. ii. 16.

[1] On the European side of the Bosporus. The date ought to be 460 if Daniel remained on his column for 33 years and three months and died on 11 Dec. 493 (*V. Dan. Styl.*, chs. 97 and 101), but it should also have followed closely Symeon's death in 459 (probably July, *V. Dan. Styl.* 2–26, cf. AM 5853, n. 2), though the correspondence between the traditional length of Christ's life on earth and Daniel's 'contest' is suspicious.

[2] John Vincomalus (Bringomalas) was *magister officiorum* 451–2 and consul in 453. Bassianos, who came from Syria in Marcian's reign, built his monastery in or near Deuteron, i.e. between Fatih and the Adrianople gate. Cf. *Syn. CP* 127–8. In the *Life of St Matrona*, (*AASS* Nov. 3: 793E) a John δευτερεύων at the monastery is mentioned.

[3] These are the first Byzantine hymn-writers to be mentioned by name. Theod. Lect. states that Anthimos introduced vigils into the service.

[4] Anthemios was emperor 467–72. Contrast AM 5947, where Theophanes states that there were no more emperors in the West.

[5] Anthemios' wife was Aelia Marcia Euphemia, Marcian's daughter.

AM 5958 [AD 465/6]

Leo, emperor of the Romans (17 years), 9th year
Perozes, emperor of the Persians (24 years), 14th year
Hilary, bishop of Rome (6 years), 3rd year
Gennadios, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 8th year
Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem (38 years), 28th year
Timothy, bishop of Alexandria (15 years), 6th year
Martyrios, bishop of Antioch (13 years), 11th year

115 ||In this year a sign appeared in the sky, a cloud in the shape of a trumpet, for forty days each evening.||[a]

[a] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 597. 13–15, a.467.

[AM 5959, AD 466/7]

Leo, 10th year
Perozes, 15th year
Hilary, 4th year
Gennadios, 9th year

Juvenal, 29th year
Timothy, 7th year
Martyrios, 12th year

In this year Alexandria enlisted three thousand men[1] and the great pool was built in the district of John together with two baths named Health and Healing. The river at Alexandria was dug from Chersaion to Kopreon.

[1] A rare piece of statistical evidence for the size of a work-force for building baths.

[AM 5960, AD 467/8]

Leo, 11th year
Perozes, 16th year
Hilary, 5th year
Gennadios, 10th year
Juvenal, 30th year
Timothy, 8th year
Martyrios, 13th year

||In this year the quaestor Isokasios,[1] an Antiochene and a philosopher, was denounced to the emperor for being a pagan. The emperor ordered him to be examined before the praetorian prefect in Constantinople. When he was brought into the Zeuxippos with his hands tied behind his back, the prefect Pusaeus said to him, 'Do you see, Isokasios, in what state you have placed yourself?' He replied, 'I see, and I am not dismayed. For being human, I have fallen into human misfortune. But bring judgement on me just as you used to judge with me.'[2] On hearing this, the crowd acclaimed the emperor. When the emperor was informed, he rejoiced and released Isokasios back to his own country.||[a3]

[a] Mal. 369. 17–371. 4; cf. *Chron. Pasch.* (a.467), 595. 6–596. 12, Joh. Nik. 88. 7–11, Kedr. i. 612–3, Zon. xiv. 1. 9–11.

[1] Leo banned pagans from practising as lawyers in this year (*CJ* i. 4. 15). Isokasios had persisted in his paganism despite, it was said, only recovering from illness after a visitation by St Thekla: *Mir. S. Theclae*, no. 39, ed. Dagron, 395. Cf. ibid. 91–2. The quaestor advised emperors on the drafting of laws. See J. Harries, *JRS* 78 (1988), 148–72.

[2] The imperial high court was conducted after AD 440 by the praetorian prefect of the East and the quaestor sitting jointly. See Jones, *LRE* i. 505–6. Pusaeus had been praetorian prefect since 465. See *PLRE* ii. 930.

[3] Probably Antioch. He first submitted to baptism (Mal. 371. 3–4, *Chron. Pasch.* 596. 12).

[AM 5961, AD 468/9]

Leo, 12th year
Perozes, 17th year
Hilary, 6th year
Gennadios, 11th year
Juvenal, 31st year
Timothy, 9th year
Julian, bishop of Antioch (6 years), 1st year

||In this year the emperor Leo equipped and sent out a big fleet against Gizerich who ruled the Africans.[1] For after the death of Marcian, Gizerich had committed many terrible things against the territories under the Empire of the Romans, plundering, taking many prisoners, and destroying the cities. And so the emperor, moved by zeal, gathered 100,000 ships[2] from the entire eastern sea, filled them with armies and weapons, and sent them against Gizerich. Indeed they say that he spent 130,000 lbs. of gold[3] on this expedition. As general and commander of the fleet he appointed the Augusta Verina's brother Basiliskos,||[a] who had already obtained the
116 distinction of a consulship and had frequently defeated the Scythians in Thrace. Joined by a considerable force from the West, he met Gizerich frequently in sea battles *[4] and consigned his ships to the depths and could have conquered Carthage. But later, enticed by gifts and vast amounts of money from Gizerich, he gave in and was voluntarily defeated, as Persikos the Thracian[5] records.||[b]

||Some say that Aspar and Ardabourios, being Arians, and for this reason unable to reach the imperial dignity, made Leo emperor inasmuch as he was their *curator*,[6] while expecting to manage the realm themselves. But since as emperor he did not consent to this, they strove to subvert matters that were well managed by him, and they agreed to give the Empire to Basiliskos if he betrayed the emperor's fleet and army to Gizerich, who was an Arian and of their own persuasion. They say that because of this Basiliskos committed treachery.||[c]

||Next Gizerich hit on this device: he filled ships of war with some combustible material, and waiting for the night when the Romans were asleep and off their guard, he let them go from the land against the Roman fleet, with the wind blowing away from the shore. They completely burned many of the [Roman] ships,||[d] though others,

escaping the danger, returned to Sicily. Then indeed Basiliskos' treachery was proved and became evident to all members of the armament.[7]

In the same year Aspar's son Patricius, whom the emperor Leo had made Caesar for having won over Aspar from Arianism and for being devoted to the emperor, arrived in Alexandria amid great pomp at the time when the Koreion bath was repaired.[8]

[a] Priscus, frg. 53. 1, restored from Theophanes. Cf. Prok. *BV* i. 5. 22–6. 2, Nik. Kall. xv. 27. [b] Priscus, frg. 53. 1, restored from Theophanes. [c] Cf. Prok. *BV* i. 6. 3–4, Nik. Kall. xv. 27. [d] Cf. Prok. *BV* i. 6. 17–21, Nik. Kall. xv. 27.

[1] Gizerich (Genzeric, Gaiseric) had pillaged Illyricum, the Peloponnese, and the Greek coastline and had threatened Alexandria. See E. Gautier, *Genséric, Roi des Vandales* (Paris, 1932), 254.

[2] Müller, *FHG* iv. 110, suggested 1,100, based on Kedr. i. 613 , who has 1,113. The MS figure is certainly wrong, giving the same number of ships as Prok. gives for men, but it may well have been Theophanes' mistake rather than a scribe's.

[3] The figure is supported by Prok., virtually demonstrating that both authors are relying ultimately on Priscus, as other sources give different figures; Candidus (frg. 2, *FHG* iv. 137) gives 64,000 lbs. of gold, 700,000 lbs. of silver, plus money from confiscations and from Anthemios. Joh. Lyd. *De Mag.* iii. 43, has 65,000 lbs. of gold and 700,000 of silver. See Blockley, *FCH* ii. 399. Given that the 700,000 lbs. of silver would convert to approx. 30,000 lbs. of gold, Priscus may have allowed for this and the other moneys by simply doubling the gold figure.

[4] Dindorf filled the lacuna to read 'he consigned a large number of ships'.

[5] i.e. Priscus of Panium. Cod. y reads ὥσπερ σικός. This passage has become Priscus, frg. 42 (Müller) or 53. 1 (Blockley). The most likely intermediary source is Eustathios of Epiphaneia.

[6] Cf. AM 5950, n. 1. For an old but still very useful discussion of Leo's attempt at freeing himself and the state from his Gothic masters by promoting the Isaurians as a counterweight, see E. W. Brooks, *EHR* 8 (1893), 209–38.

[7] It would fit Theophanes' use of sources if this sentence, for which Prok. is not the source, also came from Priscus, and quite possibly the preceding sentence as well, since it is not close to Prok. The most likely common source is again Eustath.

[8] If this paragraph comes from Theophanes' Alexandrian source, as seems likely (cf. AM 5959), it shows that the latter may have included some material not related directly to Alexandria. Theophanes (and hence the Alexandrian source?) imply that Patricius had already been made Caesar. All other sources (see *PLRE* ii. 842) suggest that this happened in 470 so as to induce Aspar to remain loyal (cf. AM 5963). Patricius was apparently still Arian when he married Leo's daughter Leontia, since Leo had to promise that Patricius would become Catholic before becoming emperor.

[AM 5962, AD 469/70]

Leo, 13th year
Perozes, 18th year
Simplicius, bishop of Rome (14 years), 1st year[1]
Gennadios, 12th year
Juvenal, 32nd year
Timothy, 10th year
Julian, 2nd year

In this year the emperor Leo sent Zeno, the *magister militum per Orientem* and his own son-in-law, to Thrace for some military purpose, ordering the transfer to him of some of his own troops as reinforcements.[2] These troops, at Aspar's instigation, were close to killing Zeno, had he not anticipated the plot by escaping safely to Serdica,[3] a city in Thrace. As a result of this, Aspar became suspect to the emperor Leo.

[1] Simplicius was pope from 3 Mar. 468 to 10 Mar. 483.

[2] The material in this paragraph does not appear to be taken from Prok. (cf. *BV* i. 6. 27) and so may again be taken from Priscus (via Eustath.), who did know about events in Thrace. Cf. AM 5961, nn. 5 and 7 and AM 5963.

[3] The *V. Dan. Styl.*, ch. 65, confirms most of this account but states that Zeno fled not to Serdica but to the Long Walls, Pylai, and then Chalcedon. Marcell. com. gives the date as 469.

117 ## [AM 5963, AD 470/1]

Leo, 14th year
Perozes, 19th year
Simplicius, 2nd year
Gennadios, 13th year
Juvenal, 33rd year
Timothy, 11th year
Julian, 3rd year

‖In this year the emperor Leo sent against Gizerich Herakleios of Edessa, the son of the ex-consul Florus, and the Isaurian Marsos, both energetic men, with an army from Egypt, the Thebaid, and the desert.[1] After taking the Vandals by surprise, they regained Tripolis and many other cities of Libya and harassed Gizerich more than the fleet of Basiliskos had done, so that he prepared to send an embassy to the emperor Leo about peace. This was agreed to by Leo, who at that time needed Basiliskos, Herakleios, and Marsos for a plot against Aspar. For Aspar, being suspected by the emperor, as I have

mentioned, and being invested with great power, was treacherously murdered by the emperor shortly afterwards, along with his sons, Ardabourios and Patricius, whom the emperor had earlier appointed Caesar in order to keep Aspar's goodwill.‖[a2]

[a] Priscus, frg. 53. 5, restored from Theophanes.

[1] The only other version of Herakleios' campaign is in Prok. *BV* i. 6. 9, which tallies with Theophanes but is certainly not Theophanes' source, since Theophanes is more detailed. The obvious common source is Priscus, who is certainly used by both, directly or indirectly, for the reign of Leo, especially in relation to Aspar. The only other known action by Herakleios is given by Priscus, frg. 41 (Müller) or 51. 1 (Blockley) = *Exc. de leg.*, p. 46. Again the likely direct source for Theophanes is Eustath.

[2] Cf. AM 5961. Two sources (Candidus, Nik. Kall.) say Patricius was allowed to live on, but in that case his marriage with Leontia must have been annulled as she married Marcian before his appointment as *magister militum* (c.471/4). It is more likely that Patricius was killed as Theophanes (and other sources) claim.

AM 5964 [AD 471/2]

Year of the divine Incarnation 464
Leo, emperor of the Romans (17 years), 15th year
Perozes, emperor of the Persians (24 years), 20th year
Simplicius, bishop of Rome (14 years), 3rd year
Akakios, bishop of Constantinople (17 years), 1st year
Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem (38 years), 34th year
Timothy, bishop of Alexandria (15 years), 12th year
Julian, bishop of Antioch (6 years), 4th year

In this year, after Aspar and his sons Ardabourios and Patricius had been put to death by Leo, Aspar's bodyguard Ostrys and Triarios' son Theuderich, who was Aspar's brother-in-law,[1] attacked the City with an army to avenge the murdered men.[2] And had not Basiliskos, who on his return from Sicily, got back before them, and had not Zeno, coming from Chalcedon, where he was awaiting the execution of Aspar, come to the aid of the City and scattered the insurgents,[3] there would have been much upheaval in the state. Aspar's youngest son Armenarich,[4] who had been beguiled, on Zeno's advice escaped and was sent to Isauria where he was set up as an in-law of Zeno's illegitimate son. After Leo's death he returned to Byzantium 118
and lived happily to the end.

‖In Italy the general Recimer, whom I have mentioned previously, the brother-in-law of Anthemios who had ruled Rome piously, rose

up against his own relative. During the war which gripped the country, the forces of the emperor suffered from hunger to such an extent that they ate even animal skins and other strange food, and the emperor Anthemios was killed in the seventh year of his rule.||[a5] Thereupon Leo, because of the tumult that still existed in Rome, sent out Placidia's husband Olybrius to Rome and proclaimed him sole ruler. Recimer survived the killing of Anthemios for only three months before dying from disease, and Olybrius died at the same time from a bodily ailment. ||After their deaths, Majorinus[6] succeeded to the Empire, a man who was sound of mind and experienced in war. Finding that the cities had been devastated by Gizerich, he invaded Liana[*?*][7] and, after reaching Liguria, showed himself a terrible foe to the Vandals. As he was about to gain victory, he died in the meantime, overtaken by the disease of dysentery.||[b] The general crossed over and got to Patmos[*?*][8] safely. While Gizerich's entourage was caught up in these events, ||the young Eudokia, the granddaughter of Theodosios, who had been in Africa for sixteen years with her husband Onorich and had borne him a son, Ilderich, vexed with her husband for being an Arian, found an opportunity to flee and came to Jerusalem, and after venerating the revered sites and embracing the tomb of her grandmother ⟨Eudokia⟩,[9] spent a few days in the Holy City and died in peace, bequeathing everything she had to the church of the holy Resurrection.||[c] She committed Bourkos[10] and his children to the archbishop of Jerusalem for being her faithful helper in her escape from her husband, the Arian Onorich.

[a] Priscus, frg. 64, restored from Theophanes. [b] Cf. Prok. *BV* i. 7. 1–14. [c] Cf. Nik. Kall. xv. 12, 40B.

[1] Cf. AM 5970, where Theuderich is described as the nephew of Aspar's wife.

[2] Although Theophanes' source for this paragraph is not known, some of the details occur at Mal. 371, *Chron. Pasch.* 596–7. For Theuderich, see *PLRE* ii. 1073–6, Theodericus Strabo 5. Theuderich's demands are given in Malchus, frg. 2 (Müller and Blockley) and his devastation of Thrace in Malchus, frg. 11 (Müller) or 15 (Blockley). Brooks, *EHR* (1893), 215, suggested that the most likely ultimate source is Priscus (presumably via Eustath.), since the information is probably accurate. For Ostrys, see *PLRE* ii. 814–15.

[3] Malchus, frg. 11 (Müller) or 15 (Blockley), gives details of a negotiated settlement by which Theuderich was recognized by Leo as ruler of the Goths and was appointed *magister militum*. See *PLRE* ii. 1074. Theophanes alone mentions the part played by Zeno and Basiliskos.

[4] For Armenarich see *PLRE* ii. 549, Herminericus. It is chronologically

unlikely that Zeno would have had any granddaughters of marriageable age at this date. Armenarich not only returned to Byzantium, but later served under Zeno (Joh. Ant., frg. 214. 4), and even revealed to Zeno a plot against him (Damascius, *V. Isid.*, frg. 290).

[5] Contrast the account at AM 5947. Recimer (Ricimer) had married Anthemios' daughter late in 467. He rebelled in 470 and deposed Anthemios in 472. Anthemios, who had ruled in Rome since 467, was captured and killed by Ricimer's nephew Gundobad on 11 July. Olybrius was sent in 472 by Leo to make peace between Ricimer and Anthemios. Ricimer proclaimed him emperor probably in Apr. 472. Ricimer died on 18 Aug., Olybrius on 2 Nov.

[6] Majorinus is out of order. He was emperor 457–61 (cf. AM 5947, n. 5 and AM 5955) before being deposed by Ricimer.

[7] 'Liana' is corrupt. 'Excessively' and 'towards the coast' have been suggested as emendations.

[8] A corrupt reading for which the Po (*Pados*) and the Straits (*porthmos*) of Gibraltar have been suggested as possible emendations.

[9] Restored from Anastasius' Latin translation.

[10] He may have been the Burco who was an officer (possibly *comes rei militaris*) of Majorinus. See *PLRE* ii. 242–3.

AM 5965 [AD 472/3] 119

Year of the divine Incarnation 465
Leo, emperor of the Romans (17 years), 16th year
Perozes, emperor of the Persians (24 years), 21st year
Simplicius, bishop of Rome (14 years), 4th year
Akakios, bishop of Constantinople (17 years), 2nd year
Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem (38 years), 35th year
Timothy, bishop of Alexandria (15 years), 13th year
Julian, bishop of Antioch (6 years), 5th year

||In this year the emperor Leo crowned and proclaimed emperor his own grandson, Leo, the son of his daughter Areadne and Zeno.||[a]

||After the deaths of Olybrius, Recimer, and Majorinus, Glykerios[1] was proclaimed emperor of Italy, a man who was by no means worthless, and whom, after a rule of five months, the Dalmatian Nepotianus[2] expelled from office and became emperor himself for a short time, but was expelled by a certain Orestes whose son, Romulus surnamed Augustulus,[3] succeeded and ruled for just two years, being established as sole ruler of the Empire in Italy 1303 years[4] after the reign of Romulus, the founder of Rome. And it is worthy of note that the Empire of the West which had flourished from the time of Romulus ended again with a Romulus after so many years. For next Odoacer, a Goth by race but brought up in

Italy,[5] subdued the Empire with a barbarian army. He, assuming for himself the title of 'Rex'||[b] and filling every office according to the ancestral law of the Romans, held power for ten years.[6] He lived at Ravenna, a prosperous and beautiful city in Italy by the sea.

[a] Theod. Lect. 398 (111. 13–14); cf. AM 5966b and Theod. Lect. 400 (112. 11–14), Nik. Kall. xv. 29, 84C. [b] Cf. Evagr. ii. 16.

[1] Emperor 3 Mar. 473–June 474.
[2] In fact Julius Nepos, son of Nepotianus: he had been sent by Leo to depose Glykerios. He was emperor June 474–28 Aug. 475, when he fled from Ravenna after being attacked by Orestes.
[3] Emperor 31 Oct. 475 until deposed by Odoacer in Sept. 476.
[4] If we put Romulus Augustulus in 476 (AM 5968), then Theophanes' figures do tally with Synkellos' calculation for the foundation of Rome, i.e. AM 4665 in Romulus' 13th year (Synkellos, 230. 10 and 18).
[5] For the many suggestions about Odoacer's nationality, *PLRE* ii. 791. There is no support for Theophanes' statement that he grew up in Italy.
[6] He in fact ruled as *rex* from 476 to 493.

[AM 5966, AD 473/4]

Leo, 17th year
Perozes, 22nd year
Simplicius, 5th year
Akakios, 3rd year
Juvenal, 36th year
Timothy, 14th year
Julian, 6th year

||In this year dust came down from clouds that seemed to be burning, so that everyone thought it was raining fire.[1] Everybody performed litanies in fear. The dust settled on roofs to the depth of one palm. Everybody said that it was fire and that it was put out and became dust through God's mercy.||[a]

120 ||In the same year the emperor Leo fell sick in Byzantium and died in January of the 12th indiction,[2] leaving Leo, the son of Zeno and Areadne, whom he had previously appointed emperor, though he was still an infant. In February[3] Leo crowned his father in the Kathisma of the Hippodrome, with Verina and Areadne assisting him. After ruling for only ten months jointly with his father Zeno, the young Leo died||[b] from an illness ||and Zeno ruled alone for seventeen years and two months, including the twenty months[4] of Basiliskos' usurpation.||[c] Zeno administered the Empire harmfully; in the beginning the Saracens overran Mesopotamia and the Huns

Thrace, causing severe damage to the state, while the emperor spent his time on wicked pleasures and unjust deeds.||[d5]

[a] Mal. 372. 6–10; cf. Theod. Lect. 398 (111. 13–16), *Chron. Pasch.* 598, a.469. [b] Theod. Lect. 400 (112. 11–14). [c] Cf. Nik. Kall. xvi. 24, 161A, xvi. 9, 132B; cf. Evagr. iii. 2. [d] Cf. Nik. Kall. xvi. 1, 116C–117D.

[1] 'Mount Vesuvius in Campania covered the whole face of Europe with particles of ash. Annually on 6 Nov. the Byzantines celebrated the memory of their fear of this ash', Marcell. com. a.472. Cf. B. Croke, *Byz* 51 (1981), 122–47.
[2] Leo died on 18 Jan. 474. The 12th indiction runs Sept. 473–Aug. 474.
[3] 9 Feb. [4] 9 Jan. 475–end of Aug. 476.
[5] Since we do not know whether Nik. Kall. had a source other than Theophanes here, this may well be a case of Theophanes making his own judgement on a reign. Even if it is the judgement of Theophanes' source, it is one with which Theophanes concurs.

AM 5967 [AD 474/5]

Year of the divine Incarnation 467
Zeno, emperor of the Romans (17 years), 1st year
Perozes, emperor of the Persians (24 years), 23rd year
Simplicius, bishop of Rome (14 years), 6th year
Akakios, bishop of Constantinople (17 years), 4th year
Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem (38 years), 37th year
Timothy, bishop of Alexandria (15 years), 15th year
Peter, 39th bishop of Antioch for the first time (3 years), 1st year

||In this year Leo the younger, after ruling for only ten months with his father Zeno, and having appeared on procession as consul, died, and Zeno ruled the Empire alone.[1] Basiliskos, the brother of Zeno's mother-in-law Verina, while staying in Herakleia in Thrace, rebelled against Zeno with the help of Verina and some members of the Senate. In fear of him, Zeno, with his wife Areadne and a considerable amount of money, fled to a stronghold in Isauria||[a] called Ourba, and from there he moved to Sbide,[2] where he remained two years[3] with his wife Areadne while being besieged by Illos and Trokoundos, who were then supporting Basiliskos.

||Basiliskos was proclaimed emperor in the Campus and appointed 121
his son Marcus Caesar and crowned his wife Zenodia[4] Augusta. He immediately prepared to campaign against the faith, being especially urged to do so by Zenodia. He recalled Timothy the Cat by decree, and also Peter the Fuller, who was being hidden in the monastery of the Sleepless Ones, while the other enemies of the holy Synod of

Chalcedon spoke openly against the truth. The Cat assembled a disorderly mob of Alexandrians resident in Byzantium and, riding on an ass, took them on a litany from the palace to the church. But when he had come to [the building] known as the Octagon, he fell off and crushed his foot and had to go back shamefaced. Basiliskos sent him out to Alexandria with decrees against the synod, and likewise Peter the Fuller to Antioch,‖[b] strengthening both to act against the truth.

‖When Timothy Salophakialos, bishop of Alexandria, learned that Timothy the Cat had arrived, he withdrew to the monasteries of Kanopos, where he had formerly lived the life of an ascetic. Although the Cat wronged many, he was unable to harm Timothy because the latter was loved by everyone. When the Cat entered Alexandria, his supporters shouted out this disgraceful thing, 'You have fed on your enemies, pope!', and he shouted back, 'Yes, indeed I have fed on them.'‖[c] This impious fellow[5] even anathematized the synod of Chalcedon.‖[d] Julian, bishop of Antioch, died from grief at what had happened. Peter the Fuller seized his throne and spread anathemas and discord, so that there were murders and rapine because of the addition to the Trishagion.‖[e6] By a general decree Basiliskos annulled the Synod of Chalcedon and ordered Akakios of Constantinople to do the same.[7] But the entire city, including women and children, gathered in the church against Basiliskos and prevented this. Akakios, clad in black, draped the throne and the altar in black. Daniel the Great came down from his column and, full of holy zeal, joined for a time Akakios and the congregation in church.‖[f8]

122 ‖Perozes[9] campaigned against the Nephthalite Huns[10] and having routed them went in pursuit. But they, making their escape in small groups along the narrow passes in the mountains, retreating to right and left, got themselves behind the Persians and blockaded them through their lack of precaution. In these straits Perozes begged for peace. The emperor of the Nephthalites would not do this before Perozes fell down before him, made obeisance and gave assurances on oath that he would never again campaign against the Nephthalites. Perozes, constrained by force, was compelled to do this and retreated in great dishonour. But unable to bear the shame, he campaigned against them once more, disregarding his oaths.‖[g]

[a] Theod. Lect. 400–1 (112. 11–18). [b] Theod. Lect. 402–5 (112. 19–113. 16). [c] Theod. Lect. 409 (114. 6–12); cf. Evagr. iii. 11. [d] Theod. Lect. 405 (113. 15). [e] Theod. Lect. 410 (114. 13–16). [f] Theod. Lect. 407 (113. 21–6). [g] Cf. Nik. Kall. xvi. 36, 196C–D, Prok. *BP* i. 3, Ps.-Dion *Chron.* 180–1.

[1] Cf. AM 5966.

[2] Zeno fled on 9 Jan. 475. Ourba is probably Olba (modern Ura), north of Seleukeia. Sbide is the modern Izvit, about 80 km. west of Olba.

[3] Accepting de Boor's emendation διετίαν for δι' αἰτίαν of the MSS.

[4] *Recte* Zenonis.

[5] Theophanes has added 'this impious fellow'. The subject is Basiliskos in Theod. Lect. but Timothy in Theophanes.

[6] Cf. AM 5956 and AM 5982, n. 6.

[7] See Evagr. iii. **4**, Zach. *HE* v. 2, P. Allen, *Evagrius* (Louvain, 1981), 123–4.

[8] *V. Dan. Styl.*, chs. 72–85.

[9] On the different traditions regarding Peroz (Firuz) see A. M. Cameron, *DOP* 23–4 (1969–70), 153–4.

[10] Otherwise (H)ephthalites or White Huns, cf. Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 115 n. 2, Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, ii. 127, A. M. Cameron, art. cit. 152. For a brief treatment of the Hephthalites, cf. Sinor, *CHEIA*, 300–1.

AM 5968 [AD 475/6]

Year of the divine Incarnation 468
Zeno, emperor of the Romans (17 years), 2nd year
Perozes, emperor of the Persians (24 years), 24th year
Simplicius, bishop of Rome (14 years), 7th year
Akakios, bishop of Constantinople (17 years), 5th year
Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem (38 years), 38th year
Timothy the Cat, bishop of Alexandria (2 years), 1st year
Peter the Fuller, bishop of Antioch (3 years), 2nd year

‖In this year, when the clergy and monks of Constantinople were fighting on behalf of the holy Synod of Chalcedon, Akakios, fearing the crowd, pretended to agree with them and for this reason spoke against Basiliskos and Zeno[?][1] from the ambo.‖[a] When Basiliskos learned of this, he was afraid of the people's wrath and departed from the City, ordering that no member of the Senate should meet Akakios; for the people were about to set fire to the City. Daniel, the wonderful stylite, taking the monks and the zealots among the people, led them out to Basiliskos and addressed him with considerable licence‖[b2] but Basiliskos took no notice of them.

‖In the same year Perozes went on campaign once more against the White Huns, known as Nephthalites, and perished with his entire army.[3] For the Nepthalites dug a deep ditch, placed reeds over 123
it, covered it with earth, and then stayed behind it. They sent out a few men to meet the Persians and then turned in flight, crossed the narrow passes one by one and fled together with all the others. The Persians, not suspecting any danger, rashly pursued them and they

all, including Perozes and his sons, fell into the pit and perished. When Perozes perceived the danger, he removed the huge, brilliantly white pearl he had in his right ear (it was exceedingly costly) and threw it away so that no one after him would wear it, since it was most remarkable; no other emperor had ever before possessed anything like it. So Perozes was destroyed with all his army. Those who had not campaigned with Perozes chose Kabades as emperor, the younger son of Perozes.[4] The barbarians ruled the Persians for two years to collect their tribute.‖[c]

‖Kabades, rashly using his office, decreed that women were to be had in common. So the Persians deprived him of office, bound him, and put him in prison.[5] They made Perozes' brother Blases, also called Valas,[6] their emperor because there were no other sons of Perozes.‖[d] Kabades' wife looked after him in prison. The governor of the prison fell in love with her because of her beauty. Kabades encouraged his wife to give in to the man, in case it enabled him to escape from the fort. This she did and was then able to visit and tend Kabades unhindered. A friend of Kabades, named Seoses, sent a message to Kabades through his wife that he had horses and men ready in a certain village. When night came on, Kabades persuaded his wife to give him her clothes and for her to put on his clothes and remain in the prison. So Kabades got out of prison, escaped the notice of the guards, and, when he was some distance from the prison, mounted a horse and went with Seoses to the Nephthalite Huns. Their emperor gave him his daughter in marriage and having also given him a large army sent him with it against the Persians.[7] The guards, seeing the
[24 woman dressed in Kabades' clothes, supposed for several days that Kabades was in prison. Kabades invaded Persia with his army of Huns and gained control of the empire without difficulty. He blinded Blases, also called Valas, put him in prison, and kept the empire securely for himself, for he was shrewd and energetic.‖[e] After that he ruled eleven years.[8]

[a] Theod. Lect. 406 (113. 17–20). [b] Theod. Lect. 408 (114. 1–4); cf. Nik. Kall. xvi. 6, 128D. [c] Cf. Nik. Kall. xvi. 36, Prok. *BP* i. 4. [d] Cf. Prok. *BP* i. 5. [e] Cf. Prok. *BP* i. 6.

[1] Presumably Akakios spoke only against Basiliskos. Possibly 'Zeno' was added later because of his heterodoxy, but more probable is de Boor's suggestion that this is a corruption of Basiliskos' wife named either Zenodia or Zenonis.

[2] Cf. AM 5967 but not quite in agreement with the saint's *Life*.

[3] Peroz was killed in 484.

[4] Kavad did not succeed to the throne until 488, i.e. 4 years after the death

of his father.

[5] This presumably refers to Kavad's period in exile (496–8) with the Hephthalite Huns after being dethroned, probably for taking revolutionary measures inspired by Mazdakite beliefs (women in common?). His brother Zamasp was emperor in his place.

[6] Valas (Oualas, Balas, Blases) in fact succeeded Peroz, as Theophanes' chronological lists also show, reigning 4 years (484–8) until he was overthrown by Kavad. Theophanes' error may have come from Prok. *BP* i. 5. 2, who also confuses Blases with Zamasp.

[7] The marriage and support from the Huns in regaining his throne are confirmed by Josh. Styl., 24, and Prok. *BP* i. 6. 10.

[8] Kavad's periods of rule were 488–98 (with a period in exile from 496 to 498, see n. 5) and 498–531. Theophanes' figure of eleven years is taken from his chronological list of Persian kings which he shares with Agathias iv. 28–9, and ought to have included the period in exile during Zamasp's interregnum. But the chronological lists of both Theophanes and Agathias give Kavad eleven years before Zamasp's interregnum (which is given as four years, AM 5984–7), and then a further 30 years (AM 5988–6017 i.e. 495/6 to 524/5), which still leaves Theophanes six years short of the true date

[AM 5969, AD 476/7]

Zeno, 3rd year
Valas, emperor of the Persians (4 years), 1st year[1]
Simplicius, 8th year
Akakios, 6th year
Anastasios, bishop of Jerusalem (18 years), 1st year
Timothy the Cat, 2nd year
Peter the Fuller, 3rd year

In this year Illos and Trokoundos, who were besieging Zeno, seeing that Basiliskos was not fulfilling the promises made to them, and that the Senate, annoyed with Basiliskos' rule because of the depravity of his ways and his folly, was writing to them, made friends with Zeno and, taking him, were making their way back to the capital. ‖When Basiliskos learned of this, he dispatched his nephew Harmatios, who was *magister militum per Thracias*,[2] with his entire army and the contingents of Constantinople against Zeno, making him swear on his holy baptism not to betray him. Harmatios met Zeno at Nicaea in Bithynia and so terrified him that the latter was on the point of retreating with his entire force of Isaurians. But Harmatios, too, was so blinded by gifts from Zeno and by the promise of appointment as perpetual *magister militum* and that his son, Basiliskos, would be made Caesar and preside by his side, that

he returned with Zeno against Basiliskos. So Zeno and Areadne reached the capital and were received by the people and the Senate.||[a3]

||Basiliskos went into the church, placed his imperial crown on the holy table, and sought refuge in the baptistery with his wife, the heretic Zenodia. Zeno arrived, went into the church, and then entered the palace.||[b] After sending messages to the church, he took Basiliskos, giving him his word that he would not behead him or his children. He then sent him to Koukousos[4] in Cappadocia and
125 ordered that he be locked up in a tower with his wife and children and be destroyed by starvation.||[c5] Some say that he was killed while he was being led away. ||Zeno immediately held the chariot races, where he promoted Harmatios' son Basiliskos to be Caesar in accordance with his promises. Basiliskos sat beside the emperor on his throne and honoured the charioteers with the emperor. But Zeno thought to himself, 'As Harmatios did not keep faith with Basiliskos though on oath, neither will he do so with me. And if the Caesar, who is his son, grows to manhood, he will rise up against me. For my part, I have fulfilled my promise to him and made him *magister militum* and his son Caesar.' He gave orders for him to be executed for perjury. He was killed on the *kochlias* [6] of the palace as he was going up into the Hippodrome, and his son, the Caesar, was ordained a lector. For Areadne saved him since he was her [great] nephew. Later he served very well as bishop of Kyzikos.||[d]

||Zeno abandoned Peter the Fuller because of his support for Basiliskos. He was deposed by a vote of the eastern synod and John was appointed in his place,[7] but he was expelled after three months and after him Stephen, a devout man, was appointed bishop of Antioch. Peter, who was being banished to Pityoussa,[8] deceived those who were taking him and sought refuge at St Theodore of Euchaita.||[e9] Timothy the Cat died at this juncture[10] and was replaced by Peter Mongos, a wicked man and an enemy of truth, who had previously been suspended. He was ordained by a single bishop who was himself suspended. With divine zeal the monks attacked him and drove him out after he had held the episcopate as a robber for only thirty-six days, and they restored Timothy Salophakialos again to his throne with due honour.||[f11]

[a] Cf. Nik. Kall. xvi. 8, 132A; Mal. 379. 4–18; Mich. Syr. ii. 144. [b] Theod. Lect. 413 (114. 23–6) (Theophanes adds 'the heretic'); cf. Nik. Kall. xvi. 8, 132A–B. [c] Mal. 380. 7–16; cf. Theod. Lect. 414 (115. 15–16). [d] Cf. Evagr. ii. 8, Mal. 381. 14–382. 9, Nik. Kall. xvi. 8, 132B. [e] Theod. Lect. 415 (115. 17–21), restored from Theophanes. [f] Theod. Lect. 416 (115. 22–7) with Theophanes' variations. Cf. Nik. Kall. xvi. 11.

[1] Valas (Oualas, Balas, Blases), ruled from 484 to 488.

[2] By 476 Harmatios was no longer *magister militum per Thracias*, but had in fact been promoted by Basiliskos to *magister militum praesentalis*. See *PLRE* ii. 148–9, Armatus.

[3] The date of Zeno's restoration was probably late August 476. See Brooks, *EHR* (1893), 217, Seeck, *Reg.*, 423, 426.

[4] Probably the modern Gogsyn. The Antonine itineraries place it 62 miles from Komana in Cappadocia. Other sources have the prison not at Koukousos but at Limnae or Sasima. See *PLRE* ii. 214.

[5] The earlier sources (Malchus, Candidus, Evagr.) say that Basiliskos was beheaded.

[6] The spiral staircase from the palace to the Hippodrome. Cf. AM. 5972, 6098.

[7] John Kodonatos, also a Monophysite.

[8] Pityoussa (Pityus, Pitzunda) in the Caucasus.

[9] Modern Avhat, west of Amaseia. [10] 31 July 477.

[11] 'With divine zeal', 'as a robber for only 36 days', and 'with due honour' are not in our text of Theod. Lect.

[AM 5970, AD 477/8]

Zeno, 4th year
Valas, 2nd year
Simplicius, 9th year
Akakios, 7th year
Anastasios, 2nd year
Timothy Salophakialos, bishop of Alexandria again (4 years), 1st year
Stephen, bishop of Antioch (3 years), 1st year

||In this year there was a terrifying earthquake in Constantinople on 25 September of the 1st indiction,[1] and many churches, houses, and porticoes collapsed to the ground and countless numbers of people 126
were buried. The globe of the statue in the Forum also fell and so did the statue of Theodosios the elder, the one on the column of the Tauros,[2] and also the inner walls for a considerable distance. The earthquake lasted a long time,||[a] so that the city began to stink.

||Stephen, who had been promoted by a common vote to [the see of] Antioch, was accused before Zeno as a Nestorian by the supporters of Peter the Fuller. But the eastern synod, which gathered at Laodikeia at the emperor's command, reinstated him to his throne as guiltless.||[b]

In the same year Theuderich, also called Strabos, the son of Triarios, the nephew of the wife of Aspar (who had been destroyed by Leo), rose up against Zeno with a mass of barbarians, since he had

been a friend of Basiliskos and had been made a general[3] by him. ||After Zeno's return Theuderich went forth to Thrace[4] and, starting from there, plundered the area round Byzantium as far as the mouth of the Pontos. Next, when he was on the point of being betrayed by his kinsmen, he perceived the treachery, returned and destroyed those who had been plotting this. He died by falling unexpectedly on a spear that was standing in front of his tent, while he was mounting his horse.||[c]

[a] Theod. Lect.—not included by Hansen but cf. Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 112. 11–17.
[b] Theod. Lect. 418 (116. 3–9), restored from Theophanes and *Syn. Vetus*, 102.
[c] Cf. Evagr. iii. 25.

[1] Stein, *BE* ii. 787, demonstrates, on the basis of Pamprepios' posthumous horoscope, that this earthquake occurred in 478 and not 477. Cf. Mal. 385 (undated) and perhaps *Chron. Pasch.* 605 (dated to 26 Sept. 487, indiction 10 but perhaps misplaced).

[2] Cf. AM 5878.

[3] Theophanes is the only precise evidence for this, but Malchus, frg. 17, also states that Basiliskos honoured Theuderich.

[4] The remainder of this paragraph is muddled. Theophanes has apparently confused the events of this year (478) both with Theuderich's revolt of 474 when Zeno first became emperor and with the events following Marcian's revolt (AM 5971). On Leo's death in 474, Theuderich had revolted against Zeno, murdered the general Herakleios, presumably lost his post, and then supported Basiliskos against Zeno. Theophanes omits the unsuccessful negotiations between Theuderich and Zeno of 478, which led to Theuderich combining with the forces of Theuderich Amal to make joint demands on Zeno, to which Zeno eventually agreed. From these Theuderich received, *inter alia*, a Roman command and money. The invasion of Thrace, which will have followed Marcian's revolt (AM 5971) in which Theuderich also took part, occurred in 481 (Marcell. com.) as did his death in Greece. See *PLRE* ii. 1073–6, Theuderichus Strabo 5.

AM 5971 [AD 478/9]

Year of the divine Incarnation 471
Zeno, emperor of the Romans (17 years), 5th year
Valas, emperor of the Persians (4 years), 3rd year
Simplicius, bishop of Rome (14 years), 10th year
Akakios, bishop of Constantinople (17 years), 8th year
Anastasios, bishop of Jerusalem (18 years), 3rd year
Timothy, bishop of Alexandria (4 years), 2nd year
Stephen, bishop of Antioch (3 years), 2nd year

||In this year Marcian, the son of Anthemios who had been emperor in Rome, the husband of Leontia, who was both the daughter of Verina and sister of the empress Areadne, rose in revolt against the emperor Zeno in Byzantium, on the grounds that his wife Leontia had been born after Leo became emperor:[1] for Areadne had been born before he became emperor. A violent battle took place between Zeno and Marcian in which Marcian won by strength of arms and drove everyone on Zeno's side into a prison in the palace, and, with his brothers Romulus and Prokopios fighting with him, he almost captured the imperial power. But he paid insufficient attention to the position he had achieved by stopping for dinner and sleep. During the night he was deprived of many of his allies by Illos the *magister*, who won them over by bribes, and on the following day his forces were so inferior that he sought refuge in the church of the Apostles, and was then ordained presbyter by Akakios on Zeno's instructions and banished to the castle of Papyrios in Cappadocia.[2] His brothers, Prokopios and Romulus, were arrested by Illos while they were bathing at the Zeuxippos during the night, but escaped and reached Rome.||[a] 127

[a] Theod. Lect. 419–20 (116. 10–19) with variants in Theophanes; cf. Nik. Kall. xvi. 22, 157A–C, who cites Eustath. as source (= frg. 3.).

[1] i.e. she was 'born in the purple', which, it could be argued, improved her claims.

[2] Theophanes omits some details. Marcian was first banished to Caesarea, from which he escaped and began a second revolt. The banishment to Papyrios (Papyrios was an Isaurian brigand chief) followed its failure. On the site of the castle, see G. E. Bean and T. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia* (Vienna, 1970), p. 147. For its history, Joh. Ant., frg. 206. 2. E. W. Brooks, *EHR* 8 (1893), 228, argues that it is the same as the castle of Cheris. Zeno seems to have used the castle as a treasure house (Josh. Styl. 13, Jord. *Rom.* 352).

[AM 5972, AD 479/80]

Zeno, 6th year
Valas, 4th year
Simplicius, 11th year
Akakios, 9th year
Anastasios, 4th year
Timothy, 3rd year
Stephen, 3rd year

||In this year the *magister* Illos plotted with the emperor Zeno to expel Zeno's mother-in-law Verina from the City. Having used a trick to bring her to Chalcedon, shortly afterwards he sent her away to the castle of Papyrios to live with Marcian and her daughter Leontia.||[a] She wrote to her daughter Areadne begging to be recalled from banishment. The empress begged Zeno, who said to her, 'Ask the patrician Illos about her.' She sent for him and asked him amid tears. But he was not persuaded, saying, 'You are seeking to make another emperor instead of your husband.' Enraged by this, Areadne told the emperor, 'Either Illos stays in the palace or I do.' The emperor replied, 'I want you. If you can do anything to him, do it.' So she arranged to have him murdered,[1] and ordered the *cubicularius* Urbicius[2] to persuade someone to kill Illos. As he was ascending the *kochlias*[3] of the Hippodrome, a *scholarius* named Spanikios[4] under instructions aimed his sword at Illos' head. But the *magister*'s *spatharios*, who was attending him, took the blow on his arm; even
128 so, the tip of the sword cut off Illos' right ear. Zeno had the *scholarius* executed, assuring the *magister* Illos that he knew nothing about the event, the truth being that he had not overruled the plot. When he was cured of the wound, Illos used to wear a cap. He asked the emperor to send him to the East so that he could enjoy a change of air, because he was weak from the wound. The emperor, wishing to satisfy him, appointed him *magister militum*[5] *per Orientem* and gave him full authority even to appoint *duces*. Illos took with him the patrician Leontios,||[b6] a Syrian[7] by race, an excellent man both for his education and his military experience, who was commander of the army in Thrace, ||and with him Marsos[8] and the senator Pamprepios, who had been accused of magic.[9] Having collected a very large force, he went to Antioch in Syria||[c] and made his rebellion clear.||[d]

[a] Cf. Mal. 385. 15–386. 9; cf. Mal. at *De insid.* 35. [b] Cf. Mal. 387. 1–388. 14. [c] Mal. 388. 15–389. 3. [d] Theod. Lect. 437 (121. 24); cf. Nik. Kall. xvi. 23, 157D–160A.

[1] This followed Verina's attempt to assassinate Illos in 478. The quarrel with Verina was probably in 480 and the assassination attempt in 481, though Marcell. com. puts it in 484.

[2] On this influential figure, who served as *praepositus* under seven emperors, see *PLRE* ii. 1188.

[3] The spiral staircase of the Hippodrome.

[4] He is Sporakios in Mal. and John of Nikiu.

[5] Late 481. See Stein, *BE* ii. 19.

[6] In fact he was sent by Zeno in 484 to oppose Illos, who persuaded him to join forces against Zeno (Josh. Styl. 14, Jord. *Rom.* 352).

[7] He was more probably an Isaurian.

[8] Cf. AM 5963 for Marsos' earlier appearance.

[9] The posthumous horoscope of this learned astrologer and public figure provides us with secure dates. See *PLRE* ii. 825–8 and references there. Pamprepios' paganism offers an interesting variant to the rebellion's stress on its orthodoxy (as opposed to Zeno's heterodoxy).

[AM 5973, AD 480/1]

Zeno, 7th year
Kabades, emperor of the Persians (11 years), 1st year[1]
Simplicius, 12th year
Akakios, 10th year
Anastasios, 5th year
Timothy, 4th year
Another Stephen bishop of Antioch, the one who was thrown into the river Orontes (1 year), 1st year

||In this year, on the death of Stephen, bishop of Antioch, another Stephen[2] was ordained in his place at the command of the emperor Zeno. The enemies of the faith, out of goodwill towards the Fuller, killed him with sharpened reeds in the font of the holy martyr Barlaam, and then, arming their folly with anger, threw his body into the river Orontes. Because of the outrages committed against Stephen, Zeno ordered Akakios of Constantinople to ordain a bishop of Antioch and he ordained Kalandion.[3] But the Antiochenes in their ignorance had ordained John, surnamed Kodonatos, whom Kalandion transferred to Tyre, the foremost see under Antioch.||[a]

||In the same year Timothy Salophakialos died[4] in Alexandria and John the Tabennesiote was ordained, a holy man and a champion of the correct doctrine, who had been a presbyter and *oikonomos* of the Church at Alexandria.||[b]

||The patrician Illos with Leontios and the others went to the castle of Papyrios and, after taking the Augusta Verina to Tarsos in Cilicia, he made her crown Leontios the patrician as emperor outside 129
the city at St Peter's.[5] The empress Verina wrote an imperial rescript to the people of Antioch in Syria to accept Leontios as emperor and also sent rescripts to all the governors of the East, Egypt, and Libya to accept Leontios as emperor and not to oppose him.||[c]

[a] Theod. Lect. 421 (116. 20–7), restored from Theophanes; cf. Evagr. iii. 10. [b] Theod. Lect. 417 (115. 28–116. 2). [c] Mal. 388. 17–389. 1; cf. Mal. at *De insid.* 35 (Theophanes is almost verbatim the abbreviated Mal.), Theod. Lect. 437 (121. 24–122. 10).

[1] See AM 5968, n. 8.

[2] There is considerable doubt about the reality of a second Stephen (also mentioned by Nik. *Chron.* 132 and Zach. *HE* iv. 12). In other accounts it is the first (and only) Stephen who had his throat cut.

[3] The unusual appointment had further ramifications. Akakios assured Pope Simplicius that it would be confirmed by a synod at Antioch, which it never was. Rome always remembered this failure, even raising it at the final split of 1054 (see W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity* (London, 1984), 809 and 825, n. 125).

[4] In June 482. John the Tabennesiote (from the name of his monastery in Kanopos) is more often known as John Talaia.

[5] The coronation was on 19 July 484 according to the contemporary astrologer Palchus, who, however, incorrectly places the event in Antioch. Cf. AM 5976 and Stein, *BE* ii. 29 n. 1.

[AM 5974, AD 481/2]

Zeno, 8th year
Kabades, 2nd year
Simplicius, 13th year
Akakios, 11th year
Anastasios, 6th year
John the Tabennesiote, bishop of Alexandria (3 years), 1st year
Kalandion, bishop of Antioch (4 years), 1st year

||In this year the rescripts of the empress Verina arrived and were read, of which the content was as follows. 'The Augusta Verina to our governors and Christ-loving people, greetings. You know that the Empire is ours and that after the death of my husband Leo, we appointed as emperor Traskalissaios, subsequently called Zeno, so that our dominion would be improved. But now seeing that the State is being carried backwards as a result of his insatiate desire, we have decided that it was necessary to crown for you a Christian emperor embellished by piety and justice, so that he may save the affairs of the State and that wars be stilled. We have crowned the most pious Leontios as emperor of the Romans, who will reward you all with his providence.'[1] Those who received this acclaimed Leontios as emperor.||[a]

[a] Mal. at *De insid.* 35.

[1] For a more detailed version of Verina's proclamation, see *De insid.* 35, translated in *Mal. Trans.*, p. 217. The stress on orthodoxy in the proclamation is well noted by E. W. Brooks, *EHR* 8 (1893), 227.

[AM 5975, AD 482/3]

Zeno, 9th year
Kabades, 3rd year
Simplicius, 14th year
Akakios, 12th year
Anastasios, 7th year
John the Tabennesiote, 2nd year
Kalandion, 2nd year

||In this year Illos and Leontios freed Longinus,[1] the brother of Zeno, and his mother from the fortress. Verina, who had fallen ill there, died and, after some time, was brought to Byzantium by Areadne.||[a]

[a] Cf. Mal. 389. 5–7 (not at all close).

[1] Longinus had been imprisoned by Illos in 475 at the time that Illos was supporting Basiliskos against Zeno. His release and return to Constantinople took place in 485.

[AM 5976, AD 483/4]

Zeno, 10th year
Kabades, 4th year
Felix, bishop of Rome (9 years), 1st year[1]
Akakios, 13th year
Anastasios, 8th year
John the Tabennesiote, 3rd year
Kalandion, 3rd year

||In this year Leontios arrived in Antioch as emperor on 27 June[2] of the 7th indiction, and he appointed Lilianus[3] as praetorian prefect. Then he left and made war on Chalkis, his native city. Zeno dispatched John the Scythian with a very large force against Illos and 130
Leontios by land and sea. A violent battle took place in which Illos and Leontios were defeated[4] and fled to the fortress of Papyrios, along with the *magister* Pamprepios, who was said to be a magician. Then John captured Illos' brother Trokoundos as he was departing to make a levy among barbarians and cut off his head. Illos and Leontios, deceived by the *magister* Pamprepios, the magician, spent four years under siege, waiting for him. When they learned of his death, they beheaded Pamprepios[5] as an impostor and threw him down from the walls.||[a]

||In the same year the supporters of Peter Mongos persuaded Zeno by means of money and quackery to expel John the Tabennesiote,

the bishop of Alexandria,[6] on the grounds that he had been ordained against his wish, and to bring Peter Mongos back again to Alexandria from Euchaita. Then Zeno made the Henotikon, dictated, as some say, by Akakios of Constantinople and distributed it everywhere.[7] Zeno ordered Peter Mongos before his return to Alexandria to be in communion with Simplicius of Rome and Akakios. Akakios wrote to the Alexandrians to receive Peter Mongos and to expel John. When John heard of Peter's coming, although the clergy together with the people were begging him not to go as they were ready to die on his behalf, he wisely departed without a fuss,[8] perceiving Peter's intended misdeeds.||[b]

[a] Cf. Mal. 389. 2–9 and at *De insid.* 35. [b] Theod. Lect. 422–4 (116. 28–117. 23).

[1] Felix was pope from 13 Mar. 483 to 1 Mar. 492.

[2] Since Leontios was crowned in Tarsos on 19 July 484 (see AM 5973, n. 5), this date is wrong. The easiest solution is to emend June to July here so that Leontios enters Antioch one week after the coronation in Tarsos. See also Stein, *BE* ii. 29 n. 1.

[3] In fact Aelianus. See *PLRE* ii. 14.

[4] Probably Sept. 484 (Josh. Styl. 16–17).

[5] Late Nov. 484 (*PLRE* ii. 828). Pamprepios was also suspected of treachery.

[6] Theophanes follows Theod. Lect. exactly, but the usual version is that Akakios, not Peter, persuaded Zeno to expel John, which is reflected below. Simplicius, in a letter of 15 July 482 (*Ep.* 17, *PL* 58: 55 ff.) agreed that the charges against John should be investigated, but that Peter Mongos was not to be considered. John went to Rome and eventually became bishop of Nola in South Italy.

[7] Zeno's rescript, known as the 'Henotikon' or 'instrument of unity', was addressed on 28 July 482 to 'the bishops, monks, and laymen of Alexandria, Egypt, and Cyrenaica'. Its primary aim was to end the schism in the Egyptian church which had followed the expulsion of Dioskoros by the Council of Chalcedon. The Henotikon also aimed at reconciling Alexandria with Constantinople. In effect it gave in to the opponents of Chalcedon on every important point, but managed to avoid condemning Chalcedon by ignoring it. Versions of the text survive in Evagr. iii. 14, Nik. Kall. xvi. 12, Zach. *HE* v. 8, and Liberatus of Carthage. A complete text was reconstructed by E. Schwartz, 'Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1431, eine anti-chalkedonische Sammlung aus der Zeit Kaiser Zenos', *ABAW*, Phil-hist. Kl. Abt. 32/6 (1926), nos. 75 ff. 52–4.

[8] Sept. 482. Theophanes has added 'wisely' and 'without a fuss'.

AM 5977 [AD 484/5]

Year of the divine Incarnation 477
Zeno, emperor of the Romans (17 years), 11th year
Kabades, emperor of the Persians (11 years), 5th year
Felix, bishop of Rome (9 years), 2nd year
Akakios, bishop of Constantinople (17 years), 14th year
Anastasios, bishop of Jerusalem (18 years), 9th year
Peter Mongos, bishop of Alexandria (6 years), 1st year
Kalandion, bishop of Antioch (4 years), 4th year

||In this year Theuderich, son of Valamer,[1] [was summoned by Zeno to Byzantium]. Theuderich had a great reputation among both the barbarians and the Romans for bravery and providence and was not without a share of education. For he had once been a hostage in Byzantium[2] and had studied under the best teachers, while his father Valamer led the Goths after the sons of Attila in the time of Leo's rule. So Zeno now summoned him from Thrace[3] to Byzantium and appointed him consul[4] and commander of Thrace,[5] and sent him out with John the Scythian against Illos. After Illos and Leontios had been shut up in the fortress of Papyrios, Theuderich left John to besiege them and he himself went to Zeno.[6] He then set off for Thrace and after setting up camp there, he marched against Byzantium.[7] Restrained by pity for the City and no other reason, as they say, he returned to Thrace and, persuaded by Zeno, marched down into Italy.[8] After overcoming Odoacer in a great battle,[9] he donned the regalia of a king in Ravenna.||[a] He subdued many other barbarians and in particular subjected the Vandals without even using arms against them. For Gizerich had already died before Theuderich came to Rome.[10] Theuderich ruled Rome and all the West.||[b][11] 131

[a] Cf. Evagr. iii. 27, Nik. Kall. xvi. 23, 157D–160A. [b] Nik. Kall. xvi. 23, 160 A–B (the source is Eustath.).

[1] He was in fact Theuderich's uncle (*PLRE* ii. 1135–6, Valamer).

[2] *C.*461/2–471/2, i.e. from the age of 8 to 18.

[3] Theuderich's army had been ravaging Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly intermittently since 478. By a treaty in 483, Theuderich became *magister militum praesentalis*, was promised the consulship, and obtained land for the Goths in Dacia and Moesia. On Theuderich's manœuvrings up to 484, see P. J. Heather, *Goths and Romans 332–489* (Oxford, 1991), ch. 9.

[4] In 484.

[5] This is unlikely if Theuderich already held (since 483) the superior command of *magister militum praesentalis*, which he appears to have continued

holding till 487 (so *PLRE* ii. 1081), but it is also possible that he was replaced by Cottomenes after returning from the East.

[6] The alternative version (Joh. Ant., frg. 214. 6) is that he was recalled early (at Nicomedia) because of doubts regarding his loyalty. The absence of any reference to the campaign in Ennodius' Panegyric supports this view. But John also has the Goths serving in Isauria, which would have been unlikely without their king.

[7] He ravaged Thrace in 486 and attacked Byzantium in 487.

[8] In 488.

[9] There were various battles between 489 and the final victory of 493: see J. Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy* (Oxford, 1992), ch. 1.

[10] Gizerich died on 25 Jan. 477. The Vandals had probably made peace with Zeno in 474 (Malch., frg. 3) or 476 (Prok. *BV* i. 7. 26), but there is no other evidence for their being subject to the Ostrogoths.

[11] As Theophanes = Nik. Kall. verbatim here and Eustath. is Nik. Kall.'s source, it is reasonable to say that here Theophanes' source is actually Eustath. It is then also likely that 'a' is also from Eustath., who was used by both Evagr. and Nik. Kall.

[AM 5978, AD 485/6]

Zeno, 12th year
Kabades, 6th year
Felix, 3rd year
Akakios, 15th year
Anastasios, 10th year
Peter Mongos, 2nd year
Peter the Fuller, 43rd bishop of Antioch, for the 2nd time (3 years), 1st year

||In this year the eastern bishops wrote to Akakios censuring him for having received Mongos into communion.||[a] He disregarded them and insolently forced everyone to be in communion with Mongos.||[b][1] Those from the capital and the East beseeched Felix, who had become bishop of Rome after the death of Simplicius, informing him that Akakios was the cause of the troubles. Among these was John of Alexandria, who came to Rome and made the same point. Felix, after holding a synod in the shrine of the chief apostle Peter, sent two bishops and an *ekdikos* to Constantinople,[2] as well as writing to Zeno and Akakios to expel Peter Mongos from Alexandria as a heretic.||[c]

[a] Theod. Lect. 426 (118. 18–21). [b] Theod. Lect. 426 (118. 22), restored from Theophanes. [c] Theod. Lect. 431 (119. 10–16).

[1] Among the patriarchs Martyrios of Jerusalem, who succeeded Anastasios in 478, appears to have had no difficulty in accepting the Henotikon, while Kalandion of Antioch refused to subscribe and was banished (as Theophanes records at AM 5982, although the chronological notice rightly makes AM 5977 [484/5] his last year). He was replaced by Peter the Fuller, who had no difficulty with Peter Mongos. Cf. Theophanes' repetition at AM 5980.

[2] In 483 (summer). Felix acted only on the report of the Sleepless monks, who remained supporters of Chalcedon (Evagr. iii. 18).

[AM 5979, AD 486/7]

Zeno, 13th year
Kabades, 7th year
Felix, 4th year
Akakios, 16th year
Anastasios, 11th year
Peter Mongos, 3rd year
Peter the Fuller, 2nd year

In this year the delegation from Rome was arrested in Abydos on the advice of Zeno and Akakios, their letter was confiscated,||[a] and they were thrown into prison.[1] Zeno threatened to execute them unless they joined in communion with Akakios and Peter Mongos.||[b] 132

[a] Theod. Lect. 432 (119. 20–2). [b] Cf. AM 5980 and Theod. Lect. 433 (119. 23–5).

[1] This ill-treatment of the delegates by Zeno and Akakios fits badly with the events which follow (as given in other sources, especially Evagr.). Evagr. notes that Pope Felix had written to the delegates ordering them to confer with the abbot of the Sleepless monks before taking any action. The arrest is more likely to mean that the delegates were escorted from Abydos straight to Constantinople, so preventing any discussion with the Sleepless monks. Evagr.'s account (iii. 18–21) does not suggest any ill-treatment. Cf. AM 5980, n. 2.

AM 5980 [AD 487/8]

Year of the divine Incarnation 480
Zeno, emperor of the Romans (17 years), 14th year
Kabades, emperor of the Persians (11 years), 8th year
Felix, bishop of Rome (9 years), 5th year
Akakios, bishop of Constantinople (17 years), 17th year
Anastasios, bishop of Jerusalem (18 years), 12th year

Peter Mongos, bishop of Alexandria (6 years), 4th year
Peter, 43rd bishop of Antioch (3 years), 3rd year

||In this year Illos and Leontios, who after many battles had been besieged for four years in the fortress of Papyrios, were captured through the treachery of Trokoundos' brother-in-law, who had been sent by Zeno to deceive them. They were beheaded||[a] and their heads were sent to Zeno and brought into the Hippodrome fixed on poles. From there [they were taken] across to Sykai and exposed to public view.||[b]

||On Akakios' advice Zeno was forcing the eastern bishops to subscribe to the Henotikon and to enter into communion with Peter Mongos.[1] After maltreating the legates from Felix of Rome and enticing them by bribery, Zeno persuaded them, contrary to their instructions, to have communion with Akakios. And yet the orthodox protested solemnly against them thrice, first by fixing a rope to a hook and having one of them suspend it in public; second by placing it in a book and third by putting it in a basket of vegetables. When Felix learned of the actions of his legates, he deposed them and also wrote to depose Akakios.[2] The bearer of this evaded those at Abydos and reached the monastery of Dios.[3] The monks of Dios served Akakios with the letter on a Sunday in the sanctuary. The supporters of Akakios killed some of the monks who had served the letter and punished others by imprisoning them. Akakios took no notice of the deposition and removed the name of Felix from the diptychs.||[c]

[a] Theod. Lect. 438 (122. 11–14). [b] Mal. 389. 11–14; cf. Mal. at *De insid.* 35. [c] Theod. Lect. 433–4 (119. 23–121. 12).

[1] Cf. AM 5978.

[2] The delegates were fooled by Akakios into taking part in a service in which Peter Mongos was named in the diptychs. This was reported to Pope Felix by a Sleepless monk. Felix then summoned a synod of 27 bishops in Rome which excommunicated Akakios and the delegates (28 July 484). On 1 Aug., Felix wrote to Zeno telling him to choose between the apostle Peter and Peter Mongos (*Ep.* 8). As the rest of Theophanes' account shows, it was the opponents of Zeno and Akakios who seem to have ill-treated the delegates. On the Acacian schism generally, see Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 182–3, 235–9.

[3] On the outskirts of Constantinople but within the walls, the monastery had been founded by the Syrian monk Dios with support from Theodosios I. It was probably the second oldest monastery in Constantinople after that of Dalmatos. See Janin, *Églises*, 97–9.

[AM 5981, AD 488/9]

Zeno, 15th year
Kabades, 9th year
Felix, 6th year
Fravitas, bishop of Constantinople (3 months), 1st year
Anastasios, 13th year
Peter Mongos, 5th year
[*No entry for Antioch*]

||In this year Kalandion, bishop of Antioch, brought the relics of Eustathios the Great from Philippi, where the holy man had died in exile.[1] The citizens of Antioch went out ten miles to meet them with great honour. Those who had separated from the Church because of the holy man were now reunited, one hundred years after his death.||[a]

||On Akakios' death Fravitas, after holding the bishopric for three months, wrote to Felix that he was in communion with him, and not with Peter Mongos, and he wrote to Mongos that he was in communion with him and rejected Felix of Rome. But Felix received a copy of the letter sent to Mongos, which had been intercepted by the orthodox, and when the messengers of Fravitas arrived with the synodical letter, Felix sent them back in dishonour. When Fravitas had died, Euphemios, presbyter of Neapolis, who was responsible for poor-relief, obtained the bishopric of Constantinople and immediately expunged the name of Mongos from the diptychs with his own hands. Then he sat on his throne and inserted the name of Felix of Rome.||[b]

[a] Theod. Lect. 435 (121. 14–18). [b] Nik. Kall. xvi. 19, 153B–D; cf. Theod. Lect. 440 (122. 19–23), Geo. Mon. 521. 2.

[1] For Eustathios, cf. AM 5861 (120 years, not 100). Theophanes' narrative is out of kilter with his chronological table.

AM 5982 [AD 489/90]

Year of the divine Incarnation 482
Zeno, emperor of the Romans (17 years), 16th year
Kabades, emperor of the Persians (11 years), 10th year
Felix, bishop of Rome (9 years), 7th year
Euphemios, bishop of Constantinople (7 years), 1st year
Anastasios, bishop of Jerusalem (18 years), 14th year
Peter Mongos, bishop of Alexandria (6 years), 6th year
Palladios, bishop of Antioch (10 years), 1st year

||In this year Peter Mongos died in Alexandria[1] and Athanasios, surnamed Kelites, was ordained in his place. The emperor Zeno, freed from the pressure of the usurpers, expelled Kalandion from the
134 Church of Antioch and banished him to Oasis[2] and reinstated Peter the Fuller.[3] On the pretext of their support for the usurpers but in fact because ⟨they had not accepted⟩ Zeno's Henotikon, ⟨he ordered that the following be driven out of their churches:⟩ Nestor ⟨of Tarsos, Kyros of Hierapolis, John of Kyrestai,⟩[4] Romanus of Chalcedon,[5] Eusebios of Samosata, Julian of Mopsuestia, Paul of Constantina, Manos of Hemeria, and Andrew of Theodosioupolis. After entering Antioch, Peter the Fuller did much wrong, with anathematizations of the synod, expulsions of innocent bishops, illegal substitutions and ordinations, and other acts of this kind.||[a] Earlier he had added to the Trishagion 'Christ the King, who wast crucified for us.' On his return Peter removed the phrase 'Christ the King.'||[b6]

||Xenaias, the servant of Satan, was teaching that images of the Lord and of the saints should not be accepted. A Persian by race and a slave by status, he had fled from his master in the times of Kalandion and stirred up the villages round Antioch against the faith, claiming he was a cleric though he was not baptized.[7] Kalandion drove him away, but Peter the Fuller ordained him bishop of Hierapolis,[8] changing his name to Philoxenos. When Peter learned later that the man was unbaptized, he said that the ordination sufficed instead of baptism.||[c]

||The most orthodox Euphemios drove out of Church the *silentiarius* Anastasios, the one who subsequently ruled wickedly as emperor, for being a heretic and of the same persuasion as Eutyches.[9] When Euphemios saw Anastasios creating a riot, he overturned his chair in the church and threatened him that, unless he stopped, he would tonsure his head and parade him in mockery among the crowd. He brought the charge before Zeno and received authority over Anastasios.||[d]

||Zeno asked Maurianus, the most learned *comes* (for he had knowledge of certain secrets[10] and used to give predictions), 'Who will be emperor after me?' He replied that 'A certain ex-silentiary will receive from you both your rule and your wife.' ⟨Zeno detained the ex-silentiary Pelagios,⟩[11] a patrician, who was learned, pious,
135 intelligent, and virtuous,[12] unjustly confiscated his property and cast him into prison, ordering that he be executed by the excubitors who guarded him. When the prefect Arkadios heard what had happened, he rebuked the emperor. When the emperor heard about this, he ordered that Arkadios be killed as he entered the palace. The prefect was informed of this and sought refuge in the church. So he escaped from a bitter death, but his house was confiscated.||[e]

[a] Theod. Lect. 443 (123. 24–124. 28), restored from Theophanes; cf. Nik. Kall. xvi. 10, 133B–C. [b] Theod. Lect. 427 (118. 23–6); cf. Theod. Lect. 545 (John Diakrinomenos, 155. 12–13), Nik. Kall. xv. 28, 84B, i.e. insertion of Kalandion into text and translation, rejected by Combefis on evidence of Kedr. [c] Cf. Theod. Lect. *KG* 35 (124. 3–12), Nik. Kall. xvi. 27. [d] Theod. Lect. 441(123. 12–17) and *KG* 33 (123. 1–7). [e] Mal. 390. 4–391. 1, *Chron. Pasch.* 606. 3–21.

[1] 29 Oct. 489.

[2] In 484. Cf. the chronological table which makes AM 5977 his first year, and AM 5978, n. 1 and AM 5981. For Oasis see AM 5925.

[3] Peter the Fuller's third tenure, 485–9.

[4] Kyrrhos. The text here and above is restored from Anastasius' Latin translation.

[5] In fact Chalkis. See E. Schwartz, *PS* 209 n. 2; E. Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie Antérieure au VIe Siècle* (Louvain, 1951), 5.

[6] Cf. AM 5956b, 5966. At Chalcedon the orthodox had used the wording 'Holy God, holy and mighty, holy and immortal, have mercy on us', to show their approval of Dioskoros' condemnation. To this Peter had supposedly added 'Christ the King who wast crucified for us' which was still orthodox in that it refers the passion to the person of Christ alone. The deletion of 'Christ the King' suggested that Christ as God and one of the Trinity had suffered on the cross, a sense which was unacceptable to Chalcedonists, with their stress on Christ's two natures. See Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 168. Evagr. iii. 44 states that Peter simply added 'thou who wast crucified'.

[7] Theod. Lect. (124. 9–10), claims to rely on the evidence of Persian bishops. Against this see Honigmann, *Évêques monophysites*, 4–5.

[8] In 485 in place of Kyros, deposed in Sept. 484 (see 'a' above). For Xenaias, contrast the Monophysite version in *Chr. 846*, 168 and Mich. Syr. ii. 166, and see also AM 6011, n. 16. Bishop of Hierapolis (Mabbug, Membij) to 519, Xenaias/Philoxenos stressed Syriac 'in what was becoming a distinctly Syriac-speaking Monophysitism' (Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 185) being 'versed in everything that is contained in our writing and in our language' (Mich. Syr. ii. 166). Mabbug 'was the major assembly point for all offensives against Persia down the Euphrates' (Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 185 citing V. Chapot, *La Frontière de l'Euphrate de Pompée à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1907), 256–7, 338–9.

[9] For Euphemios' later opposition to Anastasios' becoming emperor, see AM 5983f. For Anastasios' short-listing for the patriarchate of Antioch, cf. AM 5983b, where Theophanes again refers to him as the one 'who ruled wickedly as emperor'.

[10] μυστικά i.e. he was an astrologer.

[11] Restored by de Boor from *Chron. Pasch.* 606. 8–9.

[12] An epic poet (see AM 5983) and historian, he was charged with paganism, but the real charge was his criticism of Zeno. See *PLRE* ii. 857.

AM 5983 [AD 490/1]

Year of the divine Incarnation 483
Zeno, emperor of the Romans (17 years), 17th year
Kabades, emperor of the Persians (11 years), 11th year
Felix, bishop of Rome (9 years), 8th year
Euphemios, bishop of Constantinople (7 years), 2nd year
Anastasios, bishop of Jerusalem (18 years), 15th year
Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria (7 years), 1st year
Palladios, bishop of Antioch (10 years), 2nd year

||In this year Felix received the synodical letter of Euphemios and acknowledged him as orthodox, but did not accept him as bishop because he had not removed the names of Akakios and his successor Fravitas from the diptychs.||[a]

||In the same year Peter the Fuller died[1] and Palladios was promoted to be bishop. He had been presbyter of the church of the holy first-martyr Thekla in Seleukeia. The other candidates were John the son of Constantine and Anastasios the *silentiarius* who (later)[2] ruled wickedly as emperor.||[b]

||Zeno, exulting in the destruction of the usurpers, had recourse to confiscations and unjust executions, accusing everybody either of having been allied with them or of having encouraged their attack. He senselessly killed Kottais,[3] who along with John the Scythian had subdued Illos and Leontios by siege, and also the patrician Pelagios, an admirable man and a noteworthy epic poet, for being prudent and just.||[c]

||Amidst all this Zeno was seized by epilepsy and died,[4] while continually repeating the name of Pelagios whom he had murdered unjustly.||[d] He left no son, but [did leave] his brother Longinus who had twice been consul and was leader of the entire Senate, a stupid,
136 overbearing, and licentious man. He had many Isaurians with him in Byzantium as well as the *magister* Longinus, who was his friend, and relying on these he expected to gain the Empire without difficulty. But when Areadne, the Senate, and the whole army proclaimed Anastasios the silentiary as emperor, Longinus lost his hopes.||[e5]

||When Anastasios became emperor, he was asked by the patriarch Euphemios for a written declaration not to upset any part of the Church or the creed; [for Euphemios] described him as unworthy of the Christians and of the Empire.[6] With the empress Areadne putting pressure on him and also the Senate, he gave his signature to a statement that he accepted the decisions of the synod at Chalcedon as the definition of faith.||[f7] And so Anastasios was crowned ⌜by him⌝[8] and married Areadne. (He had not been previously married.)||[g9]

||The Manichaeans and Arians were delighted with Anastasios, the Manichaeans because the emperor's mother was a zealous devotee of theirs, the Arians because his uncle Klearchos, the brother of his impious mother, shared their beliefs.||[h]

||This year, in which Zeno died and Anastasios became emperor, was the 5999th since Adam according to the Romans, but according to the accurate and true computation of the Alexandrians it was the 5983rd, the 207th since the rule of Diocletian and 483rd since the divine Incarnation, the indiction being the 14th.||[i10] Anastasios was crowned in the Kathisma of the Hippodrome in the aforesaid 14th indiction on 14 April, it being Holy Thursday.||[j11]

[a] Theod. Lect. 442 (123. 18–23) restored from *Syn. Vetus* and Theophanes. Cf. *KG* 34 (123. 9–11), Nik. Kall. xvi. 19. [b] Theod. Lect. 445 (125. 20–3) restored from Theophanes and *KG* 38 (125. 16–19) = Vict. Tonn. a.491; cf. Nik. Kall. xvi. 20. [c] Cf. Evagr. iii. 27, citing Eustath. [d] Cf. Nik. Kall. xvi. 24, Evagr. iii. 29. [e] Cf. Evagr. iii. 29. [f] Theod. Lect. 446 (125. 25–126. 15); cf. *KG* 39 (126. 2–8) = Vict. Tonn. a.491. [g] Cf. Nik. Kall. xvi. 25. [h] Theod. Lect. 448 (126. 18–20). [i] Cf. Evagr. iii. 29, Mal. 391. 5–6, based on Eustath., Mich. Syr. ii. 167–8. [j] Mal. 392. 4–5.

1 In 489.

2 Added from Anastasius' Latin translation. Cf. 5982d.

3 Perhaps identical with Cottomenes, *magister militum* 484–8.

4 9 Apr. 491.

5 See the account in *Cer.* i. 92. Areadne asked the ministers and the Senate, with the approval of the army, to select a pious emperor. The ministers held a council at which Urbicius (cf. AM 5972) proposed that the choice should be left to Areadne. The patriarch summoned her and she chose Anastasios.

6 Cf. AM 5982d.

7 The document was lodged in the archives of Hagia Sophia under the care of the treasurer and future patriarch Makedonios. Evagr. iii. 32.

8 20 May 491. De Boor rejects 'by him' on the basis of its omission by Anastasius and MS tradition 'x'. It occurs only in tradition 'z' (possibly on the basis of Petr. Patr. as in *Cer.*). Tradition 'y' has 'by Areadne'.

9 He did have an illegitimate son. Cf. AM 5997.

10 Evagr. iii. 29 also ends his account of Zeno with a list of time-spans which he says he took from Eustath. Evagr.'s list does not include either of the Anno Mundi calculations. Mal. also ends his book 15 and his account of Zeno with an addition of the years since Adam, also giving the Alexandrine calculation. Mich. Syr. has access to two traditions, one putting the end of the sixth millennium in the 2nd year of Anastasios' reign and the other in the 14th year (AD 504/5), though he also says that this was year 814 of the Greek calendar (AD 503). The end of the sixth millenium in Byzantine numerology could mark the Second Coming but it seems unlikely that Theophanes is making any particular point. See Mango, *Byzantium*, 192–8.

[11] 14 Apr. 491 was in fact Easter Day, but Theophanes' Thursday is supported by Zach. *HE* vii. 1, who makes it the 4th day of Holy Week (i.e. Thursday). Our MS of Mal. omits 'in the Kathisma of the Hippodrome'.

AM 5984 [AD 491/2]

Year of the divine Incarnation 484
Anastasios, emperor of the Romans (27 years), 1st year
Zamasphos, son of Perozes, emperor of the Persians (4 years), 1st year[1]
Felix, bishop of Rome (9 years), 9th year
Euphemios, bishop of Constantinople (7 years), 3rd year
Anastasios, bishop of Jerusalem (18 years), 16th year
Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria (7 years), 2nd year
Palladios, bishop of Antioch (10 years), 3rd year

137 ||In this year, when Anastasios of Dyrrachium [surnamed] Twin-pupil[2] had become emperor,||[a] Zeno's brother Longinus staged a revolt against him. Anastasios captured him and sent him to banishment to Alexandria in Egypt and ordered that he be ordained a presbyter. After living for seven more years he died in Alexandria.||[b3] The emperor, being also suspicious of the *magister* Longinus and the resident Isaurians, relieved him of office.||[c4]

Since Peter the Fuller wanted to return from banishment to his throne at Antioch, the emperor did recall him from banishment, but did not allow him to return to Antioch, where he caused Palladios to be ordained.[5] ||Euphemios of Constantinople gathered the resident bishops and ratified the holy Synod of Chalcedon.||[d] When John the Tabennesiote, who was in Rome, heard that Anastasios had become emperor, he came to Byzantium expecting some worthwhile recompense from him in return for the favour he had bestowed on him in Alexandria, when, destitute after a shipwreck, Anastasios had been taken in and cared for so well by John as to make him forget his misfortune.[6] But when Anastasios heard that John had arrived, with considerable ingratitude he ordered him to be banished, without receiving him at all. John learned of this in advance and was saved by fleeing to Rome.||[e]

[a] Cf. Mal. 392. 1–3, Theod. Lect. 446 (125. 25–6). [b] Joh. Ant., frg. 214b; cf. Zon. xiv. 3. 20. [c] Cf. Evagr. iii. 29, Joh. Ant., frg. 214b. [d] Theod. Lect. 451 (127. 18–19), restored from Theophanes; cf. *KG* 41 (127. 2–3) = Vict. Tonn. a.492, Cyr. Scyth. *V. Sab.* 50, p. 140. [e] Theod. Lect. 452 (127. 20–5), restored from Theophanes; cf. Nik. Kall. xvi. 26, 168D–169A, *KG* 42 (127. 5–8) = Vict. Tonn. a.494.

[1] Zamasphos (Zamasp) reigned 496–8, interrupting Kavad's reign of 488–531.

[2] He had one black and one blue pupil.

[3] According to Joh. Ant., frg. 100, Anastasios used the pretext of a riot in the Hippodrome in 491 (mentioned by Marcell. com.) to expel Longinus. He says Longinus was banished to the Thebaid and died 8 years later. Theophanes is the only source for his ordination. Theophanes' reference to a revolt is perhaps a confusion with AM 5985, although Joh. Ant. seems to confirm Theophanes that a revolt had already begun in Isauria, led by Longinus of Kardala, the ex-*magister militum*.

[4] Evagr. iii. 29 confuses this Longinus (of Kardala, the ex-*magister*) with Zeno's brother. Presumably here Eustathios of Epiphaneia is the common source for Theophanes and Evagr. but Theophanes has avoided Evagr.'s error.

[5] Theophanes appears to be forgetting that he had recorded the appointment of Palladios under AM 5983.

[6] John the Tabennesiote, the ex-patriarch of Alexandria (cf. AM 5976) had been stirring up trouble in Rome. Vict. Tonn. a.484 also refers to Anastasios' old friendship with John. This may give some semblance of support to John of Nikiu's claim (89. 2–17) that Zeno exiled Anastasios. Cf. E. Schwartz, *PS* 273.

[AM 5985, AD 492/3]

Anastasios, 2nd year
Zamasphos, 2nd year
Gelasios, bishop of Rome (5 years), 1st year[1]
Euphemios, 4th year
Anastasios, 17th year
Athanasios, 3rd year
Palladios, 4th year

||In this year the emperor Anastasios expelled the Isaurians, who were in Constantinople, because of their many outrages.[2] After departing they plotted to rebel.||[a] The ex-*magister* Longinus, after gathering these plus another force of barbarians and robbers numbering about 150,000, and relying on a good supply of weapons and money which Zeno had stored in Isauria, proceeded to the land of the Isaurians. The emperor had acquiesced in his departure[3] although suspecting an attack. Longinus immediately rose in revolt and advanced as far as Kotyaeion[4] in Phrygia, plundering many 138
cities, though he himself did not command the army. For this was done by Ninilingis,[5] who had been appointed governor of Isauria[6] in the time of Zeno, a very bold man, and by Athenodoros,[7] a very silly man, one of the senators, and by Konon the bishop of Apameia,[8] who had abandoned his throne and changed his status from priest to that of an armed soldier and a general. Against them Anastasios opposed

the Roman army, with John the Scythian as its commander, the one who had suppressed the usurpation of Illos and Leontios, together with John surnamed Kyrtos, both being commanders of the Thracian army,[9] and Diogenes[10] (these men were *comites* of the *scholae*) and certain other laudable men. A battle was fought near Kotyaeion, the general Ninilingis was killed and, with most of the Isaurian force destroyed, the rest scarcely reached the safety of their own country. If the Romans had not delayed over the spoils, they would have completely won the war. But since they made this mistake, the Isaurians, after getting control of a stronghold on the top of Mount Tauros, held out fighting into the third year,[11] secure in their position among the towns and strongholds above the Tauros.||[b]

[a] Theod. Lect. 449 (126. 21–3). [b] Cf. Evagr. iii. 35, Nik. Kall. xvi. 36, 196A–C.

[1] Gelasios was pope from 1 Mar. 492 to 21 Nov. 496.

[2] According to Evagr. (probably from Eustath.), the Isaurians were banished at their own request, i.e. they were victims rather than perpetrators of the outrages.

[3] Joh. Ant., frg. 214. 6, says he was banished.

[4] The modern Kütahya.

[5] Bastard half-brother of Illos, *PLRE* ii. 683–4, Lilingis.

[6] i.e. *comes et praeses Isauriae*, perhaps since 484. This is the only evidence.

[7] Cf. AM 5987, son-in-law of the John who betrayed Euphemios' remarks to Anastasios.

[8] He may have had a military career before becoming a bishop, probably in 484. He was highly regarded by Zeno, who had recalled him from his bishopric to take up a command against Illos. See *PLRE* ii. 307.

[9] *PLRE* ii. 618, having argued that John the Scythian was *magister militum per Orientem* in 483–98 and that John Kyrtos was *magister militum praesentalis* in 492–9, takes this to mean that the troops under their command were drawn from the Thracian region and that they were not *magistri militum per Thracias*. We do not, however, know enough about *magistri militum per Thracias* at this time (with evidence only of a Julian for 493 and a Philoxenos for some time under Anastasios) to be able to reject Theophanes' statement.

[10] In other sources and at AM 6011h he is Diogenianos. See *PLRE* ii. 362. But he is possibly identical with a Diogenes, *comes magnificentissimus*, known from an inscription to have repaired fortifications somewhere in the Tauric Chersonese in 487/8. See *PLRE* ii. 361, Diogenes 7.

[11] This is consistent with Theophanes' end for the war at AM 5988 (495/6). Theod. Lect. says it lasted at least 5 years, i.e. till 497 or beyond, while Marcell. com. ends it in 498.

[AM 5986, AD 493/4]

Anastasios, 3rd year
Zamasphos, 3rd year
Gelasios, 2nd year
Euphemios, 5th year
Anastasios, 18th year
Athanasios, 4th year
Palladios, 5th year

In this year Claudiopolis,[1] which lies in the plain between the two Tauroi, was captured by Diogenes. The Isaurians, not putting up with this, descended from the Tauros and besieged Diogenes for a long time, so that his army was in danger of perishing through hunger. But John Kyrtos went over the narrow passes of the Tauros, captured the guards, and, attacking suddenly, destroyed the army of the besiegers, while Diogenes, too, made a sortie. It was then that the bishop Konon died shortly after being wounded, and the Romans gained this second very great victory. ||In the same year Zamasphes, the son of the Persian emperor Perozes, after driving out Kabades, ruled the Persians for four years in the middle of Kabades' period as ruler.||[a2]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 154 (not close).

[1] Modern Mut in Cilicia.

[2] Note the contradiction between the narrative and the chronological table, which makes this Zamasp's third year and has Kavad beginning again in AM 5988 after Zamasp's four years. Thus Theophanes recognizes the interruption but peculiarly sees it as two separate reigns. In fact Kavad reigned 488–531, interrupted by Zamasp 496–8.

[AM 5987, AD 494/5]

Anastasios, 4th year
Zamasphos, 4th year
Gelasios, 3rd year
Euphemios, 6th year
Martyrios, bishop of Jerusalem (8 years), 1st year
Athanasios, 5th year
Palladios, 6th year

In this year a certain Longinus, known as Selinountios,[1] who lived 139
in Isaurian Antioch,[2] which lies on a high mountain on the southern coast of the territory, brought in food supplies to the Isaurians,

importing these from everywhere in numerous cargo vessels. Longinus the *magister* and Athenodoros remained in this difficult terrain.

||The emperor, wearied by the prolongation of the war, told the bishop Euphemios in confidence that he longed for peace, and ordered him to convene the resident bishops as if to make a plea on behalf of the Isaurians. Euphemios revealed the secret to the patrician John, father-in-law of Athenodoros, the leader of the rebellion. He raced off and announced this to the emperor, which roused the emperor Anastasios to an irreconcilable hatred of the bishop Euphemios.||[a] For this reason he imputed to Euphemios the plots of the Isaurians.||[b] Some persons who were plotting against Euphemios engaged a man to strike him on the head with a sword in front of the martyrium. But Paul, the *ekdikos* of church, who towered above the others, took the blow on his head and endangered himself, but he killed the plotter with what is known as a *sera*.||[c][3] Once again an ambush was set to kill Euphemios at the liturgical gathering 'of the Mount'[4], but he escaped to safety by putting on civilian clothes.||[d] The emperor Anastasios used force to seize his confession[5] from Euphemios.||[e]

[a] Theod. Lect. 449 (126. 24–127. 14). [b] Theod. Lect. 455 (128. 14). [c] Theod. Lect. 453 (127. 26–30). [d] Cf. Theod. Lect. 454 (128. 11–13). [e] Theod. Lect. 447 (126. 16–17) cf. *KG* 40 (126. 10–11) = Vict. Tonn. a.491.

[1] i.e. of Selinus in Isauria.

[2] Antiochia ad Cragum, a short distance south-east of Selinus.

[3] Taken to mean 'sword' by Anastasius in his Latin translation, it is described as a bolt for locking doors by Eustathios, commentary on Odyssey x, and it is also so used in a gloss on μοχλός (= bolt) at Psalm 147. Theophanes has also simplified the version in Theod. Lect. who says Euphemios' attacker was killed not by Paul but by an unnamed cleric.

[4] Hansen, 128, suggests the Feast of the Transfiguration on 6 Aug. But this probably refers to the Mount of Olives (Ἐλαιῶν ὄρος) above Galata, site of a church of the Maccabees, in which the service of Ascension was celebrated in the patriarch's presence: *Vita Dalmati*, ed. M. Gedeon, *Βυζαντινὸν ἑορτολόγιον* (Constantinople, 1899), 146. Cf. J. Pargoire, *ÉO* 3 (1899–1900), 160. The liturgical gathering would have been, therefore, that of Ascension Day.

[5] This could refer either to an admission of guilt by Euphemios or, more probably, to Anastasios' confession of faith, locked up under the care of Euphemios (AM 5983f).

AM 5988 [AD 495/6]

Year of the divine Incarnation 488
Anastasios, emperor of the Romans (27 years), 5th year
Kabades, emperor of the Persians (30 years), 1st year[1]
Gelasios, bishop of Rome (5 years), 4th year
Euphemios, bishop of Constantinople (7 years), 7th year
Martyrios, bishop of Jerusalem (8 years), 1st year
Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria (7 years), 6th year
Palladios, bishop of Antioch (10 years), 7th year

In this year John the Scythian[2] besieged and captured the ex-*magister* Longinus, Longinus Selinountios, Athenodoros, and the other rebels. After beheading them, he sent their heads to the emperor 140
Anastasios in Byzantium.[3] Anastasios held the chariot races and paraded in triumph the heads of the rebels and the other Isaurians, who had been sent in chains, and, after fixing the heads on stakes he displayed them publicly in Sykai, and transferred the mass of the Isaurians to Thrace. He rewarded John the Scythian and the other John (Kyrtos) with the rank of consul and great honours.[4] ||He sent this message through the *magister* Eusebios to bishop Euphemios, 'Your prayers, great sir, have befouled your friends.'||[a] The emperor, after gathering the resident bishops, censured Euphemios, after which the bishops, to show their favour to the emperor, voted for his excommunication and deposition.[5] The emperor appointed Makedonios as bishop of Constantinople, who was ⟨then⟩ sacristan ⟨of the same Church⟩.[6] But the people rioted on account of Euphemios and ran into the Hippodrome to perform a litany, but were not able to achieve anything, with the emperor bent on a wicked victory. Makedonios was wrongly persuaded by Anastasios to put his signature to Zeno's Henotikon.||[b]

[a] Theod. Lect. 450 (127. 15–17). [b] Theod. Lect. 455–6 (128. 14–21). Theophanes adds 'wicked' and 'wrongly'.

[1] Kavad reigned 488–531. Cf. AM 5986, n. 2. We have retained Theophanes' variety of spellings in the translation but will refer to him as Kavad in the notes.

[2] On the date, cf. AM 5985, n. 11.

[3] According to Marcell. com. year 498, they were taken alive to Constantinople, paraded publicly, and then tortured and beheaded at Nicaea. Evagr. iii. 35, says they provided 'an agreeable spectacle to the Byzantines'. On displaying heads see McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 56–7.

[4] John the Scythian was consul in 498 and John Kyrtos in 499.

[5] The synod probably met in spring 496 (cf. Cyr. Scyth. *V. Sab.* 50). It

found Euphemios guilty of Nestorianism (Mal. 460) and deposed him. Theophanes may have brought forward the end of the Isaurian war to link it to the deposition. If Charanis is right that the synod met in Nov. 495, Theophanes has also put back Euphemios' deposition, but there appears to be nothing to support his date. See Charanis, *Church and State*, 27. Makedonios was appointed in July 496.

[6] Restored from Anastasius' translation.

[AM 5989, AD 496/7]

Anastasios, 6th year
Kabades, 2nd year
Gelasios, 5th year
Makedonios, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 1st year
Martyrios, 2nd year
Athanasios, 7th year
Palladios, 8th year

||In this year Anastasios banished Euphemios to Euchaita. Euphemios sought to have an assurance through Makedonios that he would not be plotted against during his removal. Makedonios, having been empowered to give this assurance, approached Euphemios in the baptistery, ordered the archdeacon to divest him of his pallium, and thus dressed as a private citizen went up to Euphemios, and gave him money which he had borrowed,||[a] for which he was praised by many for two reasons.|| For he was both austere as well as holy, as one brought up by Gennadios whose nephew he was.||[b]

||In the same year Athanasios, the bishop of Alexandria, died.[1] In his place was elected John the monk, a presbyter and *oikonomos*, surnamed Hemoula.||[c]

[a] Theod. Lect. 457 (128. 22–7). [b] Theod. Lect. 458 (129. 13–14). [c] Theod. Lect. 460 (129. 26–7, restored from Theophanes); cf. *KG* 47 (129. 6–7) = Vict. Tonn. a.495. 2.

[1] 17 Oct. 496.

[AM 5990, AD 497/8]

Anastasios, 7th year
Kabades, 3rd year
Anastasios, bishop of Rome (2 years), 1st year[1]
Makedonios, 2nd year

Martyrios, 3rd year
John, bishop of Alexandria (9 years), 1st year
Palladios, 9th year

||In this year there was an invasion of the so-called tent-dwelling Arabs into Euphratesia. Eugenios, an earnest man in both word and deed, who commanded the army in those parts, met them at Bithrapsa in the first region of Syria and defeated them in battle. The vanquished [Arabs] who were tributaries of the Persians, were of the tribe of the phylarch Naaman.[2] At that time Romanus was commander of the army in Palestine, an excellent man. Both by good planning and generalship, he captured in battle Ogaros,[3] the son of Arethas (the latter being known as the son of Thalabane),[4] together with a great mass of prisoners. Before the battle Romanus had worsted and put to flight another tent-dweller, Gabalas by name,[5] who had overrun Palestine before Romanus' arrival. At that time also the island of Iotabe, which lies in the gulf of the Red Sea and was subject to the Roman emperor, paying considerable tribute, but which in the meantime had been seized by the tent-dwelling Arabs, was set free by Romanus after fierce battles, and given back[6] to the Roman traders to inhabit under its own laws, to import goods from the Indies and to bring the assessed tax to the emperor.||[a] 141

[a] Cf. Evagr. iii. 36.

[1] Anastasios was pope from 24 Nov. 496 to 19 Nov. 498.

[2] The invasion must post-date Naaman's accession as king of the Lakhmids, which was not before 499. See Stein, *BE* ii. 91. I. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century* (Washington DC, 1989), 122, prefers to translate Theophanes' ὑπόσπονδοι as 'allies.

[3] His Arabic name was Hujr.

[4] Theophanes says 'son' precisely, but Thalabane in fact means Ta'laba, a branch of the house of Bakr. He was in fact son of 'Amr and was king of Kinda *c.*498–528. See Olinder, *Kings of Kinda*, 48, 51–3 and. Shahîd, op. cit. 120–30.

[5] Gabala (Jabalah) was ruler of the Ghassanid Arabs. *PLRE* ii. 489. There are no other sources.

[6] αὖθις i.e. Anastasios simply restored the position existing before Iotabe's occupation by Amroulkaïs in 473. See Stein, *BE* ii. 91, cf. i. 357.

[AM 5991, AD 498/9]

Anastasios, 8th year
Kabades, 4th year
Anastasios, 2nd year
Makedonios, 3rd year

Martyrios, 4th year
John, 2nd year
Palladios, 10th year

||In this year Makedonios, at the emperor's instigation, attempted to unite the monasteries of the capital that had seceded because of Zeno's Henotikon. Being unable to do this, he advised the emperor to call together the resident bishops and to affirm in writing what had been excellently laid down as doctrine at Chalcedon. This was done by means of a written protocol. He urged the monasteries to unity, in particular the monastery of Dios, that of Bassianos, the monastery of the Sleepless Ones, and that of Matrona;[1] for these especially had separated from those that accepted Zeno's Henotikon and eagerly submitted to banishment. Because of their resistance, Makedonios decided to leave them to their own course of action
142 rather than instigate a persecution against them. The holy Matrona, who was still alive and refused communion along with the nuns at her monastery because of Zeno's Henotikon, demonstrated numerous miracles, with Chrysaorios, a deacon of the Church, putting pressure on her. A certain Sophia, too, who was notable among the nuns and who had suffered greatly, showed remarkable endurance.||[a]

||Theuderich the African[2] had an orthodox deacon who was much loved by him and who converted to Arianism to please the Arian Theuderich. Theuderich beheaded him with his sword, saying, 'If you could not keep your faith for God, you would not have kept it for me.'||[b]

||On the death of Palladios, bishop of Antioch, the emperor appointed Flavian who was presbyter and *apokrisiarios* of the Church of Antioch. They say that Flavian was opposed to the doctrines of Chalcedon.||[c3]

||A certain Olympios, an Arian, who was washing in the baths of Helenianai, died miserably in the pool after uttering terrible blasphemies. This was depicted on an image. A certain Eutychianos, who was chief of the *diaitarii*, after being bribed by the Arians, removed the picture of Olympios which had been put up. His body wasted away terribly from that day and he died.||[d4]

[a] Theod. Lect. 459 (129. 15–25), restored from Theophanes; cf. *KG* 46 (129. 2–4 = Vict. Tonn. a.497. 1), Evagr. iii. 30. [b] Theod. Lect. 463 (131. 16–20), Souda, s.v. *Θευδέριχος* (*Θ*. 297). [c] Theod. Lect. 464 (131. 21–3), restored from Theophanes. [d] Theod. Lect. 465 (131. 24–8) cf. *KG* 52a (131. 10–133. 32) = John Damascene, *On Images*, *PG* 94: 1388D–1393A, *KG* 52b (133. 34–7) = Vict. Tonn. a.498).

[1] For these monasteries see AM 5980 (Dios), 5957 (Bassianos), 5955, 5967 (the Sleepless Ones). Matrona, originally from Perge in Pamphylia (Isauria) had built her monastery on the advice of Bassianos (she lived for some time at his monastery disguised as a eunuch) and with the support of two rich ladies of quality, Sphorakios' wife Antiochiane and Athanasia, in the quarter called Severianai. We know nothing of the subsequent history of the monastery, despite its importance at this time. See Janin, *Églises*, 329.

[2] Both here and at AM 5993 Theophanes describes Theuderich as *Afer*, an error for which he appears to be the only source. He also appears to be the only Greek writer to use *Afer* to mean 'African' (that this is his meaning is clear from AM 5961 and Anastasius' translation).

[3] Cf. the treatment of Flavian at AM 6001, 6002, and notes.

[4] Theophanes repeats almost verbatim (as usual) the account given by Theod. Lect. as preserved in MS P. John Damascene, however, gives a very much more detailed account (some three columns in *PG*) which he states is taken from Theod. Lect. (the MS actually reads Theodoret, which is chronologically impossible). John Damascene was certainly capable of expanding an original with rhetorical flourishes, but the precision of some details suggests that here he was actually quoting Theod. Lect. For instance he begins by dating the event to Christmas Day 'in the same consulship', an unlikely detail to have invented since he does not bother to tell us the name of the consul. It is known that what we have of Theod. Lect. is not merely fragmentary but also abbreviated. The passage from John Damascene shows both the degree of abbreviation and also that the abbreviated version only was available to Theophanes. Since Theophanes is so close to the abbreviated version on so many occasions, there can be no doubt that his general custom was to copy it. But it is also very likely (though unfortunately not provable) that where Theophanes differs in phraseology from the preserved version of Theod. Lect., he has deliberately altered that version, especially where the variation consists of the addition of epithets or adverbs which colour the interpretation of Theod. Lect.; e.g. the addition of 'impious', 'disgracefully', etc. Where the difference is some detail of fact (as opposed to opinion) it is impossible to determine the source, but quite possibly in these rare cases, the extra detail may have come from a marginal gloss in the manuscript.

AM 5992 [AD 499/500]

Year of the divine Incarnation 492
Anastasios, emperor of the Romans (27 years), 9th year
Kabades, emperor of the Persians (30 years), 5th year
Anastasios, bishop of Rome (9 years), 3rd year
Makedonios, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 4th year
Martyrios, bishop of Jerusalem (8 years), 5th year
John, bishop of Alexandria (9 years), 3rd year
Flavian, bishop of Antioch (13 years), 1st year

||In this year Festus, a Roman senator, who had been sent to Anastasios on certain public business,[1] requested that the commemoration of the holy apostles Peter and Paul should be celebrated with greater festivity,[2] a usage that has survived until now.
143 Makedonios, who wanted to use Festus to send his synodical letter to Anastasios, bishop of Rome,[3] was prevented by the emperor.||[a]

[a] Theod. Lect. 461 (129. 28–130. 13). Theophanes inserts 'that has survived until now'. Cf. *KG* 48 (129. 9–12).

[1] The date is 497 (see below). Festus, the leading senator in Rome (*senatus prior*) had been sent before by Theuderich in 490 to announce Theuderich's success against Odoacer and to ask for Theuderich to be made regent, but Zeno died at that juncture and Anastasios refused. This time he gained for Theuderich the right to all the imperial insignia which Odoacer had had 20 years previously (Anon. Val. 12. 64).

[2] Cf. E. Topping, *BMGS* 2 (1976), 1–15, who notes the growth of interest in the cult of Peter at around this time but connects this interest with attempts at ending the Acacian schism in the reign of Justin. The festal day is 29 June. Presumably Festus was in Constantinople on the festal day.

[3] Pope Anastasios died on 19 Nov. 498. Festus' mission probably began after Pope Anastasios' accession (24 Nov. 496) and he must have left Constantinople to return shortly before Pope Anastasios' death (cf. AM 5993).

[AM 5993, AD 500/1]

Anastasios, 10th year
Kabades, 6th year
Anastasios, 4th year
Makedonios, 5th year
Martyrios, 6th year
John, 4th year
Flavian, 2nd year

||In this year Festus, as he was going back to Rome, promised the emperor Anastasios that he would persuade Pope Anastasios to accept Zeno's Henotikon, but he found the pope dead on his return. By corrupting many with money he secured the election, contrary to Roman practice, of a certain Laurentius as bishop, who was ordained by one faction. The more orthodox separated themselves and ordained Symmachos, who was one of the deacons[1]. As a result many disorders occurred, including murders and rapine, for a period of three years, until Theuderich the African,[2] who was at the time controlling Rome, though he was an Arian, summoned a local synod,[3] confirmed Symmachos as bishop of Rome, and ordered

Laurentius to be bishop of the city of Nuceria. But Laurentius did not stay quiet and, after creating trouble, was deposed by Symmachos and sent into banishment.[4] And thus the discord ceased.||[a]

||In the same year Anastasios abolished the silver and gold tax[5] and wild beast fights[6] and made the magistracies, which used to be bought, free of charge.||[b][7]

[a] Theod. Lect. 461 (130. 13–21). Cf. *KG* 49 (130. 2–4) = Vict. Tonn. a.497. 2, *KG* 50 (130. 6–8). [b] Theod. Lect. 553 (156. 15–6) = John Diakrinomenos).

[1] Rival elections for a successor to Anastasios were held on 22 Nov. 498. Laurentius, supported by Festus, was in favour of reconciliation with Constantinople. Symmachos' supporters, described as the orthodox, were opposed to any concessions to Constantinople over the Henotikon.

[2] Cf. 5991, n. 2.

[3] Theuderich appears to have decided in favour of Symmachos in 499, but a synod, acquitting him of various charges and confirming his election, was held later, probably mid-502. See Bury, *HLRE*[2] i. 465 and J. Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy*, (Oxford, 1992), ch. 4.

[4] Probably not before 506. See Stein, *BE*, ii. 138–9 on the continuing discord.

[5] Introduced by Constantine, it had been a quinquennial sales tax on merchants and craftsmen of every kind (including prostitutes). It had been regarded as oppressive. Anastasios made up the small amount of revenue involved from the *res privata*. See Jones, *LRE* 110, 237. The date is May 498 (cf. *Chr. Edess.* 74, Bury, *HLRE*[2] i. 441, Stein, *BE* ii. 204). Stein suggests it follows closely the defeat of the Isaurians, and was largely paid for from the confiscation of Isaurian estates. For the law, *CJ* xi. 1. 1 (undated). The abolition was popular. For instance Josh. Styl. states that at its abolition in Edessa 'the whole city rejoiced, and they all put on white garments, both small and great, and carried lighted tapers and censers full of burning incense, and went forth with psalms and hymns, giving thanks to God and praising the emperor, to the church of St Sergius and St Symeon, where they celebrated the eucharist. They then re-entered the city, and enacted that they should celebrate this festival every year. All the artisans were reclining and enjoying themselves, [bathing and feasting in the court of the (Great) Church and in all the porticoes of the city]' (31, p. 22 tr. Wright, the section in square brackets having various textual problems).

[6] In 499. See Josh. Styl., 34, 46. Prokopios of Gaza, *Panegyric*, 15, 16. Priscian, *Panegyric for Anastasios*, 223–7.

[7] In the standard accounts of his administrative and financial reforms, Anastasios is peculiarly given no credit for what admittedly proved an unsuccessful attempt to stamp out *suffragia*, by which many positions in the bureaucracy could be bought. There is merely a backhanded reference by Jones, *LRE* 572, that 'as early as the reign of Anastasius posts were purchased'. As Jones points out elsewhere, the practice of *suffragia* is first

noted, with disapproval, under Constantine, while Zeno sold posts officially to benefit the treasury, extending the practice to the second grade of the administrative service. That Anastasios' attempt failed is shown by the fact that Justinian also attempted to abolish imperial *suffragia*, again unsuccessfully (Prok. *Anecd.*, 21. 9–19) and the practice was still prevalent under Maurice. See Jones, *LRE* 393–6, 1055.

[AM 5994, AD 501/2]

Anastasios, 11th year
Kabades, 7th year
Symmachos, bishop of Rome (12 years), 1st year[1]
Makedonios, 6th year
Martyrios, 7th year
John, 5th year
Flavian, 3rd year

‖In this year there was again an incursion of the Saracens in Phoenicia, Syria, and Palestine after the death of Ogaros.[2] His brother Badicharimos overran these regions like a hurricane and retreated with the booty even more swiftly than he had invaded, so that Romanus who pursued him could not catch up with the enemy.‖[a]

In the same year the Bulgars,[3] as they are called, invaded Illyricum and Thrace and returned before being recognized.

[a] Cf. Evagr. iii. 36, but he is not close.

[1] Symmachos was pope from 22 Nov. 498 to 19 July 514.

[2] Cf. AM 5990. According to the more trustworthy Arab tradition, both Ogaros and his brother Badicharimos (Arabic Ma'dikarib) outlived their father who died in 528. See Olinder, *Kings of Kinda*, 70–82; *PLRE* ii. 794.

[3] More precisely Kotrigurs. Cf. AM 6171. Marcell. com. also dates the invasion to 502 as well as recording an invasion in 499, when the Romans lost 15,000 men, and another in 493, probably of Bulgars, who also defeated the Romans, killing the *magister militum* Julian. See Stein, *BE* ii. 90.

[AM 5995, AD 502/3]

Anastasios, 12th year
Kabades, 8th year
Symmachos, 2nd year
Makedonios, 7th year
Salustius, 51st bishop of Jerusalem (8 years), 1st year
John, 6th year
Flavian, 4th year

In this year Anastasios made a treaty[1] with Arethas (known as the son of Thalabane),[2] the father of Badicharimos and Ogaros after which all Palestine, Arabia, and Phoenice enjoyed much peace and calm.

‖In Neocaesarea,[3] when an earthquake was about to occur, a soldier, who was passing that way, saw two soldiers there and another further back, who was shouting, 'Guard the house which has Gregory's tomb'. The earthquake occurred and most of the city collapsed except for the [church of] St Gregory the miracle-worker.‖[a]

[a] Theod. Lect. 555 (156. 20–4) = John Diakrinomenos.

[1] For this information see also Nonnosos, *FHG* iv. 179 = Photios, *Bibl.* 3 (grandson of Euphrasios who negotiated peace for the Romans, cf. *PLRE* ii. 425), Kedr. i. 628, Olinder, *Kings of Kinda*, 54–69.

[2] Cf. AM 5990. This time Theophanes does not include a word for 'son' but it is implied. See now I. Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, i/1 (Washington, DC, 1995), 4 ff., who suggests emending the text to read Ὠγάρου πατέρα, ⟨καὶ πρὸς Ἀρέθαν⟩ τὸν τοῦ Θαλαβᾶ λεγόμενον.

[3] In Pontos Polemoniakos (modern Niksar). For the date, Stein, *BE* ii. 193 n. 1, suggests that this is probably the same earthquake that destroyed Armenian Nikopolis in Sept. 499.

AM 5996 [AD 503/4]

Year of the divine Incarnation 496
Anastasios, emperor of the Romans (27 years), 13th year
Kabades, emperor of the Persians (30 years), 9th year
Symmachos, bishop of Rome (12 years), 3rd year
Makedonios, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 8th year
Salustius, bishop of Jerusalem (8 years), 2nd year
John, bishop of Alexandria (9 years), 7th year
Flavian, bishop of Antioch (13 years), 5th year

‖In this year Kabades, the emperor of the Persians, demanded money from Anastasios.[1] Anastasios said that if Kabades wanted a loan, he should make a receipt in writing; if it were in any other form, he would not pay. As a result Kabades violated the peace treaty[2] that had previously been made with Theodosios the younger, and with a large army of Persians and foreigners invaded‖[a] first of all Armenia, where he captured Theodosioupolis, which was betrayed by Constantine, a senator who had been commander of the Illyrian detachments.[3] Next he went to Mesopotamia[4] and besieged Amida, since no worthwhile Roman army was yet stationed in that region.

Only Alypios[5] was there with a small force. He was praised by everyone and was a lover of philosophy and took such care as he could
145 both for the defence of the cities and the supply of food. He himself lived at Constantina, 507 stades[6] to the west of Nisibis and an equal distance from Amida to the north. But some time having meanwhile elapsed, and several engagements having taken place between the Romans and the Persians, in which the Romans sometimes got the worse and sometimes the better of the foreigners in different places, Amida was finally betrayed to the Persians, after being besieged for over three months by the barbarians.[7] It was betrayed during the night by monks who were guarding one of the towers. The enemy, who entered the city by climbing ladders, plundered and destroyed it all and captured considerable riches. The emperor Kouades came to the city on an elephant on the third day after its betrayal and removed great riches. He left Glones to guard the city while he himself returned to the city of Nisibis and the Persian forces remained between Amida and Constantia.||[b]

[a] Theod. Lect. 552 (156, 12–14); cf. Prok. *BP* i. 7. 1. [b] Cf. Evagr. iii. 37, Prok. *BP* i. 7.

[1] Josh. Styl. 23 provides the background. See also Prok. *BP* i. 7, Joh. Lyd. *De Mag.* iii. 52, Mal. 450. Leo and Zeno had apparently paid the Persians for the defence of the Caucasus, cf. the views of Z. Rubin in D. H. French and C. S. Lightfoot, eds., *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire*, BAR 553 (Oxford, 1989), 677–95 and of R. C. Blockley, *East Roman Foreign Policy* (Leeds, 1992), 50–1, 89–90. When Kavad, who owed the Hephthalites money over his restoration, renewed the demand in 491, Anastasios, aware of the situation, insultingly offered it as a loan.

[2] Josh. Styl. dates the breaking of the truce to Aug. 502. The earlier treaty had been made in 440 or 441.

[3] Aug./Sept. 502. Constantine bore Anastasios a grudge. He was probably a *comes rei militaris*, since he was not *dux Armeniae*. But 'senator' implies the high rank of *vir illustris* (Jones, *LRE* i. 529 and n. 16), so he may have been *magister militum*. See *PLRE* ii. 313–14.

[4] In between the capture of Theodosioupolis and Amida Kavad also took Martyropolis.

[5] Alypios (Olympius 14 in *PLRE* ii. 804; 'Iwmpys in Josh. Styl.) was *dux Mesopotamiae* (not *Osrhoenae* as in *PLRE*, see Prok. *BP* i. 22. 3) as he lived in Constantina and had military authority over the region.

[6] For the figure, cf. AM 5832.

[7] Josh. Styl. 50, 53, provides the most detailed description. See also Zach. *HE* vii. 3, Prok. *BP* i. 7. Evagr. iii. 37 reports a description by Eustath., who is presumably the source of Theophanes, Prok., and Zach. Amida fell on 11 Jan. 503, so the siege probably began in Oct. 502. During the siege

Anastasios sent his ambassador Rufinus to offer Kavad money and peace, which Kavad rejected.

[AM 5997, AD 504/5]

Anastasios, 14th year
Kabades, 10th year
Symmachos, 4th year
Makedonios, 9th year
Salustius, 3rd year
John, 8th year
Flavian, 6th year

||In this year an army of Goths, Bessi, and other Thracian races[1] was sent out by the emperor Anastasios under the command of Areobindos,[2] son of Dagalaiphos, who was *magister militum per Orientem* and exarch[3] of it and had been consul *ordinarius*. His grandfather on his father's side had been the Areobindos who had served with distinction against the Persians in the time of Theodosios the younger, and he was born to Dagalaiphos by Godisthea, the daughter of Ardabourios, son of Aspar, whom we have previously mentioned. Many other generals were sent with 146
Areobindos of whom the most distinguished were Patricius, Hypatios (whose parents were Secundinus and the sister of the emperor Anastasios), Pharismanes the father of Zounas, a Laz by race, the aforesaid Romanus, who linked up with the army from Euphratesia, Justin, who later became emperor, Zemarchos, and several others. The army gathered in Edessa, a city of Osrhoene, and at Samosata, a city of Euphratesia. The forces under Hypatios and Patricius were engaged in freeing Amida from the Persian garrison. Areobindos, campaigning with Romanus, the phylarch Asouades and several others against Kouades himself, who was then staying at Nisibis, prevailed against the Persians in various battles and drove Kouades out of Nisibis,[4] forcing him to retreat many days' journey inside its territory. In one engagement there fell the greatest of the Persian generals, whose sword and bracelet were brought to Areobindos by the Scythian who had killed him, and then sent to the emperor, a noteworthy and particularly clear token of victory. And so with the Persian army defeated to this extent by the Roman generals, Kouades got ready and sent against the Romans a very large army, with the result that Areobindos urged the forces with Hypatios and Patricius to hasten to his help from the area round Amida. When they declined out of envy,[5] Areobindos wanted to

retreat and to return to Byzantium, and was only kept in those parts by the Egyptian Appion, who was second in command of the army and in charge of supplies and general supervision. While the gener-
147 als were at odds with one another, Kouades came to Nisibis and, having learned of the discord among the generals, he himself, in a powerful position with his large force, divided up his own army in many places and overran almost the entire Roman territory, pushing as far as the Syrias.[6] Meanwhile he sent many envoys to Areobindos to discuss peace, saying that he would end the war on payment of money. He then overran in particular the territory round Edessa, where Areobindos was. However, he did not accomplish anything successfully there but, contrary to expectations, he came off worst in a battle with Areobindos.[7] Knowing, too, that his general Glones, with the garrison at Amida, had been destroyed following a plot[8] against him, he marched back in distress along another route, neglecting the hostages whom he had given to Areobindos during the peace-talks. They also retained, contrary to the agreements, the excellent Alypios and Basil of Edessa;[9] so that after his retreat to his own territory (since winter had already arrived), the Roman generals divided themselves among the various cities of Euphratesia, Osrhoene, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Armenia, and encamped for the winter season.‖[a]

‖In the same year when the chariot races were held, disorder broke out among the two factions and many people died on both sides, including the son of the emperor Anastasios whom he had by a concubine. Being extremely upset, Anastasios punished many and sent others into banishment.‖[b]

[a] Cf. Prok. *BP* i. 8–9. [b] Cf. Mal. at *De insid.* 39 (*Mal. Trans.*, p. 222).

[1] Instead of Goths, Bessi, and Thracians Prok. mentions a Gothic general Bessas (who is well attested, see *PLRE* ii. 226–9) and Goths who had not followed Theuderich from Thrace to Italy. This may suggest a common source, but also emphasizes the differences which continue throughout the account.

[2] This is hardly a case of appointing a Goth to command a bunch of barbarians. Areobindos' offices are known from ivory diptychs commemorating his consulship of 506. He was the greatgrandson of Aspar (consul 434, cf. AM 5915, 5931, 5938, 5942–3, 5952, 5961–4), grandson of both Ardabourios (consul 447), and Areobindos (consul 434), and son of Dagalaiphos (consul 461). He married Anicia Juliana (daughter of the emperor Olybrius and an important figure in her own right; cf. 6005, n. 8) and his son was Olybrius (consul 491, ahead of his father). This concentration of consulars and the marriage points to the complete acceptance of this once-Gothic family by the aristocracy. (Prok. only mentions that he was son-in-law of Olybrius.) The size

of the army is given as 15,000 by Marcell. com. and as 52,000 (40,000 under Hypatios and Patricius, 12,000 under Areobindos) by Josh. Styl.

[3] It is not clear to what this refers. The verb ἐξαρχέω appears to be a hapaxlegomenon. Possibly Theophanes has created 'exarch' from misreading his source (here reflected by Prokopios) which at this point refers to Areobindos being the son-in-law of Olybrios, emperor in the West.

[4] 'As far as Nisibis' may seem more likely (so *PLRE* ii. 144) and Zach. *HE* vii. 5 mentions Areobindos' fruitless attack on Nisibis, but the genitive should still imply 'out of'. Even though Areobindos failed to capture Nisibis, it looks as if 'out of Nisibis' is accurate, since Kavad later returned to Nisibis with a large force. Prok. does not mention Nisibis.

[5] It was suggested that Areobindos lost a battle, perhaps this one, because of his fondness for dancing and music (Joh. Lyd. *De Mag.* iii. 53), but the same source is also hostile to Patricius and Hypatios, who are accused of cowardice and inexperience.

[6] i.e. the provinces of Syria I and II. Areobindos retreated to Constantina and Edessa. Huns and Arabs, led by Constantine, reinforced the Persians. Hypatios and Patricius, having lifted the siege of Amida, eventually came to aid Areobindos but were defeated and fled to Samosata.

[7] Theophanes, from the vantage-point of the 9th cent., omits the accounts in his sources of Edessa's claim to divine protection, for which see Averil Cameron, *The Sceptic and the Shroud* (inaugural lecture, London, 1980); *ead.* in *OKEANOS: HUS*, 7 (1984), 80–94.

[8] Prok. *BP* i. 9. 5–17, relates at some length the ruse by which Glones was tricked.

[9] Basil of Edessa was later (507) *comes Orientis*.

AM 5998 [AD 505/6]

Year of the divine Incarnation 498
Anastasios, emperor of the Romans (27 years), 15th year
Kabades, emperor of the Persians (30 years), 11th year
Symmachos, bishop of Rome (12 years), 5th year
Makedonios, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 10th year
Salustius, bishop of Jerusalem (8 years), 3rd year
John, bishop of Alexandria (9 years), 9th year
Flavian, bishop of Antioch (13 years), 7th year

‖In this year[1] the *magister* Celar was sent out by the emperor with a very large force[2] under him and took over almost all authority 148
together with the general Areobindos. The emperor entrusted to them the management of the entire war. He recalled Appion and Hypatios with all speed to Byzantium, thinking it was not necessary that either of them remain with the army because of their hostility towards the general Areobindos and he appointed the general

Kalliopios to be in charge of supplies.[3] Accordingly Celar managed the whole war extremely well together with Areobindos, Patricius, Bonosos, Timostratos, Romanus, and the others in their various regions;[4] for he was a man filled with God's grace as well as good sense and learning of every kind, a brave man, a native of Illyricum, from where Anastasios also came. Many forts in Persian territory were overrun* in the incursions and destroyed by fire or by other means, so that even Nisibis itself nearly fell to the Romans. For hunger was by then affecting the Persians, and besides they had to face a tribal uprising of the so-called Kadousioi and other races. In short, the Romans prevailed over the Persians, so that Kouades sent the general Aspetios[5] to discuss peace urgently with them, [instructing him,] even if he gained little or nothing in return, to hand back Amida to the Romans who, despite their enormous effort, had not yet been able to capture it from the Persians, even though hunger was oppressing the garrison, because of the nature of the site and the unbreachable walls. The generals, seeing that winter was approaching again, and judging that it was preferable to redeem the Roman army for a few talents from the harsh wintry conditions of those places where the discussions with Aspetios took place, handed over three talents[6] and got back Basil of Edessa, who was still being held a hostage by the Persians (the excellent Alypios had died after suf-
149 fering an illness among them), and returned the hostages whom they held. They won back Amida and made the covenants for the peace on the border between the forts of Ammoudia and Marde,[7] and ratified them in writing. Such was the end of Anastasios' Persian War in the 15th year of his reign.[8] It had lasted for three years and had harmed the territory of the Persians more than previous wars, reaching this conclusion in the 15th year of Anastasios' reign.‖[a]

‖On the death of John, bishop of Alexandria,[9] John Nikaiotes was ordained in his place.‖[b]

‖In the same year, on Anastasios' order, many of the bronze works which Constantine the Great had erected, were melted down. Out of these Anastasios made a statue of himself which he set up on the column of the Tauros.[10] For the one of Theodosios the Great, which had stood there earlier, had fallen and been shattered during an earthquake.‖[c]

[a] Mal. 399. 5–12; cf. Prok. *BP* i. 8–9, but this is not Theophanes' source.
[b] Theod. Lect. 476 (136. 13–14) restored from Theophanes, cf. *KG* 47 (129. 6–7) = Vict. Tonn. a.495. [c] Mal. 400. 22–401. 8.

[1] In fact, probably 504. Celar (properly Celer) was appointed *magister officiorum* late 503 (Josh. Styl., 64, Marcell. com. a.503) and held the position to 518.

[2] So, too, Josh. Styl. Marcell. com. a.504, puts the reinforcements at 2,000.

[3] Josh. Styl. 70, records his distribution of 850,000 *modii* throughout the district for baking into bread for the troops. He also states that Apion went to Alexandria (rather than Constantinople).

[4] Bonosos is not named elsewhere. Taken with 'in their various regions', he may have been a local *dux*. Timostratos, brother of the ambassador Rufinus (see AM 6022–3), was currently *dux Osrhoenae*. Later, he was *dux* of the Eastern front 513–18 and *dux Mesopotamiae*, in which position he was followed on his death in 527 by Belisarius.

[5] In fact not a proper name but a corruption by Greek sources of the office 'astabedh'. Cf. AM 6013, n. 8. See Stein, *BE* ii. 98 and n. 3, 99 n. 5. The date was the winter of 504/5.

6 The true figure was probably considerably more than this. Zach. Myt. gives 1,100 lbs. of gold, Prok. 1,000 lbs. Three talents is roughly equivalent to 417 lbs.

[7] Amuda (the spelling varies) is 7 km. south of Dara. See Dillemann, *Mésopotamie*, 81–2. Marde = modern Mardin.

[8] Although an armistice was agreed early in 503, the peace was not ratified until Nov. 506 by a treaty. By Nov. 506 Anastasios had technically begun his 16th year.

[9] 29 Apr. 505. [10] Cf. AM 5878, 5970.

AM 5999 [AD 506/7]

Year of the divine Incarnation 499
Anastasios, emperor of the Romans (27 years), 16th year
Kabades, emperor of the Persians (30 years), 12th year
Symmachos, bishop of Rome (12 years), 6th year
Makedonios, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 11th year
Salustius, bishop of Jerusalem (8 years), 4th year
John Nikaiotes, bishop of Alexandria (11 years), 1st year
Flavian, bishop of Antioch (13 years), 8th year

‖In this year Anastasios, free from wars, was bent on diverting the patriarch Makedonios from the orthodox faith.‖[a] Many of the bishops, to win Anastasios' favour, rejected the Synod of Chalcedon: of whom the foremost was Eleusinios of Sasima.[1] Anastasios brought a Syro-Persian Manichaean painter from Kyzikos, in the guise of a presbyter, who dared to depict certain fantastic subjects, quite different from the holy images of churches, in the palace of Helenianai and in St Stephen of Aurelianai,[2] on the instruction of the emperor who applauded the Manichaeans. This led to a great uprising among 150

the people.||[b] Then the emperor decided that the prefect should accompany him at services and at processions of prayer, for he was afraid of rebellions among the orthodox. This became customary practice.||[c] Anastasios brought the Manichaean-minded Xenaias, also called Philoxenos,[3] to Byzantium as someone of his own persuasion. But Makedonios would not deem him worthy either of communion or conversation, while the clergy, monks, and people caused disturbances against him. So Anastasios secretly removed him from the city.||[d] Makedonios ordered that a certain Acholios who had drawn his sword against him at the instigation of his enemies, was to receive monthly corn-rations, and was praised for his moderation. He did the same to the needy who stole from the Church.||[e]

||In the same year a man who was an alchemist made his appearance in Antioch, a terrible impostor named John, who, after stealthily entering the shops of the silversmiths, showed them hands and feet of statues made of gold as well as other figures. He would say, 'I have found treasure full of these.' He deceived and fooled many and made off with a lot of money. He managed to flee from there and came to Constantinople, where he also deceived many people, so that the emperor, when he got to know about this, arrested the man. He brought to the emperor a horse's bridle of solid gold studded with pearls. Accepting this, the emperor said to him, 'You are certainly not tricking me', and banished him to Petra, a fort in Asia, where he died.||[f]

[a] Theod. Lect. 466 (134. 6–8). [b] Theod. Lect. 467 (134. 9–14) restored from Theophanes. [c] Theod. Lect. 469 (134. 16–19). [d] Theod. Lect. 470 (134. 20–3) restored from Theophanes. [e] Theod. Lect. 471 (134. 24–6). Theophanes has several variants. [f] Mal. 395. 6–19.

[1] In Cappadocia. Eleusinios was certainly corresponding with Severus some time between 508 and 511 (Liberatus, *Brev.* 19, p. 133, 20).

[2] Both the church of St Stephen of Aurelianai (the church was built by Aurelian, consul for 400, according to Theod. Lect.) and the palace of Helenianai were in the Xerolophos region.

[3] Cf. AM 5982 for Philoxenos. Theophanes' date here is correct; see Charanis, *Church and State*, 31, against A. A. Vaschalde, *Three Letters of Philoxenos, bishop of Mabbogh (485–519)* (Rome, 1902), 17, and Lebon, *Le Monophysisme sévérien* (Louvain, 1909), 44 who date this to 509.

[AM 6000, AD 507/8]

Anastasios, 17th year
Kabades, 13th year

Symmachos, 7th year
Makedonios, 12th year
Salustius, 5th year
John Nikaiotes, 2nd year
Flavian, 9th year

||In this year the emperor Anastasios walled Daras, a large and strong village of Mesopotamia which lies between the boundaries of the Romans and the Persians.[1] He built churches there and store-houses for keeping grain and cisterns of water and porticoes, and named it Anastasioupolis. He also built two public baths and gave it the privileges of a city.||[a]

[a] Mal. 399. 13–21.

[1] Zach. *HE* vii. 6 explains the fortification as Anastasios' response to a request from his generals who had been unsuccessful at Nisibis and Amida. They wanted a fortified base as a supply depot close to the frontier. Dara was preferred to Amuda, the other site that was considered suitable for this purpose. See B. Croke and J. Crow, *JRS* 73 (1983), 143–59, M. Whitby in P. Freeman and D. Kennedy, eds., *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, BAR 297 (Oxford, 1986), 737–83.

AM 6001 [AD 508/9]

Year of the divine Incarnation 501
Anastasios, emperor of the Romans (27 years), 18th year
Kabades, emperor of the Persians (30 years), 14th year
Symmachos, bishop of Rome (12 years), 8th year
Makedonios, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 13th year
Salustius, bishop of Jerusalem (8 years), 6th year
John, bishop of Alexandria (11 years), 3rd year
Flavian, bishop of Antioch (13 years), 10th year

||In this year the emperor Anastasios compelled Flavian, bishop of Antioch, to subscribe to Zeno's Henotikon. After holding a synod of the bishops under him, he wrote a lengthy letter in which he supported the synods of Nicaea, Constantinople, and Ephesos but remained silent about that of Chalcedon.[1] He renounced Diodoros and Theodore, and subjoined four chapters wherein he appears not to be in agreement with the Synod of Chalcedon, and, in particular, rejects the phrase 'in two natures'. Some say that these chapters were the work of Akakios of Constantinople. But Flavian wrote a private letter to Anastasios supporting the latter's purpose. Likewise there was the impious Xenaias, who reached such audacity that he

added to these chapters anathemas against the most holy Leo of Rome, the synod, and those agreeing with it. Constantine, bishop of Seleukeia, anathematized the holy Synod of Chalcedon, writing the same as Xenaias. Flavian, to discredit them, wrote to the emperor informing him of this. But the emperor grew angry with him and gave preference to Constantine and Xenaias.||[a2] Anastasios wrote to Helias, bishop of Jerusalem,[3] ordering him to pass judgement against the Synod of Chalcedon, but Helias replied to the emperor anathematizing Nestorios, Eutyches, Diodoros, and Theodore, and accepting the Synod of Chalcedon.||[b]

In the same year a disturbance broke out in Alexandria between John Nikaiotes, the bishop, and Dagalaiphos, the *comes*, over
152 Gennadios Phikopteros.[4] The discord lasted in the city for many days. The soldiers burned down the house of John the bishop, while the house of Phikopteros was burned by the citizens. The Alexandrians set up a statue of the emperor in the Antikantharos.[5]

[a] Theod. Lect. 472 (135. 9–24) restored from Theophanes; cf. *Syn. Vetus*, 108, *KG* 54 (135. 1–12 = Vict. Tonn. a.499), Evagr. iii. 31. [b] Theod. Lect. 473 (135. 25–9).

[1] Probably *c.*510. Flavian had earlier been denounced by Philoxenos as a Nestorian for breaking communion with John of Alexandria when the latter rejected Chalcedon. Flavian, from the pro-Chalcedonian monastery of Tilmognon in Syria, here seems to have surprised even his Monophysite opponent Philoxenos. See Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 217.

[2] Anastasios seems to have relied on Severus to help him decide this issue. It was Severus who denounced Leo's *Tome* and Chalcedon. See Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 217.

[3] Note the lack of agreement with the rubric. Helias was bishop from 494 to 516.

[4] This is the only reference to the incident. Dagalaiphos is presumably the *comes Aegypti* and a relative of the consul of 506 (perhaps his son) and the father of Areobindos (AM 6026).

[5] Otherwise unknown, but cf. the so-called Kantharos at AM 5933.

[AM 6002, AD 509/10]

Anastasios, 19th year
Kabades, 15th year
Symmachos, 9th year
Makedonios, 14th year
Salustius, 7th year
John, 4th year
Flavian, 11th year

||In this year 200 heretical monks came to Byzantium from the East together with the impious Severus and were active in opposing Makedonios and the synod.[1] Anastasios received them with honour for being enemies of the truth who had caused trouble in the East and were now doing the same here.||[a] John, bishop of Alexandria, promised to give the emperor 2,000 pounds of gold if he repudiated finally the Synod of Chalcedon. The emperor tried to force Makedonios to take communion with the legates of John and to accept John, but he would not accept him nor would he reject the synod. Makedonios opposed this, saying he would not be in communion with them unless they accepted the Synod of Chalcedon as their mother and teacher.||[b]

||Deuterios, bishop of the Arians in Byzantium, while baptizing someone called Barbas, dared to say, contrary to the Lord's teaching, 'Barbas is baptized in the name of the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Ghost.' The font immediately dried up. Barbas, who was terrified, fled and told everyone about the miracle.||[c]

||The emperor put pressure on Makedonios, bishop of Constantinople, to anathematize the Synod of Chalcedon as Helias of Jerusalem had done.[2] But Makedonios said that without an ecumenical synod under the presidency of the bishop of Rome it was impossible to do this. As a result, the emperor, out of hostility to him, ordered that those who sought refuge in the Church be dragged away by force, while providing rights of asylum to the churches of heretics.||[d] All the heretics, both clergy and lay, who happened to be in Byzantium frequented Severus and the heretical eastern monks in their striving against Makedonios.||[e] But the God-inspired monks of Palestine, moved by a divine zeal, came to Byzantium to oppose Severus and the monks on his side. Dorotheos, an Alexandrian monk, wrote a very lengthy work in support of the Synod of 153
Chalcedon, which he gave to Magna, the sister-in-law of Anastasios through his brother, who was herself orthodox. She offered the book to Anastasios, hoping that he would change his mind because of it. But when he had read it and found it was contrary to his own view, he banished Dorotheos to Oasis and condemned the book because of the inscription, 'A tragedy, that is a prophecy of the present state'; the same words, it is said, were used by Basil the Great against Julian.||[f] Makedonios anathematized Flavian of Antioch[3] and all those who dared say anything against the synod, and he also anathematized and expelled Flavian's legates who had come to him on some business.||[g]

[a] Theod. Lect. 478 (136. 21–4). Theophanes adds 'enemies of truth'. [b] Theod. Lect. 477 (136. 15–20). [c] Theod. Lect. 475 (136. 8–12); cf. *KG* 55 (136.

2–7) = Vict. Tonn. a.500. [d] Theod. Lect. 473–4 (135. 25–34). [e] Theod. Lect. 478 (136. 25–7). [f] Theod. Lect. 480–1 (137. 3–15). [g] Theod. Lect. 479 (136. 28–137. 2).

[1] Severus was in Constantinople from 508 to 511. Cf. Zach. *V. Sev.*, *PO* 2/1: 103–8.

[2] Contrast 6001b and 6004d, where Theophanes correctly refers to Helias' refusal to anathematize Chalcedon, as against 6003a.

[3] Flavian in fact appears to have remained a supporter of Chalcedon. He was deposed by the pro-Monophysite Council of Laodikeia in 512 and exiled to Petra. Cf. AM 6004c. See Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 219.

[AM 6003, AD 510/11]

Anastasios, 20th year
Kabades, 16th year
Symmachos, 10th year
Makedonios, 15th year
Salustius, 8th year
John, 5th year
Flavian, 12th year

||In this year Anastasios decreed that a synod be proclaimed at Sidon.[1] For Soterichos, the bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, while being ordained by Makedonios, confessed in writing that he accepted the tenets of the Synod of Chalcedon as the definition of the faith. But later he became so very hostile that he departed to the East and held joint counsel with the impious Xenaias, and both requested the emperor to hold a synod at Sidon with a view to the final rejection of the holy Synod of Chalcedon. The synod met and was quickly dismissed, with the emperor sending the tribune Eutropios for this purpose, who, after dismissing it, arranged for Flavian of Antioch and Helias of Jerusalem together with their bishops to write to the emperor what was pleasing to him. Flavian wrote that he accepted the three synods only plus the Henotikon of Zeno, but made no mention of the Synod of Chalcedon. Helias of Jerusalem wrote that he also rejected Chalcedon. But Soterichos of Caesarea and Xenaias denounced Flavian and Helias to the emperor to the effect that they had not met with one another through their unwillingness to deny in clear terms the Synod of Chalcedon. In his anger, Anastasios instigated some spurious monks to gather in Antioch and to stir up discord against Flavian by requesting him to anathematize
154 the Synod of Chalcedon, as well as Diodoros, Theodore, Ibas, and

Theodoret. Through lack of fortitude Flavian did this and in church he anathematized them along with the synod.||[a2]

||In the same year the emperor also plotted against Makedonios. The schismatics, supported by a hired throng, in singing the Trishagion on a Sunday in the church of the Archangel in the palace and in the Great Church, added the phrase 'Who wast crucified for us',[3] so that the orthodox were forced to drive them out with blows. The emperor, through the agency of the schismatic monks and clerics and of Julian (formerly bishop of Caria and subsequently of Halikarnassos) and the impious Severus, who was still a monk, openly attacked Makedonios, hurling disgraceful insults at him in public. But the masses, including women and children and the abbots of the orthodox monks, gathered and chanted, 'Now is the time for martyrdom, Christians: let us not desert our father!', and they abused the emperor for being a Manichee and unworthy of power. He, in fear, locked the gates of the palace and prepared ships for flight. And having sworn that he would never see Makedonios again, he now invited him into his presence out of fear of the masses. As Makedonios was making his way to the emperor, the people called solemnly to the abbots and the monks, saying 'We have our father from you.' Even the men of the *scholae* acclaimed him as he passed through. On coming before Anastasios, he charged him with being an enemy of the Church. Anastasios pretended for the time being to be at one with Makedonios.||[b4]

[a] Theod. Lect. 497 (141. 13–34), restored from Theophanes; cf. *Syn. Vetus*, 112, Cyr. Scyth. *V. Sab.* 50 (141. 16–23). [b] Theod. Lect. 483–6 (137. 23–138. 20).

[1] Autumn 511. In fact this gave an opportunity to Flavian both to take advantage of his current support against the Monophysites and also to strengthen support for the Henotikon. All eastern bishops were invited but Philoxenos refused until he was forced by a military escort. Marcell. com. a.512, says the synod was attended by 80 bishops, but he may have confused Sidon with Laodikeia. Flavian got his way completely to the discomfiture of Philoxenos and Severus. Defeated at Sidon, the Monophysites appealed to the emperor, who perhaps used Eutropios to extract the statements that he wanted. See Charanis, *Church and State*, 44–5.

[2] Cf. AM 6004c. [3] Cf. AM 5956, n. 5, 5967, and 5982.

[4] The events of this paragraph and those of AM 6004 probably took place in the same year.

[AM 6004, AD 511/12]

Anastasios, 21st year
Kabades, 17th year

Symmachos, 11th year
Makedonios, 16th year
Helias, 52nd bishop of Jerusalem (23 years), 1st year
John, 6th year
Flavian, 13th year

||In this year the emperor deceived Makedonios through the agency of the *magister* Celar, having sent him a memorandum[1] in which he agreed to accept the first and second synods, but omitted Ephesos and Chalcedon.[2] This brought much censure on Makedonios. It was for this reason that he accepted Zeno's Henotikon to which he had
155 subscribed at the time of his ordination.[3] Makedonios then went to the monastery of Dalmatos,[4] where he defended himself in an address to the zealous monks and clergy, who were shocked at his actions, stating that he accepted the Synod at Chalcedon and held those who did not accept it as heretics. They then celebrated the liturgy with him. The emperor bribed the monks and clergy who shared his beliefs to elect another bishop, which greatly saddened both Areadne and the members of the Senate. For Makedonios was loved both for the purity of his life and the correctness of his doctrines, even if he had been deceived. The emperor then arranged for two worthless fellows to accuse Makedonios of being a pederast and a heretic and to hand these accusations in writing to the prefect and to the *magister*,[5] and to make similar charges against orthodox presbyters and deacons. He then ordered the *magister* Celar to remove Makedonios from the bishop's palace by force,[6] while Makedonios shouted out that he was ready to defend himself not only in the Praetorium but even in the theatre. Many of the clergy were thrown into prison. Others, who were able to escape, dispersed to Rome and Phoenicia. The impious emperor through the agency of the *magister* was eager to obtain the original document of the proceedings at Chalcedon[7] from Makedonios so that it could be destroyed. Makedonios sealed the document and placed it in the sanctuary. But the eunuch Kalopodios[8] who was an *oikonomos* of the Great Church, stole it and took it to the emperor. Then, one night the emperor took Makedonios away by force to Chalcedon and ordered that from there he be banished to Euchaita, not daring to examine any of the charges against him for fear of the people. On the following day[9] he appointed as bishop a certain Timothy, presbyter and sacristan of the church, also called Dirty Glutton and Stallion[10] because of some activities that fit these names. He, on entering the churches, took down the images of Makedonios before holding the service. He inscribed John Nikaiotes, bishop of Alexandria, in the

diptychs and sent a synodical letter to him. Anastasios, when he realized that he had banished Makedonios without deposition or 156
trial, sent a *magistrianus*, who stopped him beyond Claudiopolis in Honorias.[11] The same men, acting as judges, witnesses, and accusers, then deposed Makedonios in his absence, when he had already been driven out before the judgement, and sent the notice of deposition through some bishops and a presbyter of Kyzikos. When Makedonios saw them, before they could say anything, he asked them if they accepted the Synod of Chalcedon. When they asked, 'What is the point of that?' he replied 'If Sabbatians||[a] or Makedonians were to bring me my deposition, I would have to accept it.' So they returned with their mission unaccomplished, while Makedonios went to Euchaita.||[b]

||Then the law-breaking emperor attempted to expel Flavian[12] from the bishopric of Antioch and to replace him with Severus, the declared enemy of truth. His accusers charged him for anathematizing the synod with his mouth only and not with his heart. Then the officials, sent by the emperor to expel him, advised him to withdraw for a while because of the tumult. As soon as he departed to Platanoi,[13] they immediately ordained the impious Severus,[14] who had lain in wait at the monastery of the Schismatics near Maiouma of Gaza. They banished Flavian to Petrai as well as many other bishops, who were bound in irons, and clergy and monks.||[c]

||Helias of Jerusalem, compelled by the emperor either to enter into communion with Severus or be expelled from his bishopric, with the monks fortifying him, chose to be deposed from his bishopric.[15] John, former custodian of the Cross, was ordained and agreed to do whatever they wanted, but after his ordination did nothing further.||[d]

[a] Theod. Lect. 487–93, 495–6 (138. 21–141. 10). [b] Theod. Lect. 496 (141. 11–12), restored from Theophanes, cf. Nik. Kall. xvi. 26, 168B. [c] Theod. Lect. 498 (142. 15–22), restored from Theophanes. [d] Theod. Lect. 517 (149. 11–19); cf. *KG* 72 (149. 2–6) = Vict. Tonn. a.509, Cyr. Scyth. *V. Sab.* 56 (149. 27–150. 16) (1 Sept. 516).

[1] Theophanes no doubt means that Makedonios sent the memorandum but the participle grammatically agrees with 'the emperor'. On Celar, cf. AM 5998.

[2] 20 July 511. Cf. Schwartz, *PS* 243, Evagr. iii. 31 (letter from monks). The version in Theophanes and Theod. Lect. is no more than support for the Henotikon. Evagr. and the Monophysite sources state that Makedonios publicly condemned Chalcedon.

[3] Cf. AM 5988.

[4] The oldest monastery of Constantinople, situated near Xerolophos and Aurelianai.

[5] Theod. Lect. has praetorian prefect, *magister*, and City prefect. A detailed account of the events from 25 July to 7 Aug. is given in a letter by the Monophysite Symeon, preserved in Zach. *HE* vii. 8 (tr. Hamilton and Brooks, 176–7, and summarized by Charanis, *Church and State*, 41–2).

[6] 7 Aug. 511. Makedonios was accused of falsifying scripture. For the details, see Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 218.

[7] Cf. Marcell. com., year 511, and more correctly Zach. *HE* vii. 7–8. E. Schwartz, *PS* 244, says it was a florilegium containing Diodoros, Theodore, and the five books of Theodoret against Cyril and Ephesos I. A different version is given by *Chr. Edess.* 83 (p. 9), and Mich. Syr. ii. 160–1, namely that the records were hidden in Euphemia the Martyr's coffin, from which the emperor stole the records and had them burned. See Charanis, *Church and State*, 40–1 n. 28.

[8] Probably the Kalopodios after whom one of *scrinia* of Hagia Sophia was named; *Cf* i. 2. 24.

[9] Perhaps not until Oct.; cf. Grumel, 435. The Monophysites were hoping and expecting that Severus would be appointed. Timothy's theological position appears to have been very close to that of Makedonios.

[10] The meaning of *Λιτροβούλην* (var. *λιτροβούλβην*, *χυτροβούλβην*) is uncertain.

[11] Contrast the reason given above that the emperor did not dare hold the trial in Constantinople.

[12] Contrast the account of Flavian's lapse at AM 6002.

[13] 'Platanon' in Prok. *Aed.* v. 5. 1 (modern Beilan), a suburb north of Antioch.

[14] 6 Nov. (elected), 8 Nov. (consecrated patriarch), see Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 219.

[15] Not till 1 Sept. 516. He died on 20 July 518. Anastasios ordered Olympios, the governor of Palestine, to force Helias to recognize Severus or to expel him.

157 AM 6005 [AD 512/13]

Year of the divine Incarnation 505
Anastasios, emperor of the Romans (27 years), 22nd year
Kabades, emperor of the Persians (30 years), 18th year
Symmachos, bishop of Rome (12 years), 12th year
Timothy, bishop of Constantinople (6 years), 1st year
Helias, bishop of Jerusalem (23 years), 2nd year
John, bishop of Alexandria (11 years), 7th year
Severus, bishop of Antioch (7 years), 1st year

||In this year[1] Vitalian, son of Patriciolus who was *comes foederatorum* was invited by the orthodox[2] in Scythia, Mysia,[3] and other lands to rise up against the impious Anastasios. Having risen in

revolt, he destroyed thousands upon thousands of soldiers fighting for Anastasios, and captured a vast amount of gold sent to them for their wages[4] and also battle weapons, provisions, and other such things. It is said that in a single battle he hurled down 65,000[5] of the imperial army, including their general Hypatios (the son of Anastasios' sister and the patrician Secundinus), whom he captured alive and held in prison.||[a6]

||Anastasios, the law-breaking emperor, and Timothy, the impious bishop of Constantinople, performed many evil acts against the monks, clergy, and laity who supported Makedonios and the synod, so that many were banished to Oasis in the Thebaid.[7] They sent Timothy's synodical letter and Makedonios' notice of deposition to the bishops in each city to sign. Of these the braver resisted both, but those of unstable character subscribed to both out of fear of the emperor. Those in the middle did not subscribe to Makedonios' deposition but only to Timothy's synodical letter, which was the same thing although they claimed there was a difference.||[b] When Timothy wanted to inscribe the name of Severus in the diptychs and to remove that of Flavian he was prevented by the people. For all the orthodox avoided communion with Severus, especially the monks, against whom this sacrilegious man exacted vengeance with the aid of a crowd of peasants, killing many, overturning the altars, and melting down the sacred vessels of the orthodox.||[c] The most noble Juliana,[8] who founded the sacred church of the Mother of God at 158
Honoratoi, was so firm in her support of the Synod of Chalcedon that even the emperor, who devised many traps for her, was unable to persuade her to be in communion with Timothy. And though Timothy himself often visited her, he was unable to persuade her. By means of many difficulties the emperor humiliated his own nephew Pompeius and the latter's wife,[9] a lady of decorum who devoted herself to good works, because of their championing the synod and because they provided Makedonios with the necessities of life in exile. The delegates sent by Timothy to John Nikaiotes in Alexandria anathematized the holy Synod of Chalcedon from the ambo.||[d10] When the abbot of the monastery of Dios died, Timothy came to appoint the new abbot. But the one who was about to be appointed said that he would not accept benediction from a man who rejected the Synod of Chalcedon. Timothy said, 'Anathema to anyone who does not accept the Synod of Chalcedon.' And so the abbot consented to being appointed by him. But Timothy's archdeacon, John, being a Manichee, insulted Timothy and reported the matter to the emperor. When the emperor had grievously abused Timothy to his face, the latter denied it and once more began

anathematizing those who accepted the Synod of Chalcedon.||[e] The impious John of Alexandria prevented Egyptians from travelling to Jerusalem so that they would not take communion with [those who supported] the Synod of Chalcedon at the exaltation of the Cross. At that time some frightening things were done by demoniacs in Jerusalem.[11]

||A certain Anastasios, who wanted to be made *dux* of Palestine, made the following promise to the emperor, 'If I cannot persuade John, who succeeded Helias as bishop of Jerusalem, to be in communion with Severus, I shall give you 300 pounds of gold.' He was given the appointment and went to Jerusalem and when John was not persuaded, he put him in prison. A certain Zacharias, a pious man who was a magistrate in Palestine,[12] moved by holy zeal, suggested to the bishop that he promise the *dux* that he would do what the latter wanted provided he was restored to his throne. After the *dux* had set him free and restored him, John assembled the monks in the church of St Stephen, mounted the pulpit, and anathematized
159 Nestorios, Eutyches, Severus, and Soterichos of Caesarea, and proclaimed the four holy ecumenical synods.[13] Among those present was Hypatios, the emperor's nephew, who was not at all in communion with Severus. And having on that occasion taken communion with John, he gave one hundred pounds of gold to the holy Theodosios,[14] who was exarch of the monasteries, for distribution among the monks who were active in supporting the true faith and the Synod of Chalcedon.||[f]

||The emperor ordered that some magistrates should declare the addition to the Trishagion from the pulpit of the church of St Theodore of Sphorakios.[15] As a result the crowds came out in anger on the day of the litany that is celebrated at the Triconch in commemoration of [the fall of] dust.[16] Next Timothy ordained through a written memorandum to all the churches of the city that the Trishagion be recited during litanies with the addition. Many did this out of fear. But the monks came and sang another psalm. On seeing them the crowd chanted 'Welcome, the orthodox!' A great disturbance took place, many houses were burned, and there were thousands of murders, while the crowd jeered Anastasios and called for another emperor and everyone acclaimed Vitalian[17] as emperor. As a result Anastasios fled and hid in a suburban estate near Blachernai and was abused by Areadne herself for having caused many evils to Christians.||[g]

||When Alamoundaros, phylarch of the Saracens, had been baptized, the impious Severus sent two bishops to win him over to his leprous heresy;[18] but, by the providence of God, the man had been

baptized by the orthodox who accepted the synod. When Severus' bishops attempted to pervert the phylarch from the true teaching, Alamoundaros refuted them wonderfully with the following theatrical act. For he said to them. 'I received a letter today telling me that the archangel Michael was dead.' When they replied that this was impossible, the phylarch continued, 'How is it then according to you that God alone was crucified, unless Christ was of two natures, if even an angel cannot die?' And so Severus' bishops departed in ignominy.||[h]

||Kabades hamstrung some of the Christians in Persia who later 160
were still able to walk.||[i]

[a] Theod. Lect. 503 (143. 24–30), restored from Theoph., cf. *KG* 63–4 (143. 2–5, 7–10) = Vict. Tonn. a.510–11. [b] Theod. Lect. 500 (142. 28–143. 15), restored from Theoph. [c] Theod. Lect. 502 (143. 20–3), restored from Theoph. [d] Theod. Lect. 504–6 (144. 5–13), restored from Theoph. [e] Theod. Lect. 507 (144. 14–23). [f] Theod. Lect. 518 (149. 20–31), restored from Theoph.; cf. Cyr. Scyth. *V. Sab.* 56 (150. 16–152. 12), Nik. Kall. xvi. 34. [g] Theod. Lect. 508 (144. 24–145. 19), restored from Theophanes, cf. *KG* 65 (144. 2–145. 7) = Vict. Tonn. a.513. [h] Theod. Lect. 513 (147. 16–25), Theoph. adds 'impious' and has 'leprous' for 'evil'. [i] Theod. Lect. 560 (157. 17–18) = John Diakrinomenos.

[1] Theophanes' date may be right, although the usual date given for the revolt is 514, following Marcell. com. E. W. Brooks (*CMH* i. 485) points out that Hypatios' challenge to Vitalian was already known in Antioch by Nov. 513. The best source for the revolt is Joh. Ant., frg. 214e. Although there is no direct testimony, Hansen is right to make Theod. Lect. the source for Theophanes here because of the material in Vict. Tonn. Theophanes' continuation of the revolt at AM 6006 appears to be relying on Mal. Since Mal.'s account is also confused, it is hardly surprising that Theophanes' account is somewhat muddled. See the notes on AM 6006.

[2] So also Mich. Syr. ii. 164, who adds that Vitalian was the patriarch Makedonios' nephew.

[3] i.e. Moesia.

[4] Joh. Ant. makes Anastasios' refusal of the supplies owed to the federate troops the main reason for the revolt.

[5] Joh. Ant. says the number was more than 60,000 out of a force of 80,000. This sentence should come in the middle of the first sentence of AM 6006. See the notes there. Possibly Theophanes has been confused by the two different Hypatioi. Cf. n. 6.

[6] Theophanes has probably misunderstood his sources and has confused Hypatios, the *magister militum per Thracias*, who first challenged Vitalian but quickly retreated to Constantinople, and the emperor's nephew Hypatios, who was later captured by Vitalian. The clue is the reference to Cyril at AM 6006, who replaced the first Hypatios and was replaced by the second. Cf. AM 6006, n. 2 and A. D. E. Cameron, *GRBS* 15 (1974), 313–16.

[7] Cf. AM 6011 for their restoration by Justin. See R. Devréesse, *Le*

Patriarcat d'Antioche (Paris, 1945), 170, 182–3 for bishops. Possibly this occasion provides the background (such as it is) for various other banishments for which we do not know the circumstances, e.g. Apion (exiled 510), Philoxenos and Diogenianos. See Mal. 411. 6–8.

[8] Anicia Juliana, daughter of Olybrius, wife of Areobindos Dagalaiphos (cf. AM 5997, n. 2). She bore the title of patrician in her own right. For her considerable church-building and restoration, see esp. *Anth. Gr.* i. 10. 12–17.

[9] Anastasia. In 511/12 she and Anicia Juliana often met St Sabas, who had come to Byzantium to support Chalcedon. Both wrote to Pope Hormisdas about the Acacian schism.

[10] According to Severus, Timothy refused to anathematize Chalcedon, so John of Alexandria refused to accept his synodical letter. Anastasios supported Timothy and upbraided John. See Charanis, *Church and State*, 43.

[11] The first use by Theophanes of his Alexandrian source for some time. It is noteworthy for its connection here with Jerusalem.

[12] *Consularis Palestinae Primae* (see *PLRE* ii. 1194, on basis of *V. Sab.* 56), possibly identical with the Zacharias who became *comes Orientis* in 527 (Mal. 424).

[13] The date must be after 1 Sept. 516 (the date of John's appointment) since Olympios, whom Anastasios replaced as *dux Palestinae* was then still in office. Anastasios now retired in alarm to Caesarea (*V. Sab.* 56).

[14] And another hundred for Sabas (*V. Sab.* 56).

[15] There are accounts of the order and the ensuing riots in a number of sources, especially Marcell. com., Mal. 407–8, Evagr. iii. 44, *Chron. Pasch.* 610. The edict was first read in Hagia Sophia on Sunday 4 Nov. by the prefect Marinus, probably next at St Theodore's on Monday and again at the Commemoration of the Dust which would have been Tuesday 6 Nov. These were the most serious riots against Anastasios and only ended with his going to the Hippodrome on 8 Nov. 512 and offering to abdicate.

[16] Cf. AM 5966. The commemoration took place on 6 Nov.

[17] Mal. 407, states with supporting detail that it was Anicia Juliana's husband, Areobindos, who was acclaimed. He prudently fled across the Bosporus. Theophanes has presumably substituted Vitalian as his champion of orthodoxy.

[18] If this story is not pure invention (but cf. *PLRE* ii. 42–3 for support), Al-Mundhir, king of the Lakhmids, 505–54, a loyal ally of the Persians, must have rapidly reverted to his ancestral religion to judge from his use of human sacrifices.

AM 6006 [AD 513/14]

Year of the divine Incarnation 506
Anastasios, emperor of the Romans (27 years), 23rd year
Kabades, emperor of the Persians (30 years), 19th year
Hormisdas, bishop of Rome (10 years), 1st year[1]
Timothy, bishop of Constantinople (6 years), 2nd year

Helias, bishop of Jerusalem (23 years), 3rd year
John, bishop of Alexandria (11 years), 8th year
Severus, bishop of Antioch (7 years), 2nd year

||In this year Vitalian, after occupying all of Thrace, Scythia, and Mysia and having with him a host of Huns and Bulgars, captured Anchialos and Odyssopolis, apprehended Cyril, the *magister militum per Thracias*, and came plundering as far as Byzantium.[2] But he spared the city[3] and encamped at Sosthenion.||[a] [4] In despair, Anastasios sent some members of the Senate inviting him to make peace and swore, along with the Senate, that the exiled bishops would be recalled*[5] at Herakleia in Thrace. Vitalian added that the commanders of each unit of the *scholae* should also swear this, and that Makedonios and Flavian, who had been unjustly expelled, should get back their thrones, and likewise all the other bishops, and that then the synod be held so that, with the bishop of Rome and all the other bishops attending, the outrages against the orthodox would be subjected to a common judgement. When the emperor, the Senate, the other magistrates, and the army had sworn and guaranteed that this would happen, peace was established. And he returned home. The patrician Secundinus, who was the brother-in-law of Anastasios by his sister and the father of Hypatios, fell weeping at Vitalian's feet and secured the live release of his son Hypatios[6] from imprisonment in Mysia. Hormisdas, the bishop of Rome, prodded by 161
Theuderich, who was acting to please Vitalian, sent the bishop Ennodius and the archdeacon Vitalian to the synod that was being convened at Herakleia.[7] About 200 bishops came from various places; but, deceived by the law-breaking emperor and by Timothy, bishop of Constantinople, they left without accomplishing anything. For the impious emperor, contravening the agreements, secretly instructed the Pope of Rome not to attend, although he had sent a rescript to Vitalian who was to forward it to Rome calling on the pope to be present at the synod convened at Herakleia. All the people and the Senate reviled Anastasios openly as a perjurer. But that lawless man shamelessly stated that there was a law commanding the emperor to commit perjury and to lie when necessary. Such were the acts of this utterly lawless follower of Manes.||[b]

[a] Mal. 402. 3–403. 5 (more detailed than Theoph.). Cf. *KG* 66 (145. 9–12) = Vict. Tonn. a.514. [b] Theod. Lect. 509–11 (145. 20–146. 24), restored from Theoph.; cf. *KG* 66 (145. 9–12) = Vict. Tonn. a.514, *KG* 67 (146. 2–6), *Syn. Vetus*, 112.

[1] Hormisdas was pope from 20 July 514 to 6 Aug. 523.

[2] Theophanes has used Mal. for this and the next sentence, and so has presumably also read him while composing the account at AM 6005. Cf. V.

Beševliev, *Βυζαντινά* 10 (1980), 339–46. Mal. records Vitalian's advance as far as Odessos and Anchialos. He continues with a reference to Hypatios' unsuccessful campaign and dismissal from the post of *magister militum* for Thrace. Theophanes has transferred this to AM 6005. Since Mal. also refers to the ransoming of Hypatios, Theophanes has understandably identified Hypatios as Anastasios' nephew at AM 6005, though delaying his own account of the ransoming to this year (AM 6006) to fit in with Theod. Lect.'s narrative. In fact two Hypatioi are involved. Vitalian, after defeating the first, pursued him to Constantinople and entered the Hebdomon and only returned to Lower Moesia after Anastasios had promised to right the wrongs suffered by Vitalian's troops (cf. AM 6005, n. 4). Cyril was then sent as a replacement for Hypatios, but was captured and killed. It was only then that the emperor's nephew Hypatios was appointed with a force of 80,000 against Vitalian. For the defeat of this force, see AM 6005. Hypatios was captured (despite trying to hide in the sea among the seagulls, being recognized by his head, as Joh. Ant. reports) and held to ransom. Vitalian then made his second attack on Constantinople, this time by sea, supported by 200 ships, and came to Sosthenion.

[3] This refers to Vitalian's first campaign.

[4] i.e. in the second campaign. Sosthenion (Stenia, modern Istinye) is approx. 11 km. north of Constantinople on the European side of the Bosporus.

[5] De Boor fills the lacuna with 'and an ecumenical synod be called together'.

[6] Stein, *BE* ii. 181 n. 1, argues that the ransom for Hypatios amounted to 2,000 lbs. of gold out of a total of 5,000 lbs. given to Vitalian to persuade him to retreat.

[7] *Syn. Vetus*, perhaps reflecting Theod. Lect. (so Hansen, 146), states that the delegates went to Constantinople. E. Schwartz, *PS* 252, argued that it opened at Herakleia, was transferred to Constantinople, and was dissolved before the end of 515; Stein, *BE* ii. 181, believes it never met. Anastasios' letter to Hormisdas of 28 Dec. 514 summoned the synod to meet at Herakleia under the presidency of the pope on 1 July 515 (*Coll. Avell.* 109). The delegation did not leave Rome till August (*Coll. Avell.* 115).

[AM 6007, AD 514/15]

Anastasios, 24th year
Kabades, 20th year
Hormisdas, 2nd year
Timothy, 3rd year
Helias, 4th year
John, 9th year
Severus, 3rd year

||In this year Vitalian, angered by Anastasios' perjury, inflicted much damage on the forces under Anastasios and on the rest of the commonwealth, killing, plundering, and disarming people.||[a1] As a final insult, he sold each soldier for a single *follis*.

[a] Cf. Mal. 402. 11–403. 1.

[1] This either reflects Vitalian's third attack on Constantinople which resulted in a naval battle in which Vitalian was defeated but escaped, or is a misplaced account of the second attack and the ransom of 5,000 lbs. of gold (see AM 6006, n. 6). The fact that the Monophysites considered Vitalian's defeat glorious (Severus wrote a hymn *On Vitalian the tyrant and on the victory of the Christ-loving Anastasios the king*) may explain Theophanes' omission. Cf. AM 6012, where Theophanes is careful not to attribute the murder of Vitalian to the equally orthodox Justin, but rather (at AM 6011) stresses the reconciliation of these two champions of orthodoxy as the first item after Justin's elevation.

AM 6008 [AD 515/16]

Year of the divine Incarnation 508
Anastasios, emperor of the Romans (27 years), 25th year
Kabades, emperor of the Persians (30 years), 21st year
Hormisdas, bishop of Rome (10 years), 3rd year
Timothy, bishop of Constantinople (6 years), 4th year
Helias, bishop of Jerusalem (23 years), 5th year
John, bishop of Alexandria (11 years), 10th year
Severus, bishop of Antioch (7 years), 4th year

||In this year the Huns known as Saber passed through the Caspian Gates and overran Armenia, plundering Cappadocia, Galatia, and Pontos, so that they almost reached Euchaita. The holy Makedonios, being in danger, fled from there and reached safety near Gangra. When Anastasios learned of this, he ordered that he be held under the same severe conditions there and allegedly sent someone to kill him.[1] After his death at Gangra, he was buried in the shrine of the holy martyr Kallinikos, close to the saint's relics, where he performed many acts of healing.||[a] It is said that Makedonios as he lay dead, made the sign of the Cross with his hand. Among his companions was a certain Theodore, who saw Makedonios in a dream saying to him 'Take this down.[2] Go and read it out to Anastasios and say, "I am going to my fathers, whose faith I have preserved. But I shall not cease importuning the Lord until you have arrived, and we go to be judged together." ' 162

||In the same year a great many men, women, and children in Alexandria were seriously afflicted by demons and started howling.

Someone saw a terrible spectre in his dreams which said they were suffering these ills because of the anathemas [pronounced] against the synod.||[b]

||Also in the same year the empress Areadne died.[3]

The monks of the desert, moved by divine zeal, composed four solemn declarations of which they sent two to the emperor, one to the authorities of the region, and one to John, bishop of Jerusalem. They declared that they would neither transgress the holy synod of Chalcedon, nor enter into communion with the impious Severus since they were ready to die and even to set fire to the holy places.||[c4]

||When, out of fear of the emperor, the bishop of Thessalonica made communion with Timothy, bishop of Constantinople, forty bishops of Illyricum and Greece gathered together and in a written declaration seceded from him, their metropolitan, and sent a letter to Rome in which they announced in writing that they would be in communion with Rome.[5] Theodore the historian senselessly calls the bishop of Thessalonica a patriarch, not knowing the reason.||[d6]

[a] Theod. Lect. 514 (148. 12–21), restored from Theoph. Cf. *KG* 70 (148. 2) = Vict. Tonn. a.515; *Syn. Vetus*, 115; Joh. Ant., frg. 103; Mal. 406. 9–13; Nik. Kall. xvi. 26, 168B–C. [b] Theod. Lect. 515–16 (148. 22–31); cf. *KG* 71 (148. 4–11) = Vict. Tonn. a.507. [c] Theod. Lect. 520 (150. 16–20), restored from Theoph.; cf. *KG* 73–4 (150. 1–7 = Vict. Tonn. a.515–16), Cyr. Scyth. *V. Sab.*, p. 157. 16. [d] Theod. Lect. 521 (150. 22–6).

[1] The *Syn. Vetus* has no doubts. 'Anastasios because of the invasion of the Goths punished the patriarchs [Makedonios and his predecessor Euphemios] by the sword for having seen one another.' There is no such accusation in any near contemporary source, so it is perhaps unlikely that Theophanes and *Syn. Vetus* here reflect Theod. Lect. or fact. Vict. Tonn. (usually a good indicator of Theod. Lect.) simply records that Euphemios died at Ancyra.

[2] For ἐκλαμβάνειν see Tabachovitz, *Studien*, 33. According to P. Nautin, *REB* 52 (1994), 235–7, this Theodore is the church historian Theodore Lector.

[3] In 515 according to Marcell. com. and Vict. Tonn., 513 according to Zach. *HE* vii. 13.

[4] There survives a letter of 517 from the monks of Syria to Pope Hormisdas, attacking Severus and supporting Chalcedon. *Coll. Avell.* 139.

[5] Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 220, suggests that Anastasios was trying to use Thessalonica as a way of maintaining relations with Rome.

[6] Theophanes' wording is stronger than the surviving fragment of Theod. Lect.: 'Note that the historian calls the bishop of Thessalonica a patriarch; I know not why.'

[AM 6009, AD 516/17]

Anastasios, 26th year
Kabades, 22nd year
Hormisdas, 4th year
Timothy, 5th year
Helias, 6th year
John, 11th year
Severus, 5th year

||In this year, on the death of John Nikaiotes,[1] heretical bishop of Alexandria, Dioskoros the younger, the nephew of Timothy the Cat, was promoted to be bishop of Alexandria. Having come to Byzantium to plead before the emperor on behalf of the Alexandrians concerning the murder of the son of Kalliopios, the *augustalis*,[2] he was insulted in public by the orthodox as he made his way in procession, since they believed he had come to oppose the orthodox doctrine. So once he had completed his mission about the murder, he hastened away again.||[a] The cause of the murder was this. When Dioskoros was ordained, the mass of the clergy withdrew saying, 'A bishop cannot be appointed, except as laid down in the canons of the holy apostles.' For it was the magistrates who had enthroned him. Dioskoros went to St Mark's and the clergy arrived and invested him a second time and ordained him again. And so he came to St John's and celebrated the service. As Theodosios, the son of Kalliopios the *augustalis*, was there, and also Akakios, the *magister militum*,[3] the disorderly crowd began to abuse the *augustalis* for praising the emperor Anastasios. With hatred aroused, some jumped in, dragged the son of the *augustalis* from his seat, and killed him. The *magister militum* Akakios killed as many as he could catch. When the emperor heard of this he became angry with them, but Dioskoros' mission placated him.||[b] 163

||Between the Indians and the Persians is a fort called Tzoundadeer, which Kabades was eager to take because he had learned that there was much money there and many precious stones. But demons, which dwelt near by, prevented him from capturing it. After he had tried every device that his magi and later the Jews could think of, and still not succeeded in his object, he was persuaded that he would gain control of it by the prayers of the Christians to God. So he made this request to a bishop of the Christians in Persia, who, after holding a service and partaking of the holy sacraments, went to the place, expelled the demons that were there and effortlessly delivered the fort to Kabades. Amazed by this miracle, Kabades honoured the bishop by giving him the first seat which, until then, had been

occupied by Manichees and Jews, and provided immunity for those who wanted to be baptized.||[c]

[a] Theod. Lect. 522 (151. 13–18). [b] Source not known but cf. Mal. 401. 20–402. 2, Joh. Nik. 89. 35. [c] Theod. Lect. 512 (146. 25–147. 15); cf *KG* 68 (146. 8–147. 2) = Vict. Tonn. a.508.

[1] 22 May 516.

[2] In fact Kalliopios' son Theodosios was the *augustalis*. Kalliopios, who was in charge of the building of Dara in 505/6, was himself *magister militum* for the East at some point between 513 and 518, and did instruct the police-chief (λησταδιώκτης) Konon to support the Monophysites. Mal. dates the incident to the year 515/16 both by indiction and the era of Antioch, which is therefore to be preferred. Mal. gives the cause as a shortage of oil and correctly names the *augustalis* as Theodosios, although the more detailed fragment in *De Insid.* calls him Patricius.

[3] *PLRE* suggest Akakios was *dux Aegypti*, but there is no good reason for rejecting Theophanes' description. Theophanes is the only source for Akakios.

[AM 6010, AD 517/18]

Anastasios, 27th year
Kabades, 23rd year
Hormisdas, 5th year
Timothy, 6th year
Helias, 7th year
Dioskoros, bishop of Alexandria (3 years), 1st year
Severus, 6th year

||In this year the emperor Anastasios saw in a vision a terrifying man
164 holding a book which he opened and, having found the emperor's name, said to him, 'Behold, because of your erroneous beliefs I am expunging fourteen [years].' And he expunged them. Anastasios awoke from his sleep, summoned Amantius, the *praepositus*, and told him about the dream. He said, 'I too, saw this night that, while I was standing by your Majesty, a great pig came and seized hold of my cloak, knocked me down to the ground and killed me.' So he summoned Proklos, the interpreter of dreams, and related the vision to him. Proklos said to them, 'Both of you will die shortly.'||[a1]

||On the death of Timothy, bishop of Constantinople,[2] the emperor appointed John the Cappadocian, a presbyter and *synkellos* of Constantinople, as bishop. Ordained on the third day of Easter,[3] he put on the apostolic vestments. The congregation stirred up a great disturbance to make John anathematize Severus.

In the same year on 9 April of the 11th indiction Anastasios the impious emperor died after ruling for 27 years and 7 months,[4] in the year 234 after Diocletian. In his place the pious Justin became emperor, an old and experienced man who, beginning as a soldier, had advanced to the Senate, an Illyrian by race.||[b] Some say that Anastasios, after being struck by a divine thunderbolt, went mad.||[c]

[a] Cf. Mal. 408. 12–409. 10, *Chron. Pasch.* 610. 10–611. 8. [b] Theod. Lect. 523–4 (151. 19–27). [c] Mal. 409. 17–18; cf. Theod. Lect. *KG* 77 (151. 7–9) = Vict. Tonn. a.518. 1), *Chron. Pasch.* 611. 9–10.

[1] Amantius, *cubicularius* 513–18 and an opponent of Chalcedon, was executed in 518 by Justin. See AM 6011 and Vasiliev, *Justin I*, 143–4.

[2] 5 Apr. 518.

[3] 17 Apr. 518 (Easter Day was 15 Apr.). Theophanes has not noticed that this is after his wrong date for Anastasios' death, although he implies correctly that Anastasios appointed John.

[4] Anastasios actually died on 9 July. Theophanes' calculation for the length of the reign should be 27 years exactly to fit his own dates (cf. AM 5983) or 27 years and 3 months to accord with reality.

AM 6011 [AD 518/19]

Year of the divine Incarnation 511
Justin, emperor of the Romans (9 years), 1st year
Kabades, emperor of the Persians (30 years), 24th year
Hormisdas, bishop of Rome (10 years), 6th year
John, bishop of Constantinople (2 years), 1st year
Helias, bishop of Jerusalem (23 years), 8th year
Dioskoros, bishop of Alexandria (3 years), 2nd year
Severus, bishop of Antioch (7 years), 7th year

||In this year Justin became emperor and proved excellent in all
respects, being an ardent champion of the orthodox faith and suc- 165
cessful in battle.[1] His wife's name was Lupicia.[2] The people named her Euphemia[3] when she was crowned Augusta.||[a] After Anastasios' death, the aforesaid Vitalian was thoroughly reconciled to Justin the elder,[4] so much so that he received the rank of *magister militum*[5] from Justin||[b] and, after coming to Byzantium, was granted a consular procession. He was proclaimed consul[6] and count of the *Praesentes*||[c7] and had such influence with Justin that he even ordered Severus to be expelled and put to death.[8] For Vitalian was strongly orthodox. On hearing this, Severus fled[9] and likewise Julian, bishop of Halikarnassos. They went to Egypt,||[d] where they caused trouble by raising the question of Corruptibility and

Incorruptibility;||[e]10 this was while Dioskoros was bishop of Alexandria.[11] While John the Cappadocian, bishop of Constantinople, was still alive,[12] bishops and clergy came from Rome invested with the authority of Hormisdas, the bishop of Rome, and with the support of Vitalian, and they inscribed the holy Synod of Chalcedon in their holy diptychs along with the three other synods.||[f]13

||With the impious Severus out of the way, Paul, the *xenodochos* of the hospice of Euboulos, was appointed bishop of Antioch.||[g]14 The emperor gave as largess a thousand pounds of gold to the city of Antioch and provided law and order to the other cities by curbing disturbances among the people.||[h]15 The pious emperor Justin exiled Xenaias, also called Philoxenos, bishop of Hierapolis, who was a Manichee, and also Peter of Apameia along with all who shared their disease.||[i]16 For plotting to usurp the throne he put to death Amantius the *praepositus*, Andrew the *cubicularius*, and Amantios' *comes* Theokritos whom Amantios wanted to make emperor. For the *praepositus* had given money to Justin for him to distribute so that Theokritos would become emperor.[17] But the army and people had not chosen to make Theokritos emperor, but had proclaimed
166 Justin.[18] So these men, being vexed, had plotted to usurp the throne and were put to death. The emperor recalled all who had been unjustly exiled by Anastasios, including the patrician Appion, who had been forcibly ordained presbyter at Nicaea. The emperor now appointed him praetorian prefect because of his good sense and made Diogenianos *magister militum per Orientem*.[19]

In the same year a star appeared in the East, a terrifying comet which had a ray extending downward. The astronomers described this as 'bearded'. And there was fear.||[j]20

[a] Theod. Lect. 524 (151. 25–9). [b] Mal. 411. 14–16; *De insid.* 43 (170. 23–6). [c] Mal. 412. 10–12; cf. Evagr. iv. 4. [d] Cf. Mal. 411. 17–18. [e] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 169. [f] Cf. Mich. Syr. loc. cit. [g] Mal. 411. 19–20. Theophanes adds 'with the impious Severus out of the way'. [h] Cf. Mal. 422. 1–8, 12–21. Cf. AM 6016c. [i] Cf. *Chr. 846*, 169. 3. [j] Mal. 410. 9–411. 13. Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 611. 19–612. 18, Mich. Syr. ii. 170, Jac. Edess. 238.

[1] Theophanes' typical judgement on a reign, with orthodoxy linked to success, although here it does go back to Theod. Lect. He provides little to support this interpretation. Contrast the judgement on the supposed Monophysite Anastasios, 'the one who ruled wickedly' (AM 5982, 5983), and on Zeno who 'administered the empire harmfully' (AM 5966).

[2] 'Lupicina' in other sources, including Theod. Lect. (Louppikina), 'Lopicia' in MS 'h', 'Lucia' in MS 'f', but 'Lupicia' in other MSS of Theophanes.

[3] Probably 'the people' here is the crowd in the Hippodrome. For a similar change of name for the emperor Tiberius' wife made by the Hippodrome crowd, see AM 6071 with Joh. Eph. *HE* iii. 9 (Payne Smith, 182). The change of name does not indicate the religious sympathies of any one circus faction. See Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 145–6.

[4] It is noteworthy that Theophanes makes the union of these champions of orthodoxy the first item in his account of Justin. Cf. AM 6012, where he deliberately separates Justin from any involvement in the murder of Vitalian.

[5] Appointed *magister militum praesentalis* seven days after reaching Constantinople, but not till 519 (Marcell. com.).

[6] *De insid.* has 'ex-consul', i.e. honorary consul, which may be the meaning here.

[7] i.e. the same honour as *magister militum praesentalis*. Theophanes has created two separate honours out of one. Vitalian was consul for 520.

[8] Justin, under pressure from Vitalian, ordered Severus' tongue to be cut out: Evagr. iv. 4. Cf. AM 6007, n. 1, for Severus' hymn thanking God for the defeat of Vitalian in 515.

[9] In Sept. 518. For the chronology of Severus' flight, J. Maspéro, *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1923), 70–1.

[10] Julian, though a friend of Severus, supported and developed an extreme form of Monophysitism, arguing the indestructability of the body of Christ from the moment at which it was assumed by the Logos. This doctrine of aphthartodocetism was unacceptable to Severus and led to much polemical argument: Liberatus, *Brev.* (*PL* 68: 1033–4), Mich. Syr. ix. 3. Justinian himself was eventually to succumb to it at the end of his life (Theophanes suggests a causal connection, see AM 6057).

[11] Dioskoros died on 14 Oct. 517. Other sources correctly have Timothy. Perhaps Theophanes has aligned his text with his chronological table.

[12] He was patriarch 17 Apr. 518–Feb. 520.

[13] The union with Rome was signed on 28 Mar. 519 (Maundy Thursday) which was also the date when Justin's emissary Gratus arrived back in Constantinople with the pope's undated reply to Justin's letter. The papal delegation, armed with eight letters and a written instruction on their conduct, reached Constantinople on Palm Sunday, 24 Mar. 519. For discussion see Vasiliev, *Justin I*, 170–7. Justin had first written to Hormisdas about his election, and then again on 7 Sept; together with letters from Justinian and patriarch John, (*Coll. Avell.* 143, 147, 146). Gratus reached Rome on 20 Dec. 518, possibly having stopped at Ravenna for discussions with Theuderich. For Hormisdas' delay in replying, see *Coll. Avell.* 159 which argues against Vasiliev's theory that Hormisdas' reply was written before 20 Dec. (Vasiliev, *Justin I*, 165). Justin sent Gratus back to Rome for further discussions on church unity on 9 Sept. 520 (*Coll. Avell.* 232).

[14] Paul, a fierce Chalcedonian, was appointed as the nominee of the papal legates (Vasiliev, *Justin I*, 206) in 519 (summer). Known as Paul the Jew and much hated by the Monophysites, he ordered the inclusion of the 630 bishops at Chalcedon in the diptychs throughout his patriarchate. His ensuing unpopularity led Justin to remove him because, as Justin explained to the

pope, 'a bishop should always be beloved by a community' (*Coll. Avell.* 241, 1 May 521).

15 Cf. AM 6012, 6016, and notes.

16 Xenaias/Philoxenos was banished first to Philippupolis, where he continued to write important dogmatic works, and then to Gangra in Paphlagonia, where he died, probably in 523. Cf. AM 5982, n. 8. Peter of Apameia was brought to Constantinople and kept safe by the empress Theodora along with Severus in 534/5. We know of three other Monophysite bishops expelled by Justin from the patriarchate of Antioch, John of Tella, Peter of Resaina, and Thomas of Dara: Devréesse, *Le Patriarcat d'Antioche*, 297, 299, 302.

17 For Amantius, cf. AM 6010 and *PLRE* ii. 67–8. Theokritos was his *domesticus*, Andrew was a Monophysite and opposed Justin's policy of support for Chalcedon (Marcell. com. year 519, Mal. 410, Evagr. iv. 2). As a eunuch, Amantius could not have been a candidate himself, despite Vict. Tonn. a.519, Joh. Nik. 90. 3. Prok. *Anecd.* 6. 26, says he was executed within 10 days of Justin's accession. His expulsion was demanded by the congregation at Hagia Sophia on 16 July and his death was applauded by the congregation at Tyre on 16 Sept. Zach. *HE* viii. 1. says he was executed for his opposition to Justin's religious policy; Prok. *Anecd.* 6. 26 says it was because of rudeness to the patriarch John.

18 Justin's letter to Hormisdas on his unwilling election (*Coll. Avell.* 147) makes the army, Senate, and palace officers responsible. There is no mention of the people, as Vasiliev, *Justin I*, 162, perceptively points out. The pope replied that Justin was elected by heaven.

19 Apion (cf. AM 5997) had been exiled in 510 (Marcell. com. a.510, Joh. Lyd. *De Mag.* iii. 17). He had been Monophysite (Severus dedicated his *Against Eutyches* to him), but became a supporter of Chalcedon under Justin and Justinian. See *PLRE* ii. 112. Diogenianos (cf. AM 5985–6, where Theophanes calls him Diogenes), was probably *magister militum* 518–20 where there is a gap in the *Fasti*. See *PLRE* ii. 362. This would support Theophanes against *Chron. Pasch.* 612 (a.519), that he became an ex-*magister militum* (i.e. an honorary position). The other notable recall was Philoxenos, *magister militum* under Anastasios, to become consul in 525. We know of three bishops from the patriarchate of Antioch who were recalled: Devréesse, *Le Patriarcat d'Antioche*, 170, 182–3.

20 'It portended apostasy, destruction, and the ruin of the Church, all of which disasters would occur', Mich. Syr. ii. 170, reporting the Monophysite view.

AM 6012 [AD 519/20]

Year of the divine Incarnation 512
Justin, emperor of the Romans (9 years), 2nd year
Kabades, emperor of the Persians (30 years), 25th year
Hormisdas, bishop of Rome (10 years), 7th year

John, bishop of Constantinople (2 years), 2nd year
Helias, bishop of Jerusalem (23 years), 9th year
Dioskoros, bishop of Alexandria (3 years), 3rd year
Paul, bishop of Antioch (3 years), 1st year

||In this year Vitalian was murdered by the Byzantines, who were furious with him because of the many people he had killed at the time of his uprising against Anastasios.||[a1]

||On the death of John the Cappadocian, bishop of Constantinople, Epiphanios, who was a presbyter of the same church and a *synkellos*, was ordained on 25 February. Likewise on the death of Hormisdas of Rome, John succeeded to the bishopric.||[b2]

||In the same year the Blue faction rioted, creating disturbances in all the cities and causing stonings and many murders. They even attacked the authorities. This evil disorder arose in Antioch[3] and from there spread to all [other] cities and lasted for five years. They killed with their swords the Greens whom they encountered, going up and murdering even those who were hiding at home. The authorities did not dare impose penalties for the murders. This went on until the sixth year of the pious Justin.||[c4]

[a] Mal. 412. 12–15. [b] Cf. Jac. Edess. 239, Zach. *HE* viii. 1 (190). [c] Mal. 416. 3–11.

1 Other sources say he was executed in the palace and attribute the deed to Justinian. Joh. Nik. says he was killed on Justin's orders for plotting against him. See *PLRE* ii. 1176. The date is July 520 (the 7th month of his consulate, Marcell. com.). Theophanes has carefully removed the blame from the pious emperor. Cf. AM 6011, n. 4.

2 Hormisdas died on 6 Aug. 523, so that the chronological table, not the narrative, is accurate here. Theophanes' dates for John of Constantinople and Epiphanios appear to be accurate.

3 Theophanes, surprisingly, has Antioch for Mal.'s Constantinople.

4 Cf. AM 6016c (Justin's 6th year) and 6011. John of Nikiu, 90. 16, says Justinian was involved, 'helping the Blue faction to commit murder and pillage', perhaps an extrapolation from Justinian's support for the Blues.

[AM 6013, AD 520/1]

Justin, 3rd year
Kabades, 26th year
Hormisdas, 8th year
Epiphanios, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 1st year
Helias, 10th year

Timothy, bishop of Alexandria (17 years), 1st year
Paul, 2nd year

||In this year,[1] when a war broke out between Romans and Persians, Justin dispatched envoys and gifts to Zilgbi, king of the Huns,[2] who made a pact of alliance with the emperor against the Persians, [swearing] by his ancestral oaths. Kouades likewise sent [emissaries] to him and Zilgbi made a pact with him, too. When Justin learned of this, he was exceedingly displeased. Zilgbi went over to the Persians with twenty thousand men to make war on the Romans. In making peace overtures Justin revealed to Kouades, emperor of the Persians, in a letter purportedly devoted to some other matter, that Zilgbi had sworn oaths of alliance with the Romans, had received many gifts, and intended to betray the Persians. 'It is necessary', he added, 'that we, as brothers, become friends and are not made the sport of these dogs.' Kouades asked Zilgbi in private whether he had been set against the Persians after receiving gifts from the Romans. He replied, 'Yes'. So Kouades killed him in anger and during the night sent a body of Persians which destroyed his host, since he suspected that they had come to him treacherously.[3] As many as were able to escape returned to their homeland.||[a]

Euphrasios of Antioch removed from the diptychs both the Synod of Chalcedon and the name of Hormisdas, the Pope of Rome. Afterwards in fear he proclaimed the four synods.[4]

||Kabades, the emperor of the Persians, decided to leave the Roman emperor as guardian of his household.[5] For he wanted neither his eldest son to rule, whom Persian law summoned to hold office,[6] nor yet his second son, since one of his eyes had been cut out,[7] but Chosroes, whom he loved greatly and who was his son by
168 Aspebedes' sister.[8] He resolved, therefore, to make peace with the Romans so that Chosroes would become the emperor's adoptive son. To this end he sent envoys to Justin at Byzantium. The emperor summoned the Senate to consider this but did not accept the proposal,[9] since the senators, led by the good counsel of Proklos the quaestor,[10] an intelligent and shrewd man, described this as a trick and a betrayal of the Romans.||[b]

[a] Mal. 414. 16–415. 19 (more detailed than Theoph.). Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 615. 4–616. 6. [b] Cf. Prok. *BP* i. 11. 1–24.

[1] *Chron. Pasch.* dates this incident to 522, probably correctly. Mal., certainly Theophanes' source here, places it after the story of Tzathios which Theophanes dates to AM 6015. Thus Theophanes has deliberately rejected his sources' chronology. We suspect that Theophanes, noting in Mal. that Justin's action over Zilgbi pleased Kavad and led to peace proposals, decided

to place this just before the adoption story, which requires a peaceful background, rather than after the story of Tzathios, which led to hostility and was itself more suitably placed after the failure of the adoption plan, for which he has probably also brought the date forward (see below). Having made use of Mal.'s information about the peace plan to arrange his chronology, Theophanes characteristically avoids mentioning it since the new context makes this unnecessary. (Cf. AM 6017, n. 4, for the same technique.) His own date, of course, can have no authority.

[2] Zilgbi was probably a Sabir Hun. In 515 the Sabiri had invaded and devastated the Pontic provinces and Cappadocia (cf. AM 6008). The Sabiri had settled north of the Caucasian range between the Euxine and the Caspian. The guarding of the Caspian Gates (= Daryal Gorge) necessarily played an important part in Byzantine, Persian, Lazic, and Iberian relations. See Vasiliev, *Justin I*, 316, Prok. *BP* i. 10. Hence the importance to both Byzantines and Persians of winning over tribes in this region.

[3] On Byzantine-Persian co-operation see M. Whitby, *The Emperor Maurice and his Historian* (Oxford, 1988), 204–8; Z. Rubin, *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 1 (1986), 13–62 esp. 32–47.

[4] Euphrasios was appointed in 521, probably in the spring, so Theophanes' date here is acceptable although in the chronological table Theophanes wrongly begins Euphrasios' patriarchate at AM 6015.

[5] Apart from Theophanes, the account occurs in Prok. *BP* i. 11 and Zon. xiv. 5. Scholars remain divided on whether it represents fact or fiction. Prok. certainly uses it to balance his introduction to the *Persian Wars*, which he begins with the 'adoption' of Theodosios by Yazdgerd (cf. AM 5900). The legal points involved also present problems. See P. E. Pieler, *RIDA* 19 (1972), 399–433. Theophanes is the only source to provide a date, which is accepted by most scholars, including Vasiliev, *Justin I*, 266–7, for reasons that are close to our suggestions on Theophanes' dating of the Zilgbi episode. However, *PLRE* ii. 955, Rufinus 13, shows that the date was in fact 5 years later in 525/6 (Zach. *HE* ix. 6. 4 dates to the 4th indiction medical advice given to Kavad's wife by Rufinus, one of Justin's envoys sent to discuss the adoption proposal). One cannot tell whether Theophanes' source provided a date or not, but we can simply note that it suits Theophanes to have this story before the Tzathios story and that it would not have been suitable to connect the prelude to a just war (in Byzantine eyes) with the wrath of God, as Mal. stresses, that overturned Antioch in 525/6.

[6] Theophanes alone mentions this son, named Phthasouarsan at AM 6016, though he is probably identical with Kaoses (*PLRE* ii. 259) and the Perozes of Mal. 441. 16. Christensen, *Iran*, 348, argues that he was the son of Kavad's first wife and would have been brought up as a Mazdakite, which in turn will explain his unpopularity with Kavad.

[7] Zam. The physical defect normally but not inevitably meant exclusion from the throne.

[8] Aspabedes is usually supposed to be a Greek misunderstanding of a Persian title *astabedh*, *spāhbadh*, or *Ērān-spāhbadh*, cf. Christensen, *Iran*, 336–7. But it is possible here that it refers to a member of the house of

Aspabadh Pahlav, on which see Christensen, *Iran*, 102–4. That it is not the same man as at AM 5998 is clear, for Josh. Styl. 95 tells of the death of the *astabid* who had negotiated the hand-over of Amida soon after the agreement was concluded.

[9] For a similar case of the emperor referring a difficult decision to the Senate and, at least temporarily, accepting it, cf. the decision to campaign against the Vandals in Africa in 533 (AM 6026, de Boor 188 and Prok. *BV* i. 10. 1–24).

[10] See *PLRE* ii. 924–5, Proculus. Previously a successful lawyer and not to be confused with the interpreter of dreams (AM 6010), he seems to have held the office of *quaestor sacri palatii* for most of Justin's reign, though he was dead by mid-527. Prok. speaks of him as the dominant personality of the reign (*Anecd.* 6. 13). He was staunchly conservative and reluctant to make new laws.

[AM 6014, AD 521/2]

Justin, 4th year
Kabades, 27th year
Hormisdas, 9th year
Epiphanios, 2nd year
Helias, 11th year
Timothy, 2nd year
Paul, 3rd year

||In this year[1] Dyrrachium, a city of New Epirus in Illyricum, suffered from divine anger.[2] The emperor provided much money for the restoration of the city. Likewise Corinth, the metropolis of Greece, [suffered] and the emperor showed great generosity towards it.||[a]

[a] Mal. 417. 20–418. 6. Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 183. Both Mal. and Mich. Syr. continue with further earthquakes.

[1] Theophanes has deduced the date sensibly from Mal. but not necessarily accurately. Mal. places these two earthquakes shortly after his account of Justin's closing of the Antiochene Olympic games 'after the 14th indiction' (i.e. 520/1) in the year 568 (i.e. of Antioch = 519/20). In between Mal. refers to Anatolios being *comes Orientis*. Three points need noting. First, Theophanes' date does not have independent value. Second, Mal. not only does not give a precise date but in fact provides no precise dates between the closure of the Olympic games (520/1) and the earthquake in Antioch, dated to May 526 by several indicators. (Mal.'s only indicator is to place the earthquake in Anazarbos in the year following the earthquakes of this year.) Third, Mal. has placed these earthquakes after his accounts of Zilgbi and Tzathios, which may have occurred rather later (see n. 5 at AM 6013 and n. 1 at AM 6015.) This last point can perhaps be discounted since Mal. refers to

the appointment of Euphrasios as patriarch (i.e. spring 521) after his Persian material which he may have gathered in one place rather than dealing with it in chronological order.

[2] i.e. an earthquake.

[AM 6015, AD 522/3]

Justin, 5th year
Kabades, 28th year
Hormisdas, 10th year
Epiphanios, 3rd year
Helias, 12th year
Timothy, 3rd year
Euphrasios, bishop of Antioch (5 years), 1st year

||In this year[1] Tzathios, emperor of the Lazi, revolted from the empire of the Persians during the reign of Kabades, who so loved Tzathios that he had promoted him to be emperor of the Lazi. Tzathios came to Justin at Byzantium and urged the emperor to make him a Christian and let him be proclaimed emperor of the Lazi by Justin. The emperor received him with joy, baptized him,[2] and proclaimed him as his son. Tzathios married a Roman wife, a certain Valeriana, the granddaughter of the patrician and former *curopalates* Nomos, and took her back to his own land after being appointed emperor of the Lazi by Justin. He wore a crown and a white imperial cloak with a gold panel, on which the image of the emperor Justin was depicted in embroidery, and also a white tunic with golden embroidery and an image of the emperor, while his boots were red, decorated with pearls in the Persian fashion. Likewise his belt was 169
gold, decorated with pearls. He received many gifts from the emperor and returned joyfully to his own country. When Kabades, the emperor of the Persians, learned of this, he announced to the emperor that 'While peace and friendship exist between us, you are perpetrating hostile acts by taking to yourself those who have been subject to the dominion of Persia from time immemorial.'[3] The emperor declared to him in return, 'We have neither taken nor put pressure on anyone subject to your empire; but Tzathios came to our palace and, prostrating himself before us, begged to be delivered from the abominable pagan teaching, from impious sacrifices and the deceit of demons, and to come over to God, the creator of the world, and to become a Christian. After baptizing him, we have sent him away to his own country.' Thereafter there was hostility between Romans and Persians.||[a]

||In the same year the deeds concerning the holy Arethas and those in the city of Negra were perpetrated by the Homerites,[4] and war was undertaken by Elasbaas, emperor of the Ethiopians, against the Homerites, and he was victorious.||[b]

[a] Mal. 412. 16–414. 16. [b] Cf. Jac. Edess. 240; *Chr. 846*, a.835 (AD 524), 169. 19–20; *Chr. 813*, 240 (318); Mich. Syr. ii. 184b; Zach. *HE* viii. 3 (192–3).

[1] *Chron. Pasch.* dates this to 522, seemingly by consuls and indiction and so should probably be accepted, although the dating criteria are in fact separated from the narrative. Mal., Theophanes' source again here, places it ahead of but in the same year as the Zilgbi story, but has perhaps grouped his Persian material (cf. AM 6014, n. 1). The Lazi, whose territory lay on the east coast of the Black Sea between the rivers Charokh in the south and Rion (Phasis) in the north, were considered 'a bulwark against the barbarians dwelling in the Caucasus' (Prok. *BP* ii. 28. 22). Mal. and *Chron. Pasch.* say that Tzathios' father, Damnazes (Zamnaxes), formed an alliance with Persia, which appears also to have involved religious conversion. Tzathios seems to have rebelled against this. For the sequel, cf. AM 6020; and see also Braund, *Georgia*, 276–81.

[2] So also Joh. Nik. The Lazi had been Christians since the 4th cent. They had a monastery near Jerusalem and their king Gubazes had visited Daniel the Stylite in the reign of Leo. Vasiliev, *Justin I*, 262, suggests from this that Tzathios may have been rebaptized here. But it is more likely that he was reverting to Christianity in contrast to the beliefs and policies of his father.

[3] Cf. Prok. *BP* ii. 15. 14–15, for the antiquity of Lazic alliances with Persia.

[4] Theophanes clearly assumes that his readers know the story of Arethas and the martyrs of Nedjran. He simply provides the date and a mention of the successful retaliation. Cf. AM 5923, for his similar assumption on the Seven Sleepers of Ephesos. The only parallels to Theophanes' account occur in eastern sources although the story itself was available in Greek ('Martyrium S. Arethae et sociorum', *AASS* Oct. 10: 721–62. Prok. *BP* i. 20 covers Elasbaas' retaliation, but characteristically does not mention Arethas or Nedjran, and so cannot be Theophanes' source). Dounaas (Dhu-Nuwas, not to be confused with Damianos, king of the Himyarites at AM 6035), the Jewish king of the Himyarites (Theophanes' Homeritai, the modern Yemen), massacred Arethas (Harith) and about 280 other Christians on 24 Oct. 523 (the date by indiction is given in the *Martyrium Arethae*) at Negra (Negran, Nedjran). Theophanes' date is out by one year unless he is using the Alexandrine indiction year. Dhu-Nuwas announced his action to the Saracen Al-Mundhir (Alamoundaros), king of the Lakhmids (cf. AM 6005) suggesting that he also massacre the local Christians. Al-Moundhir, however, was in the midst of friendly negotiations (at Ramlah, Jan. 524) over the release of Roman generals (Timostratos and John, cf. AM 5988, n. 3) with the Roman envoys (the priest Abraham and the Persian Monophysite bishop Symeon, who is perhaps the author of the *Martyrium Arethae*). They in turn

requested Justin and patriarch Timothy of Alexandria to persuade Elasbaas (Kaleb Ella 'Asbeha in Ethiopic coins and inscriptions, see *PLRE* ii. 388) king of the Ethiopians *c.*519–31, to mount a counter-attack on Dhu-Nuwas, which he did, killing Dhu-Nuwas. The date of this attack was 524 or 525. On these events see I. Shahîd, *The Martyrs of Najran: New Documents*, Subs. hag. 49 (Brussels, 1971).

[AM 6016, AD 523/4]

Justin, 6th year
Kabades, 29th year
John, bishop of Rome (3 years), 1st year[1]
Epiphanios, 4th year
Helias, 13th year
Timothy, 4th year
Euphrasios, 2nd year

||In this year Theuderich, the Arian who ruled Rome, compelled Pope John to go to Byzantium[2] to the emperor Justin and to intercede for the Arians so that they would not be obliged to give up their heresy;[3] for Theuderich was threatening to do the same to the orthodox in Italy.||[a] After arriving in Byzantium John, when urged by the patriarch Epiphanios, did not consent until the bishop of Rome was given precedence over Epiphanios.[4] John was in communion with all the bishops but not with Timotheos of Alexandria.||[b]

||Kouades,[5] the son of Perozes, the emperor of the Persians, in a single day destroyed thousands upon thousands of Manichees along with their bishop, Indazaros,[6] and including the Persian senators who were of their persuasion. For his third son, named 170
Phthasouarsan,[7] whom his daughter Sambike had borne to him, had been brought up by the Manichees and won over to their views. They declared to him, 'Your father has grown old and if he happens to die, the chief magi will make one of your brothers emperor so that their own teaching should prevail. We are able, however, by our prayers to persuade your father to abdicate from the empire and to assign it to you, so that you may strengthen the teaching of the Manichees everywhere.' He agreed to do this if he became emperor. Having been informed of it, Kouades ordered an assembly to be held for the alleged purpose of making his son Phthasouarsan emperor, and ordered all the Manichees to be present at the assembly along with their bishop, their women, and children, and likewise the chief magus Glonazes and the magi and also the bishop of the Christians Boazanes, who was loved by Kouades for being an excellent

physician. Having summoned the Manichees he said, 'I rejoice at your teaching and, while I am still alive, I want to give the empire to my son Phthasouarsan, who is of one mind with you. But set yourselves apart to receive him.' Encouraged by this, they stood apart with confidence.[8] Kouades ordered his soldiers to enter and they cut down with their swords all the Manichees including their bishop before the eyes of the chief magus and the bishop of the Christians. He dispatched ordinances to all territory subject to him that anyone discovered to be a Manichee was to be put to death and burned by fire, their property was to be confiscated by the royal treasury, and their books were to be destroyed by fire.||[c]

||The pious emperor Justin, who was administering his empire with complete proficiency and courage, dispatched ordinances to the cities everywhere, that all those who were causing disorder or committing murders were to be punished, and he brought peace to the people in Constantinople and showed he was to be greatly feared.||[d9] He crowned his own wife Theodora as Augusta as soon as he had
171 become emperor.||[e10] He appointed[11] the patrician Hypatios, the son of Secundinus, as *magister militum per Orientem* to guard the eastern regions against the Persians and the incursions of the Saracens. He himself carried out a great persecution of the Manichees and punished many.||[f12]

[a] Cf. Nik. Kall. xvii. 9, 241B–C. [b] Cf. Ps.-Dorotheos in *Chron. Pasch.* notes, ii. 136, Schermann, 151. [c] Mal. 444. 5–18; cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 190–1. [d] Mal. 422. 12–19. Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 617. 1–6. [e] Mal. 422. 11. [f] Mal. 423. 13–17.

[1] John was pope from 13 Aug. 523 to 18 May 526.

[2] The exact date of the mission to Constantinople is in dispute but Theophanes' date is certainly wrong. The most likely date for the outward journey is between Sept. and Christmas 525: Stein, *BE* ii. 795. The pope was still in Constantinople for Easter 526 (19 Apr.) but had reached Ravenna before his death there on 18 May 526.

[3] Cf. AM 6016 for the favoured treatment granted to the Arians alone of the heretical sects.

[4] The parallel comes from the covering story to Ps.-Dorotheos, not from his supposed work. The story also dates John's visit to 525 by consuls. The work is generally regarded as a forgery of the 7th cent. De Boor is justified, by the closeness of the language, in finding a parallel to Theophanes here, although it could not be presumed to be a direct source. None the less Theophanes' interest in the imaginary Dorotheos is shown by the references to him at AM 5816 and 5854. The Ps.-Dorotheos story, in which John is said to accept the validity of Dorotheos' works, is sometimes seen as an attempt to establish the precedence of Constantinople over Rome (i.e. Andrew was

at Byzantium earlier than Peter was at Rome) but John also is made to use Dorotheos to argue that Peter was more important than Andrew.

προτραπέις (urged), etc. This is either a case of clumsy abbreviation or some words are missing. For the required sense see Nik. Kall. xvii. 9, 241B–C: *προτραπεὶς δὲ Ἰωάννης ἐπ' ἴσῳ θρόνῳ συνεδριάσαι τῷ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου προέδρῳ οὐ πρότερον ἠνέσχετο. . .* Theophanes' sentence should then be understood thus: 'John, when urged by the patriarch Epiphanios [to take his seat, *vel sim.*], did not consent to do so . . .'.

[5] Mal., Theophanes' source, dates this to 528/9, accepted by Christensen, rejected by Vasiliev; see also P. Crone, *Iran*, 29 (1991), 30–2, on the date of this massacre. Mal.'s dates should in principle be regarded as more trustworthy than Theophanes' for the reigns of Justin and Justinian, especially since he is a contemporary. The whole affair represents a Byzantine confusion of Mazdakism with Manichaeism.

[6] Indarazar in Mal., in which Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 462 n. 3, recognized the Pahlavi word 'andarzgar' meaning 'counsellor' or 'teacher'. Christensen, *Iran*, 353, suggests that this was very probably Mazdak himself, the founder of the Mazdakite community.

[7] Probably Kaoses (Kaus), prince of Padhashkvar (Phthasouarsan, Tabaristan), and the eldest son by Kavad's first wife who had helped him escape from prison. His Mazdakite education must have begun before Kavad's expulsion. The suggestion that this was Kavad's son by his own daughter is a Byzantine slander. See Christensen, *Iran*, 348–9. Cf. AM 6013.

[8] Kavad's earlier interest in Mazdakism instead of orthodox Zoroastrianism was almost certainly the cause of his expulsion in 496 (cf. AM 5968, n. 5). This will have made such a gathering credible. Christensen, *Iran*, 354, suggests it was a normal theological debate, and that it was Khusro who arranged the massacre.

[9] Cf. AM 6012, where Theophanes states that disorder ended in the sixth year. His source, Mal., actually ascribes this to Justinian and places the measure in the last months of Justin's life, as does *Chron. Pasch.* as well. But Mal. had said earlier that the riots continued 'until the appointment of Theodotos as City prefect in the first indiction' (i.e. 523/4 or Justin's 6th year). So Theophanes at AM 6012 has tidied this up to be '6th year' and transferred Mal.'s final notice to this year, identifying the imperial ordinances with the end of the factional disorder.

[10] In Mal. this follows on from the end of factional disorder, so Theophanes has transferred it here too. He omits the vital clause that Justin appointed Justinian as co-emperor since he knew that event took place in Justin's last year (see AM 6019). This is one of the more glaring examples of Theophanes' scissors-and-paste technique. He was no doubt quite aware that Theodora was Justinian's wife and was crowned by Justin as soon as Justinian became emperor.

[11] Hypatios' appointment was also in 527 (Mal. 423).

[12] Theophanes strengthens Justin's orthodoxy, giving him the credit by making active Mal.'s 'the Manichaeans were punished'.

AM 6017 [AD 524/5]

Year of the divine Incarnation 517
Justin, emperor of the Romans (9 years), 7th year
Kabades, emperor of the Persians (30 years), 30th year
John, bishop of Rome (3 years), 2nd year
Epiphanios, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 5th year
Helias, bishop of Jerusalem (23 years), 14th year
Timothy, bishop of Alexandria (17 years), 5th year
Euphrasios, bishop of Antioch (5 years), 3rd year

||In this year Anazarbos, the metropolis of Second Cilicia, suffered from a most terrifying earthquake, its governor being Kalliopios, son of Eirenaios, and the entire city collapsed.[1] Justin raised it up again and named it Justinoupolis.[2] In the same year Edessa, a large and famous city, the metropolis of the province of Osrhoene, was engulfed through divine anger by the waters of its river. For the river Skirtos which passes through the midst of it, provides it with great wealth and enjoyment. At that time, being in full flood like a sea, it dragged away the houses along with their inhabitants and submerged them. There is a story current among those who were saved that the same river had destroyed the city on other occasions but not to the same degree. After the floods had ended, a stone tablet was found on the bank of the river inscribed with the following message in hieroglyphic lettering: 'The river Skirtos will skittishly skittle the citizens.'[3] The emperor Justin provided much towards the restoration of both cities.||[a]

||In the same year[4] there appeared a giant-like woman from Cilicia, who surpassed in stature every full-grown man by a cubit and was extremely broad. She travelled round the cities and received one *follis* from each shop.||[b]

[a] Mal. 418. 6–419. 3. Cf. Prok. *Anecd.* 18. 38, *Aed.* ii. 7. 2–6. [b] Mal. 412. 4–9; cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 179.

[1] For discussion of the date, cf. AM 6014 on Corinth and Dyrrachium. Mal., however, places this in the year after Corinth. Theophanes is the only evidence for Kalliopios.

[2] Theophanes appears to have transferred this sentence from Mal.'s account of Edessa which follows.

[3] For another attempt at preserving the pun 'The river Skirtos (Leaper) will leap terrible leapings for the citizens', *Mal. Trans.*, p. 237. Andrew Palmer suggests to us that the line was originally Syriac, since a literal translation produces a perfect line of Syriac verse. The Skirtos (modern Daisan) had a long history of flooding. Prok. *Aed.* ii. 7. 2–10, cf. *Anecd.* 18. 38, ascribes the restoration work to Justinian, wrongly. See J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (London, 1971), 284–6, A. M. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London, 1985), 106.

[4] Mal. 412 places this early in his account of Justin, seemingly in Justin's first year, but the preceding sentence runs 'During his reign Hippodromes were provided for the Seleukeians and Isaurians', and the giant from Cilicia is placed in the same year. Since Mal. mentions that Edessa was founded by Seleukos and that Justin provided it with many beautiful works, he appears to have guessed that one of these may have been the Hippodrome. This daring methodology has enabled Theophanes to find a precise date for the female giant instead of Mal.'s vague 'during his reign'. It also shows the need for caution in accepting Theophanes' dates.

[AM 6018, AD 525/6]

Justin, 8th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (48 years), 1st year[1]
John, 3rd year
Epiphanios, 6th year
Helias, 15th year
Timothy, 6th year
Euphrasios, 4th year

||In this year in October of the 4th indiction[2] the prelude to God's 172
anger visited the city of Antioch. For a great conflagration arrived unseen in the middle of the city, which foretold the coming threat from God. The fire was kindled at the martyrium of St Stephen and extended as far as the Praetorium of the *magister militum*. This was the beginning of anguish.[3] The fires lasted for six months, many houses were burned, and many people perished. No one was able to discover from where the fire was lit; for it flared up[4] from the roof-tiles of five-storey buildings. By the mediation of the patriarch Euphrasios the emperor granted to the city two *centenaria* of gold.||[a] On 20 May of the same 4th indiction, at the seventh hour, while Olybrius was consul in Rome,[5] Antioch, the great city of Syria, suffered inexplicable disaster through God's anger. So great was the wrath of God towards it that almost the entire city collapsed and became a tomb for its inhabitants. Some of those who were buried and still alive beneath the ground were burned by fire that came out of the earth. Another fire came down out of the air like sparks and burned whomever it touched, like lightning.||[b] The earth went on shaking for a year.

[a] Mal. 417. 9–19. [b] Mal. 419. 5–14.

[1] Kavad's death and Khusro's accession was actually on 13 Sept. 531.

[2] The 4th indiction ran Sept. 525–Aug. 526. Theophanes is certainly using the Constantinopolitan indiction year with October preceding May (see below) in the same indiction. Mal. places the fire in the year of the ending of the Olympic games (520/1) and before the earthquake at Dyrrachium. It is unclear whether Theophanes has specific information to support his indiction and month date or whether he has simply linked the fire to the following earthquake.

[3] Literally 'the beginning of the birth pangs', quoting Mt. 24: 8; Mk. 13: 8.

[4] For the meaning of *ἀνελάμβανεν* see Tabachovitz, *Studien*, 30 f.

[5] Olybrius was consul in 526 without a colleague. It is sometimes said (cf. *PLRE* ii. 798) that we do not know whether he belonged to East or West. Theophanes' passage confirms that he was a western consul.

AM 6019 [AD 526/7]

Year of the divine Incarnation 519
Justin, emperor of the Romans (9 years), 9th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (48 years), 2nd year
Felix, bishop of Rome (4 years), 1st year[1]
Epiphanios, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 7th year
Helias, bishop of Jerusalem (23 years), 16th year
Timotheos, bishop of Alexandria (17 years), 7th year
Euphrasios, bishop of Antioch (5 years), 5th year

||In this year, while the earthquake continued, Euphrasios, the bishop of Antioch, was engulfed by the earthquake and perished.||[a2] Every house and church collapsed and the beauty of the city was destroyed. In all the generations no such great anger of God had
173 befallen any other city. On learning this, the most pious emperor Justin was so greatly grieved in his soul that he took off both the diadem from his head and the purple and mourned in sackcloth for many days, so that when he went to church on a feast day he refused to wear the crown or the *chlamys*, but went dressed very plainly in a purple mantle and wept in the presence of the whole Senate. Everybody wept and wore mourning like him. The emperor immediately dispatched the *comes* Carinus,[3] giving him five *centenaria* for excavation, in case anyone could be saved, and to preserve what had been buried from robbers and looters. To follow him up, he sent the patrician Phokas,[4] the son of Krateros, and the patrician Asterios, the ex-prefect,[5] both learned men, giving them a great quantity of money for the renewal of the city.||[b] On 1 April of the same 5th indiction, on the feast of Easter,[6] the emperor Justin, being

ill, appointed his own nephew Justinian to be emperor while he, [Justin,] was still alive, and crowned him.||[c] He ruled jointly with Justinian for four months. In August of the same 5th indiction the most pious Justin died,[7] leaving Justinian emperor.||[d]

||On the death of Euphrasios, bishop of Antioch, Ephraim of Amida, who was *comes* of the East at that time, was ordained in his place,||[e] a man who showed divine zeal against the schismatics.||[f8]

[a] Cf. Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 109. 30–110. 1, Mal. 423. 21–2. [b] Mal. 419. 18–422. 6. [c] Cf. Mal. 422. 9–12, *Chron. Pasch.* 616. 15–20. [d] Mal. 424. 14–20; cf *Chron. Pasch.* 617. 6, Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 109. 25–6. [e] Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 109. 31–110. 2, cf. Mal. 423. 19–22. [f] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 190.

[1] Felix was pope from 12 July 526 to 22 Sept. 530.

[2] Usually placed on 26 May 526, but this is simply the day the earthquake began. We do not know if Theophanes has independent evidence for dating Euphrasios' death after 1 Sept. 526.

[3] *PLRE* ii. 261 suggests that Carinus was not sent out as *comes Orientis* since Ephraim held that post. This, however, depends on the timing, since Ephraim was soon to replace Euphrasios as patriarch and we are ignorant of his successor as *comes Orientis*. It is a reasonable supposition that the successor was Carinus.

[4] Cf. AM 6022. He was a pagan and, before 526, a *silentiarius*.

[5] A former urban prefect, perhaps honorary. Under Anastasios he had been secretary to the emperor's consistory. He and Phokas formed an impressive pair (or together with Ephraim and Carinus, a quartet) to deal with the crisis.

[6] Easter fell on 4 Apr. 527. 1 Apr. was thus Maundy Thursday.

[7] 1 Aug. according to Mal. and *Chron. Pasch.* (a Sunday).

[8] Ephraim, a Syriac speaker who learned Greek, was patriarch until his death in 545, a long tenure. He accepted the patriarchate unwillingly according to Mal., but seems to have coped with the change from State to Church. Photios credits him with several works on theology of an orthodox viewpoint, while Justinian was to send him on an embassy to Arethas (Mich. Syr. ii. 246–8). See *PLRE* ii. 394–6 and, for his patriarchate, J. Lebon, *Mélanges. . . . offertes à C. Moeller* (1914), i. 198–203. Mich. Syr. naturally describes him as 'even worse' rather than a zealous opponent of schismatics.

AM 6020 [AD 527/8]

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Year of the divine Incarnation 520
Justinian, emperor of the Romans (38 years), 1st year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (48 years), 3rd year
Felix, bishop of Rome (4 years), 2nd year
Epiphanios, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 8th year

Helias, bishop of Jerusalem (23 years), 17th year
Timothy, bishop of Alexandria (17 years), 8th year
Ephraim, bishop of Antioch (18 years), 1st year

||In this year Justinian the elder became sole emperor.[1] He appointed Patricius the Armenian[2] as *comes Orientis*, provided him with money and ordered him to go out and restore Palmyra, as it is called, a city of Phoenice Libanensis, situated on the inner *limes*.[3] He also gave orders that the *dux* be stationed there*[4] the Holy Places.||[a]

||On 1 January of the same indiction the emperor distributed a greater sum in consular largess than any previous emperor.||[b]

||In the same year the emperor of the Persians made war on Tzathios the Laz for joining the Romans.[5] Thereupon the emperor Justinian sent him a detachment of troops and three *magistri militum*, Belisarius,[6] Kerykos, and Eirenaios, who gave battle and lost.[7] The emperor was annoyed with the generals because their mutual resentment had cost the victory. After dismissing them, he sent out his notary, Peter,[8] as *magister militum*. Peter along with the Lazi engaged the Persians, defeated them, and killed many Persians.||[c9]

||In the same year, Gretes, emperor of the Elours, joined the Romans.[10] He came to Constantinople with his host and sought per-
175 mission from the emperor to become a Christian. The emperor baptized him at Epiphany, acting as his sponsor in baptism. His counsellors and twelve of his relatives were baptized with him. Gretes went back to his own country, happy at having won the emperor's friendship, and promising to fight as an ally whenever he was wanted.||[d]

||The emperor appointed Tzitas as *magister militum per Armeniam*,[11] a warlike and very capable man. For Armenia had not had a *magister militum*, only *duces* and *comites*.[12] A force of Armenians was conscripted to serve under him, since they knew the regions of Armenia. The emperor gave Tzitas four *numeri* from the eastern army, so establishing great safety and succour for the Romans. He also gave Kometo, the Augusta Theodora's sister, to Tzitas in marriage.||[e]

||In the same year a woman named Boarex[13] joined the Romans. She was one of the Saber Huns, as they are called, a barbarian and a widow. She led 100,000 Huns and had ruled the Hunnic territory after the death of her husband Balach. After two kings of another race of Huns further inland, called Styrax and Glones, had been persuaded by Kouades, emperor of the Persians, to join him in an alliance against the Romans, Boarex took them as they were marching with their 20,000 across her territory towards Persia. She cut them down,

made prisoner one of the kings, called Styrax, and sent him to the emperor in Constantinople, and slew the other, Glones, in battle. So she became an ally, at peace with the emperor Justinian.||[f]

||In the same year the king of the Huns near Bosphoros,[14] called Gordas[15] joined the emperor, became a Christian, and was baptized. The emperor received him, provided him with many gifts, and sent him back to his own country to guard Roman territory and the city of Bosphoros. This city received its name through paying its annual tribute to the Romans in cattle instead of money, ⟨that is, cattle-tax city. The emperor established a *numerus* of Ro⟩[16] man soldiers there under a tribune to guard the city because of the Huns, and to exact the cattle tax. In this city there were many transactions between Romans and Huns. After the king of the Huns who had become a Christian returned to his own country, he found his brother and told him of the emperor's love and liberality and that he had become a Christian. He then took the statues that the Huns worshipped and melted them down, for they were made of silver and electrum. Enraged, the Huns united with his brother, went away and killed Gordas, and made his brother Mouageris king in his place. Then, in fear that the Romans might seek him out, they fell suddenly on the city of Bosphoros and killed the tribune Dalmatius and his soldiers. At this news the emperor sent out the ex-consul John,[17] the grandson of John the Scythian and son of the patrician Rufinus, with a large Scythian force, and at the same time directed against the Huns Godilas,[18] [who marched] by land from Odyssopolis,[19] and the general Badourios.[20] On hearing this, the Huns fled and disappeared. Peace came to Bosphoros which the Romans now ruled without fear.||[g] 176

||The emperor Justinian took away all the churches of the heretics and gave them to the orthodox Christians. An exception was made of the Exakionite Arians.||[h21]

||The emperor Justinian issued an edict concerning bishops, *oikonomoi*, heads of orphanages, and hospice-keepers, that they were not to leave any inheritance; only such property as they held prior to taking office were they able to bequeath. From the time of their appointment they would not have the right to make any testamentary dispositions but the ecclesiastical house was to inherit all their goods.||[i22]

||The same emperor completed the public bath in the quarter of Dagistheos,[23] which the emperor Anastasios had begun, and also made the inner court of the basilica of Illos into a large cistern.||[j24]

[a] Mal. 425. 10–426. 5. Theophanes differs from Mal. in various details. [b] Mal. 426. 21–2, *Chron. Pasch.* 617. 18–21. [c] Mal. 427. 1–13. [d] Mal.

427. 17–428. 4. [e] Mal. 429. 16–430. 11. Mal. has 'governors' (ἄρχοντες) in addition to *duces* and *comites*. [f] Mal. 430. 20–431. 15. Theophanes adds 'So she became an ally and at peace with the emperor Justinian.' [g] Mal. 431. 16–433. 2. Theophanes has 'Scythian' for Mal.'s 'Gothic', plus other variations. [h] Mal. 428. 5–7. [i] Mal. 430. 12–17. [j] Mal. 435. 18–436. 2. Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 618. 20–2. Theophanes includes 'Illos', not in Mal.

[1] 1 Aug. 527. Justinian, however, naturally dated his regnal years from his first appointment as Augustus with Justin on 1 Apr. 527.

[2] In Oct. 527. We know of him only through Mal. and this passage.

[3] 'Inner' is not in our MSS of Mal. Cf. AM 6021, n. 9. The rebuilding was part of Justinian's military reorganization of the eastern front. Instead of a *dux* at Emesa for all *Phoenicia Libanensis*, a *dux* was appointed for each of Damascus and Palmyra. See Stein, *BE* ii. 289 for other measures perhaps taken at this time, and also nn. 10 and 12 below.

[4] To fill the lacuna, de Boor suggested, on the basis of Mal. 426, 'to protect the Roman territories and'.

[5] Cf. AM 6015.

[6] Theophanes, together with Joh. Nik., the Slav version of Mal., *Chron. Pasch.*, and late sources derived from Theophanes, have Belisarius as one of the three generals instead of Mal.'s Gilderich, who is otherwise unknown.

[7] Mal. has 'many fell from both sides'.

[8] Peter had been Justin's secretary, and as *magister militum* had already had experience in Lazica and Iberia helping Gourgenes against the Persians. See *PLRE* ii. 870.

[9] Again Joh. Nik. and *Chron. Pasch.* support Theophanes' version against Mal. who simply says that Peter 'withdrew from that area'.

[10] The Elours are the Heruls. See Stein, *BE* ii. 305. Theophanes and Mich. Syr. ii. 192 both follow Mal.'s dating against Ps.-Dion., who has 532/3. Gretes (Grepes in Mal.) is the first of a series of converts who show the link between foreign policy and conversion to Christianity, which entailed in effect becoming subjects of the Christian emperor of the Roman/Christian world. Another group of Heruls, who remained Arians, were a few years later given good land around Singidunum in return for military service. See Prok. *BV* ii. 14. 12; *BG* ii. 14. 33–6; iii. 33. 13.

[11] Usually spelled Sittas, he was perhaps an Armenian himself (so Stein, *BE* ii. 290) or a Goth (*PLRE* iii. 1160). For his impressive career see *PLRE* iii. 1160–3.

[12] For the *magister militum per Armeniam*, *CJ* i. 29. 5 (?528), Prok. *Aed.* iii. 1. 6. See Jones, *LRE* 271 for details of these changes. They appear to have been intended to push forward the defensive zone in Armenia and so put more pressure on Persia. There were to be further alterations to the administration of Armenia in 536: Justinian, *Nov.* 20. 3 and 31. 1 (536); cf. Bury, *HLRE*[2] ii. 344; Stein, *BE* ii. 289; Jones, *LRE* 280–1.

[13] Boa in Mal. Theophanes has not recognized a following rex as being her title. (She is Boa *regissa* in Mal., Boa *rex* in the Slavonic Mal., *Borex* in Kedr.). Mal.'s date is indiction 6, after Jan. 528.

[14] Kertch.

[15] Grod in Mal. King of the Huns of Crimea. Theophanes follows Mal. in placing this immediately after the story of Boa. Cf. AM 6031 for another Hun godson of Justinian and his military appointment.

[16] The lacuna is filled from Anastasius' translation and Mal. *Bous* means cattle, *phoros* tax or tribute.

[17] Mal. gives his appointment as *comes* of the straits of the Pontic Sea at Hieron. He appears to be the first to hold this office. See Stein, *BE* ii. 304, 442. Together with a colleague at Abydos, they replaced the *comes commerciorum* for Moesia, Scythia, and Pontos, with a consequent transfer of the revenue they raised from collecting import taxes. This revenue would now go to the praetorian prefect instead of the *comes sacrarum largitionum*.

[18] Godilas was presumably *magister militum per Thracias* (*PLRE* ii. 516).

[19] Modern Varna. Stein, *BE* ii. 304, suggests that this was the first time Byzantine troops had ever crossed the shores of Bessarabia and the Ukraine.

[20] *Magister militum* and *dux* of Scythia.

[21] After the Arians were expelled from the city in 379 by Theodosios, they were called Exokionites from the *exokionion* or 'exterior column', outside the Constantinian city walls. *Exokionion* later developed to *Exakionion* to *Exi Marmara* to Turkish *Altı Mermer*. According to the *Patria*, the column was surmounted by a statue of Constantine.

[22] Theophanes here appears to have misunderstood a difficult passage in his source Mal. The persons in question were able to make bequests but only of property held and declared at the time of appointment. The Church inherited any property acquired subsequently.

[23] See *PLRE* ii. 341. The baths were near the Tetrapylon.

[24] The Yerebatan Sarayı, which still exists. Cf. Prok. *Aed.* i. 11. 12–15. The basilica had been rebuilt by Illos in 478 (Joh. Ant., frg. 211).

AM 6021 [AD 528/9] 177

Year of the divine Incarnation 521
Justinian, emperor of the Romans (38 years), 2nd year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (48 years), 4th year
Felix, bishop of Rome (4 years), 3rd year
Epiphanios, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 9th year
Helias, bishop of Jerusalem (23 years), 18th year
Timothy, bishop of Alexandria (17 years), 9th year
Ephraim, bishop of Antioch (18 years), 2nd year

||In this year Hesaias, bishop of Rhodes, and Alexander, bishop of Diospolis in Thrace, were deposed on being convicted of pederasty and punished terribly by the emperor. They were castrated and paraded publicly while the crier shouted out, 'As bishops, you are not to abuse your holy dress.' The emperor introduced harsh laws

against licentious behaviour, and many were punished. This produced considerable fear and security.||[a1]

||The pious emperor restored all the ancient laws and published them in a single book entitled 'The New Constitutions'.[2] In them he forbids a magistrate to buy property in the area of his jurisdiction, to build a house or inherit from another person unless he happens to be a relative.||[b]

||In the same year on Wednesday 29 November in the third hour, indiction 7, Great Antioch again suffered from divine anger, two years after its first disaster.[3] The great earthquake lasted for one hour and there was a terrifying roar from heaven. All the buildings fell to the ground, even the walls as well; and those old buildings that had not fallen in the first earthquake now collapsed. All the magnificence with which the city had been invested through acts of generosity by the emperor and through the buildings erected by citizens at their own expense, was all destroyed. When the neighbouring cities heard about it, they held litanies in mourning. 4,870 people perished[4] in the collapse. The survivors fled to other cities and began living in huts in the mountains.||[c] Then came a harsh and very severe winter. Those who remained went on processions in prayer,
178 all of them barefoot, weeping, throwing themselves headlong into the snow and crying out, 'Lord, have mercy!' It was revealed in a vision to one pious man that he should tell all the survivors to write on the lintels of their doors 'Christ is with us. Stand.' When this was done, God's anger ceased.||[d] Again the emperor and the Augusta provided much money towards restoration and rebuilding in the city of Antioch. He changed its name to Theoupolis.||[e5]

||On 21 March of the 7th indiction,[6] Alamoundaros son of Zekike, kinglet of the Saracens, invaded and looted First Syria as far as the boundaries of Antioch, at a place called Litargon,[7] and the estates of Skaphathai. He killed many people and burned the territory outside Chalcedon and the Sermian estate and the Kynegian country.[8] The news brought the Roman commanders out against him. When they realized this, the Saracens, with the Persians, took their booty and prisoners and fled across the inner *limes*.||[f9]

||In April of the same 7th indiction, a detachment of the army dispatched by the emperor, plus the infantry of the so-called Lykokranitai from Phrygia, arrived.[10] The emperor appointed Belisarius as *magister militum per Orientem* to succeed the patrician Hypatios, son of Secundinus.[11] On 12 May the *magister* Hermogenes[12] the Scythian arrived in Antioch. He was a learned man and had been sent as an envoy by the emperor Justinian to discuss peace with the emperor of the Persians.||[g]

||In June the Samaritans and Jews in Palestine crowned a certain Julian as emperor and took up arms against the Christians, against whom they committed robbery, murder, and arson.[13] God delivered them into the hands of Justinian. He destroyed them all and beheaded the usurper Julian.||[h]

||The *magister* Hermogenes, who had brought gifts with him on his peace mission, was received in July of the same 7th indiction by Chosroes,[14] emperor of the Persians,||[i] who accepted the gifts but refused to make peace, since he had been influenced by Samaritan 179
fugitives who promised to hand over their country to him, that is all of Palestine, claiming they had as allies Jews and Samaritans totalling 50,000 men. Trusting them, Chosroes rejected peace. Through them he hoped to capture great Jerusalem, with its countless *centenaria* of gold and its many precious stones. He made the gold-mines in the mountains of Armenia his pretext.[15] Earlier they had paid a talent in tribute to both Romans and Persians, but now this was being paid to the Romans alone. He wrote to the emperor raising some other matters as well by way of excuse. But the intrigue of the Samaritans was discovered and they were arrested at Ammadios[16] on their return journey from Persia. These were five rich Samaritans who were handed over to Belisarius, the *magister militum*. After questioning they revealed the whole story.||[j]

||In the same period, the *dux* of Palestine quarrelled with the phylarch of the Saracens subject to the Romans. The phylarch went in fear to the inner *limes*. When Alamoundaros heard about this, he went in pursuit, captured him and killed him, took his women and children, and returned. At this the *duces* of Phoenicia, Arabia, and Mesopotamia plus the phylarch went chasing after him. When he heard this, Alamoundaros fled to Indian territory where none of the Romans had ever been. The Romans captured the Saracen tents and took many of them prisoner, men, women, and children, and as many Roman prisoners as they found, plus camels, sheep, oxen, and much silk and clothing. In addition they burned four Persian forts, and then returned after a great victory.||[k17]

[a] Mal. 436. 3–16. Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 221. [b] Mal. 437. 3–7 (Mal. is more detailed). [c] Mal. 442. 18–443. 5. [d] Cf. Geo. Mon. ii. 643. 6–10. [e] Mal. 443. 1–3, 443. 16–17. [f] Mal. 445. 1–7. Theophanes is more detailed. Cf. Joh. Nik. 90. 79–80 (pp. 142–3), who reproduces the same source. [g] Mal. 445. 10–19. [h] Mal. 445. 19–447. 2; cf. Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 110. 12–15. [i] Mal. 447. 22–448. 2. [j] Mal. 455. 10–456. 17. [k] Mal. 434. 19–435. 17.

[1] Cf. AM 5816 (de Boor 23) and n. 19 for Constantine's attitude to adulterous bishops. In general on morals Justinian simply endorsed the legislation

of his Christian predecessors (though for some extension see *Nov.* 77, 141), but punishment in practice may have been more severe. Something of this attitude is seen in the legislation on morals proposed for the Himyarites (*Homeritarum Leges*, *PG* 86. 1: 581 ff.) and in the description of the punishment on this occasion, preserved by Mal. 436. 3–16, Theodosios of Melitene, *Chron.* 90 (Tafel) and Kedr. 645–6: 'He mutilated the genitals of some and ordered that sharp straws be inserted into the genitals of others and they were to be paraded naked in the forum.' See Bury, *HLRE*², ii. 412–13. On the favourable attitude to fear, see Scott, *DOP* 39 (1985), 103–4. Theophanes follows Mal. in placing this immediately after the account of the baths of Dagistheus and the cistern of Illos, but in Mal. these events are in the same year. Theophanes may have decided that this was a suitable (and perhaps conventional) point for breaking the year, with buildings to conclude one year and morals to open the next. Mal.'s next event is the earthquake at Pompeiopolis which Theophanes transfers to AM 6028 (535/6).

[2] This refers to the first edition of Justinian's code, published on 7 Apr. 529. The law on magistrates is *CJ* i. 53. 1. (Nov. 528). On the survival of chronicle accounts of Justinian's codification and the lack of references in other sources, see Scott, in E. and M. Jeffreys and A. Moffatt, eds., *Byzantine Papers* (Canberra, 1981), 12–31.

[3] Cf. AM 6018 and 6019. Mal. also seems to place the earthquake within his account of the 7th indiction (he ends the 6th at 441. 8–12), so confirming Theophanes' date. On the varying dates in other sources, see Stein, *BE* ii. 420 n. 2.

[4] The precise figure (as against Mal.'s round 5,000) gains some support from Mich. Syr.'s 4,770.

[5] Theophanes' version supports the first hand of the Mal. MS (*Baroccianus* 182) as against a later hand which attributed the change of name to St Symeon the miracle-worker. A version of Cramer's *Eccl. Hist.* (110. 7–9) dates the change wrongly to Justin's reign.

[6] Cf. AM 6005, n. 18 for Alamoundaros (Al-Mundhir) and his supposed conversion to Christianity. It was probably during this attack on Antioch that Alamoundaros supposedly sacrificed 400 Christian virgins to his favourite divinity. See Zach. *HE* viii. 5.

[7] Otherwise Litarba (modern El-Terib) between Beroia and Antioch, about 60 km. from Antioch. It belonged to Chalkis, *pace* Honigmann, *RE* xiii. 739–40 (1926), Litarbai (*sic*). See also D. Feissel, *Syria*, 59 (1982), 326 ff. on places mentioned here.

[8] Chalcedon should be Chalkis, the modern Qinnesrin; Sermion (modern Sarmin), in north Syria, a village in the district of Kynegike belonging to Antioch (Evagr. iv. 38). The location of Skaphathai is unclear, cf. Honigmann, *RE* ii/5. (1927), 439, *Σκαφαθῶν κτῆμα*. On Kynegike, cf. id., *RE* ii/8. (1932), 1564, Syria.

[9] Theophanes has substituted 'inner' for Mal.'s 'outer'. Cf. AM 6020a and 6021k where Theophanes also has 'inner' against Mal. who, in the first case just has *limes* and in the second uses a different word for 'inner'. B. Rubin, *Das Zeitalter Justinians* (Berlin, 1960), 492–3 n. 820, suggested that the

change here may be for stylistic unity from a writer who no longer understood the difference between an inner and outer *limes*. But G. W. Bowersock, *HSCP* 80 (1976), 216–29 esp. 227–9, has argued from Mal. that for this area *limes* means a whole region since people travelled through it, and that 'inner' and 'outer' mean respectively 'inside and outside the frontier' as an 'outer' *limes*, would be meaningless since it would refer to foreign territory. See also P. Mayerson, *IEJ* 38 (1988), 181–3, against Bowersock; and cf. B. Isaac, *JRS* 78 (1988), 125–47, who *inter alia* argues from Mal. 308 that there is a distinction between *limites* and frontier, with *limes* referring to 'specific districts where forts are built rather than to the system of forts itself' (p. 136).

[10] Mal. explains this as a reprisal for Alamoundaros' invasion, adding that they set out for Saracen and Persian territory, but does not provide a date.

[11] Hypatios was presumably dismissed for his failure to curb Alamoundaros. See Stein, *BE* ii. 284–6.

[12] Theophanes alone provides the precise date here. Hermogenes was *magister officiorum* 529–33.

[13] Mal.'s account is more detailed than Theophanes', but there are many other accounts. See Stein, *BE* ii. 287–8. Of these Mal. at *De insid.* 44 (171. 6–34) sees the revolt as a natural Saracen response to Christians stoning Samaritan children as they came out of the synagogues. In about 528 Justinian ordered the destruction of all Samaritan synagogues and a prohibition on building new ones (*CJ* i. 5. 17, cf. i. 5. 18 and for the date i. 5. 19. 4). After this revolt and prompted by St Sabas, who at the age of 92 came to Constantinople to complain of the outrages committed by the Samaritans, Justinian strengthened the legislation. Cf. AM 6047, 6048, and see Stein, *BE* ii. 373, S. Winkler, *Klio*, 43–5 (1965), 435–57, J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* (Philadelphia, 1907), 113–24.

[14] Hermogenes had gone to Ctesiphon to make the official announcement of Justinian's elevation (Mal. 448). Theophanes has here combined Mal.'s accounts of different embassies and reports (Mal. 448, 449–50, 454–6). This in turn will help explain his transfer of intervening material to later years, most notably the embassy to Axoum (Mal. 457) which Theophanes transferred to Justin II at AM 6064. Cf. AM 6023, n. 5. Since Theophanes made AM 6017 (524/5) Kavad's last year as emperor, he has also wrongly but deliberately changed Mal.'s Kavad to Khusro here. Kavad's death and Khusro's accession occurred on 13 Sept. 531. Kavad's decision to reject peace also belongs to the following year (Mal. 455–6).

[15] i.e. Persarmenia. Cf. Prok. *BP* i. 15. 18–19, 26–30 (a cyclic digression) on the acquisition of the mine.

[16] Cf. AM 5998, near Marde and Dara (cf. Prok. *Aed.* ii. 1. 26, *BP* i. 13. 15, ii. 28. 35, Theoph. Sim. v. 4).

[17] Mal. dates this precisely to Apr. of 6th indiction (omitted in Bonn edn. but present in the manuscript, see Bury, *BZ* 6 (1897), 229) i.e. in Justinian's first year. It is not obvious why Theophanes has transferred it here and replaced Mal.'s precise date with the vague 'in the same period'. (It is noteworthy that Theophanes had found one event per month for the year from

Mar. to July.) Possibly Theophanes believed this great victory over Alamoundaros could not have been followed by Alamoundaros' attacks around Antioch.

180 **AM 6022 [AD 529/30]**

Year of the divine Incarnation 522
Justinian, emperor of the Romans (38 years), 3rd year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (48 years), 5th year
Felix, bishop of Rome (4 years), 4th year
Epiphanios, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 10th year
Helias, bishop of Jerusalem (23 years), 19th year
Timothy, bishop of Alexandria (17 years), 10th year
Ephraim, bishop of Antioch (18 years), 3rd year

||In this year,[1] indiction 8, the emperor Justinian carried out a great persecution against the pagans and every heresy and confiscated their property.[2] The ex-*referendarius* Makedonios was denounced and also the ex-prefect Asklepiodotos who, in fear, took poison and died. Pegasios of Helioupolis was tried by the courts along with his children. Among others, the patrician Phokas, son of Krateros, and the quaestor Thomas were arrested,[3] and there was great fear. The emperor decreed that pagans and heretics could not hold civic office, but only orthodox Christians [could do so]. He gave them a period of three months to convert.||[a]

||In March, of the same 8th indiction, Hermogenes, the ex-consul and *magister*, and Rufinus, the ex-*magister militum* and patrician, [came] to Antioch on an embassy to Persia. When they reached Daras, they sent a message to the emperor of the Persians that he should receive them. While they remained at Daras along with Belisarius, *magister militum per Orientem*, and the other Roman commanders, being encamped a short distance outside the city, news of it reached Meram, the Persian emperor's foremost general, who was in Nisibis with a large Persian force, together with the
181 emperor's son and the remaining Persian generals. In June of the 8th indiction he attacked, dividing his own force into three sections. At this news the Roman generals along with the *magister* set out on a skilful campaign against the Persians, and there was a great battle and a terrible clash. The Romans struck down the Persians and destroyed them, even capturing their standard. Meram and the son of the Persian emperor and a few survivors escaped to Nisibis. So the Romans won a great victory.[4] When the Persian emperor learned the news, he ordered the patrician Rufinus to approach him accompa-

nied only by the *comes* Alexander.||[b5] They made their entry in August, and, after much discussion, established the terms of peace and departed peacefully.

[a] Mal. 449. 3–11; cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* at Ps.-Dionysius, a.852, Mich. Syr. ii. 207.
[b] Mal. 452. 13–453. 14.

[1] Mal. dates this within 529 (Decius still being consul some pages later).
[2] *CJ* i. 5. 18. 4, and i. 5. 11. 10 show that Justinian had now (in 529) extended the death penalty for those who had been baptized but practised pagan rites. Stein, *BE* ii. 370 suggests that the preamble to *CJ* i. 5. 11 refers to this persecution.
[3] Theophanes is to be preferred to Mal. here in saying that Phokas and Thomas were arrested rather than executed. Prok. *Anecd.* 11. 31, which deals with the persecution of pagans, does not mention executions. Thomas is attested as quaestor on 13 Feb. 528 (Const. *Haec*) and 7 Apr. 529 (Const. *Summa*) but was replaced by Tribonian before 17 Nov. 529 (*CJ* vii. 63. 5, Stein, *BE* ii. 371). Bury, *HLRE*[2] ii. 368 argued from this that the trials must have lasted a long time, but in Novel 35 (23 May 535) Thomas is described as *gloriosissimae recordationis*, which means both that he was by then dead and had been either acquitted or reinstated. Phokas was praetorian prefect in 532. In a later persecution instigated by John of Ephesos probably in 546 (Justinian's 19th year, but Ps.-Dion. also calculates by the Alexandrine era, year 852 being AD 540/1 while John of Ephesos associates Justinian with Justin still in 531), when a large number of senators, grammarians, sophists, lawyers, and physicians were denounced, whipped, and imprisoned, Phokas committed suicide, perhaps explaining Mal.'s confusion. There was a further pagan scandal in 559 according to Mal. 491, but dated to 562 by Stein, *BE* ii. 799 ff.
[4] Cf. Prok. *BP* i. 13. 9–14. 55, Stein, *BE* ii. 288.
[5] Alexander was sent as envoy to Persia again in 531 (Prok. *BP* i. 22. 1) and to Italy in 534 (Prok. *BG* i. 3. 13–16, 6. 26).

[AM] 6023 [AD 530/1]

[Year of the divine Incarnation] 523
Justinian, 4th year
Chosroes, 6th year
Boniface, bishop of Rome (2 years), 1st year[1]
Epiphanios, 11th year
Helias, 20th year
Timothy, 11th year
Ephraim, 4th year

||In September of this year in the 9th indiction,[2] there appeared an enormous and frightening star in the west. It was a comet that sent

upward its flashing rays. People called it the Torch and it continued to shine for twenty days. All over the world riots and murders occurred.[3]

At the end of November[4] the patrician Rufinus returned to the emperor Justinian from his embassy to Persia, having fixed the terms of peace. The emperor received him and was very pleased with the peace and rejoiced at the appointed terms. So there was peace in the affairs of both [states].||[a5]

[a] Mal. 454. 5–14. Cf. John of Ephesos, a.854 (van Douwen and Land, 227), Mich. Syr. ii. 205.

[1] Boniface was pope from 22 Sept. 530 to 17 Oct. 532.

[2] Mal. has no close indication of date but places the event between 530 and indiction 10 (531/2), so Theophanes' date is probably sound.

[3] Earlier sources draw attention to the comet as a presager of doom. Mal. includes drought; John of Ephesos, stressing Syriac hostility to the reign, has 'who were waiting for what would happen after that portent saw many wars, the spread of fear, hunger, drought'. Theophanes' rather softer approach may reflect his misunderstanding of the peace treaty in the following paragraph.

[4] Mal. has Sept.

[5] Theophanes has here either conflated the 'eternal' peace of 532 (Mal. 477. 13–478. 7) and the treaty of this year, which Kavad refused to ratify, or his acceptance of this treaty as a real peace has led him to omit the eternal peace of 532. Cf. AM 6021 (i), where he refers to Khusro's rejecting what was actually the treaty mentioned here. For this treaty, see Prok. *BP* i. 16. 10 (end of Justinian's 4th year); for the 'eternal' peace, Prok. *BP* i. 22. 17–18 (Justinian's 6th year). In general for Justinian's reign, Theophanes plays down war with Persia, especially Persian successes (see AM 6031), while mentioning Belisarius' success at Dara (AM 6022) leading to peace, and later stressing Belisarius' minor success (AM 6033). This is in contrast to the disproportionate space given to the Vandal War (AM 6026).

[AM] 6024 [AD 531/2]

[Year of the divine Incarnation] 524
Justinian, 5th year
Chosroes, 7th year
Boniface, 2nd year
Epiphanios, 12th year
Helias, 21st year
Timothy, 12th year
Ephraim, 5th year

||In this year, the 5th of Justinian's reign, in January of the 10th indiction,[1] occurred the so-called Nika[2] revolt.||[a] The members of the circus factions crowned as emperor Hypatios, the relative[3] of the emperor Anastasios. A large part of the city was burned, including the Great Church, St Eirene, the hospice of Sampson, the Augustaion, the portico of the Basilica, and the Bronze House of the palace.[4] There was great panic and many of those found in the Hippodrome with Hypatios perished—the number reported is 35,000.||[b5]

||The Nika riot occurred in the following way. The factions went up into the Hippodrome and the Greens began to shout acclamations[6] about Kalopodios[7] the *cubicularius* and *spatharios*.

Greens:[8] Long may you live, Justinian Augustus! *Tu vincas*![9] I am wronged, O paragon of virtue, and cannot endure it, as God knows. I am afraid to give his name in case he prospers the more, and I put myself in danger. 182

Herald:[10] Who is he? I do not know.

⟨*Greens*⟩: My oppressor, thrice-august, can be found in the shoemakers' quarter.[11]

Herald: No one does you wrong.

Greens: One man and one man only does me wrong. Mother of God, may he not hold his head up high.

Herald: We do not know who he is.

Greens: You and you alone know, thrice-august, who oppresses me today.

Herald: Come now, if there is someone, we do not know him.

Greens: Kalopodios, the *spatharios*, does me wrong, O lord of all.

Herald: Kalopodios is not at fault.

Greens: Whoever he is, he will share the fate of Judas. God will speedily exact a penalty from my oppressor.

Herald: You have not come here to watch, but only to insult your rulers.

Greens: Surely anyone who wrongs me will share the fate of Judas.

Herald: Silence, you Jews, Manichaeans, and Samaritans!

Greens: Do you call us Jews and Samaritans? May the Mother of God be with everyone.

Herald: How long are you going to curse yourselves?

Greens: If anyone denies that our lord is orthodox, let him be anathema, like Judas.[12]

Herald: I am telling you: Get baptized in one [God].[13]

The Greens shouted above each other and chanted, as Antlas demanded,[14] 'I am baptized in one [God].'

Herald: Surely, if you do not keep quiet, I shall behead you.

Greens: Everyone tries to get office for security. So whatever we say in our distress, Your Majesty should not get angry, for deity endures everything.

[*Herald:*]*[15]

Greens: We have a case, emperor, and we shall now name everything. We do not know even where the palace is, thrice-august, nor where is the state ceremonial.[16] I come only once to the City,
183 when I am seated on a mule.[17] And I would rather not then, thrice-august.

Herald: Every free man can go where he likes in public without danger.

Greens: To be sure, I am a free man,[18] but I am not allowed to show it. For if a free man is suspected of being a Green, he is sure to be punished in public.

Herald: Are you ready to die then, and will you not spare your own lives?

Greens: Let this colour be removed[19] and justice disappears. Stop the murdering and let us face punishment. See here a gushing fountain; punish as many as you like. Truly, man's nature cannot bear these two things. Would that Sabbatios[20] had not been born, so he would not have had a murderer for a son. It is the twenty-sixth[21] murder that has taken place in the Zeugma.[22] A spectator in the morning and murdered in the afternoon, lord of all.

Blues: The only murderers in the whole stadium are yours.

Greens: You kill and run away.

Blues: You kill and walk about [freely]. The only murderers in the stadium are yours.

Greens: Lord Justinian, they are asking for it and yet no one is killing them. Whoever wants to will understand.[23] The woodseller, the one in the Zeugma—who killed him, emperor?

Herald: You yourselves killed him.

Greens: Who killed the son of Epagathos, emperor?

Herald: You yourselves killed him, and now you are involving the Blues.

Greens: Now, now, have pity O Lord. Truth is being suppressed. I want to quarrel with those who say events are controlled by God. For what is the source of this misery?

Herald: God cannot be tempted with evil.[24]

Greens: God cannot be tempted with evil? But who does me wrong? If there is a philosopher[25] or hermit here, let him explain the difference.

Herald: You God-hated blasphemers, will you never be silent?

Greens: If it pleases Your Majesty, I shall keep quiet, but against my will, thrice-august. I know it all, every bit of it and I say nothing. Farewell, Justice, you exist no more. I shall turn and become a Jew. Better to be a pagan than a Blue, God knows.

Blues: I hate it. I do not want to see it.[26] Your malice is galling.

Greens: Let the bones of the spectators be dug up!||[c 27] 184

||The Greens departed and left the emperor and the Blues as spectators.||[d] And immediately a pretext for a faction riot was offered by some officials[28] in the following way. The prefect arrested three partisans among the trouble-makers and had them hanged.[29] One died immediately, but the other two fell from the gibbet. They were hanged again, and again fell.[30] The crowd of bystanders saw them and chanted, 'Get them to the church!' The monks of St Konon[31] heard, carried them to a small boat and took them across to St Laurence,[32] as that church had the privilege that no one was to be ejected from it until such time as he had suffered sufficiently.[33] On hearing of this, the prefect sent soldiers to guard them.||[e] When the partisans learned of this, they went off[34] to the Praetorium and asked the prefect to remove the soldiers on guard at St Laurence. They got no reply from him, so, enraged, they set fire to the Praetorium.||[f] The porticoes from the arch of the Forum to the Chalke were burned, and also the shops of the silversmiths and the whole palace of Lausos[35] were destroyed by fire. They killed unsparingly the soldiers who attacked them. Then they broke into houses and began to loot their contents.||[g] They set fire to the entrance of the palace (the one with the bronze roof),[36] the portico of the *Protectores*, and the senate-house[37] by the Augustaion. The partisans went down to the Julian harbour (I mean that of Sophia), to the palace of Probus[38] in search of weapons, crying 'Another emperor for the city!' They set fire to the palace of Probus which was gutted.||[h 39] Next[40] they went and burned the baths of Alexander, the great hospice of Sampson (where the patients perished),||[i] and the Great Church along with all its columns. It collapsed entirely on all four sides.||[j 42]

The emperor, in terror, wanted to load his moneys on to a *dromon* and get away as far as Herakleia in Thrace,[43] leaving the *magister militum* Moundos[44] to guard the palace, along with Moundos' son, 3,000 men, Konstantiolos and the *cubicularii*. ||The partisans 185
dragged away the corpses and tossed them into the sea, also killing a large number of women.||[k] When a rumour had got around that the emperor had taken the Augusta and left for Thrace, they proclaimed the patrician Hypatios emperor, and as he sat in the Hippodrome, he was acclaimed by the partisans and listened to the insulting jeers directed against the emperor Justinian.[45] Two hundred young Greens in armour came from Flacillianai[46] intending to open the palace and bring Hypatios in.||[l]

||The emperor, when he heard of these bold moves by the partisans and by Hypatios, went into the palace and up to the Pulpita (as they

are called), behind the Kathisma of the Hippodrome, to the dining-room with the bronze doors. He had with him Moundos, Konstantiolos, Belisarius,[47] and other senators plus a detachment of armed soldiers, *cubicularii*, and *spatharioi*. The *cubicularius* Narses[48] went out and won over some of the Blue faction by a distribution of money. They began chanting, 'Justinian Augustus, *tu vincas*! Lord, preserve Justinian the emperor and Theodora the Augusta!' The crowd was split and people began attacking one another. Those in the palace went out with their forces, detached some people from the partisans, and rushed into the Hippodrome, Narses by the gates, Moundos' son by the Sphendone, others by the narrow passage from the imperial box into the arena. They started slaying the partisans, some with their bows, others with their swords: in the end not one of the citizens, either of the Greens or of the Blues, who were in the Hippodrome, survived. Belisarius ran into the Kathisma with a number of *spatharioi*, arrested Hypatios, led him to the emperor, and had him put in prison.

The day's casualties amounted to 35,000.[49] No partisan was to be seen any longer; indeed on that day peace was restored. On the next day[50] Hypatios and his brother Pompeius were executed. Their bodies were thrown into the sea and their estates were confiscated. A further eighteen patricians, *illustres*, and consulars had their property confiscated as associates of Hypatios.[51] This produced considerable fear and the city calmed down. The chariot races were not held for a long time.‖[m]

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‖In the same year there occurred a great movement of stars from evening till dawn. Everyone was terrified and said, 'The stars are falling,[52] and we have never seen[53] such a thing as that before.'‖[n]

[a] *Chron. Pasch.* 620. 3–4. [b] Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 112. 19–27. [c] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 620. 4–12. [d] *Chron. Pasch.* 620. 12–13. [e] Mal. 473. 5–474. 1. [f] Mal. 474. 14–17. [g] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 623. 6–9, Mal. 474. 17–20. [h] *Chron. Pasch.* 621. 17–21; 622. 2–6. [i] *Chron. Pasch.* 622. 11–15. [j] *Chron. Pasch.* 621. 21–622. 2. [k] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 622. 18–21. [l] *Chron. Pasch.* 625. 5–15; cf. 624. 1–19. [m] *Chron. Pasch.* 625. 15–628. 16. [n] Mal. 477. 10–12.

[1] The date is taken from Mal. Theophanes' account of the riot falls into three discrete sections: first, a general summary; second, the odd circus dialogue; third, a more detailed account based on the original Mal. for which the best witness is the still defective account preserved in *Chron. Pasch.* Theophanes' first paragraph is in effect a summary taken verbatim from *Eccl. Hist.*

[2] 'Conquer'.

[3] In fact nephew, son of Anastasios' sister and Secundinus. On Hypatios, cf. AM 5997, 6005, 6006, 6016, 6021.

[4] Given in almost reverse order to that in the following narrative, where St Eirene is omitted.

[5] The figure is repeated at the end of the narrative.

[6] De Boor, followed by most commentators, punctuates after 'the Greens began to chant' so that what follows appears as the title of the dialogue. Our punctuation follows Tabachovitz, *Studien*, 45.

[7] His identity is disputed. The name was common enough among eunuchs. P. Karlin-Hayter suggests it is a nickname for Narses, noting that both Kalopodios (or perhaps Kalapodion) and Narses were *cubicularii* in 532, held the post of *praepositus sacri cubiculi* and were military men in the 550s. (Cf. AM 6051.) She points out too that a Kalopodios was *praepositus sacri cubiculi* under Leo (*V. Dan. Styl.* 49 and 89). See P. Karlin-Hayter, *Byz* 43 (1973), 87–8, and *Studies in Byzantine Political History* (London, 1981), iii. 9, *PLRE* iii. 267–8, Calopodius 1.

[8] The following dialogue also survives in *Chron. Pasch.* in an abbreviated form, but, as P. Maas, *BZ* 21 (1912), 28–51 and Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 322–9, have shown, the dialogue was not an original part of the text of *Chron. Pasch.* but was a later interpolation to fill a lacuna and was almost certainly taken from Theophanes. Cf. Whitby and Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale*, 113, who suggest the original Malalas as the ultimate source. Nevertheless Theophanes is the earliest surviving source for the dialogue. Maas, followed by Cameron, argued that the dialogue is not connected with the Nika revolt. Cameron has demonstrated that Theophanes has substituted the dialogue for the first section of Mal.'s account, believing it covered the same incident. Thus it cannot be taken for granted that the dialogue had anything to do with the Nika riot. Cameron argues that Theophanes, whatever his source (Maas and Cameron both suggest Joh. Ant.), was the first person to associate it with the Nika riot. Against this cf. Whitby and Whitby *Chronicon Paschale*, 113–14.

Theophanes' main source for the riot is the original Mal. preserved in this case mainly in *Chron. Pasch.* (There is no need to assume, with Bury, that Theophanes and *Chron. Pasch.* used a second common source: see n. 39 below.) Given that Theophanes rarely appears to have combined more than two sources for any one incident and that there are some difficulties in believing the source for the dialogue was Joh. Ant., as Cameron recognizes (op. cit. 328), a more likely contender is the *Ecclesiastical History*, which provided Theophanes with his introductory summary. In that case it may well have followed immediately or soon after the summary of the riot, so persuading Theophanes to incorporate it in his account. We would not wish to press this suggestion.

The other main interest in the dialogue is its metrical character, first formulated by Maas, art. cit., and modified by P. Karlin-Hayter, *Studies in Byzantine Political History* (1981), i. 1–13. Against this Cameron argues that the acclamations are more rhythmical than metrical. Much of the argument here is on the latitude allowed to an editor to produce a metrical version and how much the metrical character was produced impromptu or prepared in advance, but there is at least general agreement that many of the

Greens' lines have a syllabic and accentual regularity, be that metrical or rhythmical.

[9] i.e. 'May you conquer'. Cf. A. D. E. Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford, 1973), 77–9, 248.

[10] In the late Empire it seems to have been normal for an emperor to address the crowd through a herald rather than by gesture or in writing, methods considered more courteous during the Principate. See Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 166–8.

[11] Shoemakers' quarter is τζαγγαρεῖα, which may be a play on καλοπόδιον 'cobbler's last'; so J. Goar in 1655 followed by Maas, Bury, Diehl, Karlin-Hayter, and Cameron.

[12] i.e. the Greens are claiming to be as orthodox as the thoroughly orthodox emperor.

[13] Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 320 believes this is a question rather than a command.

[14] Antlas is presumably the cheer-leader of the Greens rather than the 'demarch', a title first attested at the end of the 6th-cent. See AM 6094 (de Boor 287, 289), 6095, 6096 and Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 259. P. Karlin-Hayter, *Studies*, 7–8, however, punctuates after 'chanted', so that the Greens reply 'As Antlas demanded, I am baptized in one' and suggests that Antlas is derived from ἀντλάω, meaning here 'the one who sucks dry' and refers to the emperor. The reply is thus placed in the context of discontent over taxation at the time of the riots (cf. Joh. Lyd. *De Mag.* iii. 26) and Justinian's Monophysite colloquium for which S. P. Brock, *Apostolos Barnabas*, 41 (1980), 219, suggests a date of spring 532. Given the allusive use of τζαγγαρεῖα to refer to Kalopodios, the possibility of further hidden allusions must be admitted.

[15] De Boor assumes a lacuna here with the Herald's words, but is not followed by Maas, Bury, or Cameron. Tabachovitz, *Studien*, 51, attributes 'deity endures everything' to the Herald.

[16] See Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 252 and 320 for this meaning. Others take it to mean 'government'.

[17] i.e. on the way to execution.

[18] Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 320–1, draws attention to two references to the 'free Blues' on the last monument of Porphyrios (*Anth. Gr.* xvi. 359. 5, 360. 3) in contrast to the Greens' complaint of freedom denied.

[19] So C. Diehl, *Justinien et la civilisation byzantine* (Paris, 1901), 460. Others, more literally, translate 'be lifted up', but that does not yield a clear sense.

[20] Justinian's father.

[21] We follow MS 'h'. De Boor, following MS 'd' has 'reasonably the sixth'. MSS 'c' and 'y' have 'the murder is beyond what is reasonable'.

[22] The area along the Golden Horn by the modern Atatürk bridge, from which there was a ferry to Sykai (Galata).

[23] De Boor does not punctuate here but has a comma after 'woodseller'.

[24] James 1: 13.

[25] 'Philosopher' could mean 'monk' from the 4th cent. onwards. See H. Hunger in M. Mullett and R. Scott, eds., *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, 40–1.

[26] Others translate as 'I hate you. I do not want to see you'. That is perhaps the right meaning but the Greek has τὸ μισῶ οὐ θέλω βλέπειν. Perhaps τὸ μῖσος should be read 'I do not wish to see hatred (or the hated thing)', or possibly τὸ μισό, as in Modern Greek, 'I do not wish to see the half of it.'

[27] The curse surprisingly means 'let them be killed'. Cf. AM 6187; A. D. E. Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 322 n. 2.

[28] So the MSS and de Boor. J. B. Bury, *BZ* 6 (1897), 508 followed by Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 326, believed this to be a misreading of Mal.'s ἀλάστορες 'avenging spirits' and so emended. While there can be no doubt that they are correct about the reading in Theophanes' source, the change is probably deliberate. *Μαΐστωρ*, derived from Latin *magister*, usually has the meaning of 'teacher' in Byzantine Greek but here probably retains the meaning of 'officer' or 'official'. 'Officials' provides a better link between the circus dialogue and the following narrative than does 'avenging spirits' (though ἀλάστορες perhaps means no more than 'wretches'), and is typical of Theophanes' method of compensation, in this case for his complete omission of the sacking of Eudaimon (the City prefect), John of Cappadocia (the praetorian prefect), and Tribonian (the quaestor), which is recorded in all the main versions of the riot (Mal., *Chron. Pasch.*, Prok., Joh. Lyd.). For a similar change, compare Theophanes' substitution of 'soldiers' for 'sycophants' in Justin II's abdication speech at AM 6070.

[29] On Saturday 10 Jan. See G. Greatrex, *JHS* 117 (1997), n. 41. Theophanes has simplified Mal.'s version, omitting four rioters (all seven had been found guilty of murder) who were beheaded.

[30] This second attempt is not in Mal.

[31] Across the Golden Horn where the executions took place. The church at Sykai is mentioned in 490 (Mal. 389), but the monastery is surprisingly not in the lists of 518 or 536.

[32] Founded by Pulcheria (AM 5945), and the scene four years later for the synod of 536.

[33] The Greek here is obscure. Possibly it should be translated 'until bail was granted'.

[34] On 13 Jan., after the 22nd race at the Hippodrome. It is at this stage that the Blues and Greens united with their watchword 'Nika'. See Mal. 474. This uniting of the factions is essential for following the narrative. Theophanes' omission of it is best explained, as Bury pointed out (*JHS* 17 (1897), 102) by assuming that Theophanes believed the circus dialogue covered the same material. This strengthens the argument that the dialogue was taken from another source.

[35] Theophanes' list seems to be based on the account of three separate conflagrations in *Chron. Pasch.* but with the order of the conflagrations changed. Theophanes' first group (porticoes . . . palace of Lausos) is *Chron. Pasch.'s* last group, which occurred on Saturday 17 Jan., although *Chron. Pasch.* omits the palace of Lausos but includes the Octagon, St Theodore of Sphorakios, and other buildings. In general it seems that Theophanes has

misguidedly attempted to organize the lists of burned buildings into a more logical order based on his knowledge of the topography. See Bury, *JHS* 17 (1897), 117.

[36] i.e. the Chalke. The places listed in 'h' make up *Chron. Pasch.'s* first group (621. 17–622. 6), which is not given a precise date except that it took place before Friday 16 Jan. Bury, *JHS* (1897), 119, suggests Wednesday 14 Jan.

[37] The MSS and de Boor read ἔνατον, 'ninth'. We accept Bury's emendation σένατον, based on *Chron. Pasch.*

[38] Probus, a nephew of Anastasios, had already been pardoned by Justinian once for conspiracy in 528/9 (Mal. 438). The crowd may have approached him since Anastasios' other nephews (Hypatios and Pompeius) were with Justinian in the palace.

[39] *Chron. Pasch.* says the fire at Probus' house was put out after slight damage. Theophanes has probably made one of his typical alterations here rather than used a different source as Bury, *JHS* 17 (1897), 103 believed.

[40] i.e. on Friday 16th according to *Chron. Pasch.*, which puts together the burning of the baths of Alexander, the hospice of Sampson, and two buildings omitted by Theophanes, namely the hospice of Euboulos and the church of Holy Peace (St Eirene), perhaps omitted accidentally through homoioteleuton of 'hospice' (so Bury, *JHS* 17 [1897], 103). Theophanes has already mentioned St Eirene in his introductory paragraph. Theophanes, however, includes here the Great Church (Hagia Sophia), which *Chron. Pasch.*, in identical words, placed in his first list. That list, however, appears to be lacunose (cf. C. E. Gleye, *BZ* 6 (1897), 444, Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 324–5) and Hagia Sophia probably survived a little longer. Cf. AM 6030, which is consistent with a date of Saturday 17 Jan. for the burning of Hagia Sophia, which would support Theophanes' placing of Hagia Sophia at the end of the list.

[41] Assuming ἀμφότεροι, here has its Byzantine Greek meaning of 'all' rather than 'both', cf. AM 5951. *Chron. Pasch.* has 'the tremendous and wonderful columns at the four corners'.

[42] For the uncommon expression ἐκ τετραέντου cf. H. Grégoire, *Receuil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*, i (Paris, 1922), no. 93: ἐκέντησεν ἐν τετραέντῳ = made a mosaic all round or on all four sides.

[43] Theophanes is the only source to provide these details, though Prok. *BP* i. 24. 32, mentions the deliberations over whether to flee.

[44] On Moundos, cf. AM 6032, where Theophanes 'introduces' him, having redated Mal. but forgetting this earlier reference. Moundos' son was Maurice. On Konstantiolos, cf. AM 6031, n. 4.

[45] Prok. *BP* i. 24. 19–31 places the proclamation of Hypatios before Justinian's intention to flee. According to Prok., Justinian sent Hypatios and his brother Pompeius home from the palace because he suspected them of plotting against him.

[46] MSS (and de Boor) read 'Flakiana' or 'Flaviana', both seemingly corrupt. *Chron. Pasch.* 624. 9–11 states 'then the crowd fetched from the palace of Placillianai imperial insignia which are kept there'. This palace, to which also Prok. makes the senator Origenes refer as an alternative base from

which to conduct the rebellion (*BP* i. 24. 30), was named after Theodosios' first wife, Aelia Flacilla, which supports a reading of Flacillianai here. Alternatively, at 625. 12–15 *Chron. Pasch.* refers to the arrival 'from Constantinianai of 250 young Greens in uniform, thinking they would be able to break into the palace and take Hypatios in with them'. This obviously reflects Theophanes' source (with Theophanes' substitution of 'in armour', λωρικάτοι for 'in uniform', and 'armed' φοροῦντες, ζάβας . . . ὡπλισμένοι and supports strongly a reading of 'Constantinianai' here. We support 'Flacillianai' since it is closer to the MSS, with Theophanes muddling his abridgement of his source. Both were in the same general area, being in the tenth and eleventh regions respectively.

The elevation of Hypatios and the suppression of the riot probably took place on Sunday 18 Jan.

[47] *Chron. Pasch.* adds Basileides.

[48] On Narses' distinguished career see *PLRE* iii. 912–28.

[49] Cf. Theophanes' introduction to the riot. So also Mal., *Chron. Pasch.*, and Cramer's *Eccl. Hist.* Prok. has 'more than 30,000' (cf. Mal. at *De insid.* 30,000); Joh. Lyd. *De Mag.* iii. 70 has 50,000; Zon., 40,000, Zach. *HE*, 80,000.

[50] i.e. Monday 19 Jan. This is Theophanes' only indication of date in his account of the riots, which he and Mal. alone preserve.

[51] Prok. *BP* i. 24. 58 reports that Justinian later restored to the children of Hypatios and Pompeius and to the others their titles and whatever was left of their property. *Anth. Gr.* vii. 592, cf. 591, a funerary epigram for Hypatios, shows that Justinian pardoned Hypatios posthumously.

[52] 'The stars are falling' is not in the surviving text of Mal., who included various events between the Nika riots and this notice.

[53] Accepting Tabachovitz's emendation, *Studien*, 52, of 'have known', οἴδαμεν to 'have seen', εἶδαμεν, as perhaps Goar intended by his translation 'conspeximus'.

[AM] 6025 [AD 532/3]

[Year of the divine Incarnation] 525
Justinian, 6th year
John, bishop of Rome (3 years), 1st year[1]
Epiphanios, 13th year
Helias, 22nd year
Timothy, 13th year
Ephraim, 6th year

||In this year,[2] Theodora, the most pious Augusta, journeyed to the hot springs of Pythia[3] to take the waters. She was accompanied by the patrician Menas (the prefect),[4] the patrician Helias, who was *comes largitionum*, and other patricians, *cubicularii*, and satraps, a total of 4,000. She showed much liberality to the churches,||[a] poorhouses, and monasteries.

[a] Mal. 441. 8–12.

[1] John II was pope 2 Jan.–8 May 535.

[2] Mal. dates this 'at the end of the indiction', so presumably in late summer or August. Which indiction is not precisely clear, but probably 7 (so 529), or just possibly 6 (528). In either case Theophanes' date is wrong. It is perhaps part of Theophanes' attempt to fill in blank years with material from Mal. which had not been given a precise date.

[3] Modern Yalova, on the Gulf of Izmit (Nicomedia), about 140 km. from Istanbul by land, but much less by sea. It is still one of the most popular spas in Turkey.

[4] Menas was holding his second praetorian prefecture by June 528 and was certainly still in office in Apr. 529. He was presumably succeeded by Demosthenes who was in office by 17 Sept. 529. So either 528 or 529 will fit for this expedition. Helias is presumably the praetorian prefect of Illyricum in 541. We do not have precise information on *comites largitionum* between 525 and his tenure.

[AM] 6026 [AD 533/4]

[Year of the divine Incarnation] 526
Justinian, 7th year
Chosroes, 9th year
John, 2nd year
Epiphanios, 14th year
Helias, 23rd year
Timothy, 14th year
Ephraim, 7th year

‖In this year Priscus, the consul and emperor's ex-notary, earned the displeasure of the empress Theodora.[1] His property was confiscated and he was ordained deacon of Kyzikos by the emperor's command.‖[a]

‖In the same year[2] the Vandalic Wars began and Belisarius conquered Africa. The Vandals, under their king Godigisklos, as related for an earlier period,[3] took hold of Spain during the rule of Arkadios and Honorius, and then crossed over from there to Libya, which they occupied.‖[b] After the death of Godigisklos,[4] his sons Gogdaris and Gizerich succeeded to the throne. After Gogdaris had died,[5] Gizerich[6] was appointed emperor of the Vandals, and ruled the city of Carthage for 39 years,[7] during which he even captured Rome.‖[c8] On his death his son Onorich,[9] succeeded to his empire and caused much harm to the Christians in Libya, compelling them to become Arians. He killed many; others had their tongues cut out of their
187 throats, but by the grace of God they were later able to speak. But the

Moors, who felt contempt for the Vandals, made war on them and did them much harm. Onorich died after eight years' rule, having lost Numidia and Mount Aurasion, which were no longer subject to the Vandals. Goundamoundos, the son of Gëezon,[10] son of Gizerich, succeeded to the throne and did greater harm to the Christians. He died after twelve years of rule.[11] He was succeeded by Trasamoundos,[12] a handsome, intelligent and magnanimous man. He forced the Christians to abandon their ancestral faith, not by torture, but by showing disfavour to those who would not comply. After his wife had died childless, he took wise counsel and sent a message to Spain[13] to Theuderich, emperor of the Goths, requesting to marry the latter's sister Amalafrida, who was a widow. Theuderich gave him his sister in marriage, and also sent one thousand reliable Goths as a bodyguard, with five thousand other fighting men to support them. Theuderich made a gift to his sister of one of the promontories of Sicily called Lysion,[14] and, as a result, Trasamoundos appeared to be the most powerful and strongest of all who had reigned among the Libyans. He became the friend of the emperor Anastasios,‖[d] and ruled his empire for 27 years. On his death, Ilderich,[15] son of Onorich and grandson of Gizerich, ruled, a gentle and good man, who was not even harsh towards the Christians. But he was excessively soft in matters of war and was unwilling even to hear about the subject. Amergous,[16] his nephew, a good man in war—they called him Achilles—was commander-in-chief of the Vandals. Ilderich was a friend of Justinian before the latter had become emperor, that is in the days of his uncle Justin, and used to send him and receive in return large sums of money, strengthening the friendship. But among Ilderich's relatives, was Gelimer,[17] a member of Gizerich's family, a terrible and wicked man, well-versed in revolution and in taking other people's money. He seized power 188
from his own lord Ilderich, who had ruled for seven years. He arrested and imprisoned Ilderich and his wife Amalafrida,[18] destroyed all the Goths, and held Amer and Amer's brother Euageës in prison. Emboldened by his usurpation, he was unable to live in the established manner.‖[e19] So he wrote to the emperor Justinian in defence of his actions, claiming that the empire lawfully belonged to him and that Ilderich lacked the strength to govern it.‖[f] To which Justinian replied that he would not recognize this usurpation. Gelimer, paying no attention to this reply, blinded Amer and locked up Ilderich and Euageës in a stronger prison.‖[g 20]

‖Thereupon Justinian began a campaign against Libya, having ended the Persian War,[21] and recalling Belisarius from the East, made his plans. The Senate was adverse, recalling the emperor Leo's

expedition against the Vandals which had been led by Basiliskos and had been destroyed with severe casualties and waste of much money.[22] The Senate now feared the degree of the risk involved should the emperor choose one [of them] as general of this campaign. John the patrician[23] came forward and made the following speech:

'We, my lord, obey your commands and do not strive against them. But it is proper for you to consider the distance involved. There is a vast expanse of sea, while the journey by land takes 140 days. [Consider, too,] the uncertainty of victory, the pain of defeat and the pointlessness of regret.'

The emperor accepted the argument and checked his zeal for war. But an eastern bishop aroused the emperor again. He claimed to have received a dream from God commanding him to visit the emperor and to petition him to release the Christians in Libya from the usurpers. 'I shall assist him and make him master of Libya.'[24] At this stage the emperor was unable to restrain his intentions any longer, but equipped the army and the ships and got arms and corn ready. He ordered Belisarius to be prepared to lead a campaign into Libya. At
189 that moment Pudentius revolted and captured Tripolis. He sent a request to Justinian for an army to occupy it. Likewise Goddas the Goth rebelled against his own master Gelimer, captured Sardinia, and wrote to Justinian to send an army under a general to take the island.||[h] Justinian sent out Cyril with 400 men to support him.||[i] Gelimer sent out a large fleet commanded by his brother with a picked force of the Vandal army,||[j] recaptured the island, and killed Goddas.||[k25]

||Belisarius took control of the army, fleet, and the officers, namely the general Solomon, Dorotheos of Armenia, Cyprian, Valerian, Martin, Alphias, John, Marcellus, and Cyril (the one just mentioned) and many others from Thrace. They were followed by 1,000 Elours,[26] commanded by Pharas, and mounted archers of the Massagetai, who were led by Sisinnios[27] and Balas. There were 500 ships, each having a capacity of 50,000 *medimni*.[28] There were 30,000 sailors, Egyptians, Ionians, and Cilicians. The fleet had a single admiral, Kalonymos of Alexandria. There were also 90 *dromones*[29] for sea battles. The emperor appointed Belisarius as general with sole authority over all. Belisarius came from Germania,[30] which lies between Thrace and Illyria.||[l] His wife Antonina travelled with him.||[m]

||Gelimer sent out his brother Tzatzon with 120 ships and a chosen army to the island of Sardinia against Goddas.||[n31]

||It was Justinian's seventh year[32] when Belisarius was sent to the

island. The author Prokopios accompanied him. After setting out from the imperial city, they arrived at Abydos.||[o] Belisarius took care that the whole expedition should sail together and anchor in the same place.||[p] After arriving in Sicily he dispatched Prokopios, the author, to Syracuse, with a view to finding some persons who would 190
guide him to Libya so as to moor unexpectedly close to the land and disembark his force which was afraid of a sea battle. Belisarius himself set out with the fleet and made his base at Kaukana,[33] two hundred stades from Syracuse. Prokopios entered Syracuse and bought supplies from Amalasuntha, Theuderich's wife and mother of Atalarich, emperor of Italy. They had [a pact of] friendship with Justinian. He unexpectedly met a childhood friend, who had experience of both Libya and the sea (in fact it was only the third day since his return from Carthage) and who affirmed that the Vandals were so blissfully ignorant and so untroubled by the thought of anyone attacking them that Gelimer had camped four days' journey from the sea. Prokopios took him and brought him to Belisarius at Kaukana. On being informed of these things, Belisarius on the third day anchored off the coast of Libya by a place called Shoal's Head.||[q34] After disembarking and building a rampart and a deep ditch, they made camp there in a single day.

At that spot the earth produced a great supply of water in the hole where the ditch was being dug, and so provided all the needs of the army and the animals in an otherwise waterless stretch of ground. On the following day the army went out to collect booty. The general rebuked them saying: 'It is wrong to use violence and to feed yourselves on another's property at any time and particularly when in danger. I allowed you to disembark in this land trusting in one thing alone, namely that by justice and good deeds we would serve God and win the Libyans to our side. But your lack of self-control will bring about the reverse for us, and will cause the Libyans to ally themselves with the Vandals. Take my advice. Obtain your food by buying it. Then you will not appear unjust, nor will you change the
[present] Libyan friendship to enmity, and you will set God at rest. 191
Stop these assaults on what belongs to others, and shake off a profit filled with danger.' Belisarius then dispatched the army to the city of Syllektos[35] and captured it without trouble. For having reached it at night, they entered along with the peasants, who were bringing in their waggons, and took the city. When day broke, they took the priest and the leading citizens of the place, and sent them[35a] to the general. On the same day, the administrator of the *cursus publicus* deserted and delivered the public horses. Also the courier who delivered the king's messages was captured.||[r]

||Belisarius put the army in order and marched towards Carthage. He put John the Armenian in charge of 300 picked troops with an order to follow the main army at all times and not to be far away. Having arrived at the city of Syllektos, he gained the inhabitants' friendship by goodness and kind words so that the remainder made the journey as if they were in their own country, with [the local population] neither retreating, nor hiding themselves, but providing a market and assisting the soldiers in other ways. Covering 80 stades each day,[36] they reached Carthage. So by way of the city of Leptis and Adramouton[37] they reached a place called Chrasis,[38] 308 stades[39] from Carthage, where the Vandals had a palace with beautiful parks, clear springs, and unlimited quantities of all kinds of fruit. So each of the soldiers pitched his tent in the orchards and they all enjoyed the ripe fruit, without any apparent reduction in its quantity.

When Gelimer heard that the Romans were near by, he wrote to his brother Amatas in Carthage that he should kill Ilderich and all his other relatives who were in prison and should arm himself and the Vandals for war and anyone else in the city capable of fighting. Amatas carried out these instructions. Belisarius sent a message to Archelaos, the second-in-command,[40] and Kalonymos the admiral
192 to approach Carthage but not to attack it until he gave the order. He himself went to Decimum[41] which is 70 stades from Carthage.

Gelimer ordered his nephew Kibamoundos[42] to advance with 2,000 men on the left side, so that with Amatas coming from Carthage, Gelimer from the rear, and Kibamoundos from the country on the left, they would encircle the enemy in one place. Belisarius for his part ordered John, as I have already mentioned, to go ahead and the Massagetai to advance on the left of the army. Amatas, however, did not arrive at the required time, but left the main force of Vandals in Carthage and came as quickly as he could to Decimum with a small force, and these not even the best. He encountered John, came to blows, and was killed by John. Those with him turned in headlong flight and swept back all those going from Carthage to Decimum, thinking that their pursuers were very numerous. John and his band killed so many on their way up to the gates of Carthage that those who saw it would have conjectured that this was the work of 20,000.

Kibamoundos with his 2,000 encountered the might of the Huns, and all were killed.||[s] Belisarius, who was at Decimum, learned nothing of this, but surrounded the place with a rampart and encamped there. He left his wife and the infantry there, and set out with the cavalry and the officers to Carthage. Finding the fallen bod-

ies of Amatas and the Vandals, and so learning what had happened, he went up on a hill and saw dust rising from the south and a great mass of Vandal cavalry led by Gelimer, who was unaware of the fate of either Kibamoundos or Amatas. When they came near each other, the vanguard of the Vandals captured the hill and were terrible to the enemy. The Romans were routed and fled to a place seven stades 193
from Decimum, but God[43] unexpectedly wrought a change in the Vandals and made them cowards. For if they had made the pursuit immediately, they would have completely wiped out all of Belisarius' men (so great was the force of the Vandals) and would have caught John without effort on his way back from Carthage while stripping the corpses. But Gelimer, after coming down from the hill, and finding his brother's corpse, turned to lamentation and blunted the edge of his victory. Belisarius ordered his fugitives to hold their ground, got them all into proper order, rebuked them for their cowardice, and learning simultaneously of the death of his opponents and of John's victory, bravely advanced at the double against Gelimer. The barbarians, being caught unprepared, turned in headlong flight and suffered many losses as they made for Numidia and deserted Carthage. After night had fallen, Belisarius, John, and the Massagetai reached Decimum, learned all that had happened, and rejoiced.[44]

On the following day, they all proceeded to Carthage including the infantry and Belisarius' wife. The Carthaginians opened the gates, lit their lamps, and came in a throng to meet Belisarius. But the Vandals who were there sought refuge in the churches. When the fleet arrived, the citizens removed the chain and received the fleet into the harbour.||[t] The greater part of the fleet, however, heeding Belisarius' order, did not enter the harbour but anchored outside. But Kalonymos, acting in disobedience, did enter, plundered the vessels there, and seized much money. He also entered shops and houses near the harbour and took numerous prisoners.

Belisarius, after gaining control of Carthage without toil, exhorted his soldiers with the following speech:[45] 'You see how much good fortune came to us when we showed moderation towards the Libyans. Make sure you maintain that good behaviour in Carthage. Let no one wrong any man, or steal anything from him. Seeing that they have suffered many evils at the hands of the barbarian Vandals, our emperor has sent us to help them and to bestow freedom on them.' Having exhorted them thus, he entered Carthage. And having 194
gone up to the palace, he sat down on Gelimer's throne. Thereupon the Carthaginian merchants and those who lived by the sea came up to him, complaining of the robbery they had suffered at the hands of

the fleet. Belisarius made Kalonymos the admiral swear that he would bring out all that had been stolen, and give it back to the rightful owners. But Kalonymos appropriated a part to himself and, having sworn falsely, payed the penalty not much later. For he went out of his mind, bit off his tongue, and died.

Belisarius entertained the people royally at a banquet at which Gelimer's servants served and poured the wine and waited upon them in every other way. So marked was the absence of violence when the general took the city that he inflicted no insults on anyone, and no one in the market locked up his house. Instead, the soldiers shopped, ate, and enjoyed themselves. Belisarius gave assurances to the Vandal fugitives in the churches and brought them out. He then turned his attention to the city walls which earlier had been neglected. It was reported that long ago it had been said in Carthage that *gamma* would drive out *beta* ⟨and in return *beta* would drive out *gamma*⟩.[46] This was now accomplished. For earlier Gizerich had driven out Boniface, and now Belisarius drove out Gelimer.‖[u]

‖Gelimer gave out much money to the Libyan peasants and won them over to his side. He ordered them to kill any Romans who remained in the country. When the peasants did this, Belisarius learnt of it and sent out Diogenes, one of his bodyguard, to punish the peasants. Diogenes and his men went to a house and slept there without taking any precautions against attack. Gelimer heard of this, selected 300 troops, and sent them against him. They arrived, surrounded the house, but were afraid to go in during the night. The Romans perceived this, got up, armed themselves, mounted their horses, and, all twenty of them,[47] suddenly burst open the doors. Defending themselves with their shields and using their spears they routed their opponents.‖[v]

195 ‖Gelimer, who was in Numidia, brought all the Vandals together plus any supporters he had among the Moors, and made ready for war. He sent a letter to his brother Tzatzon in Sardinia, announcing what had happened to him. Tzatzon set out from Sardinia immediately with the entire force, reached the coast of Libya on the third day and got to Gelimer. The two embraced one another round the neck and, without speaking, clutched each other's hands and wept. The army lamented the disaster in similar fashion. Gelimer, taking everyone along, set out for Carthage and tried to besiege it, thinking that those inside would betray the city to him, as would also any of the Roman soldiers who followed the doctrines of Arius.[48] He sent messages to the leaders of the Huns and promised to give them many fine things, if they would betray the Romans to him. Belisarius learned about this from deserters, and having found a certain traitor

called Laurentius[49] in Carthage, he had him impaled on a hill in front of the city, and as a result, those contemplating treachery grew very scared, so that the Massagetai confessed what they had been told by Gelimer. When Belisarius had won them all back to his side by persuasion and oaths, he immediately ordered John the Armenian to take all the cavalry except 500 and set out to skirmish with the Vandals. On the following day Belisarius followed with the infantry and the 500 cavalry. He came upon the Vandals encamped at Trikamaron[50] and they stayed near each other throughout the night. A prodigy happened in the Roman army, for the tips of their spears shone with a great fire. They looked at this and were amazed. At daybreak both sides armed and rushed into battle. John selected a few of his men, crossed the river and attacked the Vandals. Tzatzon pushed him back and gave chase with his Vandals as far as the river but John, 196
taking most of Belisarius' bodyguard, flung himself against Tzatzon with a shout and a loud noise. Then a fierce battle took place. Tzatzon, Gelimer's brother, fell. Next the whole Roman army crossed the river and advanced towards the enemy, whom they routed and pursued as far as their camp. On their return they stripped the bodies, especially of those who were wearing gold, and went back to their own camp. The casualties of this battle were 50 Roman dead as against 800 Vandals. Belisarius arrived late in the evening with the infantry and then, setting out as quickly as he could with the entire army, made for the Vandals' camp. When Gelimer realized that Belisarius was there with the infantry and the entire army, he mounted his horse and, without making any disposition, fled terrified to Numidia with a few of his relatives and servants. When the Vandals realized that he had fled and the enemy were already in sight, then the men, women, and children began to yell and wail. They took no care of their moneys or their grieving loved ones but each fled as best he could. The Romans arrived, took the camp and spent the whole night in pursuit. The men whom they came upon they killed, and took prisoner the women and children and found a greater mass of money than had ever before been gathered in one place. For after plundering the Roman Empire, the Vandals had transferred much money to Libya; and as the land itself was good and fertile there had been considerable revenue for them. The Vandals had ruled Libya for 95 years,[51] and gathered great wealth, but on that day all this wealth returned to the hands of the Romans, for in the three months that Belisarius had fought ⟨from 197
October to the end of December⟩, he had subjugated all Libya.‖[w]

‖He dispatched John the Armenian with 200 picked men to pursue Gelimer till he caught him, dead or alive. He overtook Gelimer

and would have captured him, if the following event had not occurred. Accompanying John was a certain Ouliaris, one of Belisarius' bodyguard. This man, being drunk on wine, saw a bird sitting on a tree, drew his bow and shot at it. He missed the bird, but struck John in the back of the neck. He was mortally wounded and so died, a loss sadly mourned by the emperor Justinian, by Belisarius, and by all Romans and Carthaginians. Thus Gelimer got away on that day and made for the territory of the Moors. Belisarius pursued him and blockaded him on Mount Pappua[52] in the furthest parts of Numidia. He invested the mountain throughout the winter, [Gelimer] lacking all supplies:‖[x53] for the Moors bake no bread, nor do they have wine, or oil[54] but, like senseless[55] animals, they eat uncooked barley and grain. Having fallen into these circumstances, Gelimer wrote[56] to Pharas, whom Belisarius had left to guard him, asking that a lyre, a loaf of bread, and a sponge be sent to him. Pharas was confused about what this could mean, until the messenger explained that Gelimer desired to gaze at the bread, not having seen bread since his ascent; that he wanted a sponge because his eyes were suffering from being unbathed—so that he might soothe them with a sponge; the lyre because he was a good lyre-player, so that he might mourn and weep over his present misfortune to the accompaniment of a lyre. Pharas, having heard this, was greatly pained and grieved about man's lot, acted according to the message and sent all that Gelimer sought. When winter had passed, Gelimer, fearing the
198 Roman siege and pitying his relatives' children, who had bred worms in their distress, was weakened in his intent and wrote to Pharas, that after receiving pledges, he and his companions would surrender to Belisarius. Pharas gave him sworn assurances, then, taking all of them, came to Carthage. Belisarius received him with great joy, but Gelimer laughed as he approached Belisarius. Some suspected that, because of the extent of his suffering, he had departed from normal behaviour and had lost his wits. But his friends' view was that the man's wits were still sharp enough and that he had taken stock of the fact that he, an emperor descended from emperors, who had possessed great power and wealth, had suddenly had to flee and had suffered such hardship on Mount Pappua, and now had come as a captive, and that, as a result, he felt that man's lot warranted nothing else than much laughter. Belisarius treated his captive and all the other Vandal leaders with honour, so that he could bring them to the emperor Justinian in Byzantium.‖[y] Straight away Belisarius sent Cyril with Tzatzon's head to Sardinia (formerly called Kyrnos),[57] which he made subject to the Romans.

He dispatched another John to Caesarea[58] in Mauritania, which is

30 days' journey from Carthage and lies on the way to Cadiz and the setting of the sun, and another John, one of his bodyguard, he sent to the strait near Cadiz, by one of the pillars of Heracles, to take possession of the fort there which they call Septon.[59] And to the islands which are near the strait where the Ocean flows in, Majorica and Minorica, he sent Apolinarios, a man excellent in wars. He sent some Libyans to Sicily and ordered them to capture the Vandal fort. The Goths who were guarding it reported this to Atalarich's mother. She wrote to Belisarius not to take the fort arbitrarily until the 199
emperor Justinian had been informed and made his decision.‖[z] On this the Vandalic war ended.

But envy, which is wont to arise in great good fortune, stung even Belisarius. Some slandered him to the emperor of plotting to usurp power. The emperor sent out Solomon to test Belisarius' views, with the choice that either he return to Byzantium with Gelimer and the Vandals, or else stay where he was but send them here. Belisarius was not unaware that some officers were accusing him of usurpation.[60] So he went to Byzantium and left Solomon as general of Libya.‖[aa] On reaching Byzantium with Gelimer and the Vandals, Belisarius was considered worthy of great honours such as in older times Roman generals had been awarded for their greatest victories. No one had achieved this great distinction for 600 years apart from Titus, Trajan, and other emperors who had fought and conquered the barbarian races.[61] He displayed the spoils and captives from the war in the midst of the city and led a procession, which the Romans call a triumph, not, however, in the ancient manner, but going on foot from his own house to the Hippodrome. There were the spoils, such as are customarily set aside as suitable for the rank of the emperor: golden thrones, and carriages in which the wives of emperors ride, a mass of jewelry made of precious stones, golden cups, and all the other things which are used for the royal table. There was silver weighing many thousands of talents and all kinds of royal treasure, which Gizerich had taken when he plundered the palace in Rome. Among these were the Jewish treasures, which Titus, son of Vespasian, had brought to Rome after the capture of Jerusalem.[62] There were prisoners in the triumph, among them Gelimer himself wearing some purple garment on his shoulder, and all his relatives, and those Vandals who 200
were very tall and had a fine physique. When Gelimer reached the Hippodrome and saw the emperor sitting on his seat and the people standing on either side, he could not stop saying and shouting out, 'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity'.[63] When he had come before the emperor's seat, they stripped off his purple garment and compelled him to fall prone on the ground and do obeisance to the emperor.[64]

The emperor and the Augusta presented the children and grandchildren of Ilderich and all the relatives of the emperor Valentinian with large sums of money, and granted extensive and pleasant estates in Galatia to Gelimer where he could live with all his family. But they did not promote him to the rank of patrician since he refused to change from the faith of Arius.

After the triumph Belisarius distributed consular largess[65] and the people of Byzantium enjoyed a great deal of the money from his victory, more than ever before.||*bb*[66]

||While Solomon governed Libya the Moors went to war against the Libyans. The Moors are descended from those races that Joshua the son of Nun had driven out of Phoenicia, where they had dwelt, between Sidon and Egypt. On reaching Egypt, but not being welcomed there, they made for Libya, and settled on its borders. Later the Roman emperors conquered the area and called it Tigisis.[67] They set up two columns of white stone by the great spring, inscribed in the Phoenician script with the following: 'We are those who fled from before the face of Joshua, the robber, the son of Nun.' There were other races in Libya earlier, native ones who had an emperor
201 called Asklepios,[68] the one who wrestled with Herakles at Klipea and who they claimed was the son of Earth. It was they who founded Carthage.||*cc*

||Solomon took the army from Carthage and marched against the Moors. He went to Byzakion[69] to a place called Ramma,[70] where the Moors had camped by making a circle of camels and placing their women and children inside the circle. When the Moors came out against him, Solomon dismounted, and leading 500[71] selected soldiers, ordered them to attack one section of the circle and kill the camels. After killing about 200, he rushed into the centre of the circle, where the women were seated. The terrified barbarians fled to the mountain in utter disorder. 10,000 Moors were killed on that day. All the women and children were taken as slaves. Taking them together with the camels and all the booty, they returned to Carthage, and celebrated a feast of victory.||*dd* But the barbarians gathered together again in full force, including women and children (they left no one behind), marched against the Romans and began plundering the villages of Byzakion. Solomon quickly set out and led the whole army against them. He reached Burgarion,[72] where the enemy had camped, and drew up the army for battle. The Moors stayed for the most part in the mountain of the Burgari, having no desire to descend into the plain. Solomon sent out Theodore at night with 1,000 infantry and some of the standards, with the aim of climbing the mountain from behind the Moors during the night, and

as soon as the sun rose, they were to raise the standards high and move against the enemy. Likewise Solomon himself made the ascent at the crack of dawn and moved against the enemy. The barbarians, seeing that they were in the middle of the Romans, began to flee, and hurling themselves from cliffs destroyed themselves. In the battle 50,000 Moors perished but not a single Roman died or suffered 202
a wound, but all gained a victory unscathed. Most of their rulers joined the Romans.[73] So great was the number of women and children taken by the Romans that they would sell a Moorish boy for the price of a sheep to anyone who wanted to buy one. It was then that the ancient saying of a female seer was fulfilled for the Moors, that most of them would perish at the hands of a beardless man.||*ee* For Solomon had been a eunuch since childhood, not deliberately, but having lost his genitals through illness.||*ff*[74] He took all the booty and returned to Carthage.||*gg*

||At this time, a portent occurred in the sky. For a whole year the sun shone darkly, without rays, like the moon. Mostly it looked as if it was eclipsed, not shining clearly as was normal.[75] It was the tenth year of Justinian's rule.[76] In this time neither war nor death stopped weighing upon men.

At the beginning of spring Belisarius was sent by Justinian to Sicily to make it tributary to the Romans. After he had wintered in Sicily,||*hh* when the festival of Easter had arrived,[77] the Romans in Libya mutinied against Solomon in the following manner.[78] Having taken the wives of the slain Vandals, they laid claim to the lands as their own and refused to pay taxes to the emperor for them. Solomon exhorted them not to rebel against the emperor, but to hand over the appointed sums to him. Some of them, especially among the Goths,[79] succumbed to the Arian faith, and were excluded from church by the priests, who even refused to baptize their children. As a result a rebellion occurred during the [Easter] festival. The soldiers plotted to kill Solomon in the church. After leaving the city, they plundered its lands and treated the Libyans as enemies. Solomon heard this and amid considerable uproar attempted to persuade the 203
soldiers to see reason and to end their rebellion. But they gathered and began insulting Solomon and the officers shamelessly. They went to the palace and elected Theodore the Cappadocian as their general, then taking up arms they set about killing anyone they encountered who was known to be friendly to Solomon, whether Roman or Libyan, stole money, broke into houses, and looted all the valuables. Solomon escaped by fleeing to the palace church. When night fell, he left the palace with the author Prokopios and Martin,[80] embarked in a ship and went to Belisarius at Syracuse in Sicily, after

leaving instructions for Theodore[81] to take care of Carthage and the imperial possessions. The soldiers gathered in the plain of Boule,[82] chose as their tyrant Martin's bodyguard Stotzas, a passionate and energetic man, with the purpose of driving out the emperor's officers and taking control of Libya.

When Stotzas came close to Carthage, he sent a command to Theodore to hand over the city to him immediately so as to avoid harm. But Theodore and the Carthaginians agreed to defend Carthage for the emperor. Stotzas thereupon set about besieging the city. Belisarius selected a hundred men from his bodyguard and shield-bearers, whom Solomon put on board a single ship and sailed into Carthage as darkness fell. When day broke, the usurper and the soldiers turned and fled in disgraceful confusion at the news of Belisarius' arrival. Belisarius collected about 2,000 of the army, pursued the fugitives and caught up with them at the city of Membresa.[83] Seeing that they had left their ranks and were going around in complete disorder, Belisarius moved down on all of them.
204 They turned and fled and, when they reached Numidia, regathered. Few died in this battle, and most of them were Vandals. Belisarius spared the Romans, but plundered their camp, found a great quantity of money and the women on whose account the war had taken place. With this accomplished, Belisarius returned to Carthage. Then a report came from Sicily that a rebellion had broken out in the camp and was about to throw everything into confusion unless he returned there quickly. So after arranging matters in Libya as best he could and entrusting Carthage to Ildiger and Theodore, he went to Sicily.] |*ii*

||At this news[84] Justinian sent to Libya his nephew Germanus, a patrician, with Domnicus and Symmachos, learned men,[85] and a small force. On reaching Carthage, Germanus made a count of the soldiers there, and after examining the books of the scribes, in which the soldiers' names were registered, he discovered that a third of the army in Carthage and the other cities was loyal to the emperor, but all the rest were arrayed with the usurper. Because of this he did not march out to battle, but took care of his army. He kept on announcing that he had been sent by the emperor to defend the soldiers who had been wronged, and to punish those who had been responsible for the wrong done to them. The soldiers who heard these statements gradually came over to him. Germanus received them with great friendliness, gave them assurances, treated them with respect, and paid them their wages. When word of this was spread about and reached everyone, they deserted the usurper and came to Carthage. Stotzas, already aware of the harm, encouraged those who remained,

and marched against Carthage. Germanus armed his forces and moved against him. Their obvious eagerness to show their loyalty to the emperor persuaded the general. When the forces under Stotzas saw them, they were overcome with cowardice and retreated to Numidia. Germanus came there with the whole army not much later. When he caught up with them,[86] he discovered that thousands upon thousands of barbarian Moors had joined them—people ruled by Iaudas and Ortaias. They clashed and a violent battle ensued dur- 205
ing which one of the enemy killed Germanus' horse. Germanus fell to the ground and would have been in great danger had not his bodyguards quickly surrounded him, brought him a horse, and helped him remount. So the soldiers were routed and Stotzas in this confusion was able to get away with a few men. Germanus immediately exhorted those around him to rush at the enemy's camp, which he gained by fighting. There the soldiers began seizing the money without reason and took no notice of the general. Germanus, in fear that the enemy would take joint counsel and attack him, stood mournfully, urging them to return to good order. But the Moors, having seen the rout, rushed out against the mutineers and pursued them jointly with the imperial army. Stotzas, who had placed his confidence in them and now saw what was being done by them, fled with a hundred men and reached inner Mauritania. So the revolt ended.||*ii*

||The emperor, after recalling Germanus along with Domnicus and Symmachos to Byzantium, again put Solomon in charge of Libya's affairs (it was the thirteenth year of Justinian's rule),[87] and assigned to him, among other officers, Rufinus, Leontios, and John, son of Sisinnios.[88] Solomon, after sailing to Carthage, ruled the people fairly and made Libya secure, keeping the army in good order. Anyone under suspicion was sent to Byzantium.||*kk*

||Belisarius,[89] after regaining Sicily and Rome, which had been held by Vittius, and the neighbouring cities, brought Vittius to Justinian in Byzantium along with the man's wife and children. The emperor dispatched Narses[90] the chamberlain with a fleet to Rome to maintain control of those parts.||*ll*

||Solomon, once the administration of Carthage and Libya was running smoothly, began a campaign against the Moors. First he sent out a force under Gontharis his bodyguard, an able warrior. He 206
reached the river Bigas[91] and set up camp at Baugain,[92] a deserted city. There he was defeated in battle, and after returning to his stockade, was being hard pressed by the Moors' siege. Solomon, who was close by, learned of this and came quickly. The barbarians retreated in fear and camped at the foot of Mount Aurasion. Solomon clashed with them and routed them. The Moors fled into the more difficult

parts of the mountain and got away to Mauritania. Solomon plundered the plains of Mougade,[93] fired all their land, carried off a great deal of corn, and returned to the fort at Zerboule.[94] There Iaudas had fled with 20,000 Moors. Iaudas, after leaving the fort, ascended to the heights of Mount Aurasion and kept his peace. Solomon captured the fort of Zerboule after three days' siege, plundered all its contents, established a garrison there, and marched on.‖*mm* He began looking for a spot from where it would be possible to reach the summit of the mountain, which was precipitous and posed great difficulty. But God provided a way out of this impasse, as follows. One of the soldiers among the infantry, who was an *optio*,[95] named Genzon, either in anger or moved by some divine impulse, began climbing towards the enemy on his own. Some of his fellow-soldiers, greatly amazed at what was happening, began following behind him. Three of the Moors who had been appointed to guard the entrance saw the man and raced to meet him, thinking that he was climbing to attack them. But he met them separately because of the narrowness of the path, so he dispatched the first one and then the second and the third in the same way. Seeing this, those behind moved against the enemy
207 with a great deal of noise and uproar. The Roman army heard and saw what was happening, and not waiting for the general or the trumpets, nor keeping any order, but making a great hubbub and encouraging one another, raced towards the enemy camp. Thereupon Rufinus and Leontios performed deeds of outstanding valour against the enemy. The barbarians immediately fled as best each could. Iaudas, wounded in the thigh by a javelin, got away and retreated to Mauritania. The Romans, after plundering the enemy camp, no longer left Mount Aurasion, but built forts and are continuing to guard it.[96] There was one extremely precipitous rock, on which the Moors had built a tower and made this a secure place of refuge, strong and unassailable. There Iaudas happened to have placed his money and his women, appointing an old man as guard of the money. For he could not have suspected that the enemy would come to this tower or be able to take it by force. But the Romans, while exploring the harsh territory of Aurasion, came there. One of them attempted to climb the tower for fun. The women began mocking him and so, too, did the old man. But when the Roman, using his hands and feet to climb, came quite close, he drew his sword, drove it hard, got the old man in the neck, and cut off his head. The soldiers, by now confident, climbed the tower holding on to each other. They took the women and the great quantities of money that were there and brought them to Solomon. Solomon built walls round the Libyan cities,[97] and since the Moors had retreated

from Numidia in defeat, he made the land of Zabe[98] and Mauritania and its metropolis Itiphis[99] a tributary province of the Romans. For Caesarea is the first metropolis of the other Mauritania, which Belisarius had earlier made subject. So all the Libyans became subjects of Rome and enjoyed secure peace.‖*nn*

‖After four years of this peace, in Justinian's 17th year,[100] Kyros and Sergius, the sons of Bakchos, the brother of Solomon, were dis- 208
patched by the emperor to rule in Libya, Kyros as governor of Pentapolis,[101] Sergius of Tripolis.[102] The Moors sent their elders to Sergius at the city of Leptis Magna to offer him gifts and confirm the peace. But Sergius, on the advice of Pudentius, a citizen of Tripolis, received eighty of the more trustworthy barbarians in the city, promising to fulfil all they sought, and he confirmed the peace by oaths. The others he expelled to a suburb. The former he invited to a meal and killed all of them, except one who slipped away unnoticed and reported these events to his tribesmen. At this they raced to their own camp and joined with all the others to attack the Romans. Sergius and Pudentius met them and when battle was joined, Pudentius was killed after losing many men while Sergius, stricken with fright beyond description, sailed to Carthage[103] to his uncle Solomon.‖*oo*

The Moors deserted all Tripolis.[104] After plundering all the country there and enslaving a mass of Romans, the barbarians went to Pentapolis. On hearing of this, Kyros fled to Carthage by sea. The barbarians—there was no one to oppose them—took the city of Veronica,[105] marched on Carthage ‖and, on reaching Byzakion plundered many villages during their invasion of those parts. Antalas, an enemy of Solomon, who had killed his brother, joined the barbarians and led them against Carthage and Solomon. Solomon heard of this, collected the army, and moved against them. He camped at the city of Beste,[106] six days' journey from Carthage. Kyros, Sergius, and young Solomon, the children of Bakchos were with him. Seeing the number of barbarians, he took fright and sent a message to their leaders castigating them for taking up arms against the Romans, to whom they were bound by treaty, and requesting that the peace be secured and confirmed by oaths. The barbarians, mocking his words, 209
replied, 'Sergius took an oath on the Gospels[107] and kept it splendidly by killing eighty men. How should we now trust your oaths?' Battle was joined and the Romans were routed. Solomon's horse stumbled and he was killed as were his bodyguards.‖*pp*

‖Sergius, his nephew, was entrusted with the rule of Libya by the emperor. John, son of Sisinniolos, and the other officers developed a great hatred for Sergius, so that none wanted to take up arms against

the enemy, and the barbarians plundered all without fear. Antalas wrote to the emperor Justinian saying, 'All the Moors choose to be your friends and servants, but, unable to endure the persecution of Solomon and his nephews, have rebelled. Recall these men and peace will be established between Romans and Moors.' The emperor refused to do this. Antalas and the army of the Moors gathered again in Byzakion. With them was Stotzas commanding a few soldiers and Vandals. The Libyans exhorted John, son of Sisinniolos, to raise an army and march against the enemy with Himerios, the officer commanding the detachment in Byzakion. He took the army and marched against the enemy, ordering Himerios to go ahead.[108] In the clash the Romans were defeated. The barbarians captured Himerios alive with his army, imprisoned him, and handed over the soldiers to Stotzas after they agreed to campaign against the Romans. They then took the city of Adramyton[109] by craft[110] because of Himerios.‖*qq*

‖Some of the Libyans fled to Sicily, some to other islands and to Byzantium, while the Moors and Stotzas plundered all Libya with complete freedom. The Libyans who had come to Byzantium begged the emperor to send an army and his best general to Libya. The
210 emperor sent Areobindos[111] with a few soldiers. He was well-born and prudent, but quite unskilled in military matters. With him went Athanasios and a few Armenians, led by the Arsacids[112] Artabanes and John. The emperor did not even recall Sergius, but ordered him to join with Areobindos as generals of Libya. Sergius was to wage war against the barbarians in Numidia, while Areobindos was to fight the Moors in Byzakion. Areobindos reached Libya and, taking half the army, sent out John, son of Konstantiolos,[113] against Stotzas and the barbarians. When John had seen the vast numbers of the enemy, he was compelled to come to grips with them. He and Stotzas hated each other so much that each prayed he would slay the other and so die. In the battle[114] both left their camps and went for each other. John drew his bow and hit Stotzas on the right side of the groin. Stotzas died a few days later. But the barbarians advanced on the enemy with great fury and, having unlimited numbers, killed John and all the Romans. John is reported to have said, 'I die a happy death with my prayer against Stotzas answered.' When Stotzas learned of John's death he, too, died joyfully. John the Armenian was also killed. This news grieved the emperor considerably. He dismissed Sergius from office and recalled him,[115] entrusting the rule of Libya to Areobindos alone.‖*rr*

‖Two months later a certain Gontharis,[116] leader of the detachments in Numidia, devised a strategem against Areobindos and

secretly sent a message to the Moors that they should march on Carthage. So straight away the enemies' army from both Numidia and Byzakion gathered in one place and eagerly moved towards Carthage. Koutzinas and Iaudas led the Numidians, Antalas those from Byzakion.The usurper John (in the place of Stotzas) joined them 211
with his soldiers. On being informed of this, Areobindos, trusting in Gontharis' loyalty, delivered the army to him and sent him out together with Artabanes and the Armenians against the enemy. Gontharis sent his own cook, a Moor, to the barbarians to tell Antalas that Gontharis wanted to share the rule of Libya with him. Antalas heard the message with pleasure but replied that such matters could not be managed safely through a cook. So Gontharis sent to Antalas his trusted bodyguard Oulitheos with the request that Antalas should come close to Carthage, so that he himself could kill Areobindos. Oulitheos met Antalas secretly and they agreed that Antalas should rule Byzakion and take half of Areobindos' money plus 1,500 Roman soldiers, while Gontharis should take the title of emperor and control Carthage. After accomplishing this, Oulitheos returned to Gontharis. The barbarians, for their part, marched with great zeal towards Carthage. They arrived at Decimum,[117] camped there and next day moved against Carthage. But some men of the Roman army met them unexpectedly, attacked them, and killed many of the Moors. Gontharis rebuked them for their boldness claiming that they were endangering the Roman state. But Areobindos sent a message to Koutzinas calling on him to betray the Moors and he agreed to do this. For the race of the Moors is faithless both to one another and to everybody else. Areobindos revealed this to Gontharis who told Areobindos not to trust Koutzinas, and meanwhile sent Oulitheos to tell Antalas. Gontharis was plotting to 212
kill Areobindos secretly and persuaded him to leave Carthage and take part in the battle. But Areobindos, being inexperienced in war, delayed, because he was unable to put on his armour. As it was getting late, he postponed marshalling the troops till next day and went to rest. Gontharis suspected that Areobindos had purposely delayed because he knew what was happening, so he rebelled openly.‖*ss*

‖Areobindos quickly left Carthage and fled, embarked on a ship and was about to sail to Byzantium, had not a storm sprung up in the meantime and prevented him. After dispatching Athanasios to Carthage, he summoned a number of men. Among these was Artabanes, who exhorted Areobindos at length neither to lose heart nor to be a coward and fear Gontharis, but to march against him with all his followers, before anything worse happened. Meanwhile Gontharis slandered Areobindos to the troops, claiming that he was

cowardly and timid and refused to give them their pay. Areobindos with Artabanes and his followers moved against Gontharis. The battle took place on the battlements and by the gates. Most of the soldiers did not know Gontharis' intentions and gathered to take up arms against him. But when Areobindos saw men being killed, unused as he was to such a sight, he could not overcome his cowardice and fled to the monastery near the sea, which Solomon had built and fortified as a secure fort. He sought refuge there with his wife and sister. Artabanes also then fled. So Gontharis, having won by force, took the palace. He summoned the city's bishop and Athanasios and ordered them to give assurances to Areobindos and bring him to the palace, threatening to besiege him if he did not obey and to withdraw his guarantees of safe conduct. Areobindos accepted the assurances from the bishop Reparatus, came to see
213 Gontharis, and prostrated himself as a suppliant, holding out the gospels on which the priest had given him the assurances. Gontharis made him stand up, swore in everyone's presence that he would not harm him, indeed would send him with his wife and his moneys to Byzantium on the following day. After dismissing the priest, he took Areobindos and Athanasios to dine with him in the palace. He honoured Areobindos and made him recline on the first couch there, and after dinner, ordered him to sleep in a bedroom. He then sent Oulitheos with some others who killed him as he shrieked and groaned.[118] He spared Athanasios because of his age.||[tt]

||On the following day Gontharis sent Areobindos' head to Antalas, but kept the money and, contrary to the agreement, gave him none of it. When Antalas learned what had happened to Areobindos, he considered Gontharis' false oaths and wanted to go over to the emperor Justinian. Artabanes, for his part, accepted Gontharis' assurances and went into the palace with the Armenians and agreed to serve the usurper, but secretly planned to destroy him. After he had disclosed his intention to his nephew Gregory and his bodyguard Artaserios, Gregory said to him, 'Now, Artabanes, it is possible for you alone to gain the glory of Belisarius. For he received an army and great sums of money from the emperor, with subordinate officers and a fleet larger than anyone had ever heard of, and with great toil made Libya a tributary state of the Romans. But now Libya has revolted from the Empire and is again in its old state. It lies with you alone to win it back for the emperor and to restore its affairs. Consider your race, that you are an Arsacid by descent, and that being well-born, it is always necessary for you to act bravely and display many deeds of valour. Remember how as a young man you killed Akakios, commander of the Armenians and Tzitas,[119] the

Roman general, and joined in campaigns with Chosroes the emperor 214
of Persia. Being such a man do not let Roman authority stay in the hands of that drunken dog. Artaserios and I will help as best we can in carrying out your commands.'||[uu]

||Gontharis ordered Artabanes to take charge of the army and march against Antalas and the Moors in Byzakion. He was accompanied by John, leader of the rebel troops, and the bodyguard Oulitheos. The Moors under Koutzinas followed. He clashed with Antalas and the barbarians and routed them. Playing the coward deliberately, Artabanes suddenly wheeled round his detachment and drove towards the camp. Oulitheos planned to kill him in the camp. Artabanes alleged that he was afraid that the barbarians might come out of the city of Adramyton to help their opponents and do ir reparable damage to us. He also said that Gontharis ought to march out with the full army and so capture them all. He announced this to the usurper on his return to Carthage. After taking counsel with Pasiphilos, the usurper decided to arm the entire army and lead it himself on a campaign, leaving only a garrison in the city. Out of suspicion Gontharis killed many men every day.||[vv] Gontharis went from Carthage to a suburban estate,[120] where from ancient times there were three couches, on which he reclined with Artabanes, Athanasios, and Peter, Solomon's bodyguard. Artabanes, thinking this was a suitable time to kill the usurper, confided this to Gregory and Artaserios and three trusted bodyguards. He ordered the bodyguards to remain inside with their swords. For it was customary for bodyguards to stand behind their commanders at dinner. He ordered them to make the attempt suddenly when he himself gave the signal by a nod, and having ordered Artaserios to begin the action, he directed Gregory to select many of the most daring Armenians and have them present in the palace carrying their swords, without revealing the plot to any of them.* After the drink had been flowing 215
for some time and Gontharis was thoroughly soused with wine, Artaserios drew his sword and went for the usurper. One of the servants, seeing the naked blade, shouted out, 'What are you doing, man?' Gontharis turned his face and stared at him. Artaserios struck him with his sword and cut off his right hand. As Gontharis jumped up, Artabanes, dagger drawn, plunged it to the hilt into the usurper's side, killing him immediately. Then Artabanes ordered Athanasios to take control of the money in the palace, as he had done before under Areobindos. When the guards learned of Gontharis' death, they proclaimed Justinian their 'victorious emperor'. Thereupon those who were well disposed to the emperor leaped into the houses of the mutineers and killed them. John fled with the

Vandals to the church, but Artabanes, after giving them pledges, brought them out and sent them to Byzantium. The slaying of the usurper took place 36 days after his rebellion, during Justinian's 19th year.||[ww121]

||Artabanes won great fame for this among all men. Periecta, Areobindos' wife, rewarded Artabanes with rich presents. The emperor made him general of all Libya. Not much later, however, Artabanes resigned and returned to the emperor in Byzantium, while the emperor appointed John, brother of Pappos, as general of Libya.[122] After reaching Libya, John campaigned against Antalas and the Moors in Byzakion, vanquished them in battle,[123] slew many enemies and, after regaining the standards which the barbarians had captured from Solomon, sent them to the emperor in Byzantium. He then chased the remaining barbarians out of Roman territory. Later, the Leuathai[124] arrived in Byzakion with a large army from the country round Tripolis and united with Antalas. John met them, was defeated with heavy losses, and retreated to Carthage. The barbarians went as far as Carthage plundering its territory. Later John
216 aroused the enthusiasm of his soldiers, made an alliance with the Moors under Koutzinas and other Moors, engaged the barbarians in battle and routed them.[125] In a mighty pursuit, he killed a great mass of them, while the remainder fled to the most distant parts of Libya. In this manner the affairs of Libya gained complete peace.||[xx126]

[a] Mal. 449. 12–14; cf. Mal. at *De insid.* 45 (171. 35–172. 6). [b] Cf. AM 5931. [c] Cf. AM 5947; Prok. *BV* i. 3. 23,32; i. 7. 30. [d] Prok. *BV* i. 8. 1–14. [e] Ibid. i. 8. 29–9. 9. [f] Ibid. i. 9. 20–3. [g] Ibid. i. 9. 10–14. [h] Ibid. i. 9. 24–10. 31. [i] Ibid. i. 11. 1. [j] Ibid. i. 11. 23. [k] Ibid. i. 24. 1. [l] Ibid. i. 11. 5–21. [m] Ibid. i. 12. 2. [n] Ibid. i. 11–23. [o] Ibid. i. 12. 1–7. [p] Ibid. i. 13. 1 [q] Ibid.i.14. 3–17. [r] Ibid. i. 15. 31–16. 12. [s] Ibid. i. 17. 1–18. 12. [t] Ibid. i. 19. 1–20. 3. [u] Ibid. i. 20. 15–21. 16. [v] Ibid. i. 23. 1–17. [w] Ibid. i. 25. 1–ii. 3. 28. [x] Ibid. ii. 4. 9–31. [y] Ibid. ii. 6. 13–7. 17. [z] Ibid. ii. 5. 1–25. [aa] Ibid. ii. 8. 1–5; and 23. [bb] Ibid. ii. 9. 1–15. [cc] Ibid. ii. 10. 1; and 13–25. [dd] Ibid. ii. 11. 14–18, 47–56. [ee] Ibid. ii. 12. 1–28. [ff] Ibid. i. 11. 6. [gg] Ibid. ii. 12. 29. [hh] Ibid. ii. 14. 1–6. [ii] Ibid. ii. 14. 7–15. 49. [jj] Ibid. ii. 16. 1–17. 35. [kk] Ibid. ii. 19. 1–3. [ll] Mal. 480. [mm] Prok. *BV* ii. 19. 5–32. [nn] Ibid. ii. 20. 10–33. [oo] Ibid. ii. 21. 1–16. [pp] Ibid. ii. 21. 17–28. [qq] Ibid. ii. 22. 1–23. 15. [rr] Ibid. ii. 23. 27–24. 16. [ss] Ibid. ii. 25. 1–28. [tt] Ibid. ii. 26. 4–33. [uu] Ibid. ii. 27. 1–18. [vv] Ibid. ii. 27. 23–37. [ww] Ibid. ii. 28. 1–41. [xx] Ibid. ii. 28. 42–52.

[1] Mal.'s date is 529. For this incident we have, in addition to the abbreviated Baroccianus MS of Mal., the more detailed and perhaps original version preserved in *De insid.* It is remarkable that here Theophanes appears already to be using the abbreviated version (but not apparently elsewhere), adding only 'of the empress Theodora' and 'by the emperor's command'. For a translation of the *De insid.* version, see *Mal. Trans.*, p. 263. For the incident, cf. Prok. *Anecd.* 16. 7–10.

[2] Theophanes has probably taken only his date from Mal.'s four-line notice (478. 22–479. 3) on the Vandal Wars, which includes the date of the 12th indiction (AD 533/4). But cf. 'o', so Prok. may be Theophanes' source for the date. So begins the main part of what is by far the longest account of an entry under a single year in Theophanes. It is almost entirely a précis of Prok. *BV* apart from the opening date, a single sentence drawn from Mal., and a few lines drawn from an unknown source (see n. 104 below). To concentrate the Vandal War into a single narrative Theophanes openly abandons annalistic treatment.

[3] Cf. AM 5931. Theophanes there dates (incorrectly) their crossing of the Danube to the reigns of Arkadios and Honorius, but the crossing into Libya to the reigns of Theodosios II and Valentinian.

[4] Cf. AM 5931. There Theophanes acknowledges that Godigisklos had died before the crossing into Africa in 429. In fact he died in 406 before the Vandals crossed the Rhine, let alone moved to Spain or Africa.

[5] Gogdaris (Gunderic, Gunthiricus) almost certainly died in 428 in Spain before the crossing into Africa.

[6] Gizerich (Geiseric) Gogdaris' half-brother, was king of the Vandals 428–77 and led the Vandals from Spain to Africa in 429, where, after several years of fighting, they received land from the Romans in 435, probably along the coast of Numidia.

[7] The Vandals invaded Africa Proconsularis in 439 and captured Carthage on 19 Oct. from which time the 39 years is calculated (439–77).

[8] In 455. Cf. AM 5947.

[9] Huneric (Hunirix in official documents), king of the Vandals 477–84.

[10] Genzon in Prok., Genton in Victor of Vita. [11] 484–96.

[12] Thrasamund, king 496–523, Goundamoundos' brother.

[13] Theophanes wrongly adds 'to Spain'. Theuderich is Theuderich Amal, king of the Ostrogoths in Italy. Cf. AM 5931, n. 11, where Theophanes likewise appears to confuse this Theuderich with one of the Visigothic kings, perhaps Theuderich II, king 453–66, who did invade Spain. The date here is *c.*500.

[14] Lilybaeum (modern Marsala) in Prok., correctly.

[15] Hilderix (Ilderich), king 523–30.

[16] i.e. Amer (Hoamer) of a few lines below. Theophanes appears to have misread Prok.'s Ὁάμερ γοῦν as one word, possibly taking it to be an accusative from which he has created a nominative 'Amergous'. He has also treated the beginning of the name understandably as the definite article (ὁ). Cf. his similar treatment of Bousiris at AM 5782.

[17] Great-grandson of Gizerich according to Prok.

[18] A collection of errors by Theophanes, presumably aimed at vilifying Gelimer. Theophanes has already named Amalafrida correctly as Trasamoundos' wife, and, as Prok. makes clear, it was Ilderich who both imprisoned Amalafrida and led this campaign against the Goths. Amalafrida died in prison, possibly as early as 523 and certainly before 527.

[19] Prok. places the equivalent of this sentence before the usurpation.

[20] In Prok. the order is (i) Justinian's letter to Gelimer; (ii) the blinding of Amer and closer imprisonment of Ilderich and Euageēs; (iii) A second letter from Justinian; (iv) Gelimer's letter to Justinian. Theophanes has felt it in more in keeping with Byzantine dignity for Gelimer to seek recognition from the great Justinian rather than for Justinian to make overtures twice and be disdained.

[21] Cf. AM 6023 for discussion of the date. Prok. has Justinian still planning to end war with Persia so as to oppose Gelimer.

[22] See AM 5961, 5963.

[23] Prok. does not describe John of Cappadocia here as 'patrician' but 'praetorian prefect', to which position he had been recalled after the Nika riots. Theophanes, unaware of the reappointment, has perhaps attempted to correct what he may have regarded as Prok.'s error.

[24] Prok.'s version is modelled on Herodotus, vii. 10–18. On the use of the wise-adviser topos, cf. R. Scott in M. Mullett and R. Scott, *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, 73–4.

[25] Theophanes here sensibly and competently rearranges Prok.'s material in order to summarize it, but unfortunately spoils this at 'n' where an expedition is seemingly sent against Goddas posthumously.

[26] Prok. has 400 Eruls (Heruls) not Elours, and 600 Massagetai.

[27] Sinnion.

[28] 'None able to carry more than 50,000 or less than 3,000 *medimni*', Prok.

[29] 92 in Prok.

[30] Probably identical with Germai (variants Germaë, Germas, and possibly Germenne), of Prok. *Aed.* iv. 1 31, iv. 4; Hierocles, 654. 5, which Honigmann, ad loc. identifies as Saparevska Banja in Bulgaria, approx. 40 km. south of Serdica/Sofia.

[31] Theophanes has misplaced this entry, which should be attached to 'j'. Cf. n. 25 above.

[32] Cf. n. 2 above.

[33] Porto Lombardo.

[34] Caputvada in Latin, which name was given it when Justinian built a city there to commemorate the landing (Prok. *Aed.* vi. 6. 8). It still retains the name as 'Ras Kaboudia'.

[35] Modern Salakta.

[35a] In Prok. it is the keys that are sent to the general.

[36] i.e. *c.*16 km. or 10 miles.

[37] Modern Lamta (Leptis Minor) and Sousse.

[38] Grasse in Prok., but not identified.

[39] 350 in Prok., i.e. *c.*70 km. or 44 miles.

[40] Theophanes has changed Prok.'s eparch 'prefect' to hyparch.

[41] i.e. at the tenth milestone from Carthage. Prok. describes it as a suburb, 70 stades from Carthage.

[42] Gibamund in Prok. Vict. Tonn., against Prok., describes him as Gelimer's brother.

[43] Prok. only hints at God's intervention.

[44] 'Rejoiced' is not in Prok.

[45] Given in indirect speech by Prok.

[46] Restored by de Boor from Prok. tentatively, since it is also omitted in Anastasius' Latin translation.

[47] Two out of 22 were killed according to Prok. so Theophanes' 20 is his typical emendation.

[48] On this, see W. E. Kaegi, *Traditio*, 21 (1965), 23–53.

[49] Lauros in Prok.

[50] 150 stades from Carthage according to Prok. It has not been identified.

[51] So explaining Theophanes' dating the crossing into Africa to AM 5931 (438/9), whereas Prok. has calculated from the capture of Carthage.

[52] Probably the Edough range, which extends from the gulf of Hippo Regius (modern Bône) to Rusicade (Philippeville). See C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris, 1955), 184 n. 1.

[53] In Prok., Belisarius placed the Herul Pharas in charge, who prevented supplies reaching Gelimer rather than being without supplies himself.

[54] 'Oil' is Theophanes' substitution for 'any good thing'.

[55] 'Senseless' (ἄλογα) is Theophanes' substitution for 'other' (ἄλλα), perhaps a misreading or an emendation.

[56] In Prok., Pharas writes first. Cf. n. 20.

[57] Kyrnos was the old name for Corsica (Herodotus, i. 165), not Sardinia, as Prok. makes clear. On this grisly procedure of dispatching severed heads, see McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, *passim*, esp. 18, 44–8.

[58] Modern Cherchel, about 20 km. west of Algiers.

[59] i.e. Latin *septem* (seven). Probably modern Ceuta. Cf. Prok. *Aed.* vi. 7. 14.

[60] On the evidence of Prok., Justinian rather than Belisarius ought to be the subject here. Either Theophanes has misunderstood Prok., or, as de Boor suspects, the text is wrong.

[61] McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 125–9, cf. 65–6, argues that Prok. has exaggerated the unusualness of this triumph and that in essence his description 'reveals a composite ceremony whose constituent elements are easily identifiable within late Roman society's repertory of public ritual'. Although the honour granted to Belisarius was unique, it remained Justinian's triumph, which is demonstrated by the fact that Belisarius neither rode nor was driven but walked on foot like any commoner and prostrated himself before Justinian, 'seeing that he was a suppliant of the emperor' (*BV* ii. 9. 12), a detail which Theophanes significantly omits.

[62] Theophanes' description of the triumph hardly abbreviates Prok. at all to this point, but here he omits the story that Justinian, on the advice of a Jew, sent the Jewish treasures to Jerusalem on the grounds that they had brought ill-fortune both to Rome and to Gelimer.

[63] Ecclesiastes I: 2.

[64] Thus showing that Justinian regarded Gelimer as a defeated usurper from within the Empire, and not as an independent sovereign. See McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 128–9, against S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1981), 76. Theophanes here omits the fact that Belisarius also made obeisance to Justinian, thus removing

some of the evidence which played down Belisarius' role in the celebration. cf. n. 61.

[65] Belisarius was consul for 535, 'the traditional reward bestowed on victorious generals as recently as the reign of Anastasius' (McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 129).

[66] With this sentence Theophanes returns to his abridgement of Prok.

[67] This sentence represents a considerable alteration of Prok. Theophanes combines a later sentence about the Roman conquest of Carthage with a statement about Phoenicians building a fortress in Numidia 'where the city of Tigisis now is'.

[68] So the manuscripts and Anastasius. De Boor removed Theophanes' howler by restoring Antaios from Prok. Antaios is supposed to have lived in Libya (Pindar, *Isth.* 4. 54). Klipea (Clupea), the modern Kelibia, is a coastal town east of Carthage.

[69] i.e. the province of Byzacena (capital Hadrumetum), created out of the southern portion of Africa Proconsularis. Cf. *CJ* i. 22. 2.1 (13 Apr. 534).

[70] Mammes in Prok., on the border of Mauretania (Prok. *Aed.* vi. 6. 18).

[71] 'Not less than 500', Prok.

[72] Bourgaon in Prok., and also for the name of the mountain just below. C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique*, 349 n. 13, rejects the identification of it with modern Bargou, but suggests the battle is the same as the battle of Autenti (Corippus, *Iohannid*, iii. 319), a place mentioned but not identified precisely in the *Itinerarium Antoninum*.

[73] According to Prok., all the leaders escaped except one who surrendered under a guarantee of security.

[74] The transfer of this sentence to this point is a welcome sign of Theophanes' competence in making his abridgement. Theophanes has used 'illness' (*πάθος*) for Prok.'s 'chance' or 'accident' (*τύχη*).

[75] There was a total solar eclipse on 1 Sept. 536 and 25 Feb. 537, and a partial lunar eclipse on 15 Sept. 536. In the previous (Byzantine) year there was a partial solar eclipse on 13 Sept. 535, a total lunar eclipse on 27 Sept. 535, and a partial one on 23 Mar. 536. (Grumel, 461, but overlooked by R. R. Newton, *Medieval Chronicles and the Rotation of the Earth* (Baltimore, 1972), 531, 542, 666, and by D. J. Schove, *Chronology of Eclipses and Comets*, AD 1–1000 (Bury St Edmunds, 1984), 262.)

[76] i.e. 536/7. In this section 'hh', Theophanes has reversed Prok.'s order, apparently to help date the African mutiny.

[77] Theophanes seems to mean 537, i.e. in the spring of 536/7, but commentators rightly place the mutiny in 536, since in fact Prok. reckoned Justinian's regnal years from 1 Apr. and war years from the end of June (summer solstice), though claiming to reckon from the spring in a misleading imitation of Thucydides. Thus Belisarius set out for Sicily sometime after June 535, and this refers to the following Easter.

[78] On the revolt, see W. E. Kaegi, *Traditio*, 21 (1965), 23–53.

[79] There is no mention of Goths in Prok., but only of barbarians, some being Heruls.

[80] Martin did not embark for Carthage but went on Solomon's instructions to Numidia.

[81] It is unclear in Prok. if this is the same Theodore who was rebel leader (they were both Cappadocians) but this Theodore actually helped Solomon escape.

[82] Modern Hammam Deradj, about 150 km. west of Carthage, 'four days journey for an unencumbered traveller' (Prok. *BV* i. 25. 1).

[83] Modern Medjez-el-Bab, on the way to Boule, '350 stades [70 km.] from Carthage' (Prok.).

[84] Prok. was referring to a further uprising by Stotzas in Numidia, omitted by Theophanes.

[85] 'Men of the *boule*', i.e. senators, in Prok.

[86] At Scalae Veteres (modern Cellas Vatari), probably in spring 537.

[87] 539/40.

[88] 'Sisiniolos' in Prok. correctly. Cf. 'qq', where Theophanes gets it right, and 'rr', where he is called 'Konstantiolos.'

[89] Theophanes, apparently lacking Prok.'s *Gothic War*, here turns to Mal. (a rare parallel not noted by de Boor), whose entry is under the year 539/40 (ind. 3).

[90] Mal. states that Narses was sent 'to Rome a short time later with a large force against the Goths'. (There is no mention of a fleet.) This is a misplaced reference to Narses' arrival in Italy in 538, i.e. before the fall of Ravenna and of the Goths. Without this information Theophanes has rationalized the purpose of Narses' expedition in line with Narses' later administration of Ravenna. Cf. AM 6044. Sicily was 'regained' only in the sense that Belisarius returned there from Carthage. In 538 Rome was saved by Belisarius from the Goths who were besieging it. Vittius (Witigis, king of the Goths since late 536) was taken prisoner when Belisarius regained Ravenna in May 540, which is probably what Mal. was referring to rather than Rome.

[91] 'Abigas' (modern Oued Bou Roughal) on the northern slope of Mount Aurasion (modern Jebel Auress).

[92] Modern Ksar Baghai (S. Gsell, *Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie* (Algiers, 1911), no. 68).

[93] Tamougade (modern Timgad) in Prok. There are extensive remains.

[94] On Mount Aurasion.

[95] Roughly equivalent to a quartermaster, originally someone chosen (*optatus*) by the general. In Prok. his name is Gezon.

[96] Somewhat improbable at the time of Theophanes' writing.

[97] With the money captured from Iaudas' tower, according to Prok.

[98] Mauretania Prima or Sitifiensis, i.e. beyond Mount Aurasion.

[99] Theophanes has muddled Prok.'s account. Mauretania here refers to the province of Mauretania Caesarea (metropolis Caesarea) while Itiphis (Sitiphis in Prok., modern Setif) was the metropolis of Zabe/Mauretania Sitifiensis. The division of Mauretania into two provinces was first made by Claudius before AD 44.

[100] i.e. 543/4.

[101] The province of Cyrenaica.

[102] i.e. Tripolitania (capital, Leptis Magna, modern Lebda), the province

adjoining Cyrenaica. According to Prok., the Moors here are the Leuathai, whom Theophanes does not mention by this name until the very end of his account (at de Boor, 215 end).

103 Carthage is implied but not mentioned here by Prok., who adds that Sergius found his brother Kyros there. This provides the context for Theophanes' insertion which follows.

104 This insertion (The Moors . . . marched on Carthage) by Theophanes is his only information on North Africa not taken from Prok. The detail implies a good source and it is remarkable that there appears to be no other trace of it.

105 Modern Benghazi and earlier Hesperides, on the east coast of the gulf of Sirte, one of the five cities that made up the Pentapolis. It was fortified by Justinian (Prok. *Aed.* vi. 2. 5).

106 Tebeste in Prok., modern Tebessa, about 250 km. south-west of Carthage. Bury, *HLRE*², ii. 145, preferring Vict. Tonn. a.543, says the battle was at Cillium (modern Kasrin, west of Sbeitla).

107 So too Prok., though Prok. did not mention the Gospels in his initial account of the oath.

108 In Prok., Himerios was ordered rather to unite his forces with those of John.

109 Modern Sousse.

110 The Moors used Himerios to persuade the inhabitants to open their gates, convinced that it was the Romans who had been victorious.

111 The husband of Justinian's niece, Preiecta.

112 i.e. they claimed descent from the royal dynasty of Parthia of *c.*250 BC–AD 230.

113 In fact Sisinniolos. Cf. n. 88 above for Theophanes' earlier mistake with this name.

114 At Thacia (modern Bordj Messaoud, about 130 km. south-west of Carthage) in 545 according to Vict. Tonn.

115 He was later given a command in Italy. Marcell. com. addit. dates his recall to 546. If so, it must have been early in the year (J. Partsch suggested Jan. in his introduction to Coripp. *Ioh.*, *MGH AA* iii. 2, xx), but spring 545 is more likely. See Marcell. com., tr. Croke, 137, and *PLRE* iii. 1127, following Stein, *BE* ii. 551–3.

116 Late 545 unless Partsch's suggestion (n. 115) is accepted, in which case March 546. On the chronology of the following events, see Stein, *BE* ii. 553 n. 1.

117 70 stades (14 km.) from Carthage. Cf. above (de Boor, 192) and n. 41.

118 Vict. Tonn. states that Areobindos was governor for 35 days, supporting a date of *c.*Mar. 546 (cf. n. 116).

119 For Tzitas, cf. AM 6020 and *PLRE* iii. 1160–3, Sittas 1.

120 There is nothing in Prok. to suggest a suburban estate or that Gontharis left Carthage. Prok. does say that Gontharis planned to leave Carthage (with the army) on the day after the banquet and Theophanes may have misinterpreted this.

121 i.e. 545/6. Cf. nn. 116 and 118, so the date is about May 546.

122 Probably appointed late in 546 (Stein, *BE* ii. 555 suggests beginning of autumn). Prok. gives him scant attention but his exploits were the subject of a surviving Latin epic by Corippus, the *Iohannid*.

123 Probably early 547.

124 Theophanes has not separated the Leuathai from other Moors before this. Cf. n. 102.

125 At the 'Fields of Cato', probably in 548, Coripp., *Ioh.* viii. 165.

126 Cf. AM 6055 (de Boor 238–9) for the renewal of hostilities.

AM 6027 [AD 534/5]

[Year of the divine Incarnation] 527
Justinian, 8th year
Chosroes, 10th year
John, 3rd year
Epiphanios, 15th year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (11 years), 1st year
Timothy, 15th year
Ephraim, 8th year

In this year, the emperor of the Iberians, Zamanarzos, came to Constantinople to the most pious emperor Justinian. He was accompanied by his wife and senators, and sought to be an ally and true friend of the Romans. The emperor approved of this desire and honoured him and his senators with many gifts. Likewise the Augusta gratified his wife with jewelry of all kinds decorated with pearls. The emperor sent them back in peace to their own kingdom.[1]

1 This paragraph remains obscure. We do not know Theophanes' source. Stein, *BE* ii. 295, rejected the passage as irreconcilable with the evidence of Prok. (*BP* i. 22. 16) that under the terms of the 'eternal peace' Justinian recognized Persian suzerainty over Iberia. Stein suggested this passage is a doublet for Gourgenes' visit to Constantinople under Justin I (Prok. *BP* i. 12. 5–6, ii. 15. 6, and esp. ii. 28. 20, where Prok. adds that the Persians did not allow the Iberians to have a king after Gourgenes). 'Samanazos', however, appears in a list of rulers contemporary with Justinian (Mal. 429. 15) and it is also difficult to see how the names Gourgenes and Zamanarzos could be confused. Given Iberian distrust of Persian rule at this time (Prok. *BP* ii. 28. 21 with ii. 28. 16 for the date of the third year of the truce), this may well represent an attempt by Justinian to regain influence in Iberia. *PLRE* iii. 1109, noting that the ruler of the Iberians at this time was Dach'i or Bacurius II, suggests that 'Samanazus was probably an Iberian dynast'. See C. Toumanoff, *Muséon*, 65 (1952), 45 for perhaps an over-confident account of the chronology of Iberian rulers based on Georgian sources. The quality of the sources does make it worth suggesting that 'Samanazos' may represent Pharasmenes V, ruler of Iberia supposedly 547/8–561/2.

AM 6028 [AD 535/6]

[Year of the divine Incarnation] 528
Justinian, 9th year
Chosroes, 11th year
Agapetos, bishop of Rome (2 years), 1st year[1]
Ephiphanios, 16th year
John, 2nd year
Timothy, 16th year
Ephraim, 9th year

||In this year Pompeiopolis in Mysia suffered from divine anger.[2] The ground was split by the earthquake, and half the city along with its inhabitants was engulfed. They were beneath the earth and their voices could be heard shouting for mercy. The emperor gave generously towards excavating and assisting them and granted gifts to the survivors.||[a]

||In the same year Justinian directed that the hymn, 'The only-begotten Son and Word of God' be sung in churches.||[b3] He also made the clock at the Milion.||[c4]

[a] Mal. 436. 17–437. 2; cf. Ps.-Dion. a.850, Mich. Syr. ii. 192. [b] Cf. Nik. Kall. xvii. 28 (292A), Geo. Mon. ii. 627. [c] Cf. Mal. 479. 17–18.

[1] Agapetos was pope from 13 May 535 to 22 Apr. 536.

[2] Mal.'s date is 528 or 529. It is not clear why Theophanes has chosen a later date, but note that both John of Ephesos and Ps.-Dion. date the earthquake to 538/9. Pompeiopolis was identified by E. Honigmann as Mansio or Praesidium Pompei 35.5 km. north of Naissus (see Stein, *BE* ii. 420, n. 1) in Moesia Prima.

[3] Nik. Kall. xvii. 28 credits Justinian with the authorship of the hymn, a troparion. See also Geo. Mon. 627. On the attribution to Justinian see V. Grumel, *ÉO* 22 (1923), 398–418, against J. Puyade, *ROC* 17 (1912), 253–67, who attributes it to Severus. The text is in A. Amelotti and L. M. Zingale, *Scritti Iustiniani teologici ed ecclesiastici* (1977), 44, W. Christ and M. Paranikas, *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum* (Leipzig, 1871), 52, and in the notes to Nik. Kall. ad. loc. (*PG* 147, col. 291). Its dyophysite ideas were quickly accepted and the hymn appears to have been used by Cyril of Scythopolis in his *Life of Euthymius*. See C. J. Stallman, *Cyril of Scythopolis* (Brookline, Mass., 1991), 49–51. The hymn still has a place in the Orthodox liturgy, but was probably moved to its present position (after the second Antiphon) in the 9th cent.

[4] Presumably Mal. is the source here but he says 'the clock near the Augustaion and the Basilica was moved'.

AM 6029 [AD 536/7]

Year of the divine Incarnation 529
Justinian, emperor of the Romans (38 years), 10th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (48 years), 12th year
Agapetos, bishop of Rome (2 years), 2nd year
Anthimos, bishop of Constantinople (1 year), 1st year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (11 years), 3rd year
Timothy, bishop of Alexandria (17 years), 17th year
Ephraim, bishop of Antioch (18 years), 10th year

||In this year, Ephiphanios, bishop of Constantinople, died on 5 June of the 15th indiction,[1] having been bishop for 16 years and 3 months. Anthimos, a heretic, bishop of Trebizond, was transferred to Constantinople.||[a2] Agapetos, bishop of Rome, arrived in Constantinople in this year and called a synod[3] against the impious Severus[4] and Julian of Halikarnassos and the other Theopaschites. Thereupon Anthimos, bishop of Constantinople, was deposed for being of one mind with them and driven out of the capital[5] after ten months as bishop. Menas, presbyter and steward of the hospice of Sampson, was ordained in his stead by Agapetos, the Pope of Rome. Agapetos, bishop of Rome, died while he was in Byzantium.||[b] Silverius,[6] who lived for one year, was ordained in his place.||[c] 217

[a] Cf. Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 110. 3–5. [b] Cf. Mal. 479. 7–12, Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 112. 28–33. [c] Cf. Jac. Edess. 241.

[1] Indiction 15 is right for AM 6029, so one would expect this date to be reliable. It also has the support of Vict. Tonn. But Marcell. com. addit. puts Epiphanios' death in 535, which has the support of the general tradition. Agapetos, pope since May 535, came to Constantinople either at the end of 535 (Bury, *HLRE*[2] ii. 172) or by Mar. 536 (Stein, *BE* ii. 383, citing Zach. *HE* ix. 19), deposed Anthimos, consecrated Menas on 13 Mar. 536, and died in Constantinople on 22 Apr. 536. His successor Silverius was consecrated in June 536, and was in turn succeeded by Vigilius on 29 Mar. 537.

[2] A Monophysite, he owed to Theodora his appointment, which was contrary to the canon forbidding the transfer of bishops from one see to another. See Stein, *BE* ii. 381, cf. i. 134–5.

[3] Since Agapetos had died, Menas presided over the synod, which sat from 2 May to 4 June. Its decision, supporting the two natures of Christ, was modelled on the formula of Hormisdas (see AM 6006) back in the reign of Anastasios.

[4] Severus had set out for Constantinople in the 13th indiction (534/5) but did not arrive till after the beginning of the 14th (535).

[5] In fact Theodora kept Anthimos hidden in her palace.

[6] 'Silverius' also in Jacob of Edessa, 'Silvester' in the chronological notice.

Although Theophanes' source here may just possibly have been Syriac, it is much more likely to have been his ecclesiastical compendium.

[AM 6030, AD 537/8]

Justinian, 11th year
Chosroes, 13th year
Silvester, bishop of Rome (1 year), 1st year[1]
Menas, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 1st year
John, 4th year
Gaïnas, bishop of Alexandria (1 year), 1st year
Ephraim, 11th year

||In this year on 27 December of the 1st indiction,[2] the first consecration of the Great Church took place. The procession set out from St Anastasia,[3] with Menas the patriarch sitting in the imperial carriage and the emperor joining in the procession with the people. From the day when the most holy Great Church was burned[4] until the day of its consecration there elapsed 5 years, 11 months, and 10 days.||[a]

[a] Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 112. 34–113. 5 (verbatim); cf. Mal. 479. 21–2.

[1] Silverius/Silvester was pope from 1 or 8 June 536 to 11 Nov. 537.

[2] Theophanes' precise date should be accepted. Mal. implies a date after 1 Jan. 538 (in this consulship = John of Cappadocia).

[3] Cf. AM 5866, 5871, 5950, and 5954.

[4] Cf. AM 6024, n. 40. This supports a date of 17 Jan. 531 for the burning of Hagia Sophia.

[AM 6031, AD 538/9]

Justinian, 12th year
Chosroes, 14th year
Vigilius, bishop of Rome (18 years), 1st year[1]
Menas, 2nd year
John, 5th year
Theodosios, bishop of Alexandria (2 years), 1st year
Ephraim, 12th year

||In this year[2] the Bulgars, namely two kings with a great force of Bulgars and a troop of cavalry,[3] invaded Scythia and Mysia. At the time Justin was *magister militum* in Mysia and Badouarios in Scythia. They marched out against the Bulgars and clashed with

them. Justin was killed in battle and Constantine,[4] son of Florentius, replaced him. The Bulgars advanced as far as the districts of Thrace. Constantine, the *magister militum*, went against them, as did also Godilas, and Akoum the Hun, *magister militum per Illyricum*, for whom the emperor had stood as baptismal sponsor. Surrounding the Bulgars, they cut them down and killed a great mass of them, stripped them of all the booty, and gained a complete victory, even killing their two kings. As they were returning joyfully, other Bulgars met them, and as the *magistri militum* were weary, they turned their backs in retreat. The Bulgars gave chase and lassoed Constantine, Akoum, and Godilas as they fled. Godilas cut the lasso with his dagger and slipped out, but Constantine and Akoum were captured alive. They gave back Constantine for a payment of 1,000 *nomismata*, and he came to Constantinople, but they held Akoum in their own country with the other captives.||[a] 218

||In the same year Chosroes, emperor of the Persians, captured Antioch the Great in Syria,[5] and entered Apameia and other cities.||[b][6]

[a] Mal. 437. 19–438. 19. [b] Mal. 479. 23–480. 7.

[1] Vigilius was pope from 29 Mar. 537 to 7 June 555.

[2] Mal. places this within his narrative for 528 but without giving the event a precise date, merely 'during his reign'. This seems to have given Theophanes the freedom to post-date the account by a decade. (Mal. placed the account shortly after the earthquake at Pompeiopolis which Theophanes post-dated by 7 years to AM 6028.) For the accuracy of Mal.'s date, see AM 6032 below. Theophanes' error perhaps arises from wrongly identifying the Justin killed here (*PLRE* iii. 748, Iustinus 1), with Justin, son of Germanus (*PLRE* iii. 750–4, Iustinus 4) whom his source, Mal., shows was at Antioch shortly after its capture by Khusro in 540 (see below). It is a characteristic of Theophanes to omit the clue to his basis of dating. It is possible that Theophanes also somehow knew of (and confused) yet another Justin who was *magister militum* for Illyricum in c.536–8 and a *magister militum vacans* c.538–52 (see *PLRE* iii. 748–9, Iustinus 2).

[3] The text is uncertain. 'And a troop of cavalry' (*καὶ δρούγγου*) is omitted in two MSS (d and h). De Boor, on the basis of Anastasius' translation and MSS e and m, suggests 'two kings, Bulgar (var. Vulger) and Droung (var. Droggo/Drongo), with a great force of Bulgars'.

[4] Named as Konstantiolos by Mal. and probably identical with the Konstantiolos who helped suppress the Nika riot. Cf. AM 6024.

[5] Mal. accurately dates this precisely by indiction to June 540. Taken with the account of Belisarius at AM 6033, which shows Theophanes knew of Prok.'s account, this is an extraordinarily brief statement about this disastrous invasion. See AM 6033, n. 2. Theophanes creates the impression of Justinian's military success leading to peace in Africa (AM 6026—the central

point of his account of the reign) and in Thrace (AM 6032) culminating in Belisarius even 'having gained greater glory from his achievement' in Persia (AM 6033) than he did in Africa. Perhaps to maintain the impression of success at this stage of Justinian's reign, Theophanes has minimized the disaster.

[6] Sura, and Beroia. See Prok. *BP* ii. 5–13.

AM 6032 [AD 539/40]

Year of the divine Incarnation 532
Justinian, emperor of the Romans (38 years), 13th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (48 years), 15th year
Vigilius, bishop of Rome (18 years), 2nd year
Menas, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 3rd year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (11 years), 6th year
Theodosios, bishop of Alexandria (2 years), 2nd year
Ephraim, bishop of Antioch (18 years), 13th year

||In this year Moundos[1] came over to the Romans, a descendant from
219 the race of the Gepids, the son of Giesmos. After his father's death, he went to Regas,[2] his maternal uncle, who was king of Sermium. Theuderich, king of Rome heard this, sent him a message and persuaded him to join him and be his ally.[3] After Theuderich's death,[4] he went to the river Danube and asked the emperor Justinian to accept him as a subject of the Empire, and so he came to Constantinople. The emperor honoured him and his son with many gifts and released them, making Moundos *magister militum per Illyricum*. When he came to Illyricum, the Bulgars invaded in large numbers.[5] He hastened against them and destroyed them all. From among the captives, he sent their leader and others to Constantinople, where they were paraded in the Hippodrome.[6] A deep peace came to Trace, for the Huns no longer dared to cross the Danube.||[a] The emperor sent the Bulgar prisoners to Armenia and Lazica and had them enrolled in the *numeri*.[7]

[a] Mal. 450. 19–451. 15.

[1] On Moundos, see B. Croke, *Chiron*, 12 (1982), 125–35, against *PLRE* iii. 903–5. Mal. correctly dates his coming over to 529. He took part in the suppression of the Nika riots in 532 (AM 6024) and was killed in 536. Theophanes' error is a necessary consequence of his error with the Bulgar campaign of AM 6031, but he has overlooked his inclusion of Moundos in his account of the Nika riots.

[2] Trapstila.

[3] Moundos probably found it advisable to leave the Gepids when Trasaric, Trapstila's son, succeeded his father as king. See Croke, art. cit. 129.

[4] 526.

[5] Cf. AM 6031.

[6] For a discussion of the Hippodrome ceremonial, see B. Croke, *BSl* 41 (1980), 188–95. The date is 530.

[7] Cf. AM 6020 (527/8) for the rearrangements and army reinforcements in Armenia and Lazica. Continued fighting in the area in 530 will have made this a natural area to receive further reinforcements.

[AM 6033, AD 540/1]

Justinian, 14th year
Chosroes, 16th year
Vigilius, 3rd year
Menas, 4th year
John 7th year
Paul, bishop of Alexandria (2 years), 1st year
Ephraim, 14th year

In the 14th year of Justinian, Chosroes, emperor of the Persians, made his fourth invasion into Roman territory.[1] ||After arriving in the territory of Commagene, he planned to march against Palestine and Jerusalem, to plunder the treasures in Jerusalem. For he had heard that the land was good and that its inhabitants had much gold. The Romans did not intend opposing them in any way. They entered the fortresses, as each man was able, and planned to guard these and save themselves. When Justinian heard this, he sent Belisarius, who had returned from the West, against them. Travelling by public horse, he reached Euphratesia with all speed. Justus, the emperor's cousin, with Bouzes, the *magister militum per Orientem*, had sought refuge in Hierapolis. When they heard that Belisarius was on 220
his way, they wrote to him to come to them and defend Hierapolis. Belisarius castigated them severely, writing to them that it was not right to defend a single city and allow the enemies to march through Roman territory with impunity, and to destroy the cities of the Empire: 'For you know well that it is better to die bravely than to be saved by not fighting. For that would not be called safety, but treachery and rightly so. But come with all speed to the district of Europos, where, having assembled the whole army, I hope to deal with the enemy to the extent that God wishes.' At this news the commanders took courage and left Justus with a few soldiers to guard Hierapolis while the rest went to Europos.||[a] When Chosroes learned that Belisarius had encamped the entire Roman army at Europos, he was amazed, and not knowing whether to advance further, sent his

secretary Abandanes, an intelligent man, to Belisarius to spy on the general and the camp on the pretext of complaining that the emperor Justinian had not sent ambassadors to Persia to discuss peace. Belisarius, when he learned that the envoys were coming, himself selected 6,000 tall men with fine figures and went out far from the camp to hunt. He ordered Diogenes, the bodyguard, and Adoulios, an Armenian, to cross the river with 1,000 cavalry to examine the river-crossing. When Belisarius became aware that the ambassador was nearby, he pitched his tent in a deserted spot, making it clear that he had come without any equipment. He then arranged his troops. On each side of the tent were Thracians and Illyrians, Goths and Elours and with them Vandals and Moors. They covered most of the plain.
221 Nor did they stay in one spot, but moved around stalking, as if they were hunters and noticed Chosroes' ambassador incidentally as it seemed. So they walked with their gear on, smiling cheerfully, brandishing their axes and hunting spears. Abandanes, when he was ushered into Belisarius' presence, alleged that Chosroes was aggrieved that Justinian had not sent ambassadors to him in accordance with the agreement to discuss peace and so had compelled Chosroes to campaign against the Romans. Belisarius took no account of his words, saying that Chosroes was responsible for the war. For if he had desired peace, he would not have come to Roman territory to lay claim to it, but would have stayed in his own country to await the ambassadors. With that he dismissed the envoy, who went to Chosroes and said that he had seen the general Belisarius, a man who was exceptionally intelligent and brave, and soldiers such as he had never beheld before. 'I was amazed by their good order, being assembled, as they are, from a variety of races.' He advised Chosroes not to get involved in a fight with them, in case he was defeated and lost the entire Persian empire, being in Roman territory and having no means of escape. Yet a victory would not be a great achievement, because he would merely have defeated a Roman general. On his advice Chosroes decided to return immediately to his own country. But he was afraid of crossing the river as the Romans held it. After much deliberation he sent a request to Belisarius to draw back the men who had crossed the river and to provide him passage without hindrance. Belisarius immediately sent envoys to him and praised him for withdrawing and assured him that ambassadors from the emperor would arrive shortly to discuss peace. Chosroes asked Belisarius that his passage through Roman territory should be free of danger. Belisarius sent John of Edessa, a most illustrious man, as a hostage to Chosroes to guarantee his safe passage out of Roman lands. The Romans praised Belisarius for having gained greater glory

from this achievement than when he had brought the two emperors Gelimer and Vittigis as prisoners of war to Byzantium. For it was 222
truly worthy of record and praise that, when the Romans were terrified and were all hiding in their fortresses and Chosroes was present with a large army in the middle of the Roman Empire, one man should come from Byzantium by the public post to set up camp against the emperor of the Persians, and Chosroes, unexpectedly deceived by that man's cleverness, should return to his own land without accomplishing anything.||[b2]

||In the same year, on the death of Timothy,[3] bishop of Alexandria, the impious Severus, the adulterous bishop of Antioch,[4] and Julian of Halikarnassos, exiles in Alexandria, differed on the question of the Corruptible and the Incorruptible,[5] and came into conflict with each other since they were strangers to the truth. The one installed Theodosios,[6] and the other Gaïnas as bishops of Alexandria. Gaïnas[7] held the bishopric for a single year, Theodosios for two. Justinian dispatched orders calling them to Byzantium,[8] commanded them to stay apart from one another, and installed a certain Paul, who seemed to be orthodox, as bishop of Alexandria. But Paul commemorated the unholy Severus and was banished from the bishopric[9] through the emperor's anger and came to dwell in Jerusalem.||[c]

[a] Prok. *BP* ii. 20. [b] Prok. *BP* ii. 21–9. [c] Cf. Jac. Edess. 241, Mich. Syr. ii. 193–4.

[1] From the dating by regnal years and invasions it appears that Theophanes is using Prok. as his source, except that in Prok. this is the third invasion and the date must be 542. It is not clear how Theophanes reached the figure of four invasions.

[2] As with his use of Prok.'s *BV* (AM 6026), Theophanes provides a reasonably good summary. It is clear that he has access to Prok.'s *BP* so his extraordinarily long account of Belisarius' insignificant success on this occasion needs to be set beside his equally extraordinarily brief account of Chosroes' major invasion at AM 6031. Theophanes has used Prok. carefully and selectively to play down Byzantine losses and enhance Belisarius' glory.

[3] Contrast the chronological table which, almost correctly, puts Timothy's death at AM 6029 (536/7). Timothy died on 7 Feb. 535.

[4] Severus died at Xois in the Delta on 8 Feb. 538, after returning to Egypt from Constantinople in 535 (cf. AM 6029). See Stein, *BE* ii. 384.

[5] Cf. AM 6011 and also 6057. 'The problem was as nice a metaphysical conundrum as had ever been propounded to philosophically-minded theologians. Was Christ's flesh inseparably united to the Word corruptible or not? Had the divine nature so absorbed the human into itself as to change its very nature and render the body itself incorruptible? . . . Julian argued that the corruption of the flesh was only seeming, the result of Christ's voluntarily

taking upon himself our infirmities (Isa. 53: 4). It was not due to the necessity of the nature of the flesh'. Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 262, citing Zach. *HE* ix. 12.

[6] Theodosios was installed on 10 Feb. 535 by the military governor of Alexandria acting on Theodora's instructions. Mich. Syr. ii. 194 reports that Narses needed 6,000 troops to install him. With Severus' support, he lasted for 17 months. See Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 270.

[7] Usually 'Gaianus', he was expelled on 24 May 535 after 104 days.

[8] Theodosios (with others, but probably not Gaïnas) was summoned to Constantinople in Dec. 536 and was deposed, probably towards the end of 537. See E. W. Brooks, *BZ* 12 (1903), 494–7; Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 274.

[9] Paul, implicated in a charge of murder, was probably expelled in early 540.

[AM 6034, AD 541/2]

Justinian, 15th year
Chosroes, 17th year
Vigilius, 4th year
Menas, 5th year
John, 8th year
Paul, 2nd year
Ephraim, 15th year

||In this year, in October of the 5th indiction the great plague broke out in Byzantium.||[a1] In the same period the feast of the Presentation of the Lord was first celebrated in Byzantium on 2 February.||[b2] On 16 August of the same 5th indiction, a great earthquake occurred in Constantinople,[3] and churches, houses, and the city wall collapsed, especially the part near the Golden Gate. The spear held by the statue which stands in the Forum of the holy Constantine fell down, as well as the right arm of the statue of the Xerolophos. Many died and there was great fear.||[c]

[a] Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 113. 5–7; cf. Mal. 482. 4–11. [b] Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 110. 16–18. [c] Mal. 486. 23–487. 5, Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 113. 24–30.

[1] For a full description of the plague, Prok. *BP* ii. 22. The effects of the plague were far-reaching, probably more so than any other single event of the 6th cent. See P. Allen, *Byz* 48 (1979), 5–20. Theophanes' lack of awareness is notable if hardly surprising.

[2] i.e. of the meeting of Christ and Symeon.

[3] This appears to be the same as the earthquake described at AM 6046. The date here has the support of Cramer *Eccl. Hist.*, while Mal. supports the date at 6046. The statue from the Forum of Constantine is mentioned by Mal.

but not by Theophanes at AM 6046 (but he does mention it in the earthquake of AM 6041). The ecclesiastical calendars include a commemoration for 16 Aug. (see B. Croke, *Byz* 51 (1981), 125–6), but that day also fits the description at AM 6046.

[AM 6035, AD 542/3]

Justinian, 16th year
Chosroes, 18th year
Vigilius, 5th year
Menas, 6th year
John, 9th year
Zoïlos, bishop of Alexandria (7 years), 1st year
Ephraim, 16th year

||In this year[1] the emperor of the Auxoumite Indians*[2] of the Jews 223
came to fight one another for the following reason. The emperor of the Auxoumites dwells further inland with regard to Egypt ⌜of the Jewish religion⌝. Roman traders travel across Homerite [territory] to the Auxoumite and the inland areas of the Indians and Ethiopians. When some traders crossed into Homerite borders, as usual, Damianos,[3] the emperor of the Homerites, killed them and took away all their goods, saying, 'The Romans wrong the Jews in their own country and kill them.' As a result the trade of the inland Indians of the Auxoumite region ceased. The emperor of the Auxoumites, Adad,[4] announced his resentment to the Homerite, saying, 'You have harmed my empire and inland India by preventing Roman traders from reaching us.' Great enmity developed and war broke out between them. When they were about to begin the war, Adad, emperor of the Auxoumites made a vow saying, 'If I conquer the Homerite, I shall become a Christian, since I am fighting on behalf of Christians.' With the help of God, he gained the victory by force of arms and captured Damianos, their emperor, alive and also took their land and their palace. Adad, emperor of the Auxoumites, thanked God and sent a request to the emperor Justinian to obtain a bishop and clergy, so that after instruction he could become a Christian. Justinian rejoiced greatly at this and ordered that whichever bishop they wanted be given them. The legates, after thorough inquiries, chose John the custodian of St John's in Alexandria the Great, a devout man, virgin and 62 years old. They took him back with them to their own country and to Adad their emperor||[a] and so became believers in Christ and were baptized ⌜all of them⌝.||[b]

[a] Mal. 433. 3–434. 18; cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 183–9. [b] Cf. Joh. Nik. 90. 78.

[1] The date is a problem. Mal.'s date is not precise but is either 527/8 or 528/9. Mal.'s account is given at p. 433 and he earlier refers to Andas as the current king of the Axoumites at p. 429. He had reached 529 by p. 428 (end of the 7th ind.) but after his account of this incident he reverts to 528 at p. 435 (Apr. of the 6th ind., though this date is omitted in the Bonn edn.). Theophanes, with nothing else to report for this year, has apparently accepted Mal.'s date as the 6th indiction (certainly so according to Stein, *BE* ii. 104 n. 1, who insists that Mal.'s date is not 528/9 but 527/8), but moved the event forward a full indiction cycle. For parallel cases see AM 6036 and 6059 and also Bury, *HLRE*[2] i. 289 n. 2 and 435 n. 5.

The incident, however, must actually have occurred rather earlier, since the names of the respective kings in Justinian's reign are Elesboas and Esimiphaios. As Elesboas had been on the throne since the beginning of Justin's reign (cf. AM 6015), Bury, *HLRE*[2] ii. 322, suggests the incident 'belongs to the reign of Zeno or Anastasius'; see also Z. Rubin in French and Lightfoot, eds., *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire*, 383–420. Anastasios did send a bishop to the Himyarites (Theod. Lect. 559, Hansen, 157. 15–16). The Axoumites were certainly Christian by the reign of Justin.

For another large error on Ethiopian dates, see AM 6064. For Homerites (Yemeni) and Axoumites (Axum), see AM 6015.

[2] Combefis suggested the lacuna be filled with 'and the emperor of the Homerites'.

[3] 'Dimnos' in Mal. [4] 'Andas' in Mal.

224 **AM 6036 [AD 543/4]**

Year of the divine Incarnation 536
Justinian, emperor of the Romans (38 years), 17th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (48 years), 19th year
Vigilius, bishop of Rome (18 years), 6th year
Menas, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 7th year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (11 years), 10th year
Zoïlos, bishop of Alexandria (7 years), 2nd year
Ephraim, bishop of Antioch (18 years), 17th year

||In this year[1] on Sunday 6 September of the 7th indiction, a great earthquake occurred throughout the world. Half of Kyzikos fell. In the same year the great bronze column called Augusteus near the palace was completed. The equestrian statue of the emperor Justinian was put on top.||[a2]

||In the same year[3] there turned up from Italy a man called Andrew, who travelled from village to village, and he had a dog that was light-coloured and blind, which, at his command did amazing

things. Andrew would stand in the market, with the crowd surrounding him, and unknown to the dog, take gold, silver, and iron rings from the bystanders. He would place them on the ground, cover them with earth, and give an order to the dog, which would then pick up and return to each person his own ring. It could also sort out a jumbled mass of coins according to the names of the various emperors. Finally, when asked to point out from among a crowd of men and women those who were pregnant, fornicators, adulterers, misers, or generous, it would point these all out accurately. So they said, 'It has the spirit of Python'.||[b]

[a] Mal. 482. 12–16. [b] Mal. 453. 15–454. 4.

[1] The dates for this paragraph are as in Mal., apart from 'Sunday 6', which is accurate for 543 and which presumably also came from Mal.

[2] Mal. added 'The statue had been of the emperor Arkadios, having previously stood on a pedestal in the Forum Tauri'. For a description of the statue, see Prok. *Aed.* i. 2. 5–12.

[3] Mal.'s date is 530, but is not given precisely. As with the Ethiopian war described in AM 6035, Theophanes may have tried to post-date this by a full indiction cycle.

In cod. Paris. gr. 1710 this story is given in a fuller form (de Boor, ii. 370–1):

'There turned up a man called Andrew who travelled from village to village. He had with him a light-coloured dog of medium size, with cropped ears and tail. This dog, when ordered by his trainer, would do some amazing things. Unbeknown to the dog, the man would take from bystanders gold and silver rings and coins of different emperors. He would place them on the ground and cover them with dung. He would then command the dog to come and pick up from the earth each man's ring and give it to him. Everyone was astonished. Then he would say to the same dog, 'Bring me the coin of the emperor Leo.' After a search the dog would pick it up in his mouth and give it. Then he would say, 'Give me Zeno's,' and he gave it; likewise he brought the coin of any other emperor when so instructed. Furthermore, in the presence of a crowd of men and women, he would point out women who were pregnant, fornicators, adulterers, the generous, and the misers, all quite accurately. In the case of pregnant women he would guess whether they carried a male or a female child and they gave birth [as predicted]. So everyone was amazed and many people said that the dog had the spirit of Python. He was also defective in his eyes.'

[AM 6037, AD 544/5]

Justinian, 18th year
Chosroes, 20th year

Vigilius, 7th year
Menas, 8th year
John, 11th year
Zoïlos, 3rd year
Ephraim, 18th year

||In this year the sea advanced on [the coast of] Thrace by four miles[1] and covered it in the territories of Odyssos and Dionysopolis and also at Aphrodision.[2] Many were drowned in the waters. By God's command the sea then retreated to its own place.||[a]

[a] Cf. Geo. Mon. 628. 14–17.

[1] There is no clear source for this incident and the only parallel is in Geo. Mon. Possibly the passage came from the original Mal., following 481. 12 where a frenzied woman predicts the rising of the sea in three days' time. Mal.'s date for that is 541/2.

[2] Varna in Bulgaria.

225 **[AM 6038, AD 545/6]**

Justinian, 19th year
Chosroes, 21st year
Vigilius, 8th year
Menas, 9th year
Peter, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 1st year
Zoïlos, 4th year
Domnus, bishop of Antioch (14 years), 1st year

||In this year[1] there was a shortage of corn and wine||[a] and much bad weather. There was a great earthquake in Byzantium,[2] ||and an error occurred with regard to [the computation of] holy Easter. The people began abstaining from meat on 4 February,[3] but the emperor ordered that meat be sold for another week. And all the butchers slaughtered and put meat up for sale, and no one bought or ate any of it. Easter was celebrated as the emperor commanded,||[b] so the people continued fasting for an additional week.||[c]

[a] Mal. 482. 18. [b] Mal. 482. 19–483. 2; cf. Ps.-Dion. a.856–7, Mich. Syr. ii. 271. [c] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 271, Geo. Mon. 644. 16–18, Kedr. 658. 1–2, Nik. Kall. xvii. 32, 304A–B.

[1] Mal. only places this between 544 and 546, but Theophanes' date is confirmed by the account of Easter, which follows immediately in Mal.

[2] There is no other evidence for this earthquake but it is supported by the apparent accuracy of Theophanes' other statements for this year.

[3] i.e. from 9 weeks before Easter instead of 8 weeks. In 546, 4 Feb. fell on a Sunday and Easter was on 8 Apr. Mal.'s version is: 'In the month of November an error occurred over the Sunday before Lent'. The clearest and most detailed account is in Mich. Syr. ii. 271 (tr. in *Mal. Trans.*, p. 287): 'An error occurred over the beginning of Lent. Some had begun to fast two weeks previously, others a week after. In the imperial city the emperor and the nobles who had returned a week after the fast had begun, decided that the fast should not start until the following week. The emperor ordered the butchers to sell meat but they did not wish to slaughter the sheep and cattle and, apart from a few gluttons, the people considered this meat carrion. Some threw chalk and dust over it and spoilt it to prevent it being sold. The emperor compelled the butchers to slaughter more beasts and paid them out of the public treasury.' Stein, *BE* ii. 639, believed that Justinian, to please the pope, had ordered (in Nov.) a change from the Alexandrine computation (making Easter fall on 8 Apr.) to the Roman (with Easter on 1 Apr.), and that the populace in protest began their fast a week before Lent. The evidence in fact points in the reverse direction, with the emperor delaying both Lent and Easter by a week, so that the protest was at the transfer from the Roman to the Alexandrine computation.

[AM 6039, AD 546/7]

Justinian, 20th year
Chosroes, 22nd year
Vigilius, 9th year
Menas, 10th year
Peter, 2nd year
Zoïlos, 5th year
Domnus, 2nd year

||In this year[1] Rome was captured by the Goths. Pope Vigilius arrived in Constantinople||[a] and after being received with great honour by the emperor, he promised to unite the catholic Church and anathematize the Three Chapters.[2] He was so greatly honoured by the emperor that he became puffed up and excommunicated Menas, bishop of Constantinople, for four months by way of penance.[3] Menas replied by imposing the same penance on Vigilius. The emperor, annoyed by Vigilius because of the penance and the delay in fulfilling his promises about uniting the Church, dispatched men to arrest him.[4] Vigilius, fearing the emperor's wrath, sought refuge in the sanctuary of Sergius the martyr[5] in the monastery of Hormisdas. As he was being dragged from there, he held on to the columns supporting the altar, and brought them down, for he was a large heavy man. The emperor repented and received Pope Vigilius who, in turn, at the request of the Augusta Theodora, received

Menas, patriarch of Constantinople, on 29 June, the day of the Holy Apostles.||[b6]

||In the same year on 11 May, on the Saturday of holy Pentecost, when the birthday horse-races[7] were taking place, a fight broke out between the two factions. The emperor dispatched the excubitors
226 and armed soldiers who killed many of them, while many others were choked to death while fleeing. Others were cut down and there was a heavy death-toll.||[c]

[a] Mal. 483. 3–5. [b] Cf. Nik. Kall. xvii. 26, 281–284A, Mal. 484. 11–13, 485. 4–7, 483. 14–16. [c] Mal. 483. 9–13.

[1] Mal. also dates both the capture of Rome (Feb.) and Vigilius' arrival to 547 but in the reverse order. Marcell. com. addit. dates the capture of Rome to 17 Dec. 546 and Vigilius' arrival to 25 Jan. 547. Vigilius had left Rome on 22 Nov. 545 during Totila's siege and spent the next months in Sicily. It is debatable whether he left voluntarily or was abducted on imperial orders. See Bury, *HLRE*[2] ii. 384–5, Stein, *BE* ii. 640–1, both suggesting the former while the Roman populace believed the latter.

[2] Justinian's edict in three chapters was issued at some point between 543 and 546 and aimed at showing that the synod of Chalcedon gave no support to Nestorianism. This involved condemning three 5th-cent. theologians (long dead) and their works attacking Cyril of Alexandria, and subsequently the Three Chapters came to mean the three theologians and their condemned works. The four eastern patriarchs signed it under pressure with misgivings and on condition that the pope be consulted. Vigilius, who seemed to have difficulty understanding the problems, vacillated considerably in a struggle lasting several years. This led to Justinian issuing a revised version of the Three Chapters in July 551. Theophanes' version is repeated by Nik. Kall. in the 14th cent. though Nik. Kall. may have taken it from a common source. Theophanes appears to have combined several scattered references in Mal., though the narrative of neither Theophanes nor Mal. is satisfactory. See Stein, *BE* ii. 638–54, E. K. Chrysos, *Ἡ Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ πολιτικὴ τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ* (Thessaloniki, 1969), 82–5.

[3] This may refer to this year, but more probably refers to a second excommunication on 14 Aug. 551, which was followed by the attempted arrest.

[4] In 551.

[5] Other sources say, with more probability, that it was the neighbouring church of St Peter and St Paul.

[6] In 547. Stein, *BE* II.642 n. 5, argues from Mal. 483. 14–16 that in the original Mal. the sentence ended at 29 June and was followed by 'and he went off to the commemoration of the Holy Apostles at the Periteichisma', which Theophanes has abbreviated. 30 June is the festal day of the Holy Apostles and commemorations began on the eve.

[7] i.e. the annual celebration of the founding of Constantinople (11 May 330). 11 May was the Saturday of Pentecost in 547, so confirming the date.

[AM 6040, AD 547/8]

Justinian, 21st year
Chosroes, 23rd year
Vigilius, 10th year
Menas, 11th year
Peter, 3rd year
Zoïlos, 6th year
Domnus, 3rd year

||In this year[1] there was a succession of earthquakes||[a] and heavy rain, as, for instance, the great earthquake in February, where everyone despaired and became very frightened and went on litanies[2] and begged God to be saved from the impending dangers.||[b]

||In the same year, in June of the 11th indiction, the empress Theodora died piously.||[c3]

[a] Mal. 483. 21. [b] Cf. Mal. 483. 22–484. 2. [c] Mal. 484. 4–5; cf. Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* III. 10–11, 113. 8–9, Jac. Edess. a.227, Mich. Syr. ii. 243.

[1] Theophanes' material for this year is again derived from Mal., who, however, appears to date these events to the same year as those recorded by Theophanes for AM 6039. The reference to Feb. (not in our text of Mal.) may have indicated to Theophanes that these events belonged to the next indiction and so led him to correct Mal. Alternatively our Baroccianus MS of Mal. may be corrupt here, in which case Theophanes may have simply preserved for us the original Mal. Mal.'s infrequent use of indiction dates (but see below, n. 3 on Theodora's death) suggests that this is Theophanes' own deduction.

[2] Cf. AM 6046.

[3] Mal. has indiction 10 but Theophanes' date is right, confirmed by Prok. *BG* iii. 30. 4 which states that Theodora was empress for 21 years and 3 months. (She was crowned Augusta in Apr. of 527.) Here again either the original Mal. still preserved the correct date which Theophanes has copied, or Theophanes has corrected Mal.'s error. Cf. n. 1 above and AM 6041, nn. 1 and 3. In combination it appears more likely that Theophanes has altered Mal.'s chronology.

[AM 6041, AD 548/9]

Justinian, 22nd year
Chosroes, 24th year
Vigilius, 11th year
Menas, 12th year
Peter, 4th year

Zoïlos, 7th year
Domnus, 4th year

||In this year[1] there was much terrifying thunder and lightning, so that many were struck by lightning while they slept. On St John's day the thunder and lightning were so terrible that part of the column of the Xerolophos was sliced off,[2] as was the carved capital of the same column.||[a] In July[3] there occurred a clash between the two factions and the building known as [the house] of Pardos[4] was set on fire. Many things were burned, that is from the bronze Tetrapylon to the quarter known as Eleusia.[5] There were also many murders.||[b] During the [court's] residence at the Hebdomon,[6] the *vestitores* lost the emperor's crown, which was found eight months later. One of its pearls and all the remaining jewels were found safe in the same place.||[c][7]

[a] Mal. 483. 22–484. 3. [b] Mal. 484. 6–8. [c] Mal. *frag. Tusc.* iv. 22–3.

[1] Mal. has placed this in June before Theodora's death. Theophanes, by placing it after Theodora's death, has to date it to two years after the date of his source.

[2] Cf. AM 6034.

[3] In Mal. this occurs after Theodora's death and could belong to indiction 10, 11, or 12. It does rather look as if Mal. has got a detailed record for indiction 10 with a succession of months, and perhaps lacks anything for indictions 11 and 12.

[4] The house of Pardos is only known from here and Mal.

[5] This is the only reference to Eleusia. The bronze Tetrapylon stood between the Forum of Constantine and the Forum Tauri. See Mango, *Développement*, 31.

[6] The term πρόκενσος used here normally denoted the court's *villégiature* in a suburban palace.

[7] The *frag. Tusc.* of Mal. (iv. 22–3) confirms Theophanes and adds that the crown was found by the praetor, the *comes* known as Diapoundaristes.

AM 6042 [AD 549/50]

Year of the divine Incarnation 542
Justinian, emperor of the Romans (38 years), 23rd year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (48 years), 25th year
Vigilius, bishop of Rome (18 years), 12th year
Menas, bishop of Constantinople (16 years), 13th year
Peter, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 5th year
Apolinarios, bishop of Alexandria (19 years), 1st year
Domnus, bishop of Antioch (14 years), 5th year

||On 13 October of this year,[1] while the races were being held, an ambassador of the Indians[2] arrived in Constantinople with an elephant and entered the Hippodrome.||[a] In January, the name of Menas, patriarch of Constantinople, was demoted, while that of Vigilius was promoted to the first place in the diptychs.||[b][3] In March, the elephant broke out of its stable during the night, killed many people and maimed others.||[c] On 16 April, in the afternoon, the partisans clashed during the chariot races, and many from both factions died.||[d] They went to the shops and stole whatever they found. John, surnamed Kokkorobios, was prefect at the time.||[e][4] On Tuesday 28 June the consecration of [the church of] the Holy Apostles took place and the deposition of the holy relics of the apostles Andrew, Luke, and Timothy.[5] Bishop Menas processed with the holy relics, seated in the imperial jewel-encrusted golden carriage, holding the three caskets of the holy apostles on his knees.||[f][6] In this manner the consecration took place. 227

[a] Mal. 484. 9–10, *frag. Tusc.* iv. 23. [b] Cf. Mal. 484. 11–13. [c] Mal. *frag. Tusc.* iv. 23. [d] Mal. 484. 14–16, *frag. Tusc.* iv. 24. [e] Mal. *frag. Tusc.* iv. 24. [f] Mal. 484. 17–21, Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 113. 10–15; cf. Nik. Kall. xvii. 26 (284A), Mich. Syr. ii. 269.

[1] Mal. *frag. Tusc.*, iv. 23, confirms Theophanes' date.

[2] i.e. Ethiopians.

[3] Theophanes' text is confirmed by Mal. *frag. Tusc.* iv. 23, as against the Baroccianus manuscript, which implies that the names of both Vigilius and Menas were erased. Stein, *BE* ii. 645 n. 3 suggests that Vigilius' promotion was to console him (and keep him favourably disposed) after he had been strongly criticized by his Roman supporters in Constantinople for supporting the Three Chapters.

[4] Again the details in Theophanes ('d' and 'e') are preserved in Mal. *frag. Tusc.* iv. 24, but not in the Baroccianus.

[5] Justinian knocked down the original 4th-cent. church as it had fallen into disrepair, and rebuilt it. See Prok. *Aed.* i. 4, Evagr. iv. 31. Late sources attribute the rebuilding to Theodora (work no doubt had begun before her death). The relics of Timothy had been deposited in the original church in 356, and those of Luke and Andrew in 357.

[6] *Eccl. Hist.* adds 'another golden carriage went ahead with the luggage' (ἀδεστράτου, 'luggage' according to Stephanus; 'horse-drawn' according to Sophocles).

[AM 6043, AD 550/1]

Justinian, 24th year
Chosroes, 26th year

Vigilius, 13th year
Menas, 14th year
Peter, 6th year
Apolinarios, 2nd year
Domnus, 6th year

||In April[1] of this year, of the 14th indiction, Narses, the *cubicularius* was sent to Rome with instructions to make war on the Goths who had regained Rome. For after Belisarius had won the city, the Goths had risen up and recaptured it.||[a2] On 9 July[3] there was a severe and frightful earthquake throughout Palestine, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Phoenicia. The following cities suffered: Tyre, Sidon, Berytos, Tripolis, and Byblos, and a great many people perished therein. In the city of Botrys, a large piece of the mountain called Lithoprosopon, which lies close to the sea, was broken off and thrown into the sea, so forming a harbour big enough for many large
228 ships to moor there; for previously that city had not had a harbour. The emperor sent money for restoring what had fallen in these cities. The sea retreated one mile towards the deep and many ships were lost. Later, at God's command, it returned to its own bed.||[b]

[a] Mal. 484. 22–485. 3, *frag. Tusc.* iv. 26. [b] Mal. 485. 8–23; cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 244, 246–7; *Chr.* 724, 100. 4–5.

[1] Mal. *frag. Tusc.* iv. 26 gives the date as April of the 13th indiction, and Mal.'s indiction dates (esp. those from the Tusculan frags.) should normally be preferred. In that case Narses went to Italy in 550 and not 551 (as Bury, Stein, and *PLRE* maintain, all ultimately dependent on O. Körbs, *Untersuchungen zur ostgotischen Geschichte*, vol. i (Jena, 1913), 81, 84–6) and the chronology of Narses' campaign in Italy needs revision. Prok.'s detailed narrative, however, linking Narses' movements with the death of Germanus, provides strong support for 551. Assuming Theoph.'s source here did read indiction 13 (rightly or wrongly), he will have changed the indiction number because he had already reached June of the 13th indiction (the dedication of the Holy Apostles) and so puts a following April into the next year. Cf. AM 6040 for the same technique.

[2] This is confused. Belisarius had originally captured Rome in Dec. 536. The Goths recaptured it in Dec. 546 but lost it again to Belisarius early in 547. Totila had recaptured Rome in Jan. 550.

[3] *Frag. Tusc.* iv. 27–8 gives the date as 6 July of the 14th indiction. Agathias records an earthquake in Alexandria too for 551.

[AM 6044, AD 551/2]

Justinian, 25th year
Chosroes, 27th year

Vigilius, 14th year
Menas, 15th year
Peter, 7th year
Apolinarios, 3rd year
Domnus, 7th year

||In this year,[1] during September of the 15th indiction, the consecration of St Eirene across the water at Sykai took place.[2] The holy relics were brought from the Great Church by two patriarchs, Menas of Constantinople and Apolinarios of Alexandria. They both sat in the imperial carriage holding the sacred relics on their knees.||[a3] They went as far as the Perama, then crossed over and the emperor met them. They then inaugurated the church of the holy martyr Eirene.

||In the same year the harbour of the Hebdomon was cleaned.||[b4]

||In the same year Menas, bishop of Constantinople, died.[5] Eutychios, the *apokrisiarios* of Amaseia, a monk and presbyter of the monastery at Amaseia, replaced him on the same day,[6] while Menas' body was still lying in the sanctuary.||[c]

||In August[7] news of victory came from Rome, [sent by] the *cubicularius* Narses, who was exarch of the Romans. He had clashed in battle with Totila, king of the Goths, conquered him by arms, taken Rome, killed Totila and sent back to Constantinople Totila's blood-stained garments||[d] and bejewelled cap. These were thrown at the emperor's feet during the *secretum*. ⌜It is necessary to add Anthimos' one year to the tenure of the patriarch Menas, to obtain a total of sixteen years.⌝[8]

[a] Mal. 486. 1–7, Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 113. 15–19. [b] Mal. 486. 8–9. [c] Mal. 486. 10–13; cf. Nik. Kall. xvii. 26, 284B. [d] Mal. 486. 14–18.

[1] Mal. confirms the date.

[2] 'Across the Golden Horn to Justinianai' (Mal.). Prok. *Aed.* i. 7. 1. says Justinian rebuilt the church decorating it so beautifully that he could not describe it. In the rebuilding the relics of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste were discovered which cured Jusinian of gout. M. E. Mullett, 'Romanos's Kontakia on the Forty Martyrs: Date and Setting' (forthcoming) suggests that Romanos, *Kontakion on the Forty Martyrs I*, was written for this occasion.

[3] Following J. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom* (Leipzig, 1901), 85 ff., it has often been claimed that this incident was depicted on the Trier ivory of the translation of relics, but the presence of an empress on the ivory makes this unlikely (Theodora had died in 548). Amongst other suggestions regarding the scene depicted on the ivory is that of K. G. Holum and G. Vikan, *DOP* 33 (1979), 115 ff., who link it with the translation of the arm of St Stephen mentioned under AM 5920.

[4] For 'of the Hebdomon', Mal. has 'near the palace of the Secundianai'.
[5] Mal. provides a precise date, August of the 15th indiction.
[6] Grumel, who gives 24 Aug. for the death of Menas, can only put Eutychios' appointment as at the end of August. Theophanes thus helps establish the precise date.
[7] Mal. only has 'in that month'.
[8] Deleted by de Boor because it contradicts the chronological table which gives Anthimos his year separately at AM 6029. But this assumes generously that Theophanes consistently reconciled his narrative with his chronological information.

[AM 6045, AD 552/3]

Justinian, 26th year
Chosroes, 28th year
Vigilius, 15th year
Eutychios, bishop of Constantinople (13 years), 1st year
Peter, 8th year
Apolinarios, 4th year
Domnus, 8th year

||In this year the Fifth holy and ecumenical Synod was convened[1] to oppose Origen's aberration, Didymos the blind, and Euargios for
229 their pagan nonsense[2] and, once again, the ⌜headless⌝ Chapters.||[a] Vigilius of Rome did not attend with those who had gathered.[3] After many matters had been raised, the emperor dismissed him and he died in Illyricum[4] while travelling back to Rome.

[a] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 635. 9–17, Geo. Mon. 629. 1–630. 5.

[1] Given Mal.'s lack of interest in theological and ecclesiastical issues, Theophanes has probably been forced to turn here to his unidentified ecclesiastical source. The council opened on 5 May 553 with the issue of the Three Chapters still not settled. 166 bishops attended, nearly all from the East. The Three Chapters were condemned and their authors anathematized. Vigilius' name was removed from the diptychs and he was exiled briefly until he agreed to accept the synod and annul his former decisions on the Three Chapters (26 Feb. 554).
[2] Didymos (313–98), in fact a staunch supporter of dyophysitism and Nicaea, and Evagrius Ponticus (344–99 = Euargios) were condemned for their supposed Origenism (Origen, AD 185–254).
[3] Vigilius was, of course, still in Constantinople. (Cf. AM 6039, 6042.)
[4] More probably at Syracuse, 7 June 555 (*Lib. Pont., Vigilius*, c. 9). Note the contradiction with the chronological rubrics according to which Vigilius remains alive until AM 6048.

[AM 6046, AD 553/4]

Justinian, 27th year
Chosroes, 29th year
Vigilius, 16th year
Eutychios, 2nd year
Peter, 9th year
Apolinarios, 5th year
Domnus, 9th year

||On 15 August of this year, in the 2nd indiction,[1] in the middle of the night as Sunday was dawning, there was a terrible earthquake. It damaged many homes, baths, churches, and part of the walls of Constantinople, particularly near the Golden Gate. Many died. Much of Nicomedia also collapsed. The earth tremors lasted for 40 days.||[a] For a while men were overcome by contrition, went on litanies and frequented churches, but after God's mercy had returned, they lapsed again to worse habits. The commemoration of this earthquake takes place each year in the Campus,[2] with the people performing a litany.||[b3]

The Lazi, who had rejected Roman authority because of the avarice and injustices of their ruler John,[4] and gone over to the Persians,[5] joined the Romans again at this time. The Romans captured the fort of Petra and drove out the Persians.[6]

[a] Mal. 486. 23–487. 9. Cf. Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 113. 24–30, Mich. Syr. ii. 245.
[b] Cf. Ps.-Dion. ii. 489, Mich. Syr. ii. 249.

[1] Agathias also records an earthquake in Constaninople for 554. The date comes from Mal., but Theophanes appears to be dealing with the same earthquake at AM 6034 and possibly but improbably 6047. As 15 Aug. was a Saturday in 554, this must be the correct year.
[2] Cf. John of Ephesos, 241: 'The commemoration of the earthquake takes place in the great, very wide campus, seven miles from Constantinople. On the very days on which they occurred each year, almost the whole city goes out there and carries out many religious ceremonies.' Cf. AM 5930, n. 3, and 6141. The commemoration is noted in the ecclesiastical calendars for 16 Aug. (*Syn. CP*, 904. 2, p. 32; *Il Menologio di Basilio II (Cod. Vat. Gr. 1613)* (Turin, 1907), i. 372. 13–374. 26).
[3] The parallels for 'b' are all from Syriac sources, but they probably reflect the original Mal.
[4] The Roman commander, John Tzibos, established a monopoly on corn and salt by acting as a middle man between the Lazi and traders. It was 'the only practicable way of imposing a tax—as a necessary and just compensation for the defence of the country, notwithstanding the facts that it was garrisoned solely in Roman interests and that the garrison itself was unwel-

come to the natives' (Bury, *HLRE*[2] ii. 101; see also now Braund, *Georgia*, 293–5).

[5] Gubazes, king of the Lazi, invited Khusro in 541 to recover Lazica. Khusro captured Petra and installed a Persian garrison but retired after learning that Belisarius was about to invade Assyria. (Petra, on the Black Sea, between the mouths of the Akampsis and Phasis, had been developed by Justinian shortly before 535 as a powerful fortified city which he had renamed Justinianopolis.) See Braund, *Georgia*, 295–7.

[6] In about 549 Gubazes, angered by the Persians, sought Justinian's pardon and support. Dagisthaios was sent with a force of 7,000 to Lazica. In 550 he was replaced by Bessas, who captured Petra in 551. The truce was in 557, cf. AM 6055, n. 22. On these events, see Braund, *Georgia*, 297–311.

AM 6047 [AD 554/5]

Year of the divine Incarnation 547
Justinian, emperor of the Romans (38 years), 28th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (48 years), 30th year
Vigilius, bishop of Rome (18 years), 17th year
Eutychios, bishop of Constantinople (13 years), 3rd year
Peter, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 10th year
Apolinarios, bishop of Alexandria (19 years), 6th year
Domnus, bishop of Antioch (14 years), 10th year

On 11 July of this year, in the 3rd indiction, at the commemoration of St Euphemia and the Definition,[1] there was a great earthquake.
230 On the 19th of the same month there was terrible thunder and lightning and a violent south-west wind, as a result of which the cross that stood inside the Rhesion gate[2] fell down.

[1] The story of the miracle of St Euphemia, although first attested by Constantine of Tios in about 800, probably developed early from a rather literal interpretation of the metaphysical language in the letter from the Synod of Chalcedon in 451 to Pope Leo. See F. Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcédoine* (Brussels, 1965), 95 n. 1. According to the legend, the authorities at the synod, which was held in the church of St Euphemia, decided to place a copy of their definition of the faith on her tomb to see if the Lord would reveal whether the definition was according to His will. The martyr came to life, stretched out and took the document, blessed it and gave it back with her approval clear.

11 July is St Euphemia's day. The account is perhaps from Theophanes' unidentified ecclesiastical history source, which probably did not provide any indication of the year. This may strengthen suspicion that the earthquake, otherwise unattested, is a doublet of that of AM 6046 (which Stein, *BE* ii. 828, suggested was a doublet of AM 6034), but it is unsufficient evidence to reject Theophanes' statement.

[2] Also known as the Rhegion or Polyandriou (now Yeni Mevlevihane Kapısı).

[AM 6048, AD 555/6]

Justinian, 29th year
Chosroes, 31st year
Vigilius, 18th year
Eutychios, 4th year
Peter, 11th year
Apolinarios, 7th year
Domnus, 11th year

||In July of this year, the 4th indiction,[1] the Jews and Samaritans staged a revolt at Caesarea in Palestine.[2] Combining into a Green–Blue faction, they attacked the Christians of that city, killed many of them, burned their churches, murdered Stephen, the prefect of the city,[3] in the praetorium and looted his property. His wife went up to Constantinople and approached the emperor. He ordered Amantius the *magister militum*, to go down to Palestine and investigate Stephen's murder.[4] Having found [the culprits] Amantius hanged some, beheaded some, mutilated some, and fined others. So great fear prevailed in all the eastern parts. In December there occurred a plague among men in various cities, particularly affecting children.[5] Similarly in May there was a shortage of bread in Byzantium. The people in their distress shouted to the emperor, 'Master, [let us have] plentiful food in the city!' They cursed the prefect at the birthday celebrations,[6] while Persian ambassadors were present in the Hippodrome. The emperor was annoyed and ordered the prefect Musonius to arrest those who had done this, and they were punished. They had vexed the emperor because the people had shouted at him in the presence of the Persian ambassador. There was plenty of wine and salted meat and everything else, but there was a shortage of corn and barley.[7] On Thursday 13 July,[8] there was terrifying lightning and thunder resulting in many casualties.||[a] There was also heavy rain, so that after the long drought the land was soaked.

[a] Mal. 487. 10–488. 14; cf. Ps.-Dion. a.863, Mich. Syr. ii. 262.

[1] The date is from Mal. Stein, *BE* ii. 374 n. 2, argues that Mal. is wrong and that the correct date is AM 6047, July of 3rd indiction, since Mich. Syr. dates the revolt to Justinian's 28th year, and Mal.'s order of events (repeated by Theophanes) of July, December, May, and July again, implies the earlier

July is in the previous indiction. But indiction 4 is given in both the Baroccianus manuscript and in *De insid.* This testimony is to be preferred to Mich. Syr., while Mal. does not always follow the succession of months.

[2] Cf. the Samaritan revolt of 529 (AM 6021 'h'). Generally Justinian's tough legislation against Samaritans had not been applied severely, and in 551 it was softened (*Nov.* 129, 15 June 551).

[3] Proconsul of Palestine I. Mal., at *De insid.* 48 (173. 19), has proconsul. Mal. 487. 14 has governor.

[4] Presumably the same Amantius who is named in the *V. Sym. Iun.* 161, which refers to his reputation in the East for persecuting wrongdoers, including pagans, Manichees, astrologers, and heretics. Cf. *PLRE* iii. 53, Amantius 2.

[5] The reference to children is not in our surviving text of Mal. Cf. AM 6050, where Theophanes makes the same point. There were many recurrences of the plague (cf. AM 6043) during the 6th cent. For this year it is also recorded by the Arabic historian Agapius of Mendibj, *PO* 8 (1912), 413. Other recorded occurrences after 542 are in 552/3, 553/4, 555 (here), 558, 560/1, 567/8, 568/9, 572/3, 580/1, 583/4, 585/6, 592, 598/9. See P. Allen, *Byz* 49 (1979), 5–20, esp. 13.

[6] i.e. the celebration of the foundation of Constantinople (11 May 330).

[7] According to Mal. the shortage lasted for 3 months.

[8] Stein, *BE* ii. 374 n. 2, claims one of these figures must be wrong, but 13 July did fall on a Thursday in 556.

[AM 6049, AD 556/7]

Justinian, 30th year
Chosroes, 32nd year
Pelagios, bishop of Rome (5 years), 1st year[1]
Eutychios, 5th year
Peter, 12th year
Apolinarios, 8th year
Domnus, 12th year

In this year on 6 November on the Commemoration of the Dust, there died Timothy, the exarch of the monasteries and abbot of the monastery of Dalmatos.[2] Anthimos, an anchorite of the same monastery, replaced him.

231 ||Fire appeared in the sky in the shape of a spear, from north to west.[3] On Monday 16 April,[4] there was a frightening earthquake that caused no damage.||[a]

[a] Mal. 488. 15–19.

[1] Pelagios was pope 16 Apr. 556–4 Mar. 561.

[2] Probably from Theophanes' church history source. Cf. AM 6051. For the Commemoration of the Dust, cf. AM 5966.

[3] Mal. gives the date as Nov. of 5th indiction.

[4] 16 Apr. did fall on a Monday in 557.

AM 6050 [AD 557/8]

Year of the divine Incarnation 550
Justinian, emperor of the Romans (38 years), 31st year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (48 years), 33rd year
Pelagios, bishop of Rome (5 years), 2nd year
Eutychios, bishop of Constantinople (13 years), 6th year
Peter, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 13th year
Apolinarios, bishop of Alexandria (19 years), 9th year
Domnus, bishop of Antioch (14 years), 13th year

In this year, on Friday 19 October of the 6th indiction there was a great earthquake, just as Saturday was dawning.[1] ||On 14 December,[2] there was another very frightening earthquake, which damaged the two walls of Constantinople, both the Constantinian and the one built by Theodosios. In particular, there collapsed churches and the area beyond the Hebdomon, namely St Samuel,[3] the Holy Mother of God of Petalas,[4] St Vincent,[5] and many church altars and *ciboria* between the Golden Gate and Rhesion.[6] There was no place or suburban estate which did not suffer damage from the terrible threat of the earthquake. Rhegion[7] suffered so badly that it was unrecognizable. The churches of St Stratonikos and of St Kallinikos,[8] both in Rhegion, collapsed to the ground. The porphyry column, which stood in front of the palace of Iucundianae[9] with the statue on top of it, collapsed and was driven eight feet into the ground. The statue of the emperor, Arkadios,[10] which stood to the left of the arch of the Tauros, also fell. There were many casualties in the collapsed buildings, though some were rescued even two or three days after they had been trapped in the ruins. It was reported that the same thing had happened in other cities. No man in that generation on earth could remember so great and terrible an earthquake. For the love of man the earth continued to shake by day and night for ten days, and for a while men went on litanies out of con- 232
trition, but after experiencing God's love, they lapsed again to worse habits.[11] The emperor did not wear his crown for forty days,[12] and even on the holy birth of Christ he processed to church without it.||[a] He also stopped the customary luncheons in the hall of the Nineteen Couches[13] and gave the money saved from this to the poor.||[b]

At the same time the strange race of the so-called Avars reached Byzantium and everyone in the city thronged to gaze at them, as

they had never seen such a people. They wore their hair very long at the back, tied with ribbons and plaited. The rest of their dress was like that of the other Huns. They had come as fugitives from their own country to Scythia and Mysia and sent envoys to Justinian asking to be admitted.||[c14]

||In February a bubonic plague broke out, particularly among the young, so that the living were too few to bury the dead. The plague raged from February till July.||[d15]

[a] Mal. 488. 20–489. 10, Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 113. 31–114. 9; cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 246. [b] Cf. Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 114. 7–9, Geo. Mon. 642. 20–2. [c] Mal. 489, 11–12, Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 114. 10–13. [d] Mal. 489. 15–18.

[1] There is no other evidence for this earthquake, but, as 19 Oct. did fall on Friday in 557, Theophanes is almost certainly right.

[2] Mal. only has 'December of 6th indiction'. Theophanes' date is confirmed by the ecclesiastical calendars and *Eccl. Hist.* with the earthquake being commemorated each year. See B. Croke, *Byz* 51 (1981), 125–6.

[3] Built after the translation of his relics to Constantinople at the beginning of the 5th cent. There is no further mention of it, so the church may never have been rebuilt.

[4] Only known from this passage.

[5] Presumably rebuilt since the synaxarion records that his feast day was celebrated 'in the Campus' on 22 Jan., but nothing else is known of it.

[6] A locality near Hebdomon (modern Bakırköy).

[7] Near modern Küçük Çekmece, about 14 km. from Constantinople. Cf. AM 6083, 6094, n. 46.

[8] Nothing more is known of either church.

[9] The palace (called Sekundianai by Mal.) was built by Justinian (Prok. *Aed.* i. 11. 16).

[10] Not to be confused with the statue of Arkadios in the Xerolophos (AM 5895 and struck by earthquake at AM 6041). But cf. AM 6036, n. 2.

[11] Agath. who also records this earthquake, makes the same comment (v. 5. 4–5).

[12] 30 days in Mal.

[13] A ceremonial dining-hall in the Great Palace.

[14] The Avars, who had had some contact with the Roman Empire since the late 5th cent., had suffered a severe defeat by the Turks in 555. This led to their movement towards the West. In 557 they approached Justinian's cousin Justin, who was *magister militum* in Lazica, and who arranged for this deputation to visit Constantinople. Justinian gave them splendid gifts but did not offer them land or subsidies at this stage. See Men. Prot, frgs. 5, 8, Theoph. Sim. vii. 8. 1–4, Joh. Eph. *HE* vi. 24, p. 246, Bury, *HLRE*[2] ii. 314–16, Stein, *BE* ii. 541–3. (Mysia = Moesia.)

[15] Cf. AM 6048, where Theophanes also stresses its effect on the young.

AM 6051 [AD 558/9]

Year of the divine Incarnation 551
Justinian, emperor of the Romans (38 years), 32nd year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (48 years), 34th year
Pelagios, bishop of Rome (5 years), 3rd year
Eutychios, bishop of Constantinople (13 years), 7th year
Peter, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 14th year
Apolinarios, bishop of Alexandria (19 years), 10th year
Domnus, bishop of Antioch (14 years), 14th year

In this year[1] on Tuesday, 7 May, in the 5th hour, ||while the dome of the Great Church was being repaired (for it had been cracked during the preceding earthquakes) and while the Isaurians[2] were working on it, the eastern part of the vault of the holy sanctuary collapsed and crushed the *ciborium*, the holy table, and the ambo. The engineers were blamed because, to avoid expense, they had not secured the suspension from beneath but had bored through the piers that supported the dome, for which reason these had not held. Realizing 233
this, the most pious emperor erected new piers[3] to hold the dome, which was built in such a way that it was raised twenty feet[4] higher than the first building.||[a]

||In the same year[5] the Huns and Slavs—a great mass of them—rose up against Thrace, made war there, and killed or captured many people. They caught Sergius, the *magister militum*, son of the presbyter Bakchos, and Edermas, the general, [in the service of] Kalopodios,[6] the most glorious *cubicularius* and *praepositus*. Having discovered that some parts of the Anastasian wall[7] had collapsed from the earthquakes,[8] they got in and took prisoners as far as||[b9] Drypia[10] and Nymphai and the village of Chiton.[11] Everyone fled with their possessions into the city. On being informed of this, the emperor conscripted many and sent them to the Long Wall. They engaged the enemy there and many Romans, especially *scholarii*, were killed. Then the emperor ordered that the silver *ciboria* and silver altar tables that were outside the city be removed while the *scholae*, the *protectores*,[12] the *numeri*,[13] and the whole Senate guarded all the gates of the Theodosian wall. When the emperor saw that the barbarians were persisting, he ordered the patrician Belisarius to march out against them with some other members of the Senate. Belisarius took every horse, including those of the emperor, of the Hippodrome, of religious establishments,[14] and from every ordinary man who had a horse. He armed his troops[15] and led them out to the village of Chiton. He made an entrenched camp and began to capture some of the enemy and kill them. Next he ordered

trees to be cut and dragged behind the army. The wind blew up a cloud of dust, which drifted over the barbarians. They, thinking that an enormous force was there, fled and went to the district of St Stratonikos at Dekaton.[16] When they learned from scouts that a
234 great garrison force was at the walls of Constantinople, they went to the region of Tzouroulon, Arkadioupolis, and St Alexander of Zoupara[17] and remained encamped there until holy Easter. After the Easter festival, the emperor went out to Selymbria[18] and everyone from the city went with him to rebuild the Long Wall[19] where the barbarians had entered. The emperor remained there until August. Likewise the barbarians wandered about outside the city until August. Then the emperor ordered double-prowed ships[20] to be built to go to the Danube and oppose the barbarians as they crossed and make war on them. When the barbarians discovered this, they asked through an envoy to be allowed to cross the Danube safely. The emperor sent Justin, his nephew, the *curopalates*,[21] to conduct them.

[a] Mal. 489. 19–490. 5; cf. 495. 10–12, Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 114. 14–22, Ps.-Dion. a.867, 875, Mich. Syr. ii. 262. [b] Mal. 490. 6–12; cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 269.

[1] Mal.'s date of 558 (as against Theophanes' 559) is correct. 7 May fell on a Tuesday in 558. Theophanes appears to have got his date from the ecclesiastical history.

[2] Cf. C. Mango, 'Isaurian Builders', in P. Wirth, ed., *Polychronion: Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag* (Heidelberg, 1966), 358–65.

[3] Incorrect.

[4] Mal. 490. 5 also has '20 feet', but at 495. 11 he has '30 feet'. Cf. AM 6055 (de Boor, 238 end).

[5] Theophanes follows but omits Mal.'s precise date of Mar. of the 7th indiction. There is a more rhetorical rather than detailed account of the invasion at Agath. v. 11. See also Bury, *HLRE*[2] ii. 304–8, Stein, *BE* ii. 535–40.

[6] The meaning is obscure and is best discussed in *PLRE* iii. 434–5, Edermas. There was no such position as 'the general of someone' nor can the meaning be 'Edermas the general, son of Kalopodios' since *cubicularii* were eunuchs. Mal. has μειζότερον which may possibly represent Latin *maior* in the sense of 'the major domo' of Kalopodios, and Theophanes, excusably unable to make sense of this, has substituted 'general'. Alternatively Mal. may have read 'Edermas ⟨the general and⟩ major domo of Kalopodios' and Theophanes has omitted the obscure term but retained 'Kalopodios'.

[7] Normally known as the 'Long Walls', these cross Thrace from Selymbria (modern Silivri) on the sea of Marmara to the Black Sea. On the walls, see esp. R. M. Harrison, '*Τὸ Μακρὸν Τεῖχος*, the Long Wall in Thrace', *Roman Frontier Studies*, 1969, ed. E. Birley, B. Dobson, and M. Jarrett (Cardiff, 1974), 245–8; id., *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 47 (1969), 33–8; B. Croke, *GRBS* 23 (1982), 59–78; L. M. Whitby, *Byz* 55 (1985), 560–83; and now

J. Crow, 'The Long Walls of Thrace', in C. Mango and G. Dagron, eds., *Constantinople and its Hinterland* (Aldershot, 1995), 109–24. Croke argues that the walls were built by Anastasios in about 500; Whitby returns with vigour to the older view that Anastasios restored walls originally built in the 5th cent.

[8] Agathias does not mention the earthquake but stresses the lack of a defence force. 'Their audacity went so far as to pass the Long Walls and approach the inner fortification. For time and neglect had in many places dilapidated the great wall, and other parts were easily thrown down by the barbarians, as there was no military garrison, nor engine of defence . . . The wall was less efficiently protected than a pig-sty or a sheep-cot.' Agath. v. 2, tr. Bury, *HLRE*[2] ii. 305. But Whitby, art. cit. 582, has argued on the basis of Prok. *Aed.* iv. 9. 8, that the walls were defended in 559, which in turn needs *Aed.* to be later than 559. Agathias also implies there was no defence beyond the walls as against Theophanes' specific reference to the forces led by Sergius and Edermas.

[9] In Mal. there is a large lacuna here. Theophanes' text is presumably based on the original Mal.

[10] About 14 km. west of Constantinople, near the sea, possibly the modern Ayasmaderesi.

[11] There is no more precise indication of their locality than Theophanes provides.

[12] The *scholae* and the *protectores* both formed part of the palace guards.

[13] It is far from clear what these *numeri* (ἀριθμοί) are. Normally the term refers to units of regular troops, but there were supposedly (see Agath. V.15) no such troops in Constantinople. Bury, *Adm. System*, 60–1, suggested that they were troops with special garrison duties in the capital, possibly connected with the Arcadiaci (see Mal. 349. 5–6). Stein, *BE* ii. 537–43, argued with less probability that they represent a civil defence force. See Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 104–5.

[14] i.e. monasteries, hospitals, etc. Cf. Bury, *Adm. System*, 94.

[15] Apart from 300 of Belisarius' veteran troops 'the remainder was a completely unarmed and unwarlike mob', Agath. v. 16. 2; cf. Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 106.

[16] On the via Egnatia, between the Hebdomon and Rhegion (but see Mango, *Développement*, 32–3). Presumably it is the same St Stratonikos as in AM 6050.

[17] Tzouroulon (ancient Tyrroloe), not far from the northern shores of the sea of Marmara, three days' journey from Constantinople according to Villehardouin (ii, para. 343, p. 152, ed. E. Faral (Paris, 1939)), is the modern Çorlu in European Turkey; Arkadioupolis (modern Lüleburgaz), earlier Bergula before its 'foundation' by Theodosios the Great (Kedr. i. 568), was a station on the road from Perinthos-Herakleia to Adrianople. Zoupara, usually Drizipera, e.g. at AM 6084 and 6092 (de Boor, 270 and 279), the modern Büyük Karıştıran, was also a station on the road rather closer to Perinthos. See A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1971), 26–7.

[18] Modern Silivri.

[19] Whitby, *JHS* 105 (1985), suggests that 'Prok.'s account of imperial works in the vicinity of the capital in *Aed.* iv. 8–9 records this imperial expedition in 559'. Stein, *BE* ii. 818–19, demonstrated that the description in Const. Porph. *Cer.* 497. 13–16 of Justinian's ceremonial return to Constantinople refers to this occasion and occurred on Monday 11 Aug. 559.

[20] Accepting the correction of διάπρυμνα to δίπρυμνα: see de Boor's Addenda (ii. 787).

[21] On the dignity of *curopalates* see esp. Bury, *Adm. System*, 33–5, who also provides a list till 900. With Justin's appointment the dignity acquired a new importance, raising the holder above other patricians without formally indicating him as heir apparent. Subsequently it was 'confirmed regularly on a member of the imperial family and was inferior only to the Caesar and nobilissimus' (Bury, op. cit., 34).

[AM 6052, AD 559/60]

Justinian, 33rd year
Chosroes, 35th year
Pelagios, 4th year
Eutychios, 8th year
Peter, 15th year
Apolinarios, 11th year
Anastasios, bishop of Antioch (11 years), 1st year

In this year the emperor began to build the bridge over the river Sangarios.[1] After diverting the river into another bed, he built five imposing arches[2] and so made it possible to cross the river, where previously there had only been a wooden bridge.

[1] For this famous bridge and associated questions, see Whitby, *JHS* 105 (1985), 129–48. Descriptions survive in Prok. *Aed.* v. 3. 8–11; Agathias at *Anth. Gr.* ix. 641; Zon. iii. 159 (quoting *Anth. Gr.*); Const. Porph. *De Them.* i. 27; Paul. Silent. *Ekphrasis*, 928–33. The Sangarios (modern Sakarya) now flows about 3 km. east of the bridge which is by the village of Beskopru, about 5 km. from Adapazarı.

The absence of other material for this year must cause some suspicion about the accuracy of Theophanes' dating (cf. AM 6035, 6036 for the transfer of material to an empty year). Parallel sources add 'he also built the church of the all-holy mother of God at the spring' (Leo Gramm. 323; Kedr. 678, Skout. 100) and it would be helpful if that church could be dated. But there is no good reason to reject Theophanes' date, especially as his dates for surrounding years are accurate. If Theophanes' date is accurate, the composition of Prok. *Aed.* can be dated to after this year (since Prok. refers to the bridge being under construction) and before Dec. 562, the occasion of Paul. Silent.'s *Ekphrasis* in which he refers to the bridge as completed. See now R. Macrides and P. Magdalino, *BMGS* 12 (1988), 47–82.

[2] Theophanes is correct despite the reference to eight arches by C. Texier, *Description de l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1859), 55–6 and pl. LV. See Whitby, art. cit., 129 n. 5.

[AM 6053, AD 560/1]

Justinian, 34th year
Chosroes, 36th year
Pelagios, 5th year
Eutychios, 9th year
Peter, 16th year
Apolinarios, 12th year
Anastasios, 2nd year

In this year, on Thursday, 9 September, of the 9th indiction,[1] a rumour arose in Constantinople that the emperor had died. For he had returned from Thrace[2] but did not receive anyone. So the people suddenly seized the bread from the bread shops and bakeries, and at about the third hour no bread could be found in the whole city. There was also a downpour of rain that day. The shops were closed and the common talk at the palace was that the emperor had not granted an audience to any senator because he had a headache.[3] For this reason it was believed that he had died. About the ninth hour the Senate called a meeting and sent the prefect to have lights lit throughout the city[4] to show that the emperor was well. In this way the city was calmed after the disturbance. After the emperor had 235
recovered, the ex-prefect Eugenios[5] accused George, the *curator* of the palace of Marina, and Aitherios,[6] *curator* of the palace of Antiochos, of having intended to make Theodore,[7] son of Peter the *magister*, emperor, with whom Gerontios, the City prefect, was in accord. When the matter had been investigated and disproved, Eugenios came under displeasure, and his house was confiscated. He sought refuge in the church and was saved.

In December there was a large fire in Julian's harbour,[8] and many houses were burned as well as churches from the edge of the harbour as far as the quarter of Probus. There was also a big plague at Anazarbos[9] and [elsewhere] in Cilicia and in Great Antioch, as well as earthquakes. The orthodox and the supporters of Severus clashed with one another and there were many murders. The emperor dispatched Zemarchos,[10] *comes Orientis*, and checked the troublemakers, many of whom were punished by exile, confiscation of property, and mutilation.

[1] In 560, 9 Sept. did fall on a Thursday, confirming Theophanes' date. Mal. (still in lacuna here, cf. AM 6051, n. 9) is presumably the source.

[2] The implication is that this refers to Justinian's return after rebuilding the Long Walls. Cf. AM 6051, where it was reported that Justinian was in Thrace from Easter till August rebuilding the Long Walls after the Hun invasion of 559. The implication must be that his return and illness were in the same year. Since both the Hun invasion and the illness are securely dated, either the invasion or the rebuilding presumably continued for 2 years.

[3] Cf. Prok. *Aed.* i. 7. for another instance of the emperor being ill with an even more dramatic response.

[4] Public street lights were probably instituted in 438–41, see Dagron, *Naissance*, 269 with n. 1, McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 110. But lamps were lit as part of imperial celebrations. Cf. AM 6119. See J. Gagé, 'Fackel (Kerze)', *RAC* 7 (1969), 154–217, esp. 180–6.

[5] G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1884), plausibly identified Eugenios with the Eugenios of a supposedly 6th-cent. seal, since he was ex-prefect (ὁ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων) and *drungarius*.

[6] Aitherios was to be accused of involvement in another plot against Justinian in 562 (AM 6055); in 565 he was prominent in driving the patriarch Eutychios into exile; probably in 566 (see AM 6059) he was convicted and executed for conspiring to poison Justin II. Earlier he is said to have offered Justinian the services of a sorcerer, and to have trained Justin II's minister Anastasios in the art of using mischief. See *PLRE* iii. 22, Aetherius 2.

[7] Cf. AM 6054, where Theodore checked a threatened meeting of the *scholae*. He was a Monophysite but still managed a long and successful career under Justin II. See *PLRE* iii. 1255–6. For his father (*magister officiorum* 539–65) see *PLRE* iii. 994–8, Petrus 6.

[8] Later known as the 'Sophian', this was a very large harbour (Zos. iii. 11. 3) on the Propontis, a short distance to the west of the Imperial Palace and the Hippodrome, probably the modern Kadırgalimanı. See Mango, *Développement*, 38–9.

[9] Anazarbos, the modern Anavarza, in Cilicia.

[10] Zemarchos is not to be confused with his homonym of AM 6054.

AM 6054 [AD 561/2]

Year of the divine Incarnation 554
Justinian, emperor of the Romans (38 years), 35th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (48 years), 37th year
John, bishop of Rome (8 years), 1st year[1]
Eutychios, bishop of Constantinople (13 years), 10th year
Peter, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 17th year
Apolinarios, bishop of Alexandria (19 years), 13th year
Anastasios, bishop of Antioch (11 years), 3rd year

On Wednesday, 12 October of this year,[2] in the 10th indiction, late in the evening, there was a big fire in the quarter of Caesarius[3] as far as Omphakera,[4] as it is called. All the shops and portals as far as the [Forum of] the Bull were burned.[5] In November, during the races, before the emperor's arrival, a riot among the partisans broke out.[6] The Greens attacked the Blues. When the emperor heard, he went up to the Kathisma and, on seeing the fighting, ordered Marinus, *comes excubitorum*,[7] with the curator of the estate of Caesarius to go down 236
and separate the factions. They went off but were unable to disperse them. Many from both factions were killed and many others wounded. The Blues then invaded the Greens' seats, chanting, 'Burn here, burn there.[8] Not a Green anywhere.' In return the Greens chanted, 'Come, come, everybody, everybody!' They went to the Mesē,[9] to the quarters[10] of the Blues and stoned those they encountered chanting, 'Set alight, set alight! Not a Blue in sight.' They invaded the quarters as Sunday was dawning and stole property. The emperor ordered the Greens to be arrested, and they were punished with many tortures. The Blues sought refuge in the church of the Mother of God at Blachernai. The Greens who stole out sought refuge in St Euphemia at Chalcedon. The prefect ejected them and punished them. Their wives and mothers began to shout in the churches at the emperor that he grant indulgences to the Greens. They were driven off with sticks and the emperor was not reconciled to the Greens until Christmas.

In February the emperor ordered that of the men of the seven *scholae*,[11] those who were stationed at Nicomedia, Kios, Prousa, Kyzikos, Kotyaeion, and Dorylaion, leave and take up quarters in Thrace, that is in Herakleia and the surrounding cities. In March the *scholae* rose up against their *comes* because of some payments they used to receive which had been abolished; so they attacked him. Theodore Kondocheres, the son of Peter the *magister*, chanced to be there and by a threatening speech managed to appease them.

In the same year †Obaisipolis[12] was captured by the Huns. The emperor sent out his nephew Marcellus, the *magister militum*, with a large force to rescue both this city and †Persis[13]. In April Anastasioupolis in Thrace was also captured by the same Huns. 237

||On 3 May[14] Zemarchos, *curator* of the palace of Placidia, was accused of making many terrible statements against the emperor||[a] by George, *curator* of the palace of Marina, and by John the ex-consul, both relatives of the empress Theodora.

[a] Mal. 490. 13–14.

[1] John III was pope 17 July 561–13 July 574.

[2] In 561, 12 Oct. fell on a Wednesday, confirming the date.

[3] i.e. around the harbour of Caesarius. On the problem of identification see Mango, *Développement*, 38.

[4] Only known from this incident, probably to the west of the harbour of Caesarius.

[5] The Forum Bovis is traditionally placed at Aksaray between Amastrianon and the Xerolophos. See, however, Mango, *Développement*, 70.

[6] With the text of Mal. still in lacuna here (cf. AM 6051, n. 9), we might have expected to find this riot included in Const. Porph. *De insid.* It is more probable that the riot was not considered serious enough for inclusion than that Theophanes was making use of a different source. Kedr. i. 679. 7–10 is derived from Theophanes. For a discussion of various salient points about this riot, see Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 90–1, from whom we have also borrowed the translation of the chants.

[7] The excubitors were a body of palace guards, probably created by Leo I, and commanded by a *comes* to the end of the 7th cent. The importance of the post is reflected in its holders, the future emperors Justin I and Tiberius, Maurice's brother-in-law Philippikos, and Priscus. See Bury, *Adm. System*, 57.

[8] The burning confirms later evidence that the crowd sat on elevated wooden grandstands, not stone benches. See Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 91 n. 2 and references there.

[9] The principal thoroughfare of Constantinople.

[10] Or perhaps 'meeting-place'.

[11] On the *scholae*, see Haldon, *Praetorians*, 119–30, 142–50; Bury, *Adm. System*, 49–50. We have adopted Bury's emendation of *Scholae* for *scholarii* (see Bury, op. cit. 49). Justinian had earlier increased the number of *scholae* of palace guards from the seven of the 5th cent. to eleven, making a total of 5,500 men. But this passage seems to indicate a reduction to the original seven, as does a reference to seven in a ceremony from Justinian's reign. In addition to the six cities listed here, there was certainly a *schola* stationed in Constantinople, though until at least 541 there were *scholares* from all seven *scholae* there (Haldon, op. cit. 128). The *scholae* were originally commanded by the *magister officiorum*, but at times the effective head seems to have been the *comes domesticorum*. Hence Haldon justifies the manuscript reference to a singular *comes* here, presumably the *comes domesticorum*, against Bury and others who argue for the plural, believing that Theodore Kondocheres, the son of Peter the *magister*, must have come to the aid of the *comites* in charge of the individual *scholae*. See Haldon, op. cit. 142–4, Bury, op. cit. 49–50. The move here is presumably a response to the lack of troops in Thrace to meet the Hun invasion of 559 (see AM 6051) and reflects both justifiable anxiety about that area (see the following paragraph) and also the shortage of good troops after the plague. For the scholarian guards were simply parade ground troops (see Bury, ii. 359 n. 4 citing Agath. v. 19 and Prok. *Anecd.* 24. 16–17), although this passage suggests they already had at least garrison duties. They were reportedly allowed to stay at home in return for forfeiting their pay. See Jones, *LRE*, 284, Prok. *Anecd.* 24. 21–6.

[12] Corrupt. De Boor suggested 'the city of Novae'. Possibly 'Odyssopolis' (Odessos, the modern Varna in Bulgaria).

[13] Corrupt. De Boor suggested 'its surroundings' reading *περιοικίδα* for *τὴν Περσίδα*.

[14] Mal.'s text resumes here and is quite detailed for the next two years, as against his sparse coverage of Justinian's middle years. It is notable that Theophanes, with plenty of material available, becomes selective again, as with the opening of the reign, and reasonably accurate with his dates.

[AM 6055, AD 562/3]

Justinian, 36th year
Chosroes, 38th year
John, 2nd year
Eutychios, 11th year
Peter, 18th year
Apolinarios, 14th year
Anastasios, 4th year

||In October of this year,[1] a riot among the people occurred in the quarter of Pittakia,[2] and the emperor punished a great many. In November there was a drought and water became scarce, resulting in many fights around the fountains. ⟨Since⟩ August a north wind had blown and none from the south. Ships could not reach Constantinople so Eutychios, the patriarch, ordered a litany to [the quarter of] Jerusalem, that is to St Diomedes.[3]

In the same month the patrician Narses sent news of victory from Rome.[4] He announced that he had captured from the Goths two fortified cities, Beroia and Bringas.||[a5]

||On the 25th of the same month, on Saturday evening,[6] certain individuals formed a plan to murder the emperor while he was sitting in the palace. They were Ablabios, the former musical composer,[7] Marcellus, the banker, and Sergius, the nephew of the *curator* Aitherios. This was their plan. While the emperor was sitting in the triclinium[8] in the evening before dismissing the company, they would rush in and kill him. They had as helpers some of their own men, Indians[9] hidden in the office of the silentiaries and in the Archangel's [chapel] and in the Harma,[10] who were to cause a disturbance while the plot was carried out. The same Ablabios had accepted money from Marcellus the banker, fifty pounds in all, to join in the task. But, with God's consent, Ablabios confided in Eusebios, the honorary consul and *comes foederatorum*, and also John the logothete, the [son][11] of Domentziolos, saying: 'This evening we intend to attack the emperor.' After informing the

238 emperor, [Eusebios] arrested them and discovered that they were wearing concealed swords. The banker Marcellus, having failed in his plan, drew the sword he was wearing, gave himself three blows when he was apprehended in the *triclinium*, and died. Sergius, the nephew of Aitherios, ran away and sought refuge [in the church] at Blachernai. They dragged him from the church, interrogated him, and persuaded him to confess that Isakios, the banker, and even Belisarius, the most glorious patrician, were implicated in the same conspiracy and that Vitus, the banker, and Paul, the *curator*[12] of Belisarius, were privy to the plot. After all of them had been arrested and handed over to the prefect Prokopios, they testified and gave evidence against the patrician Belisarius. The emperor immediately became vexed with Belisarius. Many fled. On 5 December the emperor held a *silentium*,[13] invited the most holy patriarch Eutychios, and ordered the depositions to be read out. On hearing them, Belisarius was greatly upset and incurred the emperor's wrath. The emperor ordered the removal of all his staff‖[b] and put Belisarius under house arrest.

‖On 24 December the consecration of the Great Church took place for the second time.[14] The all-night vigil of the consecration took place at St Plato's.[15] Eutychios, the patriarch of Constantinople, set out from there with the litany, accompanied by the emperor. Eutychios sat in the carriage wearing the apostolic habit and holding the holy Gospel, while everyone sang the psalm, 'Raise up your gates, you leaders.'‖[c16]

‖In the same month some districts of Africa were occupied by the Mauretanians, who had risen in revolt in Africa in the following manner.[17] A man of this tribe named Koutzinas, who was leader of the Mauretanians, had customarily received from the serving governor of Africa a fixed amount of gold. But when he came to collect it,
239 John, the governor of Africa,[18] killed him. Koutzinas' sons rose up to avenge their father's blood and, falling on Africa, captured some parts of it which they plundered. At the news of this, the emperor sent to the assistance of Africa his nephew Marcian,‖[d19] the *magister militum*, with an army to pacify the Moors. They went over to him and Africa gained peace.

In April Prokopios was dismissed from the city prefecture and replaced by Andrew, the ex-logothete. As he came out of the palace [through] the Chalke, seated in his carriage on his way to the Praetorium, the Greens met him at [the palace of] Lausos.[20] They began to insult him and throw stones at him. This led to a big disturbance of the two factions in the Mesē. They broke into the prisons and fighting went on from the tenth hour. The emperor sent out

his nephew Justin, the *curopalates*,[21] who chased them away. But they clashed again about the twelfth hour, and they were arrested and paraded publicly for many days. Those who had fought with swords had their thumbs cut off.

On 19 July the patrician Belisarius was received and given back all his honours. Peter the *magister* arrived from Persia after securing a peace treaty for seventeen years,[22] a result of [events in] Lazica and the eastern regions. In the same month envoys arrived ⟨in Constantinople⟩ from Askel, king of the Hermichiones,[23] who dwell inland of the barbarian nation near the Ocean. In August there was a shortage of water, so that the public baths were closed and murders occurred at the fountains.

[a] Mal. 492. 7–19. [b] Mal. 493. 1–494. 21. [c] Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* 114. 26–31, Mal. 495. 9–16. [d] Mal. 495. 19–496. 7.

1 Mal. confirms the date with 'October of 11th indiction'.

2 Near Hagia Sophia by the Augustaion to the north-east of the Senate. On the date see n. 6 below.

3 Near the Golden Gate just inside the walls.

4 Narses had been in control of Rome since shortly after the death of Totila in 552. Cf. AM 6044, Prok. *BG* iv. 32. 27, Bury, *HLRE*[2] ii. 268.

5 Verona and Brescia. Verona was captured on 20 July 561 (Agnellus, 79, Agnellus' accuracy at this stage being confirmed by a reference to Monday 25 July 561 which fits. See Stein, *BE* ii. 610–11 n. 1).

6 Mal. confirms the year (11th ind.) and, at *De insid.* 49, the day of the week (a Saturday). Theophanes' previous reference is to Oct. but Mal. correctly has Nov. which in 562 fits with Saturday 25th. So Theophanes' source must have dated either or both of Eutychios' litany and Narses' news to Nov., not Oct.

7 On the meaning of *ἀπὸ μελιστῶν*, see Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 260 and Tabachovitz, *Studien*, 28 f.

8 Usually a dining-room, but here specifically a hall in the Great Palace.

9 Presumably Ethiopians, which is Theophanes' usual meaning of 'Indian'.

10 Military quarters in the north of the palace, linked to the Tribunal. See Guilland, *Études*, i. 3–4. *Ἅρμα* (*sic*) appears in *Cer.* i. 92, Reiske, 422. 13, with reference to the proclamation of Anastasios.

11 Cf. *PLRE* iii. 413–14, which also provides a family tree at 1546, against A. D. E. Cameron, *Glotta*, 56 (1978), 92 who argues for 'John the personal logothete of Domentziolos'. On logothete, see Jones, *LRE*, 456 with n. 96.

12 Jones, *LRE*, 1173–4 n. 39 (iii. 103 n. 39); cf. 426, uses this as evidence of private citizens having *curatores*, although normally the term is used for imperial officials responsible for imperial estates. Here Theophanes has substituted the term for Mal.'s *ὑποπτίων* (= *suboptio*), 'presumably an official of Belisarius' household responsible for the pay of his *bucellarii*', *PLRE* iii. 979, Paulus 18.

[13] The emperor's advisory council.

[14] Cf. AM 6051a. For the ceremonies see Mary Whitby, *CQ* 35 (1985), 215–28, P. Magdalino and R. Macrides, *BMGS* 12 (1988), 47–82.

[15] Supposedly built by Anastasios after 500, but according to Prok. *Aed.* i. 4. 27–9, restored by Justinian before 527, its location is variously given as in the portico of Domninus and not far from the Forum of Constantine.

[16] Psalm 24: 7.

[17] So ending 14 years of peace in Africa. Cf. AM 6026 (de Boor 216) with n. 126.

[18] John Rogathinus, either praetorian prefect of Africa, or *magister militum*. See Stein, *BE* ii. 560 n. 1. It is not known what led him to murder Koutzinas, who helped the Romans during the Vandal Wars and held at least the official title of *magister*. See C. Diehl, *L'Afrique Byzantine* (Paris, 1896), 456 ff., Coripp. *Iust.*, ed. Cameron, 127.

[19] Son of Justinian's sister and cousin of Justin II. His appointment is evidence of how seriously Justinian regarded the revolt. He is mentioned again at AM 6064, where Theophanes incorrectly calls him Martin.

Our text of Mal. breaks off here in mid-sentence. It is not known at what point Mal. ended his chronicle and thus ceased to be available as a source for Theophanes, though it is clear that Mal. continued to 565 and possibly though improbably to 574. See B. Croke in *Mal. Studies*, 23–5. Theophanes seems to lack a good chronicle source for the reign of Justin II. See AM 6059, n. 3.

[20] At the beginning of the Mesē on the left, north-west of the Hippodrome.

[21] Justinian appears to have increased the importance of this dignity to mark out his successor, without actually naming him as Caesar. See Bury, *Adm. System*, 33–4, Coripp. *Iust.* i. 134–6.

[22] For the terms of the treaty, which confirmed the truce of 557 (see AM 6046), see Men. Prot., frg. 3, Bury, *HLRE*[2] ii. 121–3, Stein, *BE* ii. 517–21. According to Menander the treaty was fixed for 50 years though the Romans had wanted a shorter period.

[23] Stein, *BE* ii. 545, following E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux* (Paris, 1903), 231, argues that Askel's name was Scultor, based on Coripp. *Iust.* iii. 390, but see Cameron, ad loc. The Hermichiones or Kermichiones have been identified as the Turks, on the basis of Theophanes of Byzantium, *FHG* iv. 270, but Chavannes, op. cit., argued that they are to be identified as the Ouarchites or Pseudo-Avars.

240 **AM 6056 [AD 563/4]**

Year of the divine Incarnation 556
Justinian, emperor of the Romans (38 years), 37th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (48 years), 39th year
John, bishop of Rome (8 years), 3rd year
Eutychios, bishop of Constantinople (13 years), 12th year

Peter, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 19th year
Apolinarios, bishop of Alexandria (19 years), 15th year
Anastasios, bishop of Antioch (11 years), 5th year

In this year, in October of the 12th indiction, the emperor Justinian, in fulfilment of a vow, visited Myriangeloi, otherwise known as Germia,[1] a city in Galatia. In November, Arethas[2] the patrician and phylarch of the Saracens, came to Byzantium, since he was obliged to report to the emperor which of his sons, after his death, would obtain his phylarchy, and to discuss the activities of Ambros, son of Alamoundaros in his territory. In December a great fire broke out, and the hospice of Sampson[3] was completely gutted as too were the buildings in front of the quarter of Rufus and also the middle court, near the Great Church (the one called Garsonostasion) and the two monasteries near St Eirene, along with its middle court and part of its narthex.

[1] Modern Yürme near Sivrihisar. The remains of the church are still visible. For a description, see J. W. Crowfoot, *ABSA* 4 (1897/8), 86–92, K. Belke and M. Restle, *TIB* 4 (1986), 166–8, 247, C. Mango, *JÖB*, 36 (1986), 117–32.

[2] Not to be confused with Arethas the Kindite (AM 5990, 5995, 6021). This Arethas 'was placed in charge of many other tribes by Justinian and given the title of king: his mission was to counter the power of Alamundaros the Lakhmid', *PLRE* iii. 111–13. See I. Shahîd (Kawar), *BZ* 52 (1959), 321–43, *Byz* 41 (1971), 313–38.

[3] It had earlier been burned in the Nika riot. We do not know when it was rebuilt.

[AM 6057, AD 564/5]

Justinian, 38th year
Chosroes, 40th year
John, 4th year
Eutychios, 13th year
Peter, 20th year
Apolinarios, 16th year
Anastasios, 6th year

In March of this year, in the 13th indiction, Belisarius the patrician died in Byzantium, and his property accrued to the imperial house of Marina. On 12 April of the same 13th indiction,[1] Eutychios, patriarch of Constantinople, was deposed and banished to Amaseia by Justinian. He was replaced by John, the ex-*scholasticus*, an *apokrisiarios* of Great Antioch and presbyter of the same Church.

241 ||In the same year, the emperor Justinian, after raising the doctrine of Corruptibility and Incorruptibility and issuing an edict[2] to all places that was contrary to piety, with God acting in time, died on 14 November of the following 14th indiction,[3] having reigned 38 years, 7 months, and 13 days. His successor was his nephew Justin,||[a] the *curopalates*.[4]

In the same year the Theodosians and the Gaianitai[5] in Alexandria began to build conventicles. The Gaianitai, acting on their own authority, ordained as their own bishop their archdeacon Elpidios. The emperor ordered that Elpidios be brought to him in chains. On the journey, he died at Sigris.[6] The Theodosians secretly ordained Dorotheos one night as their bishop. Then the Gaianitai and Theodosians united and enthroned a common bishop for themselves. The Gaianitai,[7] thinking that a certain monk called John had devised a plot, tore off his beard, along with his skin and flesh.[8]

[a] Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* III. 15–19; cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 281.

[1] Eustratios, *Life of Eutychios* (*PG* 86: 2317B), gives the date as 22 Jan. (feast of St Timothy) and states that he was banished for refusing to endorse Justinian's edict on Aphthartodocetism. Eustratios' version is likely to be accurate. 12 Apr. was the date of the ordination of patriarch John IV (see AM 6074). Cf. Stein, *BE* ii. 688 n. 1.

[2] On the doctrine see AM 6033, n. 5. The date of the edict will be some time before 22 Jan. (see above). Stein, *BE* ii. 684, suggests the end of 564. That is, it should be the first event in this year.

[3] i.e. Justinian's death should be placed under AM 6058 (14th ind.). Theophanes has not only reversed the order of events for this year, but telescoped Justinian's lapse into heresy with his death, and underlined the causal connection with the reference to God's action.

[4] For *curopalates* see AM 6051, n. 21.

[5] i.e. the supporters of the rival patriarchs of Alexandria, Theodosios and Gaïnas respectively (see AM 6033). The Gaianitai, whose ideas were taken from Julian of Halikarnassos, were thus aphthartodocetists and now had imperial support.

[6] A regular stopping-off point on the island of Lesbos (modern Sinkri).

[7] The text of this sentence is corrupt.

[8] Anastasius adds 'To such a degree did the madness of heretics become customary that they often took part in things which are [characteristic] of pagans.'

AM 6058 [AD 565/6]

Year of the divine Incarnation 558
Justin, emperor of the Romans (13 years), 1st year

Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (48 years), 41st year
John, bishop of Rome (8 years), 5th year
John, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 1st year
Makarios, bishop of Jerusalem (2 years), 1st year
Apolinarios, bishop of Alexandria (19 years), 17th year
Anastasios, bishop of Antioch (11 years), 7th year

In this year on 14 November of the 14th indiction, Justinian's nephew Justin became emperor and was crowned by the patriarch John, the ex-*scholasticus*.[1] Justin was a Thracian by race, magnanimous and capable in all matters and an avid builder. He had a wife named Sophia whom he crowned Augusta.[2] Being pious, he adorned the churches built by Justinian, namely the Great Church, the Holy 242
Apostles, and other churches and monasteries, granting them plate and a full revenue. He was thoroughly orthodox. ||He sent out the monk Photeinos,[3] stepson of the patrician Belisarius, with authority to deal with all people and issues,||[a] in order to pacify all the churches of Egypt and Alexandria.[4]

[a] Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 111. 24–7.

[1] There is a detailed account of Justin's accession and coronation in Coripp. *Iust.*

[2] Sophia, who was probably Theodora's niece, was probably born before 530 and married before 550 as by 565 she had a married daughter.

[3] *Eccl. Hist.* confirms the date as Justin's first year. Photeinos, or Photios, the more formal name by which he is also called in *Eccl. Hist.* and by Prok., was Antonina's son by a previous marriage. After holding high office in campaigns with his stepfather against both Goths and Persians, he had been persecuted by his mother and had become a monk to escape further persecution by Theodora. Subsequently he became abbot of the so-called New Monastery at Jerusalem. Perhaps his mission to Egypt was connected with the death of the Monophysite patriarch Theodosios in June 566. He was also used by Justin at some stage before 572 to crush a Samaritan and Jewish revolt in Syria. See *PLRE* iii. 1037–9, Photius 2.

John of Nikiu states that Photios was sent by Justinian, in which case this incident was probably linked to the Samaritan revolt of 555 (cf. AM 6048). Confusion between Justin and Justinian is, however, frequent in non-Greek texts. Moreover John had already mentioned Justinian's death; does not mention Justin II by name; and places this event shortly before Tiberius' coronation.

[4] Theophanes' account of this year notably omits Justin's execution in Alexandria of his potential rival Justin, son of Germanus, which Theophanes delays to AM 6063. The altered chronology has the effect of making an established emperor restore order by removing a usurper rather than a rival with perhaps equal claims before the succession was decided.

Cf. Theophanes' treatment of Justin I's elimination of Vitalian (AM 6012). Possibly Photeinos was assigned the task of removing Justin.

[AM 6059, AD 566/7]

Justin, 2nd year
Chosroes, 42nd year
John, 6th year
John, 2nd year
Makarios, 2nd year
Apolinarios, 18th year
Anastasios, 8th year

||In this year Aitherios and Audios and their physician plotted against the emperor Justin and, on being found out, were executed by the sword.||[a1] Justin gave consular largess and scattered much money, and thus enriched many.||[b2]

||In the same year[3] the monk Agathon, a brother of Apolinarios the bishop of Alexandria, after coming to Alexandria and having examined the accounts of Eustochios, a monk who was at the time important and[4] *oikonomos* of Alexandria, imprisoned him because of his stewardship. Eustochios escaped through the roof and came to Byzantium just when Makarios had been expelled from the Church as a result of a plot. Eustochios was ordained bishop of Jerusalem in place of Makarios.||[c]

[a] Cf. Evagr. v. 3, Joh. Bicl. year 2 of Justin. [b] Cf. Coripp. *Iust.* iv. 10–12. [c] Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 110. 24–9.

[1] Evagr. names the second conspirator as Addaios and adds that Aitherios confessed to a plan to poison the emperor and that Addaios confessed to using sorcery to get rid of the palace prefect Theodotos. John of Biclar, who was still a boy in Constantinople at this time, may reflect Theophanes' and Evagrios' source, stating that the conspirators hoped to kill Justin 'through doctors by poison rather than the sword'. On Aitherios cf. AM 6055 for his involvement in the so-called Bankers' conspiracy.

The execution was in Oct. 566, Eustratios, *Life of Eutychios*, *PG* 86: 2361; A. M. Cameron, note on Coripp. *Iust.* i. 60–1; ead., 'The Early Religious Policies of Justin II', *Studies in Church History* 13, ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1976), 54.

[2] On 1 Jan. 566. Justin's revival of the consulship (in abeyance since 542) will have been popular because of this largess. See Coripp. *Iust.* iv. 10–12, 100–4 and Cameron's commentary ad loc.; R. MacMullen, *Latomus*, 21 (1962), 160–6; A. M. Cameron, *Byz* 50 (1980), 80–1; *Anth. Plan.* 72. On the costs involved see M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy* (Cambridge, 1985), 192–5.

Justin presented the restoration of the consulship as the return of justice and fairness, but in fact it involved massive expenditure.

[3] The date is questionable. Eustochios replaced Makarios in Jerusalem probably in Oct. 582 (Grumel, 451), so it would seem that Theophanes' date is late by one indiction. It is, however, one of the rare occasions where Theophanes' narrative has been made to coincide with his chronological notice. (He lists Eustochios as patriarch for AM 6060.) This (unfortunate) attempt by Theophanes to date material from the evidence of his chronological notice may reflect his shortage of material between the end of Mal.'s chronicle and the opening of Theophylact Simocatta. For these eight years, Theophanes appears to have available only such information as may be available in a city chronicle augmented with material (as here) from an ecclesiastical history. Given his uncertainty here, note also the equally unreliable Joh. Nik. 94. 8, who refers to Agathon as the prefect of Alexandria sent by Justinian in 551 to install Apolinarios as patriarch of Alexandria.

[4] De Boor rejects 'and', reading 'the great *oikonomos*', but the manuscripts, Anastasius' translation, and Cramer's *Eccl. Hist.* all support its inclusion.

[AM 6060, AD 567/8]

Justin, 3rd year
Chosroes, 43rd year
John, 7th year
John, 3rd year
Eustochios, bishop of Jerusalem (1 year), 1st year
Apolinarios, 19th year
Anastasios, 9th year

||In this year Sophia, the most pious Augusta, summoned the bankers and money-lenders and ordered that the contracts and receipts of debtors be brought.[1] Having read them, she took the receipts and handed them over to the debtors and repaid the amounts to their owners. For this she was greatly praised by the whole city.||[a]

||Eustochios, out of hatred towards Apolinarios, Agathon, and Makarios, went to Jerusalem and expelled the monks of the New Lavra on the grounds of Origenism. Because of this he was deposed[2] and Makarios was restored again to his throne.||[b3]

[a] Cf. Zon. xiv. 10 (derived from Theophanes). [b] Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* iii. 12–14.

[1] At his coronation Justin had repaid loans demanded by Justinian (Coripp. *Iust.* ii. 360–404). Given the uncertainty of Theophanes' dates in this section, this may be a garbled version of that action, as A. M. Cameron

suggests ad loc.; cf. *Byz* 45 (1975), 9–10. Perhaps in Theophanes' source Sophia's action followed (and balanced) Justin's consular largess (AM 5059), which Theophanes has certainly dated a year late.

The exaction of loans by Justinian may well be connected with the bankers' revolt (AM 6055) in which Aitherios was also implicated. Justin certainly claimed that he had inherited a crisis from Justinian. 'We found the treasury burdened with many debts and reduced to utter exhaustion' (*Nov.* 148 preface, year 566), but Justin's ability to repay the debts easily perhaps shows that the situation had not been serious. See Jones, *LRE* 301.

[2] For the date cf. AM 6059, n. 3.

[3] It is notable that these ecclesiastical notices both concern Jerusalem, perhaps reflecting the type of source material available to Synkellos rather than Theophanes.

243 **[AM 6061, AD 568/9]**

Justin, 4th year
Chosroes, 44th year
John, 8th year
John, 4th year
Makarios, bishop of Jerusalem again (4 years), 1st year
John, bishop of Alexandria (11 years), 1st year
Anastasios, 10th year

In this year when the chariot races had been held and quarrelling was breaking out among the factions, the emperor sent proclamations to each of the factions, saying to the Blues, 'The emperor Justinian is dead and gone from among you', and to the Greens, 'The emperor Justinian still lives among you'.[1] When the factions heard this, they became quiet and quarrelled no longer.

In the same year he began to build the palace of Sophianai, named after his wife Sophia, on the pretext that before he had become emperor and while he was still *curopalates* his son Justus had been buried there, in the church of the Archangel in that area.[2] He decorated it with a variety of expensive marbles.

[1] One might have expected such a statement to be made rather earlier in Justin's reign than his fourth year. Having made clear his no-nonsense attitude to both sides, Justin was not troubled by the factions throughout his reign.

[2] Across the Bosporus probably at Çengelköy (Pargoire, 'Hieria', *BIRC* 4 (1899), 43). Nothing further is known of this church of the Archangel. The palace is referred to by Coripp. *Iust.* iv. 287, writing almost certainly before 568, and by Marinus Scholasticus in *Anth. Gr.* ix. 657, probably written in 567. Theophanes' date is thus almost certainly too late. A. M. Cameron, *Byz* 37 (1967), 11–20, suggests a date of 565.

[AM 6062, AD 569/70]

Justin, 5th year
Chosroes, 45th year
Benedict, bishop of Rome (5 years), 1st year[1]
John, 5th year
Makarios, 2nd year
John, 2nd year
Anastasios, 11th year

||In this year the emperor Justin began to build the palace of Deuteron[2] on the estate which he owned before becoming emperor.||[a] He also built [? a palace][3] by the harbour of the island of Prinkipos, where he likewise had an estate, as well as the church of the holy Anargyroi[4] in the quarter of Darios. He restored the public bath of the Tauros[5] and named it Sophianai after his wife Sophia.

||In the same year Anastasios, the great bishop of Antioch, after he had criticized in his rescript the synodical letter of John of Constantinople, who had ordained John of Alexandria, was expelled from his own see following that man's ordination because of Justin's anger. Gregory, a monk and *apokrisiarios* of the monastery of the Byzantines, was then ordained.||[b][6]

[a] Cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* iii. 24 (Payne Smith, 204–5). [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 292.

[1] Benedict was pope 2 June 575–30 July 579.

[2] Deuteron was probably situated north of the church of the Holy Apostles extending also between the walls of Constantine and Theodosios. See Janin, *CP*, 336–40. For the identification of this palace with the one described by John of Ephesos, iii. 24, see A. M. Cameron, *Byz* 37 (1967), 17–18.

[3] Nothing else is known of this.

[4] i.e. Kosmas and Damian. The quarter of Darios was probably north-east of the harbour of Sophia. The church is probably identical with the church of Kosmas and Damian in the quarter of Basiliskos referred to by Zon. (possibly derived from Theophanes) xiv. 10 (Bonn, ii,. p. 174), *Cer.* ii. 13 (Bonn, 562), and *Anth. Gr.* i. 11).

[5] Nothing else is known of this bath.

[6] This passage is probably taken from the same ecclesiastical history used at AM 6058, 6059, and 6060. See Whitby, *Byz* 53 (1983), 320, who also suggests that 'the Constantinopolitan Chronicle might have recorded this example of imperial interference in church affairs'. Theophanes' dating of Anastasios' expulsion is correct. Mich. Syr. simply records Anastasios' expulsion and replacement by Gregory, whose charity he praises. For the monastery of the Byzantines at Jerusalem see S. Vailhé, 'Monastères', i. 518–19.

[AM 6063, AD 570/1]

Justin, 6th year
Chosroes, 46th year
Benedict, 2nd year
John, 6th year
Makarios, 3rd year
John, 3rd year
Gregory, bishop of Antioch (24 years), 1st year

||In this year Narses, the *cubicularius* and *protospatharios*, the one
244 who was beloved by the emperor Justin (whom he abused),[1] built the house of Narses and the monastery of the Cathars.||[a2] When the emperor Justin heard that his own nephew, whom he had appointed *augustalis* in Alexandria, was hatching a plot against the emperor, he sent orders to have him beheaded.||[b3]

[a] Cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* i. 39 (Payne Smith, 75). [b] Joh. Ant., frg. 217b.

[1] Theophanes is guilty of some confusion here. This Narses is not the general (*PLRE* iii. 912–28, Narses 1), but another eunuch who was present at Justin's coronation and was praised by Coripp. *Iust.* iii. 220 ff., iv. 368 ff. (*PLRE* iii. 930–1, Narses 4). An inscription on the Rhesion gate of Constantinople gives his titles as *spatharios* and *sakellarios*. The first of these is supported by Corippus iv. 366 (see Cameron on iii. 220, p. 189) and Joh. Eph. *HE* vi. 30–1. *Protospatharios* is not otherwise reliably attested till 692 (*Lib. Pont.* i. 373. 9–10, Duchesne). See esp. I. Ševčenko, *ZRVI* 12 (1970), 1–8. The parenthetic 'whom he abused' remains a problem. There is nothing in our sources to suggest conflict. There is, however, a tradition of an exchange of insults between Sophia and Narses the general at his dismissal from his post in Italy. Sophia sent Narses (also a eunuch) a distaff and suggested he return to the women's quarters where he belonged. In revenge Narses supposedly invited the Lombards to invade Italy. See Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* ii. 5. Cf. a similar story at AM 6080 (de Boor, 263) about Hormisdas and Baram. The combination of the confusion of title and the possible confusion of the two Narses suggests that Theophanes was almost certainly relying on an unreliable or late source or was elaborating on meagre material. The legend of Narses' quarrel with the empress and his invitation to the Lombards was repeated by Const. Porph. in *DAI* 27.

[2] For the monastery of the Cathars, situated in Bithynia near Pythia, see E. Honigmann, *Byz* 14 (1939), 617–19; R. Janin, *Grands centres*, 158–60. John of Ephesos has a fairly long account of the circumstances of this building of the monastery of the Cathars, and also confuses the two Narses. Although he makes no reference to any quarrel, he may perhaps represent Theophanes' source here.

[3] The execution of Justin in fact took place in 566: see AM 6058, n. 4. Cf. Evagr. v. 2–3, who, though imprecise about the date, places the execution

shortly before that of Aitherios and Addaios, as does John of Biclar, though he dates the executions to the year 568. Theophanes alone mentions the appointment as *augustalis*. Evagr. says Justin was accused in Constantinople and then removed to Alexandria, where he was murdered one night.

[AM 6064, AD 571/2]

Justin, 7th year
Chosroes, 47th year
Benedict, 3rd year
John, 7th year
Makarios, 4th year
John, 4th year
Gregory, 2nd year

In this year Justin began to build the church of the holy apostles Peter and Paul in the Orphanage,[1] and the church of the Holy Apostles in the Triconch[2] (the one that had been burned during the reign of Zeno). To the church of the holy Mother of God at Blachernai he added two arches, the northern one and the southern one, that is in the great church, and made it cruciform.[3]

||In the same year[4] the Romans and Persians destroyed the peace[5] and the Persian War was renewed once again because the Homerite Indians||[a6] sent an embassy to the Romans and the emperor sent Julian,[7] the *magistrianus* with an imperial letter to Arethas,[8] the emperor of the Ethiopians. [Julian travelled] from Alexandria, along the river Nile and the Indian sea and was received by emperor Arethas with great delight since he desired the friendship of the Roman emperor. Julian, on his return, described that at his reception emperor Arethas was [nearly] naked. From his belt to his loins he had gold-threaded linen cloth. Over his stomach he wore straps of precious pearls. On each arm he had five bracelets and gold rings on his hands. Round his head was wound a gold-threaded linen turban, with four tassels hanging from each of the two knots, and round his neck was a gold collar. He stood on top of four upright elephants which supported a yoke and four disks and, above those, something like a lofty chariot adorned with gold leaf, like the carriages of provincial governors.[9] He stood on top of this carrying a small gilded shield and two golden lances. His whole senate, under arms, was there singing musical refrains. So after the Roman envoy had been brought in and had made his obeisance, he was ordered by the emperor to arise and be led to him. After receiving the emperor's letter, [Arethas] kissed the seal which bore the emperor's portrait bust. 245

And on receiving the gifts, he rejoiced greatly. When he read the letter, he discovered that it contained [instructions] for him to take up arms against the emperor of the Persians[10] and to destroy the land of the Persians that lay close to him and, in the future, not to have any dealings with the Persians, but to carry on trade through the territory of the Homerites, which he had subjected, along the Nile as far as Alexandria in Egypt. The emperor Arethas immediately gathered his army before the eyes of the Roman envoy and declared war against the Persians, sending ahead those Saracens who served under him. He himself proceeded against the Persian land and destroyed all that there was of it in those parts. The emperor Arethas took Julian by the head, gave him the kiss of peace and released him in great favour and with many gifts.||[b]

||There was another reason which disturbed Chosroes. For at that time the Huns,[11] whom we are accustomed to call Turks, sent an embassy to Justin via the territory of the Alans.[12] Being fearful of this, Chosroes alleged that there had been an uprising of the Armenians against him and that they had gone over to Justin, and demanded the refugees.[13] For the Roman emperor used to pay annually 500 pounds of gold[14] to the Persians to guard the forts near that region so that invading tribes would not destroy their respective states. Thus the forts were guarded at joint expense.[15] But Justin ended the peace claiming that it was disgraceful that the Romans should be levied for tribute by the Persians.[16] For this reason this great war arose between the Persians and the Romans.||[c] Justin appointed Martin,[17] who was a patrician and a kinsman of his, as *magister militum per Orientem* and sent him out against the Persians.||[d]

[a] Cf. Theoph. Sim. iii. 9. 4–6. [b] Mal. 456. 24–459. 3. [c] Theoph. Sim. iii. 9. 7–11. [d] Theoph. Sim. iii. 10. 1.

[1] The church, situated near the Acropolis point, is attributed to Justin by several sources, including *Patria*, ii. 235 and the Life of St Zoticus, ch. 12. ed. M. Aubineau *AnBoll* 93 (1975), 67. Justin is said to have buried there the relics of several monastic saints (*Syn. CP* 217. 24–9). Theophanes implies that the orphanage had existed earlier: cf. Aubineau's note ad loc. (p. 97). Anna Comnena describes the whole complex (*Alexiad*, xv. 7).

[2] i.e. another church of Peter and Paul. The Triconch will not be the one in the palace, which was not constructed until 838, but the one near the Capitol. The remembrance service of the Fall of the Dust (see AM 5966) was celebrated there each 6 Nov. Theophanes is our only evidence for attributing the rebuilding of the church to Justin.

[3] Cf. AM 5943, n. 10. The repairs undertaken by Justin II are commemorated in two epigrams, *Anth. Gr.* i. 2–3.

[4] The date is from Theoph. Sim. (Justin's 7th year).

[5] i.e. the breaking of the treaty 561/2. For the details of that treaty, see Men. Prot., frg. 6. 1–3. Theoph. Sim. puts the blame squarely on the Romans and Justin, an interpretation which is not acceptable to Theophanes (iii. 9. 4 'The Romans broke the treaty through the levity of the emperor'; iii. 9. 9 'The Romans, eager for a pretext, embraced warfare and from minor ephemeral beginnings they devised for themselves great processions of troubles: for bellicosity procured for them no profit' tr. Whitby, 86). Theophanes' rejection of Theoph. Sim. will in large part explain his decision to make use of Mal.'s version of the embassy to the Himyarites despite the fact that it belongs some 40 years earlier.

[6] Cf. AM 6015, n. 4 and 6035, n. 1. Theoph. Sim. makes the Romans allege that the Persians had incited the Himyarites to revolt and, when this failed, had attacked the Himyarites, inflicting heavy losses.

[7] See I. Kawar, *BZ* 53 (1960), 63–4. The name is probably correct. *Magistriani* were members on the staff of the *magister officiorum* and were often sent with imperial messages. The transfer of this embassy from AD 530 or 531, where Theophanes' source Mal. relates it, is one of Theophanes' grosser errors. M. J. Jeffreys, *Mal. Studies*, 270–8, believes Theophanes possessed a damaged copy of Mal. in which a loose page containing this extract had been reinserted at the end of the chronicle. We believe it is more likely that Theophanes (*a*) wanted to redistribute the excessive amount of material Mal. includes for the years 527–32 and (*b*) noted the lack of any chronological information in Mal.'s account, which appears to have been an important criterion in Theophanes' redating of Mal.'s material and (*c*) felt the need for a substitute for Theoph. Sim.'s narrative which attributed blame for the war to the Romans (cf. n. 5 above). This combination of factors will have been enough to convince Theophanes that Mal. had misdated the embassy. Theophanes' shortage of material for Justin's reign will have been an added reason for augmenting his account with material that properly belonged elsewhere.

[8] Theophanes has inserted the name of Arethas, which is not in Mal., who has Elasboas (Mal. 458. 17).

[9] For an illustration see L. Oeconomos, *Byz* 20 (1959), 177–8.

[10] Mal. names the emperor as Kavad. Since Kavad had died at AM 6017 (in fact 13 Sept. 531), Theophanes has found it necessary to omit the name here.

[11] Whereas Theoph. Sim. simply refers to 'the Turkish embassy' Theophanes has added the name 'Huns' from Theoph. Sim. iii. 6. 9, 'Huns, whom the Persians are accustomed to call Turks'.

[12] Theophanes has made little sense of Theoph. Sim., according to whom the Persians planned to bribe the Alans to kill the Turkish ambassador as they passed through Alan territory. A more detailed account in Men. Prot. (frgs. 18–22, our best source for the first Turkish–Roman diplomacy) states that the Alan leader Sarodios told the Roman ambassador Zemarchos that the Persians were planning to ambush him.

[13] The Armenians had killed the king imposed on them by the Persians and had revolted after the Persian satrap had tried to introduce

Zoroastrianism. The Armenians had been in contact with Justin since 569/70. Though Theoph. Sim. is more detailed than Theophanes, the best sources for the revolt are Joh. Eph. *HE* ii. 18–20, vi. 11, Evagr. v. 7, and Men. Prot., frg. 36.

[14] In fact 50 lbs. in Theoph. Sim.

[15] For discussion and details see N. Garsoian, *Cambridge History of Iran*, III/1: 574–9. The forts were aimed at blocking migration and/or invasion across the Caucasus through the Caspian Gates. The Romans had paid their share of the costs during the 5th and part of the 6th cents.

[16] Justinian had paid for the first 7 years in 561/2 and Justin for the next 3 in 569. Men. Prot., frg. 36, records that Sebochthes was sent to Constantinople in 572 to seek the next payment.

[17] Marcian in Theoph. Sim. and Evagr. and at AM 6055d, he was a nephew of Justinian and cousin of Justin. Cf. 6066d for the same error.

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AM 6065 [AD 572/3]

Year of the divine Incarnation 565
Justin, emperor of the Romans (13 years), 8th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (48 years), 48th year
Benedict, bishop of Rome (5 years), 4th year
John, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 8th year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 1st year
John, bishop of Alexandria (11 years), 5th year
Gregory, bishop of Antioch (24 years), 3rd year

In this year on 6 October the emperor fell ill and became vexed with his own brother Badouarios,[1] whom he insulted to the utmost, commanding the *cubicularii* to eject him during a *silentium* while pummelling him with their fists. Badouarios was *comes* of the imperial stables.[2] When Sophia learned about this, she was distressed and upbraided the emperor. He repented and went down to Badouarios immediately, entering the stable with the *praepositus* of the *cubicularii*. On seeing the emperor, Badouarios fled from corner to corner[3] in fear of the emperor. The emperor cried out, 'My brother, I beseech you by God, wait for me'. And running forward, Justin grabbed him, embraced and kissed him, saying, 'I wronged you, my brother, but do accept me as your eldest brother and as your emperor. For I know that it was through the work of the devil that this has happened.' The other fell before his feet and said in tears, 'Truly, master, yours is the power; but having vilified your slave in the presence of the Senate, will you now, master, make an explanation to them.' And he pointed to the horses.[4] The emperor invited Badouarios to dine with him, and they made peace.

||In the same year a great battle[5] took place near Sargathon[6] between the Persians and the Romans in which the Romans were victorious.||[a]

[a] Theoph. Sim. iii. 10. 4.

[1] In fact his son-in-law (the husband of Sophia's daughter Arabia) and successor as *curopalates*. He was killed in 576 fighting the Lombards in Italy.

[2] A senior position at the Court, often held by high-ranking generals (e.g. Belisarius in 544). See Stein, *BE* ii. 796–8, Seeck, *RE* iv. 677, Bury, *Adm. System*, 113.

[3] This is the meaning given by Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* for the *hapaxlegomenon* ζάξ following Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon*, which connects it with a supposed Russian word *zakout*. (What Sophocles may have intended, as Dr Simon Franklin has pointed out to us, is *zakyma* (more often *zakymka*, but occasionally *zakym*), meaning a stall (for cattle, pigs, etc.) or the door to such a structure, though any link between this and the Greek remains obscure.) Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae Graecitatis*, gives *latebrae*, 'hiding-place' or 'lurking-hole'. Goar suggested 'stable'.

[4] Perhaps the only attempted joke in Theophanes?

[5] Theoph. Sim. gives the date (Justin's 8th year).

[6] 13 km. west of Nisibis. For the purpose of the campaign, see Whitby, *Simoc.* 87 n. 44.

[AM 6066, AD 573/4]

Justin, 9th year
Hormisdas, emperor of the Persians (15 years), 1st year
Benedict, 5th year
John, 9th year
John, 2nd year
John, 6th year
Gregory, 4th year

||In this year the Avars[1] came to the regions of the Danube,||[a] and the emperor, having learned of this, dispatched Tiberius,[2] the *comes excubitorum*, against them. After clashing with them and sustaining a sudden attack, he was defeated and retreated with heavy losses.||[b] 247

||Hormisdas, the emperor of the Persians, appointed Ardamanes as general and sent him to cross the Euphrates and to ravage Roman territory. He himself, after collecting his forces, took up a position against the Romans who were besieging Nisibis.||[c] When Martin learned this, he abandoned Nisibis and retreated to Roman territory.||[d3] Ardamanes, coming close to Antioch, and having destroyed

the city's suburbs, advanced on Koile Syria. Thus Ardamanes captured many prisoners and returned to his own country.||[e] The emperor Justin, suffering acutely from these events, dismissed Martin from his command and appointed Archelaos *magister militum*.||[f 4] Ardamanes captured Daras and then returned. And having learned of this, Justin, in consternation at the greatness of the disaster, was plunged into a deranged state and begged Hormisdas to make peace. Hormisdas agreed to make a treaty for one year.||[g 5]

[a] Cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* vi. 24 (Payne Smith, 430); Mal. 489; AM 6050, 6051. [b] Cf. Evagr. v. 11. [c] Theoph. Sim. iii. 10. 7. [d] Theoph. Sim. iii. 11. 2. [e] Theoph. Sim. iii. 10. 8–9. [f] Theoph. Sim. iii. 11. 1. [g] Theoph. Sim. iii. 11. 2–3.

[1] The Avars actually moved to the Danube in 561. See Jones, *LRE* 293–4 citing Joh. Eph. *HE* vi. 24; Men. Prot., frg. 9; Vict. Tonn. a.560. On their continuing threat, see Cameron, ed., Coripp. *Iust.* 139–40. But here Theophanes may have reused Mal. 489–90, which he had already used properly at AM 6050–51, this time redating it by an indiction to make up for his lack of information, together with Joh. Eph. *HE* vi. 24 (Payne Smith, 430), who, after likewise putting the first contact in the reign of Justinian, says that in the reign of Justin the Avars finally took control of Gepid lands along the Danube. Cf. too AM 6050 with n. 14 there. Evagr.'s notice, placed immediately after the loss of Dara (see below), has provided Theophanes with his date, although Evagr. only says that Tiberius had been sent against the Avars 'previously'.

[2] Tiberius, when still a notary, had been introduced to Justin by the patriarch Eutychios (*V. Eutych.* 66–7), i.e. in 552 or later. Justin evidently secured the key post of *comes excubitorum* for his friend sometime between the end of 562 (Marinus still held the post in Dec. 562: Mal. 495) and Justinian's death in 565, as he was on hand to help secure Justin's election. See Cameron ed., Coripp. *Iust.* 138: Stein, *Studien*, 52 n. 12.

[3] In fact Marcian, a nephew of Justin II. Cf. 6064d for the same error. Theophanes has substituted here Martin, presumably meaning the Martin of AM 6079.

[4] According to Theoph. Sim., it was in fact Archelaos' son Akakios who was appointed. Theophanes Byzantinus, frg. 4 (*FHG* iv) has Theodore Tziros.

[5] Spring 574. The truce was arranged by the doctor Zacharias (Men. Prot., frgs. 37–8).

AM 6067 [AD 574/5][1]

Year of the divine Incarnation 567
Justin, emperor of the Romans (13 years), 10th year
Hormisdas, emperor of the Persians (15 years), 2nd year
John, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 10th year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 3rd year

John, bishop of Alexandria (11 years), 7th year
Gregory, bishop of Antioch (24 years), 5th year

||In this year the emperor Justin, having adopted Tiberius the *comes excubitorum* as his son, proclaimed him Caesar,[2] and made him sit as his partner at the chariot races and on holidays. For the emperor's feet were afflicted and he reclined for much of the time.||[a]

[a] Cf. Theoph. Sim. iii. 11. 4.

[1] It appears that from this year Theophanes no longer has access to any list of popes. See introduction, p. lxxi.

[2] 7 Dec. 574. Theophanes has got the year right despite apparently relying on Theoph. Sim., who dates the proclamation to the 9th indiction i.e. 575/6. Theophanes has, however, separated this proclamation from Justin's abdication-speech which took place at the same time but which Theophanes has delayed till Justin's last year in AM 6070.

[AM 6068, AD 575/6]

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Justin, 11th year
Hormisdas, 3rd year
John, 11th year
John, 4th year
John, 8th year
Gregory, 6th year

In this year Justin repaired the great aqueduct of Valens and supplied the city with abundant water.[1]

[1] Cf. AM 5860 and 6258. This is the latest evidence for restoring the aqueduct system before it was cut by the Avars in 626.

[AM 6069, AD 576/7]

Justin, 12th year
Hormisdas, 4th year
John, 12th year
John, 5th year
John, 9th year
Gregory, 7th year

In this year the emperor Justin took away the synagogue of the Hebrews, the one in the Chalkoprateia, and built the church of our Lady, the holy Mother of God, which is near the Great Church.[1]

In the same year on 31 August in the 10th indiction, John, the bishop of Constantinople, died.[2]

[1] Cf. AM 5942, where the confiscation of the synagogue and its conversion into a church are ascribed to Pulcheria. The *Patria*, following Geo. Mon., states that Justin II restored the church after an earthquake, endowing it generously and adding a new chapel for the Virgin's girdle. Further details in an opuscule by a certain presbyter Elias (9th cent.), ed. W. Lackner, *Βυζαντινά*, 13/2 (1985), 851. This restoration must have led to the tradition that Justin was the original builder. This would also suggest strongly that Theophanes was either relying on a late source here, or was prepared to tamper with the material in his sources.

[2] The date appears to be correct.

[AM 6070, AD 577/8]

Justin, 13th year
Hormisdas, 5th year
Eutychios, bishop of Constantinople again (4 years), 1st year
John, 6th year
John, 10th year
Gregory, 8th year

In this year, in October of the 11th indiction, Eutychios regained the throne of Constantinople.[1]

||The emperor, who was ill, but rallied a little from his sickness, summoned the archbishop, the Senate, all the priests, and those who held office. Having brought forward the Caesar Tiberius, he proclaimed him emperor in the presence of all, using these very words:[2] 'Behold, it is God, not I, who has done you good and has conferred this rank upon you. Honour it that you be honoured by it. Honour your mother who was previously your queen. You know that first you were her slave, but now you are her son. Do not rejoice in bloodshed. Have no share in murder. Do not return evil for evil. Do not become like me in enmity; for I have erred like a man. And having erred, I have received according to my sins. But I shall bring to justice before Christ's tribunal those who have done that to me. Do not let this rank elate you as it did me. But attend to all as you attend to yourself. Remember who you were and who you are now. Do not be arrogant, and you will not do wrong. You know who I was, and who I became and what I am. All these are your children and your slaves. Remember that I have honoured you ahead of my own blood. Those whom you see here are the whole of the state. Pay attention to your
249 soldiery. Shun soldiers.[3] Let no one say of you that your predecessor

behaved in this way. For I speak from my own experience. Let those who have possessions enjoy them; be bountiful to those who have none.' After a prayer by the patriarch and after all had said 'Amen', the Caesar fell before the emperor's feet and the emperor said to him, 'If you wish it, I live; if you wish it not, I die. God himself, who made heaven and earth, will plant in your heart all that I have forgotten to tell you.' As he was saying these things the emperor filled his audience with tears.||[a] When the gathering had been dismissed, Tiberius distributed gifts to his subjects and everything else that is customary at imperial proclamations.

[a] Theoph. Sim. iii. 11. 7–13.

[1] Eustratios, *V. Eutych.* 76 (*PG* 86/2: 2361A), confirms the date as Sunday 3 Oct.

[2] For discussion of the speech, A. M. Cameron, *BSl* 37 (1976), 161–7. In addition to Theophanes and his source, Theoph. Sim., versions of the speech are recorded by Evagr. v. 13 and Joh. Eph. *HE* iii. 5.

Theophanes has transferred his speech from AM 6067 to mark the end of Justin's reign and life. Theoph. Sim. and Joh. Eph. both make Tiberius' proclamation as Caesar the occasion of the speech and give a precise date for it, namely Friday 7 Dec. 574 (though Theoph. Sim. incorrectly gives the indiction as 9 instead of 8).

[3] For 'soldiers', de Boor restored 'sycophants' from Theoph. Sim. 'Soldiers', however, is not merely in all the MSS but has the support of Anastasius' translation as *milites*. Presumably Theophanes is stressing the importance of maintaining a strong army while resisting the influence of military men.

AM 6071 [AD 578/9]

Year of the divine Incarnation 571
Tiberius, emperor of the Romans (4 years), 1st year
Hormisdas, emperor of the Persians (15 years), 6th year
Eutychios, bishop of Constantinople (4 years), 2nd year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 7th year
John, bishop of Alexandria (11 years), 11th year
Gregory, bishop of Antioch (24 years), 9th year

||In this year in the month of October,[1] indiction 12, Tiberius became emperor, having been crowned by the patriarch Eutychios,[2] as already mentioned. He, too, was a Thracian by descent. When he became emperor, the factions chanted in the Hippodrome, 'Let me know, let me know, the Augusta of the Romans'. Tiberius sent a message saying, 'What is the name of the church which is opposite

the public baths of Dagistheus? The Augusta has the same name.' The factions chanted, 'Anastasia Augusta, *tu vincas*. Preserve, O Lord, those whom you have ordered to rule.'[3] When Sophia, the wife of Justin, heard this, she was stricken in her soul. For she wanted to marry Tiberius and remain Augusta, but she did not know that he
250 had a wife.[4] Some said that even during Justin's lifetime, she had taken Tiberius as her lover and she had persuaded Justin to make him Caesar. But Tiberius brought in Anastasia, whom he had sent for; she was his wife and he had two daughters by her, Charito and Constantina.[5] He crowned her Augusta and distributed a large amount as consular largess.||[a]

[a] Cf. Theodosios of Melitene (ed. Tafel (Munich, 1859)), 95; Joh. Eph. *HE* iii. 9 (Payne Smith, 181–2).

[1] Tiberius in fact became Augustus on Monday 26 Sept. 578, just nine days before Tiberius' death on 4 Oct. (Joh. Eph. *HE* iii. 6 *ad fin.*; Payne Smith, 178) which Theophanes remarkably does not mention, though it has presumably provided him with this date.

[2] Theophanes has not mentioned any coronation by Eutychios. The proclamation of Tiberius as Caesar (see AM 6067) and consequently Justin's speech of abdication (wrongly dated to AM 6070) would in fact have been made in the presence of Eutychios' predecessor John Scholasticus. The phrase 'as already mentioned' occurs in the same place in Joh. Eph. *HE* iii. 9 *ad init.* (Payne Smith, 181), who preserves a more detailed and accurate account of the following incident, which probably reflects Theophanes' source.

[3] Joh. Eph. *HE* iii. 9 (Payne Smith, 182) makes the event a renaming of Tiberius' wife, whose original name was Ino, with the two factions fighting for the honour, the Greens suggesting 'Helena' and the Blues 'Anastasia', neither name having any Christological significance but just being good Christian names. See Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 146.

[4] Joh. Eph. *HE* iii. 7–8 (Payne Smith, 178–80) shows that Sophia and Justin certainly knew of Ino's existence; and that Sophia had been putting pressure on Tiberius to get rid of Ino and had prevented Tiberius, while Justin was alive, from introducing Ino into the palace.

[5] Joh. Eph. twice refers to three daughters (*HE* iii. 7–8, Payne Smith, 179–80) but confirms that Ino only brought two to the palace (iii. 9, Payne Smith, 182).

Greg. Tur. *HF* v. 30 states that Sophia was behind a plot by Justinian's grandnephew Justinian (cf. AM 6072) to get rid of Tiberius on his way to be acclaimed in the Hippodrome. See Stein, *RE* x/2. 1310–13, Iustinianus 2; Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 268–9.

[AM 6072, AD 579/80]

Tiberius, 2nd year
Hormisdas, 7th year
Eutychios, 3rd year
John, 8th year
Eulogios, bishop of Alexandra (27 years), 1st year
Gregory, 10th year

||In this year the emperor Tiberius built the palace that is by the harbour of Julian and named it after Sophia, the wife of Justin.[1] He established her in it,[2] granted her *cubicularii* for her own service, commanded that she be honoured as his mother, built her a bath and every other amenity.||[a] He dispatched envoys to the emperor of the Persians to inform him, as was customary, of his accession.[3] The emperor of the Persians did not accept peace. Thereupon Tiberius gathered great forces and scattered the imperial funds to create more armies. He appointed a certain Justinian[4] *magister militum per Orientem*, who took command of the forces and came before Daras. Likewise the Persians, commanded by Tamchosroes, made camp near them. When their lines had been drawn up, they parleyed and reached a mutual agreement whereby the Romans and the Persians would cause no damage in the East for a three-year period, but would continue hostilities in Armenia.||[b]

[a] Cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* iii. 7, 10, 23 (Payne Smith, 178, 185, 203–4). [b] Theoph. Sim. iii. 12. 2–10.

[1] Other sources attribute the Sophiai palace to Justin or Sophia. A. M. Cameron, *Byz* 37 (1967), 11–20, citing Coripp. *Iust.* i. 97, shows that it was built before Justin became emperor.

[2] Joh. Eph. *HE* iii. 10 (Payne Smith, 185); cf. iii. 7 (Payne Smith, 178), confirms Tiberius' scrupulous honouring of Sophia ('You are my mother: Dwell here and command me whatever you wish'), but maintains that not only did Sophia remain in the palace but that (iii. 23, Payne Smith, 203–4) Tiberius was left with such little space for himself that he had to remodel and extend the palace at great expense, including a bath and stables. Theophanes is perhaps referring to the same works.

[3] The envoys in fact went to announce Tiberius' appointment as Caesar in Dec. 574, setting out in early spring 575, as is clear in Theoph. Sim. The remaining material for this year also refers to 575.

[4] Son of Germanus (cf. AM 6026) and brother of the Justin executed in 566 (cf. AM 6063), a great-nephew of the emperor Justinian and a distant cousin of Justin II.

[AM 6073, AD 580/1]

Tiberius, 3rd year
Hormisdas, 8th year
Eutychios, 4th year
John, 9th year
Eulogios, 2nd year
Gregory, 11th year

||In this year the emperor of the Persians gathered his forces and marched to Armenia.[1] When the Roman general heard that the Persian emperor was planning to make war in person, he became unnerved; for fear came upon the army of the Romans. And so Justinian made a speech to the army to put an end to such cowardice among the troops.||[a]

251 When battle was joined, the arrows of the Persians were so thick that they hid the rays of the sun.[2] The Romans, repulsing the showers of arrows with their shields, began the battle in close order.||[b] The Roman formation was so deep that the Persians were unable to withstand it.||[c] And the mass of the Babylonians was turned in flight and a great many were killed. The Romans captured the Persian baggage, the royal tent and all of its magnificent equipment. The Romans even captured the elephants and sent Tiberius these notable and royal spoils. Accordingly the Persian emperor, unable to bear this disgrace, decreed that in future no Persian emperor was to campaign in person.||[d3] The Roman army exploited the Persians' misfortunes by advancing deep into Persian territory where they took many captives and wrought much destruction, reaching up to the middle of the Hyrcanian sea.[4] When winter came, the Romans did not return home, but wintered in Persia.||[e5]

In the same year Tiberius began to build the public bath at Blachernai and restored many churches, hostels, and houses for the aged. ||He directed his name be written into the official documents as Tiberius Constantine.||[f]

[a] Theoph. Sim. iii. 12. 11–13. 21; cf. Evagr. v. 14. [b] Theoph. Sim. iii. 14. 6–7. [c] Theoph. Sim. iii. 14. 4–5. [d] Theoph. Sim. iii. 14. 8–11; cf. Evagr. v. 14–15. [e] Theoph. Sim. iii. 15. 1–2; cf. Evagr. v. 14. [f] Cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* iii. 23 (Payne Smith, 203).

[1] Theoph. Sim. makes this follow immediately the events of AM 6072 i.e. in fact 575. Whitby, *Simoc.* 91, citing Men. Prot., frg. 18. 6 (frg. 41 in *FHG* iv), shows that the date is 576.

[2] A recollection of Dieneces' famous saying at the battle of Thermopylae (Herodotus vii. 226).

[3] The absence of any reference to either battle or victory in Joh. Eph. *HE* vi.8–9 (the most detailed account of Khusro's invasion) suggests that it was an invention, as Whitby, *Simoc.* 95 n. 65, observes. Nevertheless, all accounts agree that the Persian emperor retreated and made the decree about not campaigning in person in future. For a discussion of this decree, cf. M. Whitby, 'The Persian King at War', in E. Dąbrowa, ed., *The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East* (Cracow, 1994), 227–31.

[4] i.e. The Caspian. [5] They returned in 577; cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* vi. 10.

[AM 6074, AD 581/2]

Tiberius, 4th year
Hormisdas, 9th year
John, bishop of Constantinople (13 years), 1st year
John, 10th year
Eulogios, 3rd year
Gregory, 12th year

||In this year on 6 April, indiction 15, the patriarch Eutychios died and after six days John the Faster, a deacon of the Great Church, was ordained.||[a] The emperor Tiberius, having bought contingents of aliens, formed them into an army bearing his own name, 15,000 men[1] whom he clothed and armed.||[b] He appointed as their general Maurice,||[c] the *comes foederatorum*, with Narses[2] as his second-in-command. ||Then he sent them against the Persians. A great war was fought, in which the Romans were victorious through strength of arms.||[d] They took away from the Persians the cities and lands which the latter had captured in the times of Justinian and Justin. When Maurice returned to Constantinople, he was received with great honour by the emperor. Tiberius celebrated a triumph for 252
Maurice's victories and acquired him as his son-in-law [by marriage] to his own daughter Constantina.[3] Similarly he joined his daughter Charito to the general Germanus and made both Maurice and Germanus Caesars.[4]

On 14 August, indiction 15, after eating early mulberries that looked marvellous but were spoilt, he fell into a consumption. Being on the point of death, he summoned the patriarch John and the Senate together with the army to the Tribunal.[5] He was carried in on a litter, and being unable to speak, he announced to the populace by means of a prepared statement what was advantageous for the affairs of the Romans, and proclaimed his own son-in-law Maurice as emperor.[6] After everyone had acclaimed the emperor's wish and

Maurice as emperor, Tiberius, having gone back to his couch,||[e] died,[7] having ruled for three years, ten months, and eight days.

[a] Cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* iii. 39 (Payne Smith, 234). [b] Cf. Evagr. v. 14. [c] Cf. Evagr. v. 19. [d] Cf. Evagr. v. 19. [e] Cf. Theoph. Sim. i. 1. 2–4, 21–23.

[1] Evagr. has an impossibly large 150,000. Theophanes' figure has more chance of being historically accurate, but that is little help in determining the figure his source may have claimed.

[2] Narses is perhaps the same Narses mentioned at AM 6079, 6081, and 6095–7 (*PLRE* iii. 933–5, Narses 10), but may possibly be the *cubicularius* Narses (cf. AM 6063), who died in 581 (*PLRE* iii. 930–1, Narses 4). He is not the famous general of Justinian's reign (*PLRE* iii. 912–28, Narses 1).

[3] Only Theophanes mentions the triumph. *Chron. Pasch.* 690. 8 records that Maurice was appointed Caesar on 5 Aug. Presumably the dynastic arrangements were announced then too, but *Chron. Pasch.* implies this occurred at the proclamation of Maurice as Augustus on 13 Aug.

[4] Presumably Tiberius was leaving his options open about the succession. Germanus, however, as governor of Africa at the time of Tiberius' sudden death, may have been at a geographical disadvantage.

[5] Meaning the tribunal at the Hebdomon, not the one in the Imperial Palace. See below, n. 7.

[6] 13 Aug.

[7] According to *Chron. Pasch.* 690. 13, Tiberius died at the Hebdomon.

AM 6075 [AD 582/3]

Year of the divine Incarnation 575
Maurice, emperor of the Romans (20 years), 1st year
Hormisdas, emperor of the Persians (15 years), 10th year
John, bishop of Constantinople (13 years), 2nd year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 11th year
Eulogios, bishop of Alexandria (27 years), 4th year
Gregory, bishop of Antioch (24 years), 13th year

In this year Maurice became emperor, being 43 years old. ||Soon afterwards, when his father Paul had come to Byzantium, he celebrated his marriage.||[a] Marites,[1] who was chief eunuch of the palace, was best man.||[b]

||In April there was a conflagration in the Forum, and squalls of wind fanned the fire which destroyed many houses.||[c] On 10 May there was a big earthquake; everyone sought refuge in the churches and the anniversary chariot races were not held.||[d]

||In the same month the Avars sent an embassy to the emperor Maurice.||[e] A little earlier they had captured Sermium,[2] a notable

city in Europe, and now demanded that the 80,000 gold pieces which they received annually from the Romans should be increased by another 20,000. The emperor, out of eagerness for peace, accepted this. [The Chagan] asked for an elephant, an Indian animal, to be sent to him so he could look at it. The emperor sent to him the largest one of all. After gazing at it, the Chagan sent it back to the emperor. Likewise he asked for a golden bed to be sent to him. The emperor sent it and again the Chagan returned it after disparaging it. He then asked for another 20,000 to be added to the 100,000. When the emperor refused, the Chagan marched out, destroyed the city of Singidunum[3] and captured many other cities belonging to Illyricum. He seized Anchialos[4] and threatened to destroy the Long Walls.||[f] The emperor sent out the patrician[5] Elpidios with Komentiolos as ambassadors to the Chagan.||[g] The barbarian vowed to keep the peace in accordance with the terms of the treaty.||[h] 253

||In the East the emperor made John Mystakon general[6] of Armenia. Having come to the river Nymphios,[7] where it joins the Tigris, he clashed in war with Kardarigas, the general of the Persians, and the Romans vanquished the barbarians. (Kardarigas is not a proper name, but is the highest rank among the Persians.) But Krous,[8] the second-in-command, out of jealousy and envy, retreated. When the rest of the Romans saw him, they too turned and barely reached their palisade.||[i] When a second clash took place, the Romans were defeated and many of them were destroyed.||[j]

[a] Theoph. Sim. i. 10. 1. [b] Ibid. i. 10. 8. [c] Ibid. i. 11. 1–2. [d] Ibid. i. 12. 8–11. [e] Ibid. i. 3. 3. [f] Ibid. i. 3. 3–4. 4, 4. 8. [g] Ibid. i. 4. 6–7. [h] Ibid. i. 6. 4–5. [i] Ibid. i. 9. 4–11. [j] Ibid. i. 12. 4.

[1] 'Margarites' in Theoph. Sim.

[2] Near Sremska Mitrovica in the former Yugoslavia.

[3] The modern Belgrade.

[4] The modern Pomorie in Bulgaria on the Black Sea.

[5] Probably Theophanes' misunderstanding of Theoph. Sim.'s 'senator'.

[6] i.e. *magister militum*. See *PLRE* iii. 679–681, Ioannes 101.

[7] The Batman. [8] i.e. Cours, *PLRE* iii. 360–1.

[AM 6076, AD 583/4]

Maurice, 2nd year
Hormisdas, 11th year
John, 3rd year
John, 12th year

Eulogios, 5th year
Gregory, 14th year

In this year on 25 December, indiction 2, ||the emperor was proclaimed consul[1] and gave much treasure to the City.||[a] He promoted Philippikos as *magister militum per Orientem* after making him his brother-in-law through his sister Gordia. Philippikos set out for Persian territory and came close to Nisibis. He invaded Persia suddenly and took a great number of prisoners. When Kardarigas, the Persian general, learned this, he set a trap seeking to ambush the
254 Roman armies. But Philippikos, keeping his prisoners secure, invaded the land of the Medes by going over the mountains, destroyed many places in Media, and then returned to Roman territory.||[b]

||The Chagan[2] hastened to break the peace through treachery. For he armed the tribes of the Sklavini against Thrace. They wrought much devastation, coming as far as the Long Walls. The emperor, after leading out the palace guard and the demes[3] from the City, ordered them to protect the Long Walls. He appointed Komentiolos as general, equipped his forces, and sent him out against the barbarians. He fell upon the barbarians unexpectedly, destroyed a great many of them, and drove them back. When he reached Adrianople[4] he came upon Ardagastos who was leading a mass of Sklavini[5] along with their captives. He fell upon him, saved the captives, and gained a great victory.||[c]

[a] Theoph. Sim. i. 12. 12–13. [b] Cf. Ibid. i. 13. 2–9. [c] Ibid. i. 6. 6–7. 6.

[1] Presumably just for the remaining week of 583, perhaps to avoid the expenses involved in the position (so M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c.300–1450* (Cambridge, 1985), 193). *Chron. Pasch.* records this year as being without a consul and dates Maurice's consulship to 584.

[2] Theophanes has correctly recognized that Theoph. Sim.'s separate accounts of the Persian and Avar campaigns belong to the same year.

[3] Theophanes has inserted 'and the demes' into Theoph. Sim.'s account, perhaps from another source or perhaps his own invention. It is unclear whether 'demes' here implies citizens in general or the circus factions. Cf. AM 6051 for citizen defence of the Long Walls.

[4] Theophanes has here combined two separate campaigns. Theoph. Sim. states this occurred in the following summer, presumably in 585.

[5] Whitby, *Simoc.* 28 n. 33, suggests that Theoph. Sim. (Theophanes' source here) may have exaggerated Avar control over the Slavs, who may well have crossed into Roman territory to escape from the Avars.

[AM 6077, AD 584/5]

Maurice, 3rd year
Hormisdas, 12th year
John, 4th year
John, 13th year
Eulogios, 6th year
Gregory, 15th year

||In this year Philippikos, taking up the army, set out for Persian territory.[1] He reached Arzanene,[2] where he won many captives and brought fear to the Persian army. But falling ill, Philippikos went to Martyropolis,[3] after appointing Anepsich to command the troops with Stephen as commander of the *tagmata*.[4] Kardarigas attacked Martyropolis, burned all its suburbs, and then retired. Philippikos returned ill to Constantinople and the army retired home safely.||[a]

||In the same year a son was born to the emperor who named him Theodosios.||[b][5]

[a] Theoph. Sim. i. 14. 1–10. [b] Cf. Joh. Eph. *HE* v. 14.

[1] Theoph. Sim. seems to support the date. Philippikos, while *magister militum*, notably asked for relics of St Symeon to be sent from Antioch to protect the eastern armies.(Evagr. i. 13).

[2] The Persian frontier district east of the Nymphios.

[3] Modern Silvan in eastern Turkey.

[4] Theophanes is misleading. Theoph. Sim. makes it clear that Stephen was commander-in-chief and Anepsich (Apsich in Theoph. Sim.) was second-in-command.

[5] 4 Aug. 583 according to Joh. Eph.

[AM 6078, AD 585/6]

Maurice, 4th year
Hormisdas, 13th year
John, 5th year
John, 14th year
Eulogios, 7th year
Gregory, 16th year

||In this year[1] Philippikos left the imperial city and encamped by the city of Amida.||[a] Having mustered the soldiers, he asked them if they were eager to march to war. When the Romans had assured him under oath that they would wage war eagerly, he advanced to 255
Arzamon.||[b][2] When Kardarigas[3] learned this, he dismissed the report

with a laugh, believing it was a dream. Having summoned the magi, he asked them who would gain the victory. These worshippers of demons alleged that the Persians would be given victory by the gods. So the Persians rejoiced at this, gladdened by the promises of the magi, and immediately began making wooden fetters of timber and iron to put on the Romans. The Roman general exhorted the troops not to harm the farmers' work, so that the justice of God (which hates evil) would not transfer the victory to the barbarians. On the following day the general sent out two phylarchs of the Saracens, who captured some Persians alive, through whom they found out about their opponents' movements. These men claimed that the barbarians planned to attack the Romans on the Lord's day. So, early in the morning, Philippikos drew up the Romans in three phalanxes and went to meet the enemy. He himself, taking up the image of the God-man,[4] which the Romans believe not to have been made by human hands, went through the ranks and gave the soldiers a share of the divine power. Standing behind the marshalled ranks and clasping this weapon, he propitiated the divine with many tears,||[c] and so received additional help from the heavenly host.[5] When battle was joined, Vitalian, the taxiarch, moving more boldly than all the others, broke the Persian phalanx and captured their baggage.[6] The Romans began to busy themselves with plunder. When Philippikos saw them, he became afraid that the rest would also turn to plunder and forget their battle-line and that the barbarians would wheel around and destroy them. So he placed his own helmet on Theodore Ilibinos and sent him out to strike with his sword those who were engrossed in the spoils. When they saw him, believing he was Philippikos, they left the spoils and went back to battle. After the fighting had continued for many hours, a command came from the general[7] to strike the Persian horses with their spears. When this had
256 been done, the Persian army was routed and the Romans won a great victory. They killed many men whose bodies they stripped.[8] On the next day Kardarigas gathered his forces and armed them for battle once again. In the second encounter the Romans were again victorious and many Persians were killed. Two thousand[9] of them were captured alive and sent to Byzantium.||[d] Kardarigas sought refuge in Daras,[10] but the Persians sent him away with much abuse. Philippikos sent out his second-in-command Herakleios (the father of the emperor Herakleios) to spy on the barbarians,||[e] while he himself conveyed those who had been wounded in the campaign to the cities for medical treatment.||[f] After gathering his forces, he invaded Babylonia[11] and besieged the fort of Chlomaron.||[g12] Kardarigas enlisted peasants with their beasts of burden and, having collected

this mob, boasted that he had an army on campaign.||[h] Going through secure places on a dark night, he reached the rear of the Romans, by no means daring to attack them.||[i] But an untimely fear came upon Philippikos who, leaving the fort, fled without reason. When the Romans realized this, they turned to flight and fell into great danger in country that was hard to traverse. For the night was moonless. When the sun rose, they escaped misfortune. After they reached the general, they abused him with the vilest insults. The Persians, believing that the flight had been feigned, did not dare to pursue them.||[j] Herakleios, after crossing the Tigris, set on fire all the more important places of the Median country and then returned to Philippikos with much booty.||[k13]

[a] Theoph. Sim. i. 15. 1. [b] Ibid. i. 15. 15. [c] Ibid. ii. 1. 7–3. 6. [d] Ibid. ii. 4. 1–5. 3. [e] Ibid. ii. 5. 7–11. [f] Ibid. ii. 6. 12. [g] Ibid. ii. 7. 6. [h] Ibid. ii. 8. 1. [i] Ibid. ii. 8. 11. [j] Ibid. ii. 9. 1–13. [k] Ibid. ii. 10. 1–4.

1 The date is correct.

2 i.e. the river Arzamon (modern Zergan), south of the Tur Abdin.

3 'Kardarigan' in Theoph. Sim.

4 Whitby, *Simoc.* 46 n. 8, suggests this was probably either the Camuliana image, which had been taken to Constantinople in 574, or the image of Edessa. On proper religious preparation for battle, see Maur. *Strat.* ii. 18.

5 This is apparently Theophanes' addition, either to parallel the earthly taxiarchs in the next sentence ('host' is 'taxiarch'), or perhaps a sign of an increased importance attached to the archangels by the 9th cent. Vitalian is Vitalius in Theoph. Sim.

6 'Baggage' is *touldon* in Greek, for which Theoph. Sim. apologizes, but which is acceptable in the more relaxed language of Theophanes' chronicle.

7 In Theoph. Sim. the troops mistakenly believe the command is from the captain (*lochagos*) Stephen, but in fact it is from a mysterious and unidentified divine source. It is unusual for Theophanes to ignore the opportunity provided by his source to note divine intervention.

8 This sentence is not in Theoph. Sim. but it may represent Theoph. Sim.'s rhetorical account of the distribution of the spoils at ii. 6. 10–11. From here to the end of 'e', Theophanes has failed to understand Theoph. Sim.'s difficult Greek. There was no second battle.

9 'More than a thousand', Theoph. Sim.

10 Theoph. Sim. states that Dara was 12 miles from the scene of the battle; which shows, as Whitby, *Simoc.* 48 n. 13, points out, that the Romans 'had in fact advanced several miles to the east of the river Arzamon'.

11 'Invaded Babylonia' is not in Theoph. Sim.

12 The chief town of Arzanene and the seat of the Persian governor, it had been unsuccessfully besieged by Maurice in 578. See Whitby, *Simoc.* 52 n. 18.

13 'With much booty' is not in Theoph. Sim.

257 **AM 6079 [AD 586/7]**

Year of the divine Incarnation 579
Maurice, emperor of the Romans (20 years), 5th year
Hormisdas, emperor of the Persians (15 years), 14th year
John, bishop of Constantinople (13 years), 6th year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 15th year
Eulogios, bishop of Alexandria (27 years), 8th year
Gregory, bishop of Antioch (24 years), 17th year

||In this year[1] the Chagan of the Avars, after breaking the peace treaty, made war on Mysia and Scythia, where he wrought terrible destruction on Ratiarna,[2] Bononia,[3] Akys,[4] Dorostolos,[5] Zardapa,[6] and Markianoupolis.||[a7] Komentiolos went to Anchialos[8] and, after dividing his army, segregated the worthless from the brave. He ordered the non-effective force of 40,000[9] to protect the ramparts; the select troops numbered 6,000, of which he handed 2,000 to Castus, 2,000 to Martin, and, taking 2,000 himself, he marched against the barbarians. Castus, having come to Zardapa and the Haimos[10] and finding that the barbarians were in disorder, destroyed many of them. Having taken a large number of captives, he gave them to a bodyguard for safe keeping. Martin, having reached the district near the city of Tomis,[11] came upon the Chagan unexpectedly and killed many of his force, so that the latter had to purchase his safety by flight. Having gained this glorious victory, Martin returned to the spot where the general had promised to wait for them. But Komentiolos, overcome by cowardice,[12] had retreated to Markianoupolis. When they could not find him, they collected their own forces and encamped by the narrow passages of the Haimos.||[b13] When Martin saw the Chagan crossing the river, he returned to his
258 general. But Castus crossed the river and drew close to the vanguard of the Avars whom he defeated in battle. But, prompted by some dark demon, he did not return to the general. On the next day the Chagan occupied the crossings and hemmed him in. Accordingly, the troops were split and each man fled through the woods as best he could. Some, who were captured by the barbarians, revealed where Castus was hidden. When he had been taken alive, the barbarians danced around him in exultation.||[c14] The Chagan, marching by way of Mesembria,[15] moved against Thrace and reached the Long Walls.[16] Komentiolos, who had hidden in the forests of the Haimos, came out with Martin.||[d17] Having caught the Chagan completely unprepared, with the mass of his barbarians scattered across Thrace, he marched against him at the first watch. He would have won great success from this attempt had he not missed his goal by ill luck. For

when the load on one animal had slipped, a man called to the animal's master to put the load right, speaking in his native tongue, *Torna, torna, frater*.[18] The driver of the mule did not hear the words, but the army heard them and suspecting that the enemy were upon them, turned to flight shouting *torna, torna* in loud voices. Even so, the Chagan fled headlong with great cowardice, and one could see Avars and Romans running away from each other with no one in pursuit.||[e] After gathering his forces, the Chagan besieged the city of Apeiria.[19] After capturing Bousas, the city's engineer, the Chagan prepared to kill him. But Bousas offered to give him a large sum of money if his life was spared. So those who had bound him brought him before the city and Bousas asked the city's inhabitants to ransom him, relating all his services on the city's behalf. But one citizen persuaded the crowd not to do this, the story being that he was sleeping with Bousas' wife. So when Bousas was spurned, he 259
promised to hand over the city to the Chagan, and, after constructing a siege-machine which they call a ram, captured the city. The barbarians, having learned this technique, enslaved a great many other cities and returned with a large body of captives.||[f20] When the Byzantines heard that Castus had been taken prisoner by the barbarians, they abused Maurice greatly and insulted him openly.||[g]

||At this time Herakleios, the father of Herakleios, attacked a Persian fort and captured it.||[h] Similarly Theodore took the fort of Mazaron.[21] Both then went to Beioudes.||[i] Since that fort was strong, a certain soldier named Sappheres contrived some stakes and, inserting them in the joins of the masonry, made the ascent. When he climbed up to the top of the wall a Persian pushed him off. So Sappheres fell down and the Romans caught him on their shields. He again made the bold attempt and was again pushed off the wall and again the Romans caught him on their shields and again he made his attempt. When he got to the top of the wall, he beheaded the Persian. Then he threw down the head as though it were consular largess,[22] and filled the Romans with confidence. After many had imitated his valour and, using the pegs, had climbed the wall, the fort was surrendered to the Romans, who killed some of the Persians, took others as prisoners along with their equipment* and the fort. Philippikos again made his way to Byzantium, leaving Herakleios as commander of the Romans.||[j] When he got to Tarsos and learned that the emperor had appointed and sent out Priscus as *magister militum per Orientem*, he wrote to Herakleios to leave the army to Narses and to go to Armenia[23] and to inform him of Priscus' coming. For the emperor (who had the disease of avarice)[24] had ordered 260
Philippikos to deprive the army of a quarter of their pay.||[k25]

Philippikos, out of fear that this would provoke an uprising, did not obey the emperor and because of this forfeited his command.[26] ||Priscus, after reaching Antioch, ordered the soldiers to gather at Monokarton.[27] He summoned Germanus, who had been entrusted with the governorship of Edessa, together with the bishop,[28] and set out with them for the camp in order to celebrate Easter with them. The officers of the army met him with the standards two miles from the camp. But Priscus, contrary to custom, did not dismount from his horse nor did he use the customary greetings. This was the origin of the dislike shown to him. For soldiers do not take kindly to being insulted in public. After Easter he haughtily revealed the emperor's rescript. Thereupon the soldiers rushed in a body on the general's tent, some with swords, others with stones, and others with sticks. Priscus became thoroughly scared, mounted his horse, and fled speedily from the danger. The soldiers broke into his tent and looted all his possessions. When he reached Constantia he was treated by physicians for his bruises from the stoning and for other wounds.||[l] He dispatched the city's bishop to plead his case to the army, promising that he would persuade the emperor not to deprive them of any of their customary pay. The army dismissed the bishop with insults and proclaimed Germanus as general against his will, raising him aloft on a shield, and they overturned the imperial statues and destroyed his images.[29] And they would have gone as far as actual revolt and would have looted the cities had not Germanus prevented them by his many admonitions and exhortations.||[m] Priscus informed the emperor about all this and the emperor reappointed Philippikos as *magister militum per Orientem*.

261 Priscus then returned to Byzantium, but the army confirmed on oath that they would by no means accept Maurice as emperor. The barbarians revelled in these misfortunes of the Romans.||[n] The emperor sent out Aristoboulos, the *curator* of the imperial estates,[30] to the army in order to put an end to the revolt by oaths and gifts, which he did. Once the revolt had been ended, a very great battle took place between the Persians and the Romans at Martyropolis.[31] The Romans by their power and leadership overcame the Persians, and the Persian general, Marouzas, was killed. 3,000 were taken alive including the taxiarchs of the Persian *tagmata*. Only a thousand were saved who got back to Persia with difficulty. The Romans sent to the emperor many of the Persian spoils and all the prisoners together with their standards.||[o]

Maurice built the Carian portico at Blachernai and had painters depict in it all his deeds from his childhood until his reign. He also completed the public bath which is at the portico.

[a] Theoph. Sim. i. 8. 1–10. [b] Ibid. ii. 10. 8–11. 4. [c] Ibid. ii. 11. 10–12. 4. [d] Ibid. ii. 12. 5–12. [e] Cf. Ibid. ii. 15. 2–11. [f] Ibid. ii. 15. 13–16. 11. [g] Ibid. ii. 17. 5. [h] Ibid. ii. 18. 1–6. [i] Ibid. ii. 18. 7–8. [j] Ibid. ii. 18. 15–26. [k] Ibid. iii. 1. 1–2. [l] Ibid. iii. 1. 3–15. [m] Ibid. iii. 2. 2–8. [n] Ibid. iii. 2. 11–3. 8. [o] Ibid. iii. 3. 11–4. 4.

[1] Theophanes has accurately deduced the date from Theoph. Sim.'s rather obscure narrative and has also noted Theoph. Sim.'s division of the narrative between books 1 and 2.

[2] 'Rateria' in Theoph. Sim., it is the modern Arcar on the south bank of the Danube in Bulgaria.

[3] Modern Vidin on the south bank of the Danube in Bulgaria.

[4] Probably Gamzigrad in the Timok valley in the former Yugoslavia.

[5] 'Dorostolon' in Theoph. Sim., it is the modern Silistra on the south bank of the Danube in Bulgaria.

[6] 'Zaldapa' in Theoph. Sim., it is the modern Abrit, near Loznica on the Bulgarian–Romanian frontier.

[7] By the modern Devnja in Bulgaria. Theophanes omits Pannasa (in the Haimos mountains) and Tropaion from Theoph. Sim.'s list. Theoph. Sim., and consequently Theophanes too, do not have the list in the likely order of destruction. See Whitby, *Simoc.* 31 n. 45.

[8] Modern Pomorie on the Black Sea coast of Bulgaria.

[9] 4,000 in Theoph. Sim., a more likely figure.

[10] The Stara Planina mountain range in Bulgaria.

[11] The modern Constanta on the Black Sea coast of Romania.

[12] Theophanes takes over Theoph. Sim.'s bias against Komentiolos which begins here. See Whitby, *Simoc.* 58 n. 31.

[13] In Theoph. Sim. Komentiolos is the subject of this sentence. Theophanes is having understandable difficulty in following Theoph. Sim.'s awkward narrative.

[14] Theophanes, who in general has simplified Theoph. Sim.'s account of the capture of Castus, has added 'the barbarians danced around him in exultation'.

[15] De Boor mistakenly failed to capitalize Mesembria. Cf. Theoph. Sim. ii. 12. 6.

[16] Theophanes has inferred this from Theoph. Sim., who merely states that a detachment of the Romans fled towards the Long Walls but were captured.

[17] The reference to Martin is not in Theoph. Sim.

[18] A standard military command for an about-turn. Cf. Maur. *Strat.* iii. 5. 44. See M. Whitby, *Byz* 52 (1982), 426–7, and 53 (1983), 327–8; H. Mihaescu, *Βυζαντινά*, 8 (1976), 21 ff. Theophanes' account is much clearer than Theoph. Sim.'s and may be based on a separate chronicle source.

[19] 'Appiareia' in Theoph. Sim. (correctly), the modern Tutrakan, on the south bank of the Danube in Bulgaria.

[20] In fact the Avars failed to capture any of the cities which they besieged immediately afterwards. See Whitby, *Simoc.* 66–7 n. 39.

[21] In Theoph. Sim. the credit is given to Theodore and Andrew, who should be the 'both' of the following sentence rather than Herakleios and Theodore. Mazaron (modern Maserte) is about 16 km. from Bejoudes (modern Fafi) in the Tur Abdin. Bejoudes had been a Roman fort which the Persians had presumably captured, perhaps during the siege of Dara. See Whitby, *Simoc.* 69 n. 47.

[22] 'Consular largess' is Theophanes' addition, despite his general attempt at avoiding the extremely florid language of Theoph. Sim.'s description.

[23] Narses (cf. *PLRE* iii. 933–5, Narses 10) was based at Constantina (Viranşehir). Herakleios was probably *magister militum* for Armenia. For Priscus see *PLRE* iii. 1052–7, Priscus 6.

[24] Perhaps Theophanes' own comment, but the same judgement occurs in Joh. Nik. 95. 1 (Charles, 151) and Joh. Eph. *HE* v. 20 (Payne Smith, 358).

[25] Cf. Evagr. vi. 4. Whitby, *Simoc.* 72 n. 2, suggests that this may have been compensated by an improvement in service conditions.

[26] It is difficult to see how Theophanes could have deduced this from Theoph. Sim. Cf. n. 28 below.

[27] Near Constantina.

[28] Theoph. Sim.'s language certainly implies (incorrectly) that Germanus was the bishop of Damascus, whereas Theophanes rightly recognizes that he was a government official (presumably the *dux* of Phoenice Libanensis). This detail seems to make it clear that Theophanes has a source here other than Theoph. Sim. See in general Whitby, *Byz* 53 (1983), 312–45, though not commenting on this example. The alternative is to assume a lacuna in our text of Theoph. Sim. at iii. 1. 3. See de Boor's note ad loc., followed in *PLRE* iii. 529.

[29] Theophanes does not follow Theoph. Sim.'s order of events although giving the same information, again suggesting Theophanes has both Theoph. Sim. and Theoph. Sim.'s source.

[30] *Curator* of the estate of Antiochus (cf. AM 6053).

[31] The battle of Martyropolis took place in 588: cf. AM 6080. But that was a Persian victory. Theophanes reasonably deduced that Marousas was killed, although Theoph. Sim. simply says 'the Persian general'. However at AM 6080, Theophanes has Marousas killed at the castle of Lethe.

AM 6080 [AD 587/8]

Year of the divine Incarnation 580
Maurice, emperor of the Romans (20 years), 6th year
Hormisdas, emperor of the Persians (15 years), 15th year
John, bishop of Constantinople (13 years), 7th year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 16th year
Eulogios, bishop of Alexandria (27 years), 9th year
Gregory, bishop of Antioch (24 years), 18th year

In this year, in the month of September, indiction 6, ||the Lombards made war on the Romans and the tribes of the Moors caused great trouble in Africa.||[a1]

||In Persia there is a prison called Lethe[2] in which the emperor of the Persians had shut up many people from various races along with the prisoners from the city of Daras. They, despairing for their lives, rose up against their guards and having killed Marousas, they took 262
his head with them and went to Byzantium.[3] The emperor received them with great joy.||[b] The army barely recognized Philippikos as its general.||[c] In a battle, which took place between Persians and Romans at Martyropolis, the Romans were defeated.||[d] The emperor, after relieving Philippikos once more of his command, sent Komentiolos as *magister militum per Orientem*. After arriving close to Nisibis, Komentiolos clashed with the Persians at Sarbanon.[4] Herakleios, the father of Herakleios, won great glory in the battle and killed the Persian general. After Aphraates' death the Persians were routed and pursued by the Romans, who took many captives. They also seized the baggage and sent quantities of booty to Byzantium. The emperor cheered the city with displays of horse-racing and public festivals, and celebrated the victories with a triumph.||[e]

||Hormisdas, ⟨the emperor of the Persians⟩, after appointing Baram as general,[5] sent him with a large army to Souania,[6] where he made an unexpected attack so that the Turks were thoroughly defeated by the Persians. This so strengthened Hormisdas that he was able to exact a tribute of 40,000 gold coins from the Turks, whereas previously he had been paying the Turks the same amount.||[f] Baram, who had gained much glory in this war, made his camp by the river Araxes,[7] and when Maurice learned this, he appointed Romanus as general and sent him to Souania with an army. After Romanus had reached Lazica and came to the river Phasis, he began campaigning in Albania. When Baram heard that the Roman army had arrived, he poured scorn on their efforts and was eager to try out the Romans in battle. For he had not previously fought against the Romans. So he crossed the adjoining river to try to draw the Romans deeper into Persian territory.||[g] Romanus divided the Roman force, leaving the 263
inexperienced men with the baggage. He took 10,000 select troops and marched against the barbarians, with 2,000 ordered to act as a vanguard. These met the Persian vanguard, routed them, and destroyed all of them. For in their flight they had come to a cliff and, being hemmed in, they all perished. The Romans came right up to the barbarians' palisade and so struck terror into Baram. When Romanus heard this, he exhorted his troops and drew them up on the Albanian plain.||[h] Baram tried to steal the battle by trickery but failed in his purpose, for Romanus was endowed with intelligence. The clash occurred and, with a multitude of barbarians killed, the

Romans had a great victory. The barbarians were stripped and, deprived of burial, became food for the wild beasts. When the emperor of the Persians heard about this, he could not bear the disgrace and dispatched female clothing to Baram, whom he dismissed from his command. Baram thereupon revolted and tried to usurp power. In turn he abused Hormisdas in a letter, which he entitled as follows, 'Baram addresses these words to Hormisdas, the daughter of Chosroes'.||[i]8 Then, having gathered the troops, he alleged that Hormisdas was angry with them for having been defeated by the Romans. He showed them a forged letter, purportedly from Hormisdas, on the reduction of soldiers' pay,||[j] and reminded them that Homisdas was harsh and extremely cruel, avaricious, and violent, how he loved slaughter while rejecting peace, how he subjected the grandees to chains, beheaded some with the sword and drowned others in the Tigris, how he forced the Persians to be involved in huge wars in order to destroy them and prevent them from rising up against him.||[k]9 Hurling such words at the troops, ||Baram kindled a great revolt against Hormisdas. After swearing oaths of loyalty to Baram they all declared that they would destroy Hormisdas.||[l]
264 Hormisdas armed his *magister* Pherochanes and sent him with a force against Baram.||[m] But Baram declared to Pherochanes and his troops that Persians ought not to bear arms against Persians and reminded them of Hormisdas' harshness and injustice, of his bloodlust and delight in murder, of his unreliability, arrogance, and violence. When Pherochanes' troops perceived that these words had been spoken truly, they went over to Baram and, after killing Pherochanes, united with Baram and set out for Ctesiphon.||[n]10

||Hormisdas had Bindoes, a man of high rank, placed in chains. Things being in great commotion, Bestan, who was Bindoes' brother, burst into the prison and rescued his brother Bindoes, and after assembling a throng of peasants and city dwellers, they entered the palace at the third hour of the day. Having found Hormisdas sitting regally on his throne, they assailed him with much abuse. Bindoes, having seized Hormisdas, removed the diadem from his head and had him put in prison.[11] He then invited Chosroes to lay claim to his ancestral throne.||[o]12 Hormisdas sent a messenger from the prison requesting the opportunity of explaining to the Persians what was profitable for Persia. This was done on the following day when the Persian senate assembled in the palace with the people, and Hormisdas was led out as a prisoner. Hormisdas then told the Persians that emperors ought not to be wronged in this way, and reminded them of the many triumphs he had gained since becoming emperor, of the benefits he had conferred on the Persians, and how

he had made the Turks tributary to Persia and forced the Romans to seek peace and how he had captured Martyropolis. He also related to them the achievements of his ancestors. He deemed it right that Chosroes should be deprived of the empire since he was litigious, greedy, delighting in blood, contemptuous, insolent and a warmonger. But he did have another son and he exhorted them to appoint 265
him as emperor.||[p] Bindoes spoke against Hormisdas and, by exposing his errors, aroused everyone against Hormisdas.||[q] They brought forward Hormisdas' wife and son and* before Hormisdas' eyes, cut them in two. Hormisdas was then blinded and imprisoned.||[r] For a while, Chosroes treated his father kindly in prison, providing him with every pleasure. But Hormisdas responded to this with abuse and by trampling on the emperor's offerings. In anger Chosroes ordered that Hormisdas be beaten on his flanks with rough clubs until he died.[13] This grieved the Persians and led them to hate Chosroes. Chosroes assembled his forces, left the palace to tackle Baram, and proceeded to the plain of the river Zabas[14] where Baram was entrenched.||[s] Supposing that some of his officers were attached to Baram, Chosroes executed them. When this caused a commotion among the troops, Chosroes fled with a few supporters, and all of Chosroes' troops went over to Baram.||[t] Chosroes was at a loss what to do, some advising him to go to the Turks, and others to the Romans. Mounting his horse, Chosroes gave it free rein and commanded everyone to follow the horse's direction.[15] The horse moved in the direction of Roman territory. When Chosroes reached Kerkesion,[16] he dispatched envoys to inform the Romans of his arrival. The patrician Probus, who chanced to be there, received him and informed the emperor by letter of what had occurred.||[u] Baram, for his part, dispatched envoys to Maurice requesting him not to make an alliance with Chosroes.||[v] The emperor Maurice ordered the general Komentiolos to receive Chosroes at Hierapolis[17] and to treat him with regal honour.||[w]

In the same year the emperor Maurice introduced a litany at 266
Blachernai in memory of the holy Mother of God, at which laudations of our Lady were to be delivered.[18] He called it a *panegyris*.

[a] Cf. Theoph. Sim. iii. 4. 7–8. [b] Cf. Theoph. Sim. iii. 5. 2–8. [c] Ibid. iii. 5. 10. [d] Ibid. iii. 5. 11. [e] Ibid. iii. 5. 16–6. 5. [f] Ibid. iii. 6. 7–14. Cf. Nik. Kall. xviii. 19. [g] Theoph. Sim. iii. 6. 16–7. 2. [h] Ibid. iii. 7. 9–13. [i] Ibid. iii. 7. 16–8. 3. [j] Ibid. iii. 18. 14. [k] Cf. Ibid. iii. 16. 7–13. [l] Ibid. iv. 1. 1. [m] Ibid. iv. 2. 2. [n] Ibid. iv. 2. 8–3. 3. [o] Ibid. iv. 3. 5–14. [p] Ibid. iv. 3. 15–4. 18. [q] Ibid. iv. 5. 1–6. 1. [r] Ibid. iv. 6. 2–5. [s] Ibid. iv. 7. 2–9. 4. [t] Ibid. iv. 9. 8–11. [u] Ibid. iv. 10. 1–8. [v] Ibid. iv. 14. 8. [w] Ibid. iv. 12. 6–8.

[1] Theophanes' source is probably a chronicle rather than Theoph. Sim. This is the only occasion where Theoph. Sim. does provide a general survey which also includes references to the Slav and Persian wars. But Theoph. Sim.'s date seems to be the year 588/9.

[2] i.e. 'Oblivion', it was in the region of Bizae (Beth Huzaye or Huzistan) in south-west Iran.

[3] Cf. AM 6079, n. 31, where Theophanes states that Marouzas (his alternative spelling) was killed at the battle of Martyropolis. Theophanes' version is loosely based on Theoph. Sim., who also repeats his reference to Martyropolis.

[4] Sisarbanon in Theoph. Sim., north-east of Nisibis.

[5] Theoph. Sim. dates this to Maurice's 8th year (i.e. AM 6082).

[6] An area south of the Caucasus mountains.

[7] The modern Aras, which flows into the Caspian.

[8] For the insult cf. Herodotus iv. 162, and Sophia's supposed letter to Narses on his recall from Italy 'to his proper station among the maidens of the palace, where a distaff should be again placed in the hand of the eunuch'. E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. 45 (ed. Bury), v. 10, citing Paul the Deacon ii. 5; cf. J. B. Bury, *BZ* 15 (1906), 545–6. Cf. AM 6063, n. 1.

[9] Theoph. Sim. gives this as part of a general description of Hormizd. It appears to be Theophanes' own idea to attribute the description to Vahram. It is a rare example of Theophanes' literary inventiveness.

[10] In Theoph. Sim. it is Hormizd who sets out for Ctesiphon.

[11] 6 Feb 590. See Higgins, *Persian War*, 26, Whitby, *Simoc.* 106 n. 13.

[12] Khusro had earlier fled to Azerbaijan and only returned after Hormizd's death. See Whitby, *Simoc.* 107 n. 14.

[13] Cf. n. 11 and Whitby, *Simoc.* 112 n. 22. Khusro had nothing to do with Hormizd's death. This account, together with Hormizd's vitriolic description of Khusro just above presumably reflect Byzantine attitudes following Khusro's later invasion in the reigns of Phokas and Herakleios.

[14] The great Zab in Iraq.

[15] In Theoph. Sim. and Evagr. vi. 17, the story is expressed in terms of Khusro's reliance on divine providence.

[16] At the confluence of the rivers Khabour and Euphrates.

[17] Modern Membidj in north Syria.

[18] Probably this is to be connected to Maurice's introduction of the feast of the Assumption on 15 Aug., noted only by Nik. Kall. xvii. 28 (292A) but set in the context of Justinian's reign. Theophanes thus gives some support to the accuracy of Nik. Kall.'s statement.

AM 6081 [AD 588/9]

Year of the divine Incarnation 581
Maurice, emperor of the Romans (20 years), 7th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 1st year

John, bishop of Constantinople (13 years), 8th year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 17th year
Eulogios, bishop of Alexandria (27 years), 10th year
Gregory, bishop of Antioch (24 years), 19th year

In this year[1] ||the emperor Maurice, having adopted Chosroes, emperor of the Persians, as his son,||[a] sent to him his kinsman Dometianus,[2] bishop of Melitene,||[b] with Narses to whom he had entrusted the command of the war. They invaded Persia with Chosroes and the entire Roman forces.||[c] When Baram learned this, he collected the forces at his disposal and camped at a place called Alexandrina,[3] where he intended to prevent the armies that were marching from Armenia from uniting with Narses. For Maurice had ordered John Mystakon, the *magister militum per Armeniam*, to take his armies and unite with Narses so that they might jointly make war on Baram. During the night all the Roman forces were united and were drawn up against Baram. But Baram, seized with fear, camped by a hill.||[d] In the terrible clash of battle, Narses, scorning the Indian beasts,[4] broke the central phalanx of the barbarians. When this had happened, Baram's other phalanxes gave way and the usurper's forces fled in great numbers. Narses pursued and killed the Persians without restraint, and brought back to Chosroes 6,000 prisoners. Chosroes executed them all by the spear. All the Turks were sent to the emperor in Byzantium. The Turks had on their foreheads the symbol of the cross tattooed in black, and when asked by the 267
emperor how they came to have that sign, they said that many years earlier there had been a plague in Turkey and some Christians among them had suggested doing this and from that time their country had been safe. The Roman army, after capturing Baram's tent and baggage along with the elephants, brought them to Chosroes. Baram made his escape to the inner regions of Persia, and in this way the war against him ended.||[e] Chosroes, having won a great victory, regained his throne and gave a victory banquet for the Romans. But Narses, as he was about to return home, said to Chosroes, 'Remember the present day, Chosroes. It is the Romans who have graciously granted you your empire.' Chosroes, in fear of being assassinated, asked Maurice for a bodyguard of 1,000 Romans. Maurice, who had a great love for the barbarian, fulfilled his request.||[f] And so the Romans' Persian war came to its conclusion.||[g5]

[a] Theoph. Sim. v. 3. 11. [b] Ibid. iv. 14. 5. [c] Ibid. v. 2. 8–3. 1.
[d] Ibid. v. 8. 2–10. 3. [e] Ibid. v. 10. 10–11. 5. [f] Ibid. v. 11. 6–9, 13. 1.
[g] Ibid. v. 15. 2.

[1] In fact 591.
[2] In fact a nephew of Maurice, son of his brother Peter, he was bishop of Melitene from *c.*580 to his death in 602 (AM 6094).
[3] Probably Arbela, the modern Erbel in Iraq.
[4] Elephants quite specifically in Theoph. Sim.
[5] Theoph. Sim. describes it as glorious conclusion. Theophanes, with a different viewpoint, has substituted for this his reference to Maurice's 'love for the barbarian' which is not in Theoph. Sim.

AM 6082 [AD 589/90]

Year of the divine Incarnation 582
Maurice, emperor of the Romans (20 years), 8th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 2nd year
John, bishop of Constantinople (13 years), 9th year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (20 years), 18th year
Eulogios, bishop of Alexandria (27 years), 11th year
Gregory, bishop of Antioch (24 years), 20th year

In this year on 26 March, indiction 8, on the day of holy Easter,[1] Theodosios, the 4½-year-old son of Maurice, was crowned by John, patriarch of Constantinople. In the same year the emperor Maurice completed the church of the Forty Saints,[2] which Tiberius had begun. It was on the Mesē, on the site where it was said the Praetorium had previously stood.

‖While a deep peace prevailed in the East, the Avar War seethed in Europe. For this reason the emperor Maurice transferred his armies from the East to Thrace.‖[a3]

[a] Theoph. Sim. v. 15. 12–16. 1.

[1] The date of Easter and the indiction are correct for 590.
[2] South of the Mesē. Of Janin's list of churches of the Forty Martyrs, this is no. 3 and no. 6, which are in fact identical. See Mango, *Développement*, 31 n. 52.
[3] On the problems of the chronology, see AM 6084 notes.

268 **[AM 6083, AD 590/1]**

Maurice, 9th year
Chosroes, 3rd year
John, 10th year
John, 19th year

Eulogios, 12th year
Gregory, 21st year

‖In this year,[1] at the beginning of spring, when the *tagmata* had reached Thrace, Maurice went out with them to see the devastation caused by the barbarians. The Augusta, the patriarch, and the Senate begged the emperor not to conduct the war in person but to entrust it to a general.[2] But he did not accept this. When he had gone out to the Hebdomon there was an eclipse of the sun.[3] There were also roaring gales from a violent south wind.‖[a] On reaching Rhegion,[4] he consoled the crowds of the poor with silver. When the emperor went hunting, a huge wild boar charged the Caesar.[5] His horse, in terror of the sight, tried to toss the Caesar, but though it remained refractory for a long time, it was not able to throw him. The boar, unharmed by anyone, went away.‖[b] Then, as he was making his journey by sea to Perinthos,[6] there were violent winds and rain and the sailors were in despair while the emperor's ship was driven on until it was saved unexpectedly at a place called Daonion.[7] During the night a woman gave birth and uttered piteous cries. In the morning the emperor sent to see what would be the outcome. They saw a new-born child without eyes or eyelids and having neither hands nor arms but, at its hips, a tail that would have suited a fish. ⟨When the emperor saw this, he ordered that it be destroyed.⟩[8] That day the emperor's horse, which was adorned with gold trappings, suddenly fell and died. Seeing all these as omens, the emperor was deeply grieved.‖[c] On the next day three men, Sklavini by race, who carried no iron weapons but only lyres, were overpowered by the Romans. The emperor asked them where they had come from and where they dwelt. They said that they were Slavs by race and that they lived by the edge of the western Ocean,[9] and that the Chagan had sent an embassy to them with gifts for their tribal leaders so that they would make an alliance with him against the Romans. Their taxiarchs had dispatched them to reply to 269
the Chagan that they were unable to lend him support because of the length of the journey. For they said that they had been travelling for eighteen months and had thus come to fall into the hands of the Romans. They were carrying lyres since they did not know how to use any weapons, their own country being ignorant of iron. The emperor, amazed at their youth and bodily stature, commended them and sent them to Herakleia.‖[d] When the emperor reached Anchialos[10] and learned that envoys had come to Byzantium from the Persians and the Franks, he returned to his palace.‖[e]

[a] Theoph. Sim. v. 16. 1–5. [b] Ibid. v. 16. 9–14. [c] Ibid. vi. 1. 1–2. 2.
[d] Ibid. vi. 2. 10–16. [e] Ibid. vi. 3. 5–8.

[1] Although Theophanes' dating of Maurice's expedition to Anchialos is accurate, these attendant details belong to AM 6087, as his source, Theoph. Sim., appears to have confused this expedition with another in the vicinity of the Long Walls which should be dated to 596 or later, most probably 598. (Cf. AM 6087 and 6092, n. 12.) The latter expedition was characterized by various portents. See Whitby, *Simoc.* 155 n. 86, 162 n. 17, and 200 n. 73.

[2] Emperors in the 6th cent. did not normally lead campaigns in person, though Maurice had led an expedition to the Long Walls in 584 just as Justinian had done in 559 (AM 6051). See Whitby, *Simoc.* 155 n. 87.

[3] 4 Oct. 590. For Hebdomon see AM 5930, n. 3.

[4] Near Küçük Çekmece. Cf. AM 6050.

[5] Theophanes follows Theoph. Sim. in referring to the emperor as the Caesar rather than the Augustus. ('Caesar' was normally used of the emperor's intended successor.)

[6] i.e. Herakleia. [7] About 16 km. from Herakleia.

[8] Restored from Anastasius' Latin translation, supported by Theoph. Sim.

[9] i.e. the Atlantic. It is most unlikely that Slavs had penetrated so far west. The Avars did make an alliance with the Franks and Lombards in 601 and, if this is not a reflection of that alliance, they may well have made earlier attempts.

[10] The modern Pomorie on the Black Sea coast of Bulgaria.

[AM 6084, AD 591/2]

Maurice, 10th year
Chosroes, 4th year
John, 11th year
John, 20th year
Eulogios, 13th year
Gregory, 22nd year

||In this year[1] the Chagan sought to receive additional payments to those agreed,[2] but the emperor refused to accede to the barbarian's demands. For this reason the Chagan began war again, besieged Singidunum[3] and marched against Sermium.||[a][4] The emperor appointed Priscus as *magister militum* for Europe.[5] Priscus, after making Salvianus his second-in-command, ordered him to take the advance party. After they had advanced against the barbarians, battle was joined and the Romans were victorious. When the Chagan heard this, he collected his forces and set out for war. Salvianus, having seen their numbers, was struck with terror and returned to Priscus. On being informed of the Roman retreat, the Chagan advanced to Anchialos, that is to St Alexander's, and delivered it to all-devouring fire. Then, having crossed over to Drizipera,[6] he tried

to sack the town by making use of siege-engines. The inhabitants of Drizipera held their ground against them with feigned boldness. For, after opening the gates, they threatened to do battle with the barbarians, although, in fact, they were terribly scared. But it was then indeed that some divine force came to their assistance. For in the middle of the day the barbarians imagined they saw a Roman army marching out of the city, ready to engage them, and, being struck with terror, they ran away in urgent flight and went to Perinthos.[7] 270
Priscus, unable even to behold the masses of the barbarians, went into the fort of Tzouroulon[8] and made himself secure. The barbarians attempted to besiege Priscus.||[b] When Maurice heard this, he was at a loss what to do, but by sound judgement he outwitted an immense army. He persuaded one of the excubitors by large gifts and promises to fall willingly into the hands of the barbarians. He gave to this man a letter addressed to Priscus of which the contents were as follows: 'To the most glorious general Priscus: Do not fear the nefarious attempt by the barbarians, which will bring about their destruction. For you are to know that the Chagan will have to return in great disgrace to the territory assigned to him by the Romans.[9] For this reason your Glory will persist in making them wander about Tzouroulon. We are sending ships by sea and we are carrying off their families as captives, and he will be compelled to return to his territory disgraced and punished.' The Chagan, having caught and read the letter, was terrified, and entered on an agreement with Priscus, making peace for a few trifling gifts,[10] and then fled hastily back to his own land.||[c]

[a] Theoph. Sim. vi. 3. 9–4. 4. [b] Ibid. vi. 4. 7–5. 10. [c] Ibid. vi. 5. 11–16.

[1] The date is uncertain. Whitby, *Simoc.* 162 n. 17, following J. Marquardt, suggests 588, based on the similarity of Mich. Syr.'s account at ii. 361–3, which will have followed John of Ephesos' contemporary account.

[2] i.e. the agreement of 583 by which the Romans made an annual payment of 100,000 *solidi*. Cf. AM 6075f.

[3] The Romans must have regained Singidunum (Belgrade) after its capture by the Avars in 583.

[4] Near modern Sremska Mitrovica in the former Yugoslavia.

[5] Presumably soon after his return from the east after the mutiny of Apr. 588 (see AM 6079).

[6] Near the modern Büyük Karıştıran in European Turkey. Cf. AM 6051, n. 17.

[7] Herakleia, i.e. the Avars, so far from fleeing in fear, had in fact advanced some 53 km., probably aiming to confront Priscus' army and block any retreat to the Long Walls. See Whitby, *Simoc.* 165 nn. 27–9.

[8] The modern Çorlu in European Turkey, between Herakleia and

Drizipera. But he had first moved further west (away from Constantinople) to the fort of Didymoteichon.

[9] i.e. Pannonia.

[10] Mich. Syr. ii. 363 states that the payment was 800 lbs. of gold (just under 60,000 *solidi*) and that the Avars feared an attack by the Turks.

[AM 6085, AD 592/3]

Maurice, 11th year
Chosroes, 5th year
John, 12th year
Amos, bishop of Jerusalem (8 years), 1st year
Eulogios, 14th year
Gregory, 23rd year

||In this year[1] the emperor Maurice sent Priscus with all the Roman armies to the river Danube to prevent the tribes of the Sklavini from crossing.||[a] The Chagan learned that he had reached Dorostolos[2] and sent envoys to him, accusing the Romans of starting a war.||[b] Priscus countered this as follows: 'I have not come here to make war on the Avars, but was sent by the emperor against the Sklavini.' Having heard that Ardagastos[3] had scattered hordes of Sklavini to plunder,
271 Priscus crossed the Danube in the middle of the night and made an unexpected attack on Ardagastos. The latter, perceiving the danger, mounted a horse bareback and just escaped to safety. The Romans, after destroying hordes of Sklavini, laying waste the territory surrounding Ardagastos and taking captives, sent many of them back to Byzantium||[c] with Tatimer. Tatimer became careless as he made his journey in a relaxed fashion, indulging in drunkenness and pleasure, and, on the third day, hordes of Sklavini attacked him. Overcome by cowardice, Tatimer went fleeing to Byzantium. But the Romans who were with him fought the Sklavini valiantly and, after unexpectedly defeating the barbarians, brought the captives safely to the emperor at Byzantium. The emperor was pleased and offered hymns of thanksgiving to God together with all the people of the city.||[d]

||Priscus was emboldened to march into the interior territory of the Sklavini.||[e] A Gepid who belonged to the Christian religion deserted to the Romans and revealed to them the entrance [into their country]; and so they defeated the barbarians. He said that Mousoukios, the king of the barbarians, was at a distance of thirty miles.||[f][4] Thanks to the Gepid's betrayal, Priscus crossed the river in the middle of the night and found Mousoukios overcome by strong drink; for he was celebrating the wake of his own brother. After taking him alive, Priscus wrought great slaughter among the

barbarians. Having taken many prisoners, they gave themselves over to drink and pleasure. The barbarians, gathering together, attacked their conquerors, and their revenge would have been even harsher than the act of valour that had preceded it, if Genzon had not arrived with the Roman infantry and checked the barbarian charge in a tough battle. Priscus impaled those who had been entrusted with guarding him.||[g]

In the same year Paul, the emperor's father, died in Constantinople and was buried among the imperial tombs. Likewise the Augusta Anastasia, the mother-in-law of Maurice and wife of the emperor Tiberius, [died and] was buried with her husband Tiberius.

[a] Theoph. Sim. vi. 6. 2. [b] Ibid. vi. 6. 5–12. [c] Ibid. vi. 6. 13–7. 5. [d] Ibid. vi. 8. 3–8. [e] Ibid. vi. 8. 9–10. [f] Ibid. vi. 8. 13–9. 1. [g] Ibid. vi. 9. 3–15.

[1] The date for Priscus' second campaign is correct. It can be calculated 'by counting back the campaign years in Theoph. Sim.'s narrative from the final campaign of Maurice's reign in 602' (Whitby, *Simoc.* 167 n. 35).

[2] The modern Silistra on the south bank of the Danube in Bulgaria. This confirms that Priscus' objective was the Slavs and not the Avars, whose lands were on the upper Danube.

[3] The Slav leader. Cf. AM 6076 for his defeat in 585.

[4] 30 miles: 30 parasangs in Theoph. Sim. Technically the parasang was a measure of time rather than distance, but traditionally Greeks had regarded it as 30 stades, i.e. about 5–6 km., 3–4 miles. Theophanes has understandably found this measurement too obscure.

AM 6086 [AD 593/4] 272

Year of the divine Incarnation 586
Maurice, emperor of the Romans (20 years), 12th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 6th year
John, bishop of Constantinople (13 years), 13th year
Amos, bishop of Jerusalem (8 years), 2nd year
Eulogios, bishop of Alexandria (27 years), 15th year
Gregory, bishop of Antioch (24 years), 24th year

In this year Priscus again advanced to the Danube and plundered the tribes of the Sklavini and sent back many captives to the emperor[1] ||who dispatched Tatimer to Priscus and ordered the Romans to spend the winter season there.[2] On being informed of this, the Romans objected, saying that it was not possible to do so because of the numbers of the barbarians, the hostile country, and the unbearable cold. But Priscus persuaded them with convincing arguments to

winter there and carry out the emperor's command.||[a][3] The emperor Maurice, having heard this, appointed Philippikos,[4] who was his brother-in-law and *magister militum per Orientem*, as *comes excubitorum*, having confidence in him because he was married to his sister. Philippikos began to build at Chrysopolis[5] the monastery of our all-holy Lady, the Mother of God, and a palace there for the reception of the emperor Maurice and his children. He made within it fish-ponds and parks for his pleasure. In Constantinople he built the house known as that of Philippikos.[6]

[a] Theoph. Sim. vi. 10. 1–3.

[1] De Boor gives Theoph. Sim. vi. 10 as the source for the opening sentence but it appears rather to be a doublet for AM 6085. Theoph. Sim.'s narrative moves directly from Priscus' execution of the guards [AM 6085g] to the sending out of Tatimer.

[2] Maur. *Strat.* xi. 4. 82 similarly supports the exploitation of winter campaigning, when there was less protection for ambushes, frozen rivers could be crossed, and snow made tracking easier. See Whitby, *Simoc.* 173 n. 54.

[3] Theoph. Sim. states that Priscus nevertheless broke camp.

[4] Joh. Eph. *HE* iii. 5. 18 says this was the first post held by Philippikos under Maurice, prior to his being sent as *magister militum* against the Persians (cf. AM 6076). Theophanes has either placed this in the wrong year or Philippikos was reappointed both as *magister militum* and as count of the excubitors. See *PLRE* iii. 1022.

[5] Modern Üsküdar on the Asiatic coast of the Bosporus. On the little that is known of this monastery, see R. Janin, *Grands centres*, 24–5.

[6] Also mentioned without indication of locality by Kedr. i. 698.

[AM 6087, AD 594/5]

Maurice, 13th year
Chosroes, 7th year
Kyriakos, bishop of Constantinople (11 years), 1st year
Amos, 3rd year
Eulogios, 16th year
Anastasios, bishop of Antioch ⟨again⟩ (6 years), 1st year

||In this year two monsters were born in the suburbs of Byzantium, namely a four-footed child and another with two heads.[1] Careful his-
273 torians affirm that good is not portended for cities in which such beings are born. The emperor relieved Priscus of his command and made his own brother Peter general of the Roman army.[2] Before Peter's arrival Priscus collected his army and crossed the river. When the Chagan heard about the crossing by the Roman army, he was

greatly amazed and sent emissaries to Priscus seeking both to learn the reason and to obtain a share of the booty[3] and so also get across the river:[4] for he was much annoyed by the Roman successes.||[a] To treat these matters Priscus sent as his ambassador to the Chagan Theodore the physician,[5] who was both intelligent and shrewd. When Theodore saw that the Chagan was being presumptuous and giving replies that were rather boastful (for he was threatening that he would become master of all of the tribes), he softened this barbarian arrogance with an old tale.[6] For he said, 'Listen, O Chagan, to this helpful tale. Sesostris, the emperor of the Egyptians, who was famous and exceedingly fortunate, brilliantly wealthy and invincible in power, had subjected many mighty nations. So, having become boastful, he made a carriage inlaid with gold and precious stones and sat in it, forcing four of the conquered emperors under the yoke to pull the carriage. When this was happening at an important festival, one of the four emperors often turned back his gaze and stared at the wheel turning round. When Sesostris asked him why he caused his eyes to gaze backwards, the man said: "I am amazed at the wheel which is never at rest but always moving its various parts, at one moment putting down the mighty and at another raising up the lowly." Sesostris, after reflecting wisely on the parable, ordained that the emperors were no longer to pull the carriage.' When the Chagan heard this, he smiled and said that he would keep the peace and that it was up to Priscus as to whether he wished to honour the Chagan with any of the spoils. Priscus gave the captives[7] to the Chagan on account of the crossing and, taking all the spoils, went 274
over the river without danger. The Chagan was greatly pleased to receive what he did. Priscus went to Byzantium and Peter took over the command.||[b]

[a] Theoph. Sim. vi. 11. 1–5. Cf. Nik. Kall. xviii. 28. [b] Theoph. Sim. vi. 11. 7–vii. 1. 1.

[1] The prodigies resemble those of AM 6083, which perhaps belong to this account, though both perhaps are part of the same expedition described at AM 6092 (where see n. 12).

[2] For Peter see *PLRE* iii. 1009–11, Petrus 55.

[3] Theoph. Sim. has no reference to the Chagan wanting booty.

[4] Cf. Nik. Kall. xviii. 29 'and thus hinder Priscus from swimming across the river'.

[5] Theodore's eminence is clear from the fact that he was the recipient of letters from Pope Gregory. See *PLRE* iii. 1259, Theodorus 55. On the deliberate use of doctors on embassies to Persia, see R. C. Blockley, *Florilegium*, 2 (1980), 85–100.

[6] The tale had been previously used by Peter the Patrician during negotiations with the Persians in 561 (Men. Prot., frg. 6. 1.213–36). Herodotus ii. 102–11 and Diodorus Siculus i. 53–8 describe Sesostris' conquests, Diodorus mentioning simply that four conquered kings pulled his chariot.

[7] As Whitby, *Simoc.* 176 n. 65 and 178 n. 69, points out, the account is unclear, since the Romans had crossed the river before the Chagan, pleased at the gift of captives, decided to relent and let the Romans cross. Theophanes is, however, simply repeating Theoph. Sim.'s muddle.

[AM 6088, AD 595/6]

Maurice, 14th year
Chosroes, 8th year
Kyriakos, 2nd year
Amos, 4th year
Eulogios, 17th year
Anastasios, 2nd year

||In this year[1] the emperor ordered Peter the general to give the Romans one third of their pay in gold, one third in arms, and the remaining third in all kinds of clothing.[2] So when the Romans heard this, they turned to revolt. In fear, the general replied to the soldiers that this was not true, and he showed the army another letter instructing him that those who had served with valour and survived the dangers were to be given rest in the cities and fed in their old age at public expense, and that the children of soldiers were to be enrolled in the place of their parents.[3] With these persuasive arguments he placated the troops, and they acclaimed the Caesar.||[a] Peter informed the emperor of these things. Having come to Markianoupolis[4] he sent ahead a force of 1,000 to be the vanguard. They came upon Sklavini, who were taking a large amount of plunder from the Romans, and routed them. But the barbarians, after slaughtering their captives*[5] and capturing many prisoners, returned to Roman territory.||[b]

In the same year the emperor built the circular terrace of the Magnaura.[6] He set up a statue of himself in the central court and placed the arsenal there.

[a] Theoph. Sim. vii. 1. 2–9. [b] Ibid. vii. 2. 1–10.

[1] In fact 594.

[2] Cf. AM 6079k for Maurice's earlier attempt to pay in kind. For discussion, see Jones, *LRE* 670–4, and M. J. Higgins, *AnBoll* 67 (1949), 444–6.

[3] Theophanes omits the vital point that this refers to the orphans of soldiers, who probably were given their father's rank. See Jones, *LRE* 675.

[4] The modern Devnja in Bulgaria.

[5] A corrector of MS 'm' fills the lacuna with 'fled and the Romans' which is close to Kedr., 698.19. This would get some support from Theoph. Sim., although there is nothing about the Slavs fleeing, or, for that matter, about the Romans taking prisoners and returning to Roman territory.

[6] The circular terrace was on the western side of the Magnaura, a building where the emperor usually received foreign ambassadors. See Guilland, *Études*, 141–50, Janin, *CP*, 117–18.

[AM 6089, AD 596/7]

Maurice, 15th year
Chosroes, 9th year
Kyriakos, 3rd year
Amos, 5th year
Eulogios, 18th year
Anastasios, 3rd year

||In this year the general Peter, while hunting,[1] encountered a wild boar which crushed his foot against a tree. He was ill for a long time with intolerable pain. The emperor assailed him with bitter letters and intolerable insults on hearing that Slav tribes were moving against Byzantium. So Peter went in haste to Novae.||[a2]

||The leading soldiers of the city together with the bishop went to meet the general.[3] When the general saw them, he admired their 275
equipment and manliness and ordered them to leave the city and join the Roman army. But the soldiers, who had been appointed to the city's garrison, refused to comply.[4] In fury, the general dispatched Genzon with a force of soldiers. When they learned this, the others fled to the church, closed its doors, and remained inside. Genzon, out of reverence for the church, waited without taking any action. Peter angrily dismissed Genzon from his command and sent a *skribon*[5] to bring the bishop to him in dishonour. But those from the city assembled with their entire households and drove the *skribon* ignominiously from the city. They then closed the city gates, acclaimed the emperor Maurice, and hurled insults at the general. Thus Peter retreated from there in disgrace.||[b]

||He sent forward a thousand to reconnoitre. They encountered a thousand Bulgars. The latter, made confident by the Chagan's peace,[6] were advancing without any precautions. The Romans charged the Bulgars. The Bulgars sent out seven men to request that the peace be not broken. When the advance party heard this, they reported it to the general, who replied, 'Not even if the emperor came here, would I spare them.' A battle took place and the Romans

were routed. The barbarians did not pursue them lest, after their victory, they should fall into danger. The general scourged the commander of the vanguard severely. When the Chagan learned this, he sent envoys to Peter accusing him of causing [the incident] and saying that the Romans had broken the peace for no just reason. Peter, with deceitful words, claimed that he knew nothing of the attack and that he would restore all the plunder twofold. So the barbarians, having regained double their lost plunder, kept the peace.||[c]

||Peter then marched against Peragastes, the leader of the Sklavini, but the barbarians met the Romans at the bank of the river and prevented them from crossing. But the Romans, shooting from their
276 boats, turned them back. In the rout Peragastes was struck in the groin and died. After crossing, the Romans gained much plunder and returned to their own territory.||[d] But the guides went astray and fell into a waterless region and so put the army in danger. So they marched through the night and reached the river Helibakias.[7] On the other side of the river there was a thicket in which the barbarians hid and shot at those who were drawing water. And so the Roman army, suffering heavy casualties and thoroughly beaten by the barbarians, turned and fled. When Maurice heard the news, he dismissed Peter from his command[8] and sent out Priscus again as general of Thrace.||[e]

[a] Theoph. Sim. vii. 2. 11–16. [b] Ibid. vii. 3. 1–10. [c] Ibid. vii. 4. 1–7. [d] Ibid. vii. 4. 13–5. 5. [e] Ibid. vii. 5. 6–10.

[1] In Theoph. Sim. this takes places on the day following the encounter with the Slavs related at AM 6088.

[2] The modern Svistov, on the south bank of the Danube in Bulgaria. Peter arrived there on 22 Aug. Theophanes omits much of Peter's movements which in fact show that Peter had been energetically striving to stop the Slavs from crossing the Danube. See Whitby, *Simoc.* 182 n. 10. Theophanes has, however, captured the tone of Theoph. Sim.'s narrative, which is based on a source hostile to Peter.

[3] By misreading Theoph. Sim.'s 'Asemus' as *episemoi* ('leading'), Theophanes here conflates Peter's arrival at Novae with his arrival at Asemus, about 40 km. west of Novae.

[4] Asemus possessed a decree of Justin [whether Justin I or II is not known] granting it a garrison to protect it from barbarian incursions.

[5] A select officer of the imperial guard, often used on special missions. See Jones, *LRE* 658–9.

[6] The Bulgars were under the dominion of the Avars and so were protected by the Avar–Roman treaty. Peter has apparently moved north of the Danube.

[7] Probably to the north of the Danube, opposite Dorostolon.

[8] Winter 594–5?

AM 6090 [AD 597/8]

Year of the divine Incarnation 590
Maurice, emperor of the Romans (20 years), 16th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 10th year
Kyriakos, bishop of Constantinople (11 years), 4th year
Amos, bishop of Jerusalem (8 years), 6th year
Eulogios, bishop of Alexandria (27 years), 19th year
Anastasios, bishop of Antioch (6 years), 4th year

||In this year[1] the general Priscus, after setting out for Thrace, held a review of his forces and found that a great many of them had been lost. Collecting those he had, he went to Novae on the river Ister. When the Chagan learned this, he sent envoys to inquire about the reason of his arrival. Priscus claimed that he had come to hunt. 'But it is not right', said the Chagan, 'to go hunting in foreign territory.' But Priscus claimed that it was his territory and reproached the Chagan for leaving the East.||[a] The barbarian then destroyed the walls of Singidunum and marched into Roman territory. When Priscus learned this, he went to the island[2] of the Ister, and taking some *dromones*, reached the Chagan at Constantiola,[3] wishing to parley with him. When the Chagan had come to the bank of the river, Priscus spoke to him from his ship. The Chagan said to him, 277
'What is your concern, Priscus, with my land? Do you wish to take it deceitfully from my hands? God will judge between me and the emperor Maurice. He shall seek out from his hands the blood of the Roman army and of my army.'[4] Priscus then said, ⟨'Give back the city of Singidunum to the Romans.'⟩[5] The Chagan replied, 'You are trying to take a single city from us. Soon you will see fifty Roman cities made subject to the Avars.'||[b] Priscus, after bringing up the ships along the river to Singidunum, captured it, drove the Bulgars out of it, and began to build the walls. The Chagan sent messengers to him and called to witness his false gods, charging Priscus with what was happening.||[c] When winter came,[6] both sides returned to their own territories.

In the same year Peter, the brother of Maurice, built the church of the holy Mother of God in the Areobindos quarter,[7] adorning it with various marbles. Similarly the patriarch Kyriakos built the church of the holy Mother of God in the quarter of Diakonissa.[8]

[a] Theoph. Sim. vii. 7. 1–5. [b] Ibid. vii. 10. 1–11. 6. [c] Ibid. vii. 11. 7–9.

[1] In spring 595.

[2] Singan, 48 km. from Singidunum.

[3] On the north bank of the Danube, opposite the confluence of the Morava and the Danube.

[4] Cf. 2 Sam. 4: 11. [5] Restored from Anastasius' Latin translation.

[6] In Theoph. Sim. the campaign recorded by Theophanes at AM 6091 follows immediately, on the tenth day of the Singidunum campaign.

[7] The *Patria*, ii. 237–8, says Peter transformed the house of Areobindos (consul of 506) into a church and added a public bath. Its location is uncertain.

[8] Or the 'deaconess'. The church was associated with the Blues and connected with a number of ceremonies. See Janin, *Églises*, 174–5.

[AM 6091, AD 598/9]

Maurice, 17th year
Chosroes, 11th year
Kyriakos, 5th year
Amos, 7th year
Eulogios, 20th year
Anastasios, 5th year

‖In this year, the Chagan, having marshalled his forces,[1] marched to Dalmatia and having taken Balkes[2] and the forty cities round it, destroyed them all. When Priscus learned of these events, he sent Goudoues[3] to spy on what was happening. After reaching the barbarians by travelling across difficult terrain,‖[a] he came upon two barbarians stupefied by wine. Goudoues questioned them about the movements of the barbarians. They said that the Chagan had handed over the captives to 2,000 hoplites to take home. Having learned this, Goudoues hid in a small gully and at dawn suddenly came up behind them and destroyed them all. Having got the captives he took
278 them to Priscus. The Chagan, having learned of this disaster, returned to his own territory[4] and Priscus went back to his.‖[b]

[a] Theoph. Sim. vii. 12. 1–3. [b] Ibid. vii. 12. 6–9.

[1] Cf. AM 6090, n. 6.

[2] Called 'Bonkeis' in Theoph. Sim., which cannot be identified and may be corrupt. De Boor suggested 'Balbai' from Prok. *Aed.* iv. 4. (B. 282. 14).

[3] Goudoues (*PLRE* iii. 561–2, Guduin 1), conceals 'Godwin'.

[4] Theoph. Sim. states that this was the last action for 18 months, i.e. from autumn 595 to summer 597, during which time the Avars showed more interest in the west, attacking the Bavarians and the Franks. Theophanes' dating of this to Maurice's 17th year was probably deduced from Theoph. Sim.'s following sentence (vii.12. 10), which refers to Maurice's 19th year.

AM 6092 [AD 599/600]

Year of the divine Incarnation 592.
Maurice, emperor of the Romans (20 years), 18th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 12th year
Kyriakos, bishop of Constantinople (11 years), 6th year
Amos, bishop of Jerusalem (8 years), 8th year
Eulogios, bishop of Alexandria (27 years), 21st year
Anastasios, bishop of Antioch (6 years), 6th year

In this year, in the month of March of the 3rd indiction, Priscus, taking his forces, moved to Singidunum.[1] ‖The Chagan,[2] having gathered together his own force, suddenly invaded Mysia and tried to capture the city of Tomis.[3] For this reason Priscus left Singidunum and moved close to him. When the festival of Easter[4] arrived and the Romans were wasting away with hunger, the Chagan, having heard about this, told Priscus to send waggons to him so that he might send the Romans provisions for them to celebrate their own festival with joy. And so he filled and sent them 400 waggons. Similarly Priscus sent in return various Indian goods to the barbarians, namely pepper, Indian cloves, costus spice,[5] cinnamon, and other rare goods, while the Chagan was based at Sermium. He was delighted with the goods he received. Until the completion of the festival the Romans and the barbarians camped side by side without any fear in either army. When the celebration was over the barbarians separated from the Romans.‖[a]

Maurice, supposedly to help Priscus, sent out Komentiolos with an infantry force.[6] ‖Having learned this, the Chagan marched into Mysia against Komentiolos to about thirty miles[7] from him. Komentiolos secretly sent a messenger to the Chagan.‖[b] Some say that Maurice instructed Komentiolos to betray the Roman army[8] to the enemy because of their indiscipline.‖[c] In the middle of the night, 279
he ordered the army to arm, but did not disclose to the troops that they were about to engage in battle. They, supposing that he had ordered them to carry arms for the sake of an exercise, did not arm themselves properly. When day came and the barbarians arrived, there was a great uproar in the army.‖[d] Komentiolos disturbed the ranks and was himself the cause of their disorder. Thereupon the Romans turned and fled while the barbarians, finding the troops out of control, slaughtered them without mercy.‖[e] Komentiolos reached Drizipera in a disgraceful flight, but the citizens hurled insults and stones at him and drove him from the city. The barbarians, having come to Drizipera,[9] destroyed the city and burned the church of St Alexander.[10] Having found that his tomb was plated with silver,

they stripped it in unholy fashion and subjected the martyr's body to mockery. And having taken many captives in Thrace, they banqueted sumptuously and behaved arrogantly towards the Romans.||[f]

||When Komentiolos reached Byzantium,[11] utter confusion and uproar descended on the city, so much so that the inhabitants out of fear wanted to abandon Europe and move across to Chalcedon in Asia. The emperor, taking the excubitors and having assembled an armed band, kept guard at the Long Walls.[12] The people[13] were guarding the city. The Senate advised the emperor to send a legation to the Chagan.||[g] God, to avenge the martyr Alexander, sent a pestilential plague on the barbarians and on a single day it killed from fever and swellings seven of the Chagan's sons along with many swarms of others, so that instead of the joy of victory and triumphal songs and hymns, the barbarian turned to dirges, tears, and inconsolable sorrow.||[h] The Senate exhorted the Caesar to send a legation to the Chagan.[14] ⟨The emperor sent Harmatzon with many gifts to the Chagan⟩[15] at Drizipera, who soothed the barbarian with gentle words. But the barbarian was unwilling to accept the gifts as he was
280 filled with uncontrollable grief for his sons.[16] He said to the envoy, 'God will judge between me and the emperor Maurice. For it was he who broke the peace.||[i][17] I shall give him back the prisoners if I am paid by him one *nomisma* per head.' But Maurice would not agree to pay. The Chagan asked again for half a *nomisma* per head. But the emperor refused to pay even this, or even four *keratia*.[18] So the Chagan, in fury, killed them all and returned home,[19] adding 50,000 gold pieces||[j][20] to the tribute paid by the Romans. And they agreed not to cross the river Ister.||[k] As a result of this much hatred was stirred up against the emperor Maurice and they began to hurl abuse at him. So also the army in Thrace was stirred to abuse the emperor. The army sent representatives to the emperor to accuse Komentiolos of treachery during the war. Among them was Phokas[21] who, in addressing the emperor at the *silentium*,[22] spoke against him so forcefully that one of the patricians boxed his ears and pulled his beard. The emperor rejected the ⟨army's⟩ accusation against Komentiolos, and dismissed them empty-handed. For this reason the plot against the emperor was started.||[l]

||About this time in the river Nile in Egypt, while the prefect Menas[23] was journeying with a host of people in the region known as the Delta, as the sun was rising, creatures of human form appeared in the river, a man and a woman.[24] The man was broad-chested and striking in appearance, with fair grizzled hair, and he was naked to his loins and revealed his nakedness to all. The water covered the remaining parts of his body. The prefect entreated him

by oaths not to dispel the vision before everybody had had their fill of this incredible sight. The woman had a smooth face and breasts and long hair. All the people gazed in amazement at these creatures 281
until the ninth hour, when they sank into the river.||[m] Menas wrote to the emperor Maurice about this.||[n]

[a] Theoph. Sim. vii. 13. 1–7. [b] Ibid. vii. 13. 8–9. [c] Joh. Ant., frg. 218b. Cf. *Megas Chron.*, frg. 13 (Schreiner, 43), tr. Whitby and Whitby, *Chron. Pasch.* 200. [d] Theoph. Sim. vii. 13. 9–13; cf. *Megas Chron.* [e] Theoph. Sim. vii. 14. 1–9; cf. *Megas Chron.* [f] Theoph. Sim. vii. 14. 10–12. [g] Ibid. vii. 15. 4–8. [h] Ibid. vii. 15. 1–3. [i] Ibid. vii. 15. 8–12. [j] Cf. *Megas Chron.* [k] Theoph. Sim. vii. 15. 14; cf. *Megas Chron.* [l] Joh. Ant., frg. 218b. [m] Theoph. Sim. vii. 16. 1–9. [n] Theoph. Sim. vii. 17. 46.

[1] The precise indiction date shows this sentence has come from Theophanes' chronicle source. Theophanes had left Priscus at Singidunum at the end of AM 6090.

[2] In Theoph. Sim. this follows from summer 597 (see AM 6091, n. 4).

[3] The modern Constanța on the Black Sea coast of Romania. Mysia is Moesia.

[4] 30 Mar. 598.

[5] Costus, sometimes translated as Saussurea, was an aromatic plant used in the preparation of unguents and for preserving fruit. Theoph. Sim. apologizes for the term but it is an acceptable word to Theophanes.

[6] Theophanes' source is unknown but since the two other passages for this year which are not drawn from Theoph. Sim. are taken directly or indirectly from Joh. Ant., the source of this sentence is also likely to be Joh. Ant. Theoph. Sim. introduces Komentiolos into the narrative here without explanation, so Theophanes' statement is useful.

[7] 20 parasangs in Theoph. Sim., i.e. about 118 km. Cf. AM 6085, where Theophanes makes a parasang equal to a mile.

[8] Theophanes has interpolated this sentence between two consecutive pieces of Theoph. Sim.'s narrative. A similar account occurs in the so-called Great Chronographer, which Whitby argues is Theophanes' source here but which we believe was derived from Theophanes. See Introduction, p. xc.

[9] Drizipera: near the modern Büyük Karıştıran in European Turkey. See AM 6051, n. 17.

[10] The Avars had already burned the shrine in 588 (see AM 6084 and notes on date there) while Huns and Slavs had held the area in 559 (see AM 6051).

[11] For some reason Theophanes has reversed the order of Theoph. Sim.'s narrative, postponing to 'h' God's punishment of the Avars for their treatment of St Alexander. Perhaps Theophanes intended to heighten the Chagan's recognition of the moral described at AM 6089c.

[12] Whitby, *Simoc.* 200 n. 73 plausibly suggests that this expedition is identical with, and provides the correct date for, the expedition to defend the Long Walls described by Theophanes at AM 6083, in that both the location and the portents of Maurice's overthrow would be more appropriate here. Cf. AM 6087, n. 1.

[13] It is unclear whether *demoi* here refers to the general populace or the circus factions. Since they are separated from the armed throng, *demoi* probably refers to the factions, but this also implies that the factions were left to guard the city walls because they lacked the arms and military competence for duty at the Long Walls.

[14] Theophanes, having reversed Theoph. Sim.'s order for 'g' + 'h' (cf. n. 11), now has to repeat the last sentence of 'g', but alters the wording slightly.

[15] Restored from Anastasius' Latin translation.

[16] In Theoph. Sim. Harmatzon persuades the Chagan to accept the gifts.

[17] Cf. AM 6090c for a similar appeal by the Chagan. Theophanes here omits Theoph. Sim.'s following support for the Chagan's accusation.

[18] There were 1728 *keratia* (carats) to a Roman pound and thus 24 to a *solidus* or *nomisma*, the gold coin of which 72 were struck to the pound.

[19] These few lines (I shall give . . . returned home) are likely to be derived from Joh. Ant. Cf. n. 6 above. Theoph. Sim., apart from lacking any suggestion of the ransoming and killing of prisoners, stresses that the Avar War was now at an end. This section (j) provides the best argument for Whitby's claim that Theophanes used the Great Chronographer (*Megas Chron.*). See Whitby, *BMGS* 8 (1982–3), 1–20; *The Emperor Maurice and his historian* (Oxford, 1988), 121–3; Whitby and Whitby, *Chron. Pasch.* 200 n. 15.

[20] 20,000 in Theoph. Sim. making a total annual payment of 120,000 *solidi*. (Cf. AM 6075g in fact of AD 584.)

[21] i.e. the future emperor.

[22] *Silentium:* the emperor's advisory council.

[23] Nothing more is known of Menas. He was presumably governor (Augustal prefect) of Egypt. For the varied terminology of his title see *PLRE* iii. 877, Menas 10.

[24] Theophanes has abbreviated Theoph. Sim.'s account considerably. Geo. Mon. 657–8 and Joh. Nik. 97, also record the appearance of these figures.

AM 6093 [AD 600/1]

Year of the divine Incarnation 593
Maurice, emperor of the Romans (20 years), 19th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 13th year
Kyriakos, bishop of Constantinople (11 years), 7th year
Isaac, bishop of Jerusalem (8 years), 1st year
Eulogios, bishop of Alexandria (27 years), 22nd year
Anastasios, bishop of Antioch (9 years), 1st year

In this year on 26 March, of the 4th indiction, on holy Easter day,[1] the Augusta Sophia the wife of Justin, together with Constantina, the wife of Maurice, made a precious crown which they offered to the emperor. After gazing at it, the emperor went to the church,

offered it to God, and hung it above the holy table by a triple chain of gold and precious stones. The Augustas were greatly grieved when they learned this and the Augusta Constantina celebrated Easter in conflict with the emperor.[2]

||The emperor disregarded the accusations againt Komentiolos made by the armies in Thrace and it was Komentiolos himself who, taking the army, went to the Ister and joined forces with Priscus at Singidunum. The peace with the Avars was dissolved, and now that it was broken, they went to Viminakion, which is a large island in the Ister. When the Chagan heard of this, he assembled his own forces and advanced towards Roman territory. He delivered other forces to his four sons and stationed them to guard the crossings of the Ister. The Romans built rafts, crossed the river, and joined battle with the sons of the Chagan, with Priscus in command. For Komentiolos was ill and stayed on the island of Viminakion.||[a] The battle lasted many hours and when the sun set 300 Romans had been killed as against 4,000 barbarians. Having drawn up the armies again at dawn, they again began fighting and destroyed 8,000 of the barbarians. Likewise on the third day the Romans, drawn up on higher ground, moved against the barbarians and, after routing them and driving the Avars into the waters of the marsh, drowned many of them. Amongst these the Chagan's sons were drowned. The Romans won a conspicuous victory.||[b] 282

||The Chagan, having gathered numerous forces, advanced against the Romans. After they had joined battle, the Romans routed the barbarians and gained a victory more remarkable than all others. Priscus, having drawn up a force of 4,000, ordered them to cross the river Tissos[3] and to spy out the movements of the barbarians. The barbarians,[4] knowing nothing of what had happened, were carousing together in celebrating a festival. The Romans, falling upon them by stealth, carried out a great massacre, for they killed 30,000 Gepids and other barbarians. After taking many captives they returned to Priscus.||[c] The Chagan having again gathered his forces, went to the Ister. And having clashed in battle, the barbarians were defeated and drowned in the currents of the river. Many Sklavini perished with them. The Romans captured alive 3,000 Avars, ⟨800 Sklavini, and 3⟩,200 ⟨Gepids⟩,[5] and 2,000 [other] barbarians. The Chagan sent envoys to the emperor Maurice to try to get back the prisoners. But Maurice, who had not yet learned of the Romans' conspicuous victory, wrote to Priscus to give back to the Chagan only[6] the Avars.||[d] Komentiolos, who had scarcely recovered from his illness, went out to Novae in search of guides who might lead him to the route taken by the emperor Trajan.[7] An old man who knew it claimed that it was

283 difficult and had not been passable for many years,[8] especially in winter as it went over high mountains and was covered with snow. Komentiolos, not convinced by the old man's words, set out along this route. But because of the terrible cold and severe frosts, many of the Romans and most of the pack animals perished. He barely made it to Philippoupolis.[9] With the Romans wintering there, Komentiolos came to Byzantium.‖[e10]

‖In the same year[11] a man wearing monastic habit and eminent for his austere life, unsheathed a sword and ran, sword in hand, from the Forum to the Chalke,[12] proclaiming to all that the emperor would die, murdered by a dagger. Similarly Herodianos[13] predicted openly to Maurice what would happen to him.‖[f] The emperor went barefoot on a litany at night with the whole city, and when he was going by the quarter of Karpianos,[14] some of the crowd became disorderly and threw stones at the emperor who was barely saved with his son Theodosios and completed the prayer at Blachernai. The people[15] found a man of similar appearance to Maurice and put a black cloak on him, wove him a crown of garlic, set him on an ass, and mocked him saying, 'He has found a gentle heifer, and, like the young cock, has leaped on her‖[g] and made children like hard seeds, and no one dares to speak but he has muzzled everyone. Oh my Lord, terrible and powerful, strike him on the skull to make him less arrogant. And I shall vow to you this great ox in thanksgiving.'[16] The emperor caught and punished many of these.[17]

[a] Theoph. Sim. viii. 1. 10–2. 5. [b] Ibid. viii. 2. 11–3. 7. [c] Ibid. viii. 3. 8–13. [d] Ibid. viii. 3. 13–4. 2. [e] Ibid. viii. 4. 3–8. [f] Ibid. vii. 12. 10–11. [g] Cf. Joh. Ant., frg. 218b.

[1] Easter did fall on 26 Mar. in 601.

[2] There is no evidence for the source of this passage, but its tone and the proximity of other passages suggest it may be from Joh. Ant.

[3] The Tisza which flows into the Danube just north of Belgrade.

[4] Here barbarians means Gepids, as Theophanes eventually makes clear, whereas the barbarians of the previous sentence are Avars.

[5] The figures and 'Gepids' have been restored from Anastasius' Latin translation but are omitted by the Greek manuscripts. Theoph. Sim. gives 8,000 Sklavini.

[6] Theophanes adds the 'only' (*καὶ μόνον*). Theoph. Sim. states that Maurice was 'shaken by the Chagan's threat and deceived by his words'.

[7] Known as the Trajan pass, it had been the main Roman road across the Haimos mountains.

[8] In Theoph. Sim. the old man says 90 years, which, as Whitby, *Simoc.* 214 n. 14, points out, is difficult to accept since 'Justinian had constructed numerous refuge-forts in the Haimos mountains, and it would be surprising

if some had not been located near the route across the Trajan pass'. Whitby also points out that the importance of the pass suggests that Komentiolos' plan was sensible, and to do so in winter, when the trees afforded less cover to the Slavs, was in line with the thinking of Maur. *Strat.* xi. 4. (ed. Dennis, 122).

[9] Modern Plovdiv in Bulgaria.

[10] Arriving in spring 600 according to Theoph. Sim., who also claims (viii. 4. 9) that there was no action between Romans and barbarians in Maurice's 19th year.

[11] Theophanes has here corrected Theoph. Sim. who, though dating this prediction to Maurice's 19th year, placed it after his account of events in 595.

[12] i.e. the entrance to the palace. Theophanes uses the standard term whereas his source (Theoph. Sim.) has avoided the common name, calling it 'the palace vestibule'.

[13] Unknown, perhaps a monk. The prophecy, according to Theoph. Sim., was revealed to Herodianos 'not without divine utterance'.

[14] Karpianos, on the Golden Horn near Blachernai (Janin, *CP*, 368).

[15] Probably the circus factions.

[16] Possibly this passage, as the previous one, is from Joh. Ant. Theoph. Sim. viii. 4. 11–5. 4 also has an account of the disturbances and provides a precise date, the feast of Candlemas (2 Feb.), 602. The cause is attributed to severe shortage of food in winter.

[17] Minor punishments (brief banishment) according to Theoph. Sim. viii. 5. 3–4.

AM 6094 [AD 601/2]

Year of the divine Incarnation 594
Maurice, emperor of the Romans (20 years), 20th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 14th year
Kyriakos, bishop of Constantinople (11 years), 8th year
Isaac, bishop of Jerusalem (8 years), 2nd year
Eulogios, bishop of Alexandria (27 years), 23rd year
Anastasios, bishop of Antioch (9 years), 2nd year

In this year, in the month of November,[1] indiction 5, the emperor Maurice joined in marriage his son Theodosios to the daughter of the 284
patrician Germanus.[2] They were crowned[3] by Kyriakos, the patriarch of Constantinople. On 11 January, Dometianus,[4] bishop of Melitene and a relative of the emperor, died and was buried in the church of the Holy Apostles by the patriarch Kyriakos and honoured with funeral rites by the whole Senate.

‖The emperor reappointed and sent out his brother Peter as general of Thrace.‖[a5] For he had heard that the hordes of the barbarians,[6]

with Apsech as general, had congregated round the Cataracts.[7] Peter sent an envoy to Apsech to discuss peace, but Apsech attempted to capture the Cataracts from the Romans. The Chagan marched on Constantiola.[8] The Romans returned to Thrace and came to Adrianople.||[b9] The emperor, having learned that the Chagan was moving against Byzantium, wrote to Peter to return to the Ister and sent Bonosos,[10] the *skribon*, with ships to transport the troops across the river. Peter, having sent out his second-in-command Goudoues[11] across the Ister, took many captives. Having learned this, the Chagan sent out Apsech with a host to destroy the tribe of the Antai[12] for their support of the Romans. When this happened, a portion[13] of the barbarians went over to the Romans.||[c]

Maurice, who had been reflecting inwardly and knew that nothing escapes the notice of God, but that He requites everyone according to his deeds, and having considered his wrongdoing in not having ransomed the captives,[14] judged that it was better to atone for his sin in this life rather than in the next; and having made supplications in writing, sent them to all the patriarchal thrones and to all communities subject to him, and to the monasteries, both those in the desert and in Jerusalem, and to the lavras, with gifts of money and candles and incense, so that they would pray for him so that he
285 might make atonement here and not in the time that is to come. He was even offended with Philippikos, his brother-in-law, because his name began with the letter Phi.[15] But Philippikos swore in various ways that his fealty to Maurice was untainted and that he had not plotted against him. ||While Maurice was beseeching God to have mercy on his soul, one night, as he slept, he had a vision that he was standing at the Bronze Gate[16] of the palace by the image of the Saviour[17] and a ⟨very great⟩[18] crowd was beside him. And a voice came from the portrait of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ, saying, 'Bring forward Maurice.' And the ministers of justice took hold of him and placed him on the purple disc that is there. And the divine voice said to him, 'Where do you wish that I requite you? Here or in the world to come?' To these words he replied, 'Merciful Lord and righteous judge, here preferably and not in the world to come.' And the divine voice ordered that Maurice and his wife ⟨Constantina⟩[19] and their children and all their kinsmen be given over to the soldier Phokas. So Maurice woke up||[d] and having called his *parakoimomenos*,[20] sent him to his brother-in-law Philippikos with orders to bring him to the emperor with all speed. The *parakoimomenos* departed and summoned him. Philippikos, on rising, summoned his wife and embraced her, saying 'Farewell, you will not see me again.' She cried out in a loud voice with lamenta-

tions and said to the *parakoimomenos*, 'I beseech you, by God, what is the matter that he wants him at this hour?' The *parakoimomenos* swore that he did not know and said, 'The emperor suddenly awoke from his sleep and dispatched me.' Philippikos asked to receive communion and after this went to the emperor. His wife Gordia[21] lay on the ground crying, weeping, and praying to God. On entering the imperial bedchamber, Philippikos threw himself at the emperor's feet. The emperor said to him, 'Forgive me for the sake of God for the wrong I did you. For until now I have been angry with you.' And after ordering the *parakoimomenos* to leave, he stood up and fell at Philippikos' feet, saying, 'Forgive me, for I know for certain that you 286
did no wrong to me. But tell me, do you know in your *tagmata*[22] a certain soldier named Phokas?' After reflecting, Philippikos replied, 'I do know one who was sent a little while ago as a representative of the army and who spoke against your authority.' The emperor asked, 'Of what character is he?' Philippikos replied, 'Rebellious, insolent, and cowardly.' Then Maurice said, 'If he is a coward, then he is also a murderer.' And he explained to Philippikos the revelation of the dream. On that night there appeared in the heavens a star which is called a comet. On the following day there returned the *magistrianus* [23] who had been sent to the holy fathers in the desert, bearing their reply which was that, 'God, having accepted your repentance, saves your soul and enrols you and your whole family among the saints, but you will be driven from your throne in disgrace and danger.' When he heard this, Maurice glorified God greatly.[24]

||Accordingly, when the season of autumn[25] arrived, and the emperor Maurice had ordered Peter to make the army winter[26] in the territory of the Sklavini, the Romans objected and refused to do it because of the exhaustion of their horses, the great amount of booty that they were holding, and the mass of barbarians scattered about the countryside, and so they plotted a rebellion.||[e] The general, furiously indignant with the army, drove them to folly.||[f27] Then heavy rain fell on the army and it was bitterly cold. Peter stayed about twenty miles from the army. Maurice disturbed Peter by writing with orders to cross the Ister and to obtain the winter supplies for the army from the land of the Sklavini, so that he would not be forced to provide public food supplies for the Romans.[28] The general summoned Goudoues and said, 'The emperor's orders that the Romans should winter in foreign territory are excessively difficult for me. For it is wrong to disobey and worse to obey. Avarice gives birth to nothing good, but is the mother of all evils.[29] Since the 287
emperor is sick with avarice, he is the cause of the greatest evils to the Romans.' Having summoned the commanders of the army, he

revealed to them the emperor's will. They said that the troops would not accept this. When the troops heard about it, they rebelled. The higher officers fled from them and came to the general. The troops congregated and put up the centurion Phokas as their leader, and having raised him on a shield,[30] they acclaimed him as leader. When Peter heard this, he turned to flight and revealed the whole story to the emperor.

When the emperor heard the bad news, he tried to keep it secret from the people. On the next day he even held the chariot races, keeping the news of the disaster secret.||[g] But the partisans of the Greens shouted out, 'Constantine and Domentziolos, O thrice-august master of the Romans, are vexing your own colour so that Kroukes may become our manager,[31] for the sins we have committed. But God, the creator of everything, will subject to you without bloodshed every opponent and enemy both at home and abroad.'[32] ||The emperor then declared to the partisans, 'The unruliness and indiscipline of stupid soldiers should not disturb you at all.' The Blues then said, 'God, who commanded you to be emperor, will subject to you all who fight against your realm. If there is a Roman who is ungrateful to you, God will subject him to your service without bloodshed.'||[h] Then the emperor, having armed them and calmed them with soothing words, ordered them to guard the city walls with the demarchs.[33] While the emperor's son ⟨Theodosios⟩,[34] together with his father-in-law Germanus, was hunting at Kallikrateia,[35] the Romans[36] sent a letter to Theodosios asking to have him as their emperor; otherwise, they would proclaim even Germanus as emperor. For they would no longer put up with being ruled by Maurice.

When Maurice heard of this, he summoned his son to him and ordered Komentiolos to guard the walls. He accused Germanus along with his son Theodosios of being the cause of their misfor-
288 tunes. As Germanus made his defence, Maurice said, 'Germanus, there are two proofs of my suspicion: the letter from the army to you and the fact that the army has spared the herd of horses that grazes on your estates. For they have plundered everything else but spared yours.[37] Do not bother to make a long speech, Germanus, for nothing is sweeter than to die by the sword'.||[i] Germanus sought refuge in the church of the Mother of God in the quarter of Kyros.[38] When the emperor learned this, he dispatched the eunuch Stephen[39] to remove Germanus from the church. Since Stephen was intending to use force in taking him out, Germanus' bodyguard opposed Stephen and then drove him off, took Germanus, and fled to the Great Church.[40] The emperor flogged his son Theodosios with rods. For he claimed that it was because of him that Germanus had escaped.||[j] He

sent the excubitors to remove Germanus from the Great Church. At this great uproar fell upon the city. Germanus was willing to come out and to surrender himself. But the people would not accept this and abused the emperor with heavy insults, saying, 'May the one who loves you be stripped of his skin, Maurice, you Marcianite.'[41] Next those who were guarding the walls, when they learned of this, neglected their watch. Then the Green faction set fire to the house of Constantine surnamed Lardos.||[k42]

||In the middle of the night Maurice took off his imperial robes, put on civilian dress, boarded a *dromon* with his wife, children, and Constantine and fled.[43] The masses continued to abuse the emperor with the vilest insults throughout the whole night and even mocked the patriarch Kyriakos. After a great storm had blown up Maurice, after very great danger, reached safety at St Autonomos.[44] During the same night he was attacked by arthritic disease,||[l] known as footgout ||and hand-gout. From there he sent his son Theodosios with Constantine to Chosroes, emperor of the Persians, to remind him of 289
what he had obtained from Maurice so that he might repay the good deed to his son.||[m]

||Germanus made overtures to Sergius, demarch of the Green faction, to enlist his support to make him emperor, promising to honour the Green faction and to grant him great honours. Sergius commended this to the leaders of the colour. They rejected it saying, 'Germanus would never break from his support for the Blues.'||[n45]

||The Greens, having gone out to Rhegion,[46] honoured the usurper Phokas with great acclamation and persuaded him to come to the Hebdomon.[47] Accordingly Phokas sent Theodore the *a secretis*,[48] who went to the Great Church and read [a proclamation] to the people that the patriarch, the demes, and the Senate should come to the Hebdomon.||[o] When this had taken place and everyone had arrived at the Hebdomon, the patriarch Kyriakos demanded an assurance from the usurper regarding the orthodox faith and that he would guard the Church without disturbance.[49] ||The usurper appeared to encourage Germanus to be emperor. But when Germanus pretended that he was unwilling and the factions acclaimed the usurper, the evil was proclaimed and the usurper was elected as lord of the sceptres, disaster overcame prosperity and the great misfortunes of the Romans began. The proclamation of the usurper took place in the church of John the Baptist.[50] After tarrying there for two days, he entered the palace on the third,[51] seated in the imperial carriage.[52] On the fifth day[53] he crowned his wife Leontia as Augusta. That day the factions were at strife with each other over the positions of their precincts.||[p] The usurper sent out his fellow rebel, Alexander, to

calm the factions. Alexander came to blows with Kosmas, demarch of the Blues, whom he shoved and insulted. The Blues out of annoyance began chanting 'Go away and learn the protocol.[54] Maurice is not dead.'||[q]

||When the usurper heard this, he made ready to murder Maurice.[55] Having sent out some soldiers he brought [Maurice and
290 his family] to the harbour of Eutropios[56] at Chalcedon. The five[57] male children of the emperor were put to death first before his eyes, so punishing the emperor in advance with the slaughter of his children. Maurice, reflecting wisely on this calamity, kept on invoking the God of all and frequently repeated, 'Righteous art thou O Lord, and upright are thy judgements.'[58] The death of the children in fact provided the epitaph for the father who showed an example of bravery in the face of enormous misfortune.[59] For when a nurse concealed one of the imperial infants and offered her own for slaughter, Maurice did not allow it but sought out his own.||[r] It is said that, when this child was slaughtered, milk flowed with the blood so that all who witnessed it lamented bitterly.[60] ||So the emperor, proving superior to the laws of nature, exchanged his present life.||[s]

||From that moment calamities that were both manifold and extraordinary did not cease in the empire of the Romans.||[t] For Chosroes, the emperor of the Persians, broke the peace, the Avars devastated Thrace, and both of the Roman armies were destroyed to such an extent that[61] ||when Herakleios became emperor and made an accurate review of the army,[62] out of the whole mass who had been present with Phokas at the time of the uprising against Maurice, he could find no more than two men.||[u] To such a degree were those who established the usurper destroyed in his time.[63]

[a] Theoph. Sim. viii. 4. 9. [b] Ibid. viii. 5. 5–7. [c] Ibid. viii. 5. 8–6. 1. [d] Joh. Ant., frg. 218d. [e] Theoph. Sim. viii. 6. 2. [f] Ibid. viii. 6. 4. [g] Ibid. viii. 6. 8–7. 8. [h] Ibid. viii. 7. 8–9. [i] Ibid. viii. 8. 2–9. [j] Ibid. viii. 8. 11–15. [k] Ibid. viii. 9. 1–5. [l] Ibid. viii. 9. 7–10. [m] Ibid. viii. 9. 11. [n] Ibid. viii. 9. 14–16. [o] Ibid. viii. 10. 1–3. [p] Ibid. viii. 10. 4–10. [q] Ibid. viii. 10. 11–13. [r] Ibid. viii. 11. 1–5. [s] Ibid. viii. 11. 6. [t] Ibid. viii. 12. 14. [u] Ibid. viii. 12. 12.

[1] i.e. Nov. 601. *Chron. Pasch.* 693. 3–5 puts the date at Feb. 602 with celebrations from 9 to 15 Feb. Whitby, *Simoc.* 215 nn. 17–19, suggests the two dates can be combined, with the marriage in Nov. 601 and the festivities being provided in Feb. to regain public goodwill after the rioting, and, no doubt, the food shortage.

[2] Germanus was probably the general and former governor of Africa, made Caesar along with Maurice by Tiberius in 582 (see AM 6074). But cf. *PLRE* iii. 528, 531–2 which treats them separately as Germanus 5 and 11.

[3] i.e. simply as part of a wedding ceremony.

[4] A nephew. Cf. AM 6081.

[5] The date is taken from Theoph. Sim. who has Maurice's 20th year, which is probably taken from a chronicle source. As there was one further campaign season in Maurice's reign, the actual date must in fact have been 601. See Whitby, *Simoc.* 215 n. 16.

[6] Avars. The date is Autumn 601, so Theophanes' AM date is accurate.

[7] The turbulent 80-mile stretch of the Danube downstream from the confluence with the Morava. Because of the turbulence, ships had to be towed upstream through the cataracts and hence their strategic importance. See Whitby, *Simoc.* 216 n. 23.

[8] On the north bank of the Danube, opposite the confluence of the Morava and the Danube.

[9] Modern Edirne in European Turkey.

[10] In Theoph. Sim. it is Peter, not Maurice, who sends Bonosos and it is quite possible that Theophanes also intends Peter to be the subject of 'sent'. On the *skribones* see Jones, *LRE* 658–9 and cf. AM 6074 and 6089, n. 5. Bonosos is probably the Bonosos who supported Phokas. Cf. AM 6101. See Joh. Nik. 105 and 107.

[11] Cf. AM 6091 for Goudoues/Godwin.

[12] For the Antai, see Bury, *ERE* ii. 21–2. Little is known of them. They lived north or north-east of the Slavs and had suffered much from the Avars during Justinian's reign. According to Mich. Syr. ii. 362, 'they had reached an agreement with Maurice to ravage Slav territory in an (unsuccessful) attempt to persuade the Slavs to terminate their raids into the empire' (Whitby, *Simoc.* 217 n. 26).

[13] 'Large numbers' according to Theoph. Sim.

[14] Cf. AM 6092k. The source is probably Joh. Ant.

[15] Cf. AM 6093f and g. Theophanes has omitted the details of a 'prophecy' that his successor's name would begin with the letter Phi.

[16] Theophanes usually just has 'Chalke' but here adds 'gate'.

[17] Joh. Ant. describes the vision without mentioning the role of the icon which appears to be an iconodule addition to the story in the iconoclast period. The icon itself is first mentioned in the *Patria*, ii. 196–7, where Maurice is said to have placed statues of himself and his family *above* the icon. Since this is unlikely, the icon was more probably set up sometime after Maurice's reign. See Mango, *Brazen House*, 108–12. For the destruction of the icon by Leo III (his first open act of iconoclasm), see AM 6218 (de Boor, 405).

[18] Restored from Anastasius' Latin translation.

[19] Restored from Anastasius' Latin translation.

[20] An officer who sleeps near the emperor. *PLRE* iii. 1195, Stephanus 53, suggests that this man may be identical with the Stephen mentioned below (de Boor, 288).

[21] Maurice's sister.

[22] The *tagmata* were formations of troops of about 300 men.

[23] i.e. member of the staff of the *magister officiorum* and often sent as an imperial messenger.

[24] Theophanes' source here is perhaps still Joh. Ant. or perhaps a hagiography of Maurice similar to the Syriac hagiography of him edited and translated by F. Nau, *PO* 5 (1910), 773–8.

[25] i.e. of 602, and so should properly be under AM 6095.

[26] Cf. AM 6093, n. 8 for this being in line with the ideas of Maurice's *Strategikon*.

27. In Theoph. Sim. it is Peter who turns to folly by camping away from the troops.

[28] Theophanes follows Theoph. Sim. in interpreting Maurice's motives in terms of avarice and parsimony rather than in terms of his winter strategy.

[29] Cf. 1 Tim. 6: 10 'the love of money is the root of all evil'. Theoph. Sim.'s original, 'an avaricious manner brings forth nothing good; avarice is a citadel of evils' (tr. Whitby, *Simoc.* 219) was preserved by Constantine Porphyrogenitus for his encyclopaedic collection 'on sayings' (*περὶ γνωμῶν*). For its high-flown language, Theophanes has substituted something simpler and more biblical.

[30] i.e. they were proclaiming him emperor. Phokas was later also raised on a shield by the factions at the Hebdomon (Joh. Ant., frg. 218d. 4). Joh. Nik. 102. 10–11, states that the initial aim of the mutiny was simply to exact better conditions for the army and only later became a movement to replace Maurice as emperor. See Whitby, *Simoc.* 218 n. 28 (also 220 n. 32 for the shield raising).

[31] Y. Janssens, *Byz* 11 (1936), 504, suggests a different punctuation (full stop or semicolon after *παρενοχλοῦσιν*, no comma after *διοικήσῃ*) and translates, 'May Kroukos become our manager', etc.

[32] As with the circus dialogue recorded at AM 6024, both the chant by the Greens and the following one by the Blues show signs of being metrical, or at least can be arranged, with little textual alteration, into isosyllabic lines with regular accentuation. The Blues' chant is actually described as an ode by Theoph. Sim. See P. Maas, *BZ* 21 (1912), 28–51; Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 332. Constantine is presumably Constantine Lardys/Lardos, the praetorian prefect. See *PLRE* iii. 347–8, Constantinus 33. Cf. n. 42. For Domentziolos see *PLRE* iii. 413–14. Theoph. Sim. describes him as one of the leaders of the Senate and a man of distinction close to Maurice. We do not know Theophanes' source. Theoph. Sim. confirms the last sentence of the chant, but attributes the chanting solely to the Blues, which Theophanes accepts for 'h'. Cf. the Nika riots, where Theophanes had access to a chant which he apparently substituted for his main text. Is the first line here a similar substitute, which may not be applicable to the occasion?

[33] Theoph. Sim. records the numbers of the faction members: 1,500 Greens and 900 Blues. Cf. AM 6092, n. 13 for what are probably the faction members guarding the city walls rather than the Long Walls, which required more military competence and larger numbers. See Cameron, *Circus Factions*, ch. 5.

[34] Restored from Anastasius' Latin translation.

[35] On the shore of the gulf of Athyras (Büyük Çekmece). See A. G. Paspates, *ΚΕΦΣ* 12 (1877–8), 36.

[36] i.e. the army.

[37] Theophanes has transferred these first two sentences to Maurice's speech, which, in Theoph. Sim., are given as part of the narrative. There is no sign that he has an independent source giving Maurice's speech in more detail.

[38] Cf. AM 5937 for Cyrus/Kyros. On the situation of the church see A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, Poikila Byzantina, 8 (Bonn, 1988), 477 ff.

[39] Royal tutor (*baiulus*) of the emperor's sons. For the position; cf. AM 5936, 6282 (de Boor, 465), 6283 (de Boor, 466). Cf. n. 20 above.

[40] Hagia Sophia.

[41] Again Theophanes gives this chant in direct speech whereas Theoph. Sim. only states the people 'arrayed him in the register of the Marcianites'. The accusation is part of the stock vocabulary of abuse and was probably used for no better reason than assonance; cf. H. Grégoire, *Byz* 13 (1938), 395–6. In this case the lively language of the chant suggests that Theophanes has found the information in a separate source, but there is little to go on.

[42] Cf. n. 32. Given that Constantine was unpopular with the Green faction, the chants there (n. 32) and the arson here may have nothing to do with Maurice.

[43] On the night of 22 Nov. 602 (*Chron. Pasch.* 693. 15).

[44] Near Prainetos (modern Karamürsel) on the south shore of the gulf of Nicomedia about 45 miles from Constantinople. See Janin, *Grands centres*, 86–7 and esp. C. Foss, *DOP* 41 (1987), 187 ff.

[45] As Whitby, *Simoc.* 224 n. 52, points out, 'this incident clearly illustrates the important role that the circus factions might play in political affairs in the later Roman Empire' and 'that in some cases partisanship went beyond mere sporting enthusiasm'. For Sergius, see *PLRE* iii. 1134, Sergius 39.

[46] For Rhegion, near Küçük Çekmece, see AM 6050, n. 7.

[47] Hebdomon, a suburb of Constantinople about 11 km. from the centre of the city. See AM 5930, n. 3.

[48] *A secretis*, a senior member of the official stenographers. See Joh. Lyd. *De Mag.* iii. 9 and 27, Jones, *LRE* 574.

[49] Theophanes shows his interest by inserting this statement from an unkown source, possibly Joh. Ant. *Chron. Pasch.* simply mentions that the patriarch Kyriakos crowned Phokas at the church of St John in Hebdomon on 23 Nov. 602.

[50] The church of John the Baptist at the Hebdomon had been used for the proclamation of various emperors in the 5th cent. See Janin, *Églises*, 413–15.

[51] Theophanes here seems to be combining Theoph. Sim. with information also preserved by *Chron. Pasch. Chron. Pasch.* 693. 19–23, states that Phokas entered the city on 25 Nov. (i.e. Theophanes' 'delay of 2 days'), whereas Theoph. Sim. states that Phokas entered on the day following the coronation (i.e. Theophanes' 3rd day).

[52] Theoph. Sim., supplemented by *Chron. Pasch.*, provides a detailed account.

[53] i.e. 28 Nov. Theophanes' source for the date is not known. Theoph. Sim. viii. 10. 9 implies 25 Nov. i.e. 2 days after Phokas.

[54] The meaning is in dispute. Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 251–3, argued that κατάστασις should be translated 'ceremonial'; the Whitbys prefer 'position', *Simoc.* 226 n. 60. The Blues' chant is recorded by Joh. Ant., frg. 218d, Geo. Mon. 662. 15–16, and Leo Gramm. 143. 20.

[55] On 27 Nov. according to *Chron. Pasch.* 694. 3.

[56] See Janin, *CP*, 238–9.

[57] Theophanes adds the figure five. *Chron. Pasch.* records the names of four (694. 4–5): Tiberius, Peter, Justin, Justinian. Theophanes may have reached the number five by including Maurice's fourth son, Paul (cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 693. 13), but he may also have included here Theodosios who, as Theoph. Sim. viii. 11. 1–2, 13. 3 points out, had returned to Maurice and was executed near St Autonomos. In either case, Theophanes has modified his summary of Theoph. Sim. with information from *Chron. Pasch.* or a common source, which may also be the source of the final sentence in *Megas Chron.*: 'On account of the said impiety Maurice underwent the punishment of slaughter, since he was rent asunder with his women and children and relatives', tr. Whitby and Whitby, *Chron. Pasch.* 200.

[58] Theophanes has restored the text of Ps. 118 (119): 137, whereas Theoph. Sim. repeated 'righteous'.

[59] Also recorded in the Syriac hagiography of Maurice (ed. and tr. L. Leroy and F. Nau, *PO* 5 (1910), 773–8). Cf. Whitby, *Byz* 53 (1983), 337–44.

[60] Theophanes' source is unknown.

[61] Cf. AM 6103. For the Persian victories, see AM 6096–6100. There is, however, no reference in Theophanes to Avar victories during Phokas' reign.

[62] Cf. AM 6103.

[63] Theophanes' characteristic judgement.

AM 6095 [AD 602/3]

Year of the divine Incarnation 595
Phokas, emperor of the Romans (7 years), 1st year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 15th year
Kyriakos, bishop of Constantinople (11 years), 9th year
Isaac, bishop of Jerusalem (8 years), 3rd year
Eulogios, bishop of Alexandria (27 years), 24th year
Anastasios, bishop of Antioch (9 years), 3rd year

In this year, in the month of November, indiction 6,[1] the usurper
291 Phokas, upon his accession, slew Maurice together with his five male children as already indicated.|| He directed that their heads should be placed for several days in the Campus of the Tribunal;[2] and the inhabitants of the City would go forth and view them until they began to smell.||[a] Peter, Maurice's brother, and many others

were also slain.||[b] As for Maurice's son Theodosios, a rumour prevails that he escaped and was saved.||[c] This rumour was fanned by Chosroes, emperor of the Persians, who on different occasions uttered different lies, alleging that he had Theodosios with him and was making provision that he should take possession of the Empire of the Romans; whereas he was himself hoping to gain control of the Roman Empire by deceit, whereof he was convicted in many ways, especially by starting sudden wars and inflicting great damage on the Roman lands. When Phokas had sent to him the ambassador Bilios,[3] Chosroes arrested this man and threw him in prison so he could not return to Roman territory, and gave answer to Phokas by means of insulting letters.|| As for the empress Constantina, the usurper confined her, together with her three daughters, in a private house known as that of Leo.||[d]

||In the city of Alexandria a certain calligrapher, who was a pious man, was returning home from a vigil—it was the middle of the night—when he saw the statues, toppled from their pedestals, proclaiming in a loud voice that Maurice and his children had been killed and all the other calamities that had happened at Byzantium. In the morning the man went to the *augustalis* and reported these matters to him. The latter enjoined upon him not to reveal them to anyone and, having noted the day, waited for the outcome. On the ninth day a messenger arrived announcing the slaying of Maurice. Thereupon the *augustalis* made public before the people the prediction of the demons.||[e]

Now Narses, who was a Roman general, rose up against the usurper and seized Edessa.[4] Thereupon Phokas wrote to the general Germanus to lay siege to Edessa; while Narses wrote to Chosroes, emperor of the Persians, to collect his forces and make war on the 292
Romans. Phokas made his own brother Domentziolos[5] *magister* and Priscus *comes excubitorum*.

[a] Cf. Theoph. Sim. 307.24–308. 2. [b] Cf. Theoph. Sim. 308.28 ff.
[c] Cf. Theoph. Sim. 309.12 ff., 314. 17 ff. [d] Theoph. Sim. 313.13–16.
[e] Theoph. Sim. 309. 28–311. 15.

[1] AD 602. [2] At the Hebdomon. See above, p. 373 and n. 5.

[3] *Recte* Li(l)lios. He was sent on his embassy in the 5th month of Phokas (Theoph. Sim. 313. 16 ff.) = Mar./Apr. 603. Cf. *PLRE* iii. 793, Lillis.

[4] On the revolt of Narses see Kaegi, *Unrest*, 140–1; *PLRE* iii. 935. The other sources are Sebeos, 56–7; Jac. Edess. 248; *Chr. 819*, 7 (presumably AG 913); *Chr. 846*, 174, AG 914; Mich. Syr. ii. 379; *Chr. 1234*, 173 (which gives the name of John to Phokas' general sent against Narses).

[5] There is some confusion about the kinsmen of Phokas. In addition to a

brother and a nephew, both called Domnitziolus or Dome(n)t(z)iolos, *V. Theodori Sykeot.* cc. 152, 161 also mentions (mistakenly?) a brother called Komentiolos. See Kaegi, *BZ* 66 (1973), 308 ff.; *PLRE* iii. 417–18.

[AM 6096, AD 603/4]

Phokas, 2nd year
Chosroes, 16th year
Kyriakos, 10th year
Isaac, 4th year
Eulogios, 25th year
Anastasios, 4th year

In the month of December of this year, indiction 7,[1] Phokas went in procession during the feast days and distributed much largess.[2] And Chosroes, emperor of the Persians, collected a great force and sent it against the Romans. When Germanus had heard of this, he took fright, but was compelled to start war. Germanus was wounded in battle and his bodyguard escorted him to Constantina; and the Romans were defeated.[3] And on the eleventh day Germanus died. As for Phokas, he conveyed the armies from Europe to Asia after increasing the tribute to the Chagan in the belief that the Avar nation was at rest. Dividing the armies, he sent ⟨one part⟩ against the Persians and the other part to besiege Edessa, that is against Narses, under the command of the eunuch Leontios, who was one of his magnates.[4] And Chosroes collected his forces and marched on Daras, while Narses departed from Edessa and took refuge at Hierapolis. Chosroes met the Romans[5] at Arxamoun[6] and, setting his elephants in a fort-like formation, went into battle and won a great victory. He captured many of the Romans and beheaded them. When these things had been done, Chosroes returned to his own land entrusting his forces to Zongoes. When Phokas had heard of this, he was angered at Leontios and brought him ignominiously to Byzantium in iron fetters; and he appointed Domentziolos, his own nephew, to be commander-in-chief and gave him the rank of *curopalates*.

[1] AD 603.

[2] i.e. he assumed the consulship on Christmas Day (not on 1 Jan.) as Maurice had done before him. Cf. E. Stein in *Mélanges Bidez*, ii (1934), 887.

[3] Sebeos, 56, mentions a Persian victory at an unnamed spot between Dara and Edessa.

[4] On whom see *PLRE* iii. 780, Leontius 29.

[5] *Ὁ δὲ Χοσρόης σὺν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γίνεται εἰς τὸ Ἀρξαμοῦν.* The construction is ambiguous, since it can also be understood as 'Chosroes together with the Romans came to Arxamoun.'

[6] Same as Arzamon, above, p. 377. The battle in question should probably be connected with the evacuation by the Romans of nearby Marde: Mich. Syr. ii. 378, presumably AG 915.

[AM 6097, AD 604/5]

Phokas, 3rd year
Chosroes, 17th year
Kyriakos, 11th year
Isaac, 5th year
Eulogios, 26th year
Anastasios, 5th year

In this year Chosroes sent out Kardarigas and Rousmiazan[1] and they captured many Roman cities. Domentziolos for his part gave a promise to Narses and persuaded him by means of many oaths that he would suffer no harm at the hands of Phokas, and so sent him to 293
Phokas, who, not keeping the promise, burnt him in a fire.[2] The Romans were much distressed since Narses inspired great fear among the Persians, so much so that Persian children trembled when they heard the name of Narses. ⟨The Persians, on the other hand, were filled with great joy.⟩

[1] *PLRE* iii. 270–1, distinguishes this Kardarigas or Kardarigan from the one active in 582–6 (AM 6075). Rousmiazan, called Rumiazan in *Chr. 1234*, 174, Romîzan in Mich. Syr. ii. 377–8, Xorian or Xoren in Armenian sources, is better known by his title Šahrvaraz (the Wild Boar of the Realm). His patronymic was Farruhan. See Justi, *Namenbuch*, s.v. Farruxan, Razmiozan, and Sahrwaraz.

[2] Sebeos, 57, says that Narses was captured at Edessa and put to death. Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 379; *Chr. 1234*, 173.

[AM 6098, AD 605/6]

Phokas, 4th year
Chosroes, 18th year
Thomas, bishop of Constantinople (3 years), 1st year
Isaac, 6th year
Eulogios, 27th year
Anastasios, 6th year

In this year the eunuch Scholastikos,[1] a titled man from the palace, in the middle of the night took the empress Constantina and her

three daughters and sought asylum in the Great Church at the instigation of the patrician Germanus, who was reaching after the imperial office. As a result, there was great disturbance in the City. The Greens gathered at the *kochlias* and reviled Constantina, while Germanus sent a talent of gold to the demarch of the Greens that he might co-operate with his party; but the leading men of the deme did not consent to this. The usurper sent men to the church to remove the women, but the patriarch Kyriakos opposed him because he did not consent that the women should be removed from the church by force. Only when he had been assured by Phokas under oath that the latter would not harm them, were they brought out of the holy church and confined to a monastery. As for Germanus, Phokas had him tonsured and ordained a priest; and he kept him under guard in his own house. At that time Philippikos, too, cut off his hair[2] and took holy orders and dwelt at the monastery at Chrysopolis which he had built.[3]

In this year the Persians captured Daras[4] and all of Mesopotamia and Syria,[5] taking an innumerable multitude of captives.

On the death of the patriarch Kyriakos, Thomas was ordained in his stead on 11 October.[6] He had been deacon and *sakellarios* of the same church.

[1] Apparently a proper name and so taken in *PLRE* iii. 1117. Or was he the same as the conspirator Romanus, who appears under AM 6099 and whom *Chron. Pasch.* 696. 8 calls a *scholasticus* (advocate)?

[2] A few words appear to have dropped out at this point as indicated by dB in his apparatus.

[3] According to *Chron. Pasch.* 695, Philippikos and Germanus entered the clergy in 603.

[4] Dara appears to have been taken in the summer of 604: *Khuz. Chr.* 19, 14th year of Chosroes; *Chr.* 724, 113, AG 915, ind. 7; Mich. Syr. ii. 378, 2nd year of Phokas, AG 915. This agrees with the indication given below, p. 452: AD 628 minus 24 = 604. *Chr. Seert*, 200 and *Chr. 1234*, 174, say that the siege of Dara lasted nine months; Sebeos, 57, has 18 months. Latest discussion by Flusin, *Anastase*, ii. 71 ff.

[5] In fact, the conquest of Mesopotamia took over five years to accomplish and that of Syria started in 610. See Flusin, *Anastase*, ii. 74.

[6] According to *Chron. Pasch.* 697, Kyriakos died on 29 Oct. 606 and Thomas was appointed in his place on 23 Jan. 607.

294 **AM 6099 [AD 606/7]**

Year of the divine Incarnation 599
Phokas, emperor of the Romans (7 years), 5th year

Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 19th year
Thomas, bishop of Constantinople (3 years), 2nd year
Isaac, bishop of Jerusalem (8 years), 7th year
Theodore, bishop of Alexandria (2 years), 1st year
Anastasios, bishop of Antioch (9 years), 7th year

||In this year the usurper Phokas gave his daughter Domentzia in marriage to the patrician Priscus, who was *comes excubitorum*, and, while the wedding was being celebrated in the palace of Marina, he commanded that chariot races be held. The demarchs of the two factions set up in the *tetrakiones*[1] the *laurata* of Priscus and Domentzia along with the imperial ones. When the emperor saw them, he was vexed and summoned the demarchs Theophanes and Pamphilos and, making them stand naked at the *stama*,[2] he ordered that they should be beheaded. Sending his chief messenger, he asked them by whose order they had done such a thing. They replied that the decorators[3] had done it according to custom.||[a] Now the demes and the crowd shouted, 'Long live our merciful emperor!' When the decorators were asked why they had done such a thing, they said, 'We did this on our own because everyone called them the emperor's children.' As for Priscus, he was seized by terror, fearing as he did the emperor's irritation. The crowds went on shouting that those men should be treated mercifully and Phokas forgave them. From that time on, therefore, Priscus harboured anger and did not deal honestly with Phokas.

A certain woman called Petronia served the empress Constantina in conveying messages to Germanus. As the rumour spread about that Theodosios, the son of Maurice, was alive, both Constantina and Germanus had high hopes on that account. But the foul Petronia revealed these matters to the usurper and he delivered Constantina to the prefect Theopemptos[4] to be subjected to torture; and as she 295
was being tortured, she confessed that the patrician Romanus was privy to their conversations. When this man had been arrested ⟨and interrogated⟩, he admitted that he had other accomplices in the plot against the usurper. || Also arrested was Theodore, prefect of the East, whom the usurper killed by flogging. He cut off the hands and feet of Elpidios and then threw him in the fire; he beheaded Romanus and put to the sword Constantina with her three daughters at the jetty of Eutropios, where Maurice, too, had been slain; and he killed by the sword Germanus and the latter's daughter on the island of Prote, and likewise John and Tzitas and Patricius and Theodosios, who held the rank of *subadiuva*, and Andrew Skombros and David, who was *chartophylax* of the palace of Hormisdas.||[b]

||In the same year[5] the Persians crossed the Euphrates and captured all of Syria, Palestine, and Phoenicia, wreaking great devastation among the Romans.||[c]

[a] Cf. Joh. Ant. c. 109. [b] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 696–7 (June 605), which gives further details, but omits David and the mention of the island Prote. Cf. also below, AM 6101. [c] Cf. *Chr.* 1234, 176, AG 922 (*sic*), 8th year of Phokas, 20th of Chosroes; *Chr.* 724, 113, AG 921; Mich. Syr. ii. 378, AG 921, 8th year of Phokas.

[1] Groups of four columns in the Hippodrome. The relief on the south face of the pedestal of the Egyptian obelisk shows on the spina an arch supported on four columns.

[2] Presumably a corruption of *σκάμμα* (*Chron. Pasch.* 530), an area of the Hippodrome used for athletic contests, directly in front of the imperial box. See Guilland, *Études*, i. 451 ff.

[3] *γραμμισταί*, translated by Anast. as *lineatores*. Cf. *Cer.* 573. 17: *ἐγραμίσθησαν ἀπὸ δαφνῶν . . . σταυρία καὶ στεφάνια*. Ibid. 586. 17: *ὁ Χρυσοτρίκλινος ἀπεγραμίσθη τῆς προρρηθείσης γραμμῆς*, and Reiske's note, ii. 696.

[4] Prefect of Constantinople. His name appears on preserved glass weights: D. Feissel, *RevNum*, 6th ser. 28 (1986), 125–6.

[5] Actually, the Persians crossed the Euphrates in Aug. 610, first taking Zenobia. Discussion of sources in Flusin, *Anastase*, ii. 74–6.

AM 6100 [AD 607/8]

Year of the divine Incarnation 600
Phokas, emperor of the Romans (7 years), 6th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 20th year
Thomas, bishop of Constantinople (3 years), 3rd year
Isaac, bishop of Jerusalem (8 years), 8th year
Theodore, bishop of Alexandria (2 years), 2nd year
Anastasios, bishop of Antioch (9 years), 8th year

||In this year Priscus, who could not suffer to witness the unjust murders and other evils that were being perpetrated by Phokas, wrote to the patrician Herakleios, who was *strategos* of Africa, that he should send his son Herakleios and Niketas, the son of the patrician Gregoras, his second-in-command, with a view to their attack-
296 ing the usurper Phokas;||[a] for he had heard that a revolt was being planned against Phokas in Africa. For this reason the African ships did not set sail during this year.[1]

Phokas slew all the relatives of Maurice and Komentiolos, *strategos* of Thrace,[2] and many others without pity. In the same year there occurred a plague and a shortage of all commodities.

||The Persians marched out under the command of Kardarigas and occupied Armenia and Cappadocia and defeated the Roman armies in battle. They took Galatia and Paphlagonia and advanced as far as Chalcedon,[3] killing indiscriminately people of every age.||[b] And while the Persians were oppressing the Romans outside the City, Phokas was committing worse crimes inside by murdering and imprisoning people.||[c4]

[a] Cf. Joh. Ant. c. 109. [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 379; *Chr.* 1234, 176. [c] Cf. Nik. 1. 4; Mich. Syr. ii. 378; *Chr.* 1234, 176.

[1] Presumably the ships that carried grain to Constantinople.

[2] Komentiolos was actually executed immediately after the accession of Phokas, in late Nov. or Dec. 602: *Chron. Pasch.* 694. Cf. *PLRE* iii. 325.

[3] *Chr.* 1234, closest to Theoph., also mentions simultaneously under AG 922 the crossing of the Euphrates and, no doubt by way of anticipation, a Persian advance to Cappadocia, Galatia, and the environs of Constantinople, but attributes these exploits to Šahrvaraz. *V. Theodori Sykeot.*, c. 153 demonstrates that no such advance into Asia Minor could have taken place at the time. Sebeos, 63, records in the 20th year of Chosroes (609/10) a Persian invasion of Cappadocia under the command of Šahin. The advance to Chalcedon must be that of 615: *Chron. Pasch.* 706. For the occupation of Armenia, which required several campaigns, see Flusin, *Anastase*, ii. 79 ff.

[4] We have ascribed this epigram to the Oriental source because it appears in the same sequence in *Chr.* 1234. Its presence in Nik., who did not use any Oriental material, proves, however, that it was ultimately of Byzantine origin.

AM 6101 [AD 608/9]

Year of the divine Incarnation 601
Phokas, 7th year
Chosroes, 21st year
Sergios, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 1st year[1]
Zacharias, bishop of Jerusalem (22 years), 1st year
John, bishop of Alexandria (10 years), 1st year
Anastasios, 9th year

In this year the Jews of Antioch, becoming disorderly, staged an uprising against the Christians and murdered Anastasios, the great patriarch of Antioch, whose genitals they put in his mouth. After this, they dragged him along the main street[2] and they killed many landowners and burnt them. Phokas appointed Bonosos *comes Orientis* and Kottanas military commander and sent them against

the Jews, ⟨but they were unable to stop the uprising⟩. So they gathered troops and attacked them, and many of them they killed and maimed and banished from the city.[3]

||Phokas held chariot races and the Greens reviled him, saying, 'Once again you have drunk from the cup! Once again you have lost your mind!' On orders from Phokas, Kosmas the prefect of the City[4] maimed many persons and hung their limbs in the Sphendone, while
297 others he beheaded and others he put in sacks and drowned in the sea. The Greens gathered together and set fire to the Praetorium||[a] and burnt the *secretum*, the bureaux, and the prison; and the prisoners escaped. Phokas was angered and ordered that the Greens should be barred from holding public office.[5]

||Herakleios, *strategos* of Africa, being pressed by the Senate, equipped his son Herakleios so as to send him against the usurper Phokas. Likewise, his second-in-command, Gregoras, sent by land his son Niketas, and they agreed that the one who would come first and vanquish the usurper would become emperor.||[b]

In the same year there was very severe cold so that the sea froze and, in these conditions, many fish were cast out.||[c]

At this time Phokas ordered that Makrobios the *skribon* should be shot with arrows at the encampment[6] and left to die hanging from a spear—the kind used by recruits in their training—at the castle of the Theodosiani[7] in the Hebdomon; and this because he had been privy to the conspiracy against him. For the prefect Theodore the Cappadocian and Elpidios, head of the arms stores, as well as others had made a plan to kill Phokas at the hippodrome games. Theodore, the praetorian prefect, gave a luncheon at which he began to explain his purpose to them. It happened that Anastasios, the *comes largitionum*, was present. As lunch was being served and Theodore was explaining the details of the conspiracy, Anastasios ⟨who was there⟩ changed his mind and did not express his private thoughts, but remained silent. As for Elpidios, he insisted, saying, 'Don't you want me to seize him when he is sitting on his throne at the hippodrome games and gouge out his eyes and kill him in this manner?' And he promised to give them arms. When the matter became known to Phokas through the denunciation of Anastasios, he ordered that the prefect and Elpidios and the other dignitaries who had knowledge of the conspiracy should be interrogated with the utmost thorough-
298 ness. When they had been interrogated, they confessed the particulars of the conspiracy and that they were intending to make Theodore emperor. Phokas ordered that Theodore, Elpidios, Anastasios, and all the others who had knowledge of the conspiracy should be beheaded.[8]

[a] Cf. Joh. Ant. c. 109. [b] Cf. Nik. 1. 7 ff.; Mich. Syr. ii. 378; *Chr. 1234*, 177; Agapios, 189; *Chr. Seert*, 207. [c] Cf. *Chr.* 724, 113, AG 920, ind. 12: Euphrates freezes, fish perish; Mich. Syr. ii. 378 (AG 918), 379.

[1] In fact, Thomas died on 20 Mar. 610 and Sergius was appointed on 18 Apr.: *Chron. Pasch.* 699 (where 8 Apr. ought to be corrected to 18).

[2] ἐπὶ τὴν μέσην. This name was not limited to the main street of Constantinople. A *mesē* at Ptolemais appears in *Doctr. Jacobi*, iv. 5. 23.

[3] The murder of Anastasios by soldiers is dated late Sept. 610 by *Chron. Pasch.* 699. For the story of his murder by Jews cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 379, 401 (the year when Herakleios began to reign, i.e. 610/11). If Sept. 610 is correct, Phokas would hardly have had the time to dispatch Bonosos to Antioch. J. Kulakovskij, *VizVrem* 21 (1914), 1–14, argues that the mission of Bonosos occurred in 608 and was unconnected with a Jewish uprising. *Doctr. Jacobi*, i. 40, has Bonosos punishing and killing Greens at Antioch. This passage is also discussed by J. D. Frendo, *JQR* 72 (1982), 202–4, the point of whose argument escapes us.

[4] For a glass weight bearing his name see Zacos, i/3, no.2997.

[5] On the meaning of this passage see Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 288–9.

[6] εἰς τὴν ἀγραρέαν, h; ἀγραραῖαν, c, g; ἀγοράν, e, m. Not a fishing boat (ἀγράριον), but presumably a military outpost from Lat. *agraria statio*. See Tabachovitz, *Studien*, 25–8.

[7] Or possibly the castle Theodosiana. Several regiments bore the title Theodosiani. The castle in question may have been the same as the round castle of the Hebdomon, called Kyklobion or Strongylon, on which see Janin, *CP*, 451, 454.

[8] This is clearly a repeat of the conspiracy of 605 as shown by the identity of names. The *comes sacrarum largitionum* is called Athanasios in *Chron. Pasch.* 696. 11.

AM 6102 [AD 609/10]

Year of the divine Incarnation 602
Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 1st year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 22nd year
Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 2nd year
Zacharias, bishop of Jerusalem (22 years), 2nd year
John, bishop of Alexandria (10 years), 2nd year

In this year, on 4 October, a Monday, indiction 14,[1] Herakleios arrived from Africa bringing fortified ships that had on their masts reliquaries and icons of the Mother of God (as George the Pisidian relates)[a] as well as a numerous army from Africa and Mauritania; and likewise Niketas, the son of the patrician Gregoras, came from Alexandria and the Pentapolis having with him a big host of infantry. Now, Herakleios had been betrothed to Eudokia, daughter

of the African Rogas, who at that time was at Constantinople together with Epiphaneia, the mother of Herakleios. ⟨And when Phokas heard that the mother of Herakleios was in the City⟩ as well as his fiancée Eudokia, he apprehended them and confined them in the imperial monastery called the New Repentance.[2]

‖When Herakleios had reached Abydos, he found Theodore, *comes* of Abydos, whom he interrogated and learnt what was happening at Constantinople. Phokas, for his part, dispatched his brother, the *magister* Domentziolos, to guard the Long Walls; and when the *magister* learnt that Herakleios had reached Abydos, he
299 abandoned the walls and fled to Constantinople. As for Herakleios, he received at Abydos all ⟨the dignitaries who had been exiled⟩ by Phokas and came with them to Herakleia. And Stephen, metropolitan of Kyzikos, took a crown from the church of the holy Mother of God of Artake[3] and brought it to Herakleios.‖[b] And when he reached Constantinople, he put in at the harbour of Sophia; and after giving battle, he defeated the usurper Phokas by the grace of Christ. The demes seized the latter, killed him, and burnt him at the [Forum] Bovis.[4] Herakleios entered the palace and was crowned by the patriarch Sergius in the chapel of St Stephen, which is in the palace.[5] On the same day his fiancée Eudokia was crowned Augusta and both of them received the nuptial crowns from the patriarch Sergius, so that on the same day he became emperor and bridegroom.

‖In the month of May the Persians marched into Syria and they took Apameia and Edessa[6] and came as far as Antioch. The Romans met them and gave battle and were defeated; and the entire Roman host perished so that very few escaped.‖[c]

‖On 7 July of the same indiction[7] a daughter, Epiphaneia, was born to the emperor by Eudokia,‖[d] and on 15 August she was baptized at Blachernai by the patriarch Sergios.

[a] Geo. Pisid. *Her.* ii. 15. [b] From Joh. Ant. c. 110. [c] Cf. *Chr.* 724, 113, AG 922: Persians take Emesa; Mich. Syr. ii. 400, 1st year of Herakleios: Persians take Antioch, Romans defeated; *Chr. 1234*, 177 (closest to Theoph.): Persians take Antioch on 8 Oct. and Apameia on the 15th; Emesa capitulates; they destroy a Roman force; Agapios, 190. See also Sebeos, 67: decisive Persian victory near Antioch. [d] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 702.

[1] Ind. 14 (AD 610/11) ought to correspond to AM 6103.

[2] See Janin, *Églises*, 332.

[3] Modern Erdek, a short distance west of Kyzikos, of which it was for a time a suburb. Opposite the settlement was an island of the Panagia with ruins of a Byzantine church. See F. W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (Cambridge, 1910), 16 ff.

[4] This succinct account of the overthrow of Phokas bears little resemblance to the fuller ones of *Chron. Pasch.* 699–701, Joh. Ant. c. 149 and Nik. 1 (the latter two being related).

[5] In Hagia Sophia according to *Chron. Pasch.* 701.

[6] Read Emesa. [7] AD 611.

AM 6103 [AD 610/11]

Year of the divine Incarnation 603
Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 2nd year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 23rd year
Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 3rd year
Zacharias, bishop of Jerusalem (22 years), 3rd year
John, bishop of Alexandria (10 years), 3rd year

‖In this year the Persians captured Caesarea in Cappadocia[1] and took therein many tens of thousands of captives.‖[a]

The emperor Herakleios found the affairs of the Roman state undone, for the Avars had devastated Europe, while the Persians had 300
destroyed all of Asia and had captured the cities and annihilated in battle the Roman army. On seeing these things he was at a loss what to do. ‖He made a census of the army to find out if there were any survivors from among those who had revolted with Phokas against Maurice and found only two in all the *themata*.‖[b2]

On 3 May of the same year, indiction 15,[3] a son was born to the emperor by Eudokia, namely the younger Herakleios, also called the new Constantine. And on 14 August of the same 15th indiction the Augusta Eudokia died.‖[c]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 400, 2nd year of Herakleios, 22nd of Chosroes; *Chr. 1234*, 177–8; Agapios, 190. [b] Repeated from p. 414 above. [c] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 702–3, giving the date of the death of Eudokia as Sunday, 13 Aug. 612. For her funeral Nik. 3.

[1] Caesarea was probably taken in 611: W. E. Kaegi, *BZ* 66 (1973), 322–3.

[2] ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς θέμασι (meaning 'contingents'). The anecdote is borrowed from Theoph. Sim. 307–8, who, naturally, does not use the technical term *thema* and refers the episode to the time when Herakleios was fighting Razates, i.e. AD 626–7. The normal length of service being about 24 years, it is understandable that very few soldiers who had taken part in Phokas' usurpation in 602 should still have been in the ranks in 626. See N. Oikonomides, *ZRVI* 16 (1975), 2–3.

[3] AD 612.

[AM 6104, AD 611/12]

Herakleios, 3rd year
Chosroes, 24th year
Sergius, 4th year
Zacharias, 4th year
John, 4th year

‖In this year, on 4 October, indiction 1,[1] Epiphaneia, daughter of Herakleios, was crowned Augusta by the patriarch Sergius in the chapel of St Stephen in the palace. On 25 December of the same 1st indiction the young Herakleios, also called Constantine, son of Herakleios, was crowned by the patriarch Sergius.‖[a]

‖In the same year the Saracens invaded Syria and, after devastating several villages, returned home.‖[b]

[a] Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 703. 3–5, 17–20, where the coronation of the younger Herakleios is correctly dated 22 Jan. 613; Nik. 5. 1–6 (baptism and coronation of the younger Herakleios without dates). [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 401, 1st year of Herakleios.

[1] AD 612.

[AM 6105, AD 612/13]

Herakleios, 4th year
Chosroes, 25th year
Sergius, 5th year
Zacharias, 5th year
John, 5th year

‖In this year the Persians occupied Damascus and took a multitude of captives.‖[a]

The emperor Herakleios sent ambassadors to Chosroes urging him to cease shedding pitilessly the blood of men, to appoint levies, and receive tribute. But the latter dismissed the ambassadors empty-handed, without having spoken to them, for he hoped to seize the Roman state in its entirety.[1]

In the same year Herakleios married Martina, whom he proclaimed Augusta and crowned in the Augustaion. The coronation was performed by the patriarch Sergius.[2]

[a] Cf. *Chr.* 724, 113, AG 924; Mich. Syr. ii. 400 and *Chr.* 1234, 178 in the 4th year of Herakleios.

[1] The above passage concerning the dispatch of ambassadors may also derive from an Eastern source. Note, however, that according to Mich. Syr. ii. 400; *Chr.* 1234, 177; Agapios, 190; and Sebeos, 65, they were sent immediately after the accession of Herakleios, hence in 610/11. Cf. Dölger, *Reg.* 162. It may be noted that no Greek source other than Theoph. mentions this embassy, whose historicity may be doubted. An embassy was certainly sent in 615 (AM 6109) following the interview at Chalcedon, ostensibly on behalf of the Senate, not the emperor. *Chron. Pasch.* 707–9 gives a copy of the letter which the ambassadors took with them (Dölger, *Reg.* 166). It is stated therein that, because of the prevailing disorder, Herakleios was unable to send to the Persian king the customary announcement of his accession to the throne.

[2] The sequence of events in Nik. 11 suggests that the marriage of Herakleios to Martina may have occurred as late as 623 (see our comments ad loc. 179 f.). He was certainly married to her by the spring of 624: *Chron. Pasch.* 714.

[AM 6106, AD 613/14]

Herakleios, 5th year
Chosroes, 26th year
Sergius, 6th year
Zacharias, 6th year
John, 6th year

‖In this year the Persians took [the region of] the Jordan, Palestine, and the Holy City by force of arms and killed many people therein through the agency of the Jews: some say it was 90,000.[1] For the Jews 301
bought the Christians, each man according to his means, and killed them. As for Zacharias, patriarch of Jerusalem, and the holy and life-giving Cross, the Persians took them along with many captives and carried them off to Persia.‖[a]

In the same year a second son called Constantine[2] was born to the emperor by Martina and was baptized in the Blachernai by the patriarch Sergius.

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 400, 5th year of Herakleios; *Chr.* 1234, 178, 6th year of Herakleios, 27th of Chosroes.

[1] Jerusalem fell in early May 614: Strategios, 13–14. Discussion of date in Flusin, *Anastase*, ii. 154 ff. *Chron. Pasch.* 704 dates the fall to 'about the month of June', which is probably when the news reached Constantinople. Strategios, 50–3, also gives a tabulation of the dead amounting to 66,509 (somewhat different figures in the Arabic versions). Table of figures in Flusin, *Anastase*, ii. 160. Sebeos, 69, has 57,000 dead.

[2] To distinguish him from Herakleios Constantine, b. 612. According to Nik. 11. 7, the first two sons born of Martina, both defective, were called

Flavius (*recte* Fabius) and Theodosios respectively. Seeing that the 'second Constantine' is not recorded elsewhere, one may wonder whether Theoph. has confused him with Heraklonas, officially styled Constantine (as shown by his coinage), born in Lazica in 626. A difficulty, however, is posed by Nik. 18. 7, who records that while Herakleios was in Persia two of his sons and two daughters died. If one of the two sons was Fabius, who was the other? Theodosios was still alive in 629/30, when he was married to Nike, daughter of Šahrvaraz (Nik. 17. 17). See also below, AM 6108.

[AM 6107, AD 614/15]

Herakleios, 6th year
Chosroes, 27th year
Sergius, 7th year
Zacharias, 7th year
John, 7th year

‖ In this year the Persians occupied all of Egypt and Alexandria[1] and Libya as far as Ethiopia and, after taking many captives and immense booty and money, returned home. They were unable to take Chalcedon,[2] so they left a force to besiege it and withdrew.‖[a]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 401, 6th year of Herakleios; *Chr. 1234*, 178, 7th year.

[1] According to *Chr. 724*, 113, Alexandria was taken in June AG 930 (AD 619). Palmer, *Seventh Century*, 17, argues that this text was composed in AD 640. The date 619 is very probably correct. See L. S. B. MacCoull, *Studi classici e orientali*, 36 (1986), 307–13; V. Déroche, *Études sur Léontios de Néapolis* (Uppsala, 1995), 118 n. 64.

[2] *Chron. Pasch.* 706 records Šahin's advance to Chalcedon in 614/15, but after the mention of a liturgical innovation introduced by the patriarch Sergios in Lent of ind. 4 (616). Cf. also *Acta Anastasii Persae*, c. 8, ed. Flusin, i. 49, which adds that Šahin was obliged to withdraw from Chalcedon in order to pursue Philippikos, who had undertaken a diversionary incursion into Persia (presumably meaning Armenia). Discussion in Flusin, *Anastase*, ii. 83 ff. It should be noted that Theoph. omits the famous interview between Herakleios and Šahin at the harbour of Chalcedon. For this event see *Chron. Pasch.* 706 ff. and Nik. 6–7.

[AM 6108, AD 615/16]

Herakleios, 7th year
Chosroes, 28th year
Sergius, 8th year
Zacharias, 8th year
John, 8th year

‖ In this year the Persians marched on Chalcedon and took it by war.‖[a1]

On 1 January of this year, indiction 5,[2] the younger Constantine, also called Herakleios, the son of Herakleios, assumed the consulship; and he raised to the rank of Caesar his own brother, the little Constantine, who had been born to Herakleios and Martina.

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 401.

[1] Theoph. is alone in recording under two separate years (*a*) an abortive siege of Chalcedon, and (*b*) its capture. According to Nik. 6. 9, the siege lasted a long time (*χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνόν*).

[2] Not in 617, but in the next indictional cycle (632) as shown by the letter of Pope Honorius to Honorius, bishop of Canterbury, dated *Imp. Heraclio a.24, p.c. eius a. 23 (et Constantino) a.23, et cons. eius a.3, sed et Heraclio felicissimo Caesare, i.e. filio eius, a.3, ind. 7 (634)*: *PL* 80: 477–8; Jaffé, *Reg. pont. rom.*, no.2020.

[AM 6109, AD 616/17]

Herakleios, 8th year
Chosroes, 29th year
Sergius, 9th year
Zacharias, 9th year
John, 9th year

In this year Herakleios once again sent ambassadors[1] to Persia to ask Chosroes for peace, but Chosroes dismissed them again with the words, 'I shall not spare you until you renounce the Crucified one, whom you call God, and worship the sun.'[2]

[1] Actually in 615, following the interview with Šahin at Chalcedon. Cf. AM 6105, n. 1.

[2] Perhaps a borrowing from Geo. Pisid., placed here as a filler.

[AM 6110, AD 617/18]

Herakleios, 9th year
Chosroes, 30th year
Sergius, 10th year
Zacharias, 10th year
John, 10th year

In this year the Avars invaded Thrace and Herakleios sent ambassadors to them asking for peace. When the Chagan had agreed to conclude peace, the emperor went outside the Long Wall with the full

imperial retinue and many costly gifts so as to meet the Chagan after receiving from him pledges that they would make a peace settlement with one another. But the barbarian, transgressing the agreements and oaths, suddenly attacked the emperor in a treacherous
302 manner. Discomfited by this unexpected event, the emperor took to flight and returned to the City. As for the barbarian, he captured the imperial baggage and retinue and as many men as he could take by surprise (deceived as they were by the hope of peace) and returned home after devastating many villages of Thrace.[1]

[1] Fuller accounts of the Avar surprise in Nik. 12. 28–14.10 and *Chron. Pasch.* 712–13. Another relevant text is the sermon by Theodore Synkellos, *In depositionem pretiosae vestis* (*BHG* 1058), ed. F. Combefis, *Historia haeresis Monothelitarum* (Paris, 1648), 751–86. Re-edited in part by C. Loparev, *VizVrem* 2 (1895), 592–612. For the circumstances of its delivery, see V. Vasil'evskij, *VizVrem* 3 (1896), 83–95. English trans. of Loparev's edn. and commentary by A. M. Cameron, *Byz* 49 (1979), 42–56, with incorrect chronology. Theoph. may have abbreviated the same source as that used by Nik. The date of the incident in *Chron. Pasch.*, 5 June 623, is probably correct. N. H. Baynes, *BZ* 21 (1912), 110–28, was misguided in moving it to 617: in this he has been followed by several other scholars.

AM 6111 [AD 618/19]

Year of the divine Incarnation 611
Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 10th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 31st year
Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 11th year
Zacharias, bishop of Jerusalem (22 years), 11th year
George, bishop of Alexandria (14 years), 1st year

In this year Herakleios sent ambassadors to the Chagan of the Avars to reproach him for the unlawful deeds he had done and urge him to make peace; for, intending to make an expedition against Persia, he wished to be at peace with the Chagan. Now the Chagan, out of respect for the emperor's friendly attitude, offered his regrets and promised to observe peace. After agreeing on the amount of the tribute, the ambassadors returned in peace.

In the same year the Persians took by war Ancyra in Galatia.[1]

[1] The fall of Ancyra is recorded by Mich. Syr. ii. 408; *Chr. 1234*, 180; Agapios, 198, who place it in AH 1 (622/3). C. Foss, *DOP* 31 (1977), 70, accepts the date 622.

[AM 6112 ,AD 619/20]

Herakleios, 11th year
Chosroes, 32nd year
Sergius, 12th year
Zacharias, 12th year
George, 2nd year

‖In this year Chosroes hardened his yoke on all men by way of bloodthirstiness and taxation; for, being puffed up by his victory, he was no longer able to keep the established order.‖[a] Then Herakleios, becoming filled with divine zeal and, as he had thought, having made peace with the Avars, transferred the European armies to Asia and was planning to move against Persia with God's help.

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 408; *Chr. 1234*, 180 (immediately following the fall of Ancyra); Agapios, 198.

[AM 6113, AD 620/1]

Herakleios, 12th year
Chosroes, 33rd year
Sergius, 13th year
Zacharias, 13th year
George, 3rd year

In this year, on 4 April, indiction 10,[1] the emperor Herakleios, after celebrating the Easter feast, straight away set out against Persia on Monday evening.[a] Being short of funds he took on loan the moneys of religious establishments and he also took the candelabra and
303 other vessels of the holy ministry from the Great Church, which he minted into a great quantity of gold and silver coin.[2] He left his own son at Constantinople in the care of the patriarch Sergius to conduct the business of state along with the patrician Bonosos,[3] a man of prudence, intelligence, and experience. He also wrote an exhortation to the Chagan of the Avars that the latter might assist the Roman state inasmuch as he had concluded a treaty of friendship with him, and he named the Chagan guardian of his son. Setting out from the Imperial City he went by ship to Pylai,[4] as the place is called.‖[b] From there he proceeded to the country of the *themata*,[5] where he collected his armies and added new contingents to them. He began to train them and instruct them in military deeds. He divided the army into two and bade them draw up battle lines and attack each other without loss of blood; he taught them the battle cry, battle songs and

shouts, and how to be on the alert so that, even if they found themselves in a real war, they should not be frightened, but should courageously move against the enemy as if it were a game.|| Taking in his hands the likeness of the Man-God—the one that was not painted by hand, but which the Logos, who shapes and fashions everything, wrought like an image without recourse to painting, just as He experienced birth without seed—the emperor placed his trust in this image painted by God and began his endeavours||[c] after giving a pledge to his army that he would struggle with them unto death and would be united with them as with his own children; for he wished his authority to be derived not from fear, but rather from love.||[d] Having found, then, the army in a state of great sluggishness, cowardice, indiscipline, and disorder,||[e] and scattered over many parts of the earth, he speedily gathered everyone together.||[f] As by common agreement, everyone praised the might and courage of the emperor. And he spoke to them these words of encouragement: 'You see, O my brethren and children, how the enemies of God have trampled upon our land, have laid our cities waste, have burnt our sanctuaries|| 304 and have filled with the blood of murder the altars of the bloodless sacrifice; how they defile with their impassioned pleasures our churches, which do not admit of the passions.'||[g] Once again he prepared the army for a warlike exercise and ||formed two armed contingents; and the trumpeters, the ranks of shield-bearers and men in armour stood by.||[h] When he had securely marshalled the two companies he bade them attack each other: ||there were violent collisions and mutual conflict, and a semblance of war was to be seen. One could observe a frightening sight, yet one without the fear of danger, murderous clashes without blood, the forms ⟨of violence⟩ without violence, so that each man might draw a lesson from that safe slaughter and remain more secure.||[i] Having in this manner fortified everyone, he bade them abstain from injustice and cleave to piety.||[j]

||When he had reached the region of Armenia, he ordered ⟨a band of picked men to take the van. The Saracens were then tributaries of the Persians,⟩ and a multitude of their horsemen were intending to fall upon the emperor unawares. But the emperor's advance party met them and brought their leader captive to Herakleios;||[k] and having routed them, killed a great number.|| Since winter had set in, and the emperor had turned aside ⟨to⟩ the region of Pontos, the barbarians decided ⟨to besiege him⟩ in his winter quarters.||[l] Evading the Persians, however, he turned round and invaded Persia. ||When the barbarians learnt of this, they were cast down||[m] by the unexpectedness of his invasion. As for Sarbaros, the Persian commander, he

took his forces and ||came to Cilicia that he might turn the emperor round by his attack on Roman territory. Fearing, however, lest the emperor invade Persia by way of Armenia and cause disturbance therein, he could not make up his mind what to do.||[n] Even so, he was compelled to follow the Roman army from behind, seeking a 305 chance to steal a fight and attack them on a dark night. But there was that night a full moon and he was foiled in his scheme and uttered imprecations against the moon whom he had previously worshipped;||[o] and it so happened that the moon suffered an eclipse that night.||[p6] Because of this, Sarbaros was afraid to attack the emperor and he made for the mountains as the deer do,||[q] and observed from a height the beautifully ordered generalship of the Romans.||[r] When the emperor became aware of his cowardice, he boldly encamped in places affording ample repose and provoked him to war.||[s] Often the Persians would come secretly down from the mountains and engage in sporadic conflict, and on all occasions the Romans had the upper hand and their army was further emboldened by seeing the emperor dashing forward in front of all the others and fighting courageously.||[t] There was a certain Persian, who a short time previously had come as a runaway and joined the emperor's army. This man escaped and went over to the Persians expecting them to destroy the Roman armament. But when he had perceived their cowardice, he returned to the emperor on the tenth day[7] and reported to him exactly the barbarians' timidity.||[u]

||As for Sarbaros, he could not endure any longer his sojourn on the mountain and was compelled to rush into battle. He divided his army into three parts and suddenly came down at daybreak, before the sun had risen, all ready for war.||[v] But the emperor had foreseen this, and he, too, marshalled his army into three phalanxes and led them into battle. When the sun had risen, the emperor happened to be on the east side so that the sun's rays blinded the Persians—those rays that they worshipped as a god.||[w] The emperor feigned that his men had turned to flight and the Persians broke their ranks to pursue them, as they thought, without restraint. But the Romans turned round and routed them valiantly; they killed many men and others they drove to the mountain and pushed them into precipices and inaccessible places and destroyed all of them. And in those precipices they remained like wild goats,||[x] while many were captured alive. The Persian camp and all their equipment were also 306 taken. The Romans raised their arms aloft to give thanks to God and to praise earnestly their emperor who had led them well. For they, who previously had not dared to behold the Persians' dust, now found their tents undisturbed and looted them.||[y] Who had expected

that the hard-fighting race of the Persians would ever show their backs to the Romans?||[z] As for the emperor, he left the army with its commander to winter in Armenia, while he himself returned to Byzantium.||[aa]8

[a] Cf. Geo. Pisid. *Exp. Pers.* i. 132, 154. [b] Ibid. ii. 10. [c] Ibid. i. 139 ff. [d] Ibid. ii. 89–91. [e] Ibid. ii. 44–6. [f] Ibid. ii. 55–6. [g] Ibid. ii. 107–10. [h] Ibid. ii. 127 ff. [i] Ibid. ii. 140–8, 124. [j] Ibid. ii. 202. [k] Ibid. ii. 207 ff. [l] Ibid. ii. 256 ff., who, however, says it was the Persians who had wintered in Pontos (hence in 621/2). See Oikonomides as in n. 8. [m] Ibid. ii. 276–7. [n] Ibid. ii. 340 ff. [o] Ibid. ii. 357 ff. [p] Ibid. iii. 1. [q] Ibid. iii. 17–24. [r] Ibid. iii. 32–3. [s] Ibid. iii. 41 ff., 63 ff. [t] Ibid. iii. 79 ff. [u] Ibid. iii. 144–74. [v] Ibid. iii. 178 ff. [w] Ibid. iii. 201 ff. [x] Ibid. iii. 210 ff., 251–2. [y] Ibid. iii. 278 ff. [z] Ibid. iii. 296–7. [aa] Ibid. iii. 336 ff., but without a mention of Armenia.

1 AD 622, when Easter indeed fell on 4 Apr.

2 The first minting of the silver hexagram is dated 615 by *Chron. Pasch.* 706. Cf. Grierson, *Catal. DO* ii/1: 17–18.

3 *Recte* Bonus, who was *magister praesentalis*. Cf. A. Pertusi, *Berichte XI Intern. Byzant.-Kongress* (Munich, 1958), 26–7; *PLRE* iii, Bonus 5.

4 Near modern Yalova, on the southern shore of the gulf of Nicomedia. See our discussion in *TM* 12 (1994), 150 ff.

5 Discounting the misplaced entry under AM 6103, this is the earliest mention of the *themata* (used here in a territorial sense). There has been endless comment on this passage. For a good assessment see N. Oikonomides, *ZRVI* 16 (1975), 1 ff., who argues that the use of the term *themata* here is not anachronistic, as some scholars have suggested. It is not clear which part of Asia Minor is meant.

6 A total eclipse of the moon occurred on 28 July 622.

7 Geo. Pisid. *Exp. Pers.* iii. 150 has the deserter going back to the Persians after fourteen days.

8 On the campaign of 622 see N. H. Baynes, *EHR* 19 (1904), 694–702; N. Oikonomides, *BMGS* 1 (1975), 1–9; Howard-Johnston, 'The Official History', 60 and n. 7.

AM 6114 [AD 621/2]

Year of the divine Incarnation 614
Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 13th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 35th year[1]
Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 14th year
Zacharias, bishop of Jerusalem (22 years), 14th year
George, bishop of Alexandria (14 years), 4th year

In this year, on 15 March, indiction 11,[2] the emperor Herakleios set out from the Imperial City and speedily arrived in Armenia.[3] As for

Chosroes, the emperor of the Persians, he dispatched Sarbarazas, with his own army, to invade Roman territory. Herakleios wrote a letter to Chosroes bidding him embrace peace; if not, he would invade Persia with his army.[4] But Chosroes neither embraced peace nor did he take any account of the statement that Herakleios would dare approach Persia. And on 20 April the emperor invaded Persia. When Chosroes learnt of this, he ordered Sarbarazas to turn back; and having gathered his armies from all of Persia, he entrusted them to Sain, whom he commanded to join Sarbarazas with all speed and so proceed against the emperor. As for Herakleios, he called together 307
his troops and roused them with these words of exhortation: ||'Men, my brethren, let us keep in mind the fear of God and fight to avenge the insult done to God. Let us stand bravely against the enemy who have inflicted many terrible things on the Christians. Let us respect the sovereign state of the Romans and oppose the enemy who are armed with impiety. Let us be inspired with faith that defeats murder. Let us be mindful of the fact that we are within the Persian land and that flight carries a great danger. Let us avenge the rape of our virgins and be afflicted in our hearts as we see the severed limbs of our soldiers.||[a5] The danger is not without recompense: nay, it leads to the eternal life. Let us stand bravely, and the Lord our God will assist us and destroy the enemy.'

When the emperor had spoken these and many other words of exhortation, they replied ||one and all: 'Thou hast expanded our hearts, O Sire, by opening thy lips to encourage us. Thy words have sharpened our swords and imbued them with life. Thou hast given us wing by thy statements. We blush to see thee leading us in battle, and we follow thy commands.'||[b]

So the emperor took up his army and straight away made for the heart of Persia, burning the towns and villages. And there happened at this stage an awesome miracle. For at the time of the summer solstice the air became cool and refreshed the Roman army so that they became filled with fair hopes. And when Herakleios heard that Chosroes was in the town of Gazakos[6] with 40,000 fighting men, he rushed against him. He sent forward some of his subject Saracens as an advance party and they encountered the watch of Chosroes, some of whom they killed, whilst others they captured and brought to the emperor together with their commander. When he had learnt of this, Chosroes abandoned the town and his army and took to flight. Herakleios gave pursuit, and some he overtook and killed, whilst the rest escaped and scattered. And when the emperor reached the town of Gazakos, ⟨he restored his army in its suburbs. The Persians who 308
had taken refuge with him said that Chosroes had destroyed with

fire all the crops in those parts and had fled to the town of Thebarmais)[7] in the east, wherein were the temple of Fire and the treasure of Croesus, king of Lydia, and ||the deceit of the coals.||[c][8] Setting out from Gazakos, the emperor reached Thebarmais, which he entered and burnt down the temple of Fire as well as the entire city; and he pursued Chosroes in the defiles of the land of the Medes. Chosroes went from place to place in this difficult terrain, whilst Herakleios, as he was pursuing him, captured many towns and lands. When winter had set in, he took counsel to decide where he should winter together with his army. Some said that they should do so in Albania,[9] ||others that they should push ahead against Chosroes himself.||[d] The emperor ordered that the army should purify itself for three days. He then opened the holy Gospel and found a passage that directed him to winter in Albania. So he immediately turned back and hastened to Albania. As he had with him numerous Persian captives, he was the object of several attacks by the Persian troops on the intervening journey, but with God's help was victorious against all of them. In spite of the severe winter cold that overtook him on the way, he reached Albania with 50,000 captives whom, in his compassionate heart, he pitied and liberated. He granted them proper care and repose so that all of them prayed with tears in their eyes that ||he should become the saviour even of Persia and slay Chosroes, the destroyer of the world.||[e]

[a] Geo. Pisid. *Her.* iii, frg. 3. [b] Ibid., frg. 4. [c] Ibid., frg. 4α. [d] Ibid., frg. 4β. [e] Ibid., frg. 4γ.

[1] Note the jump from his 33rd to his 35th year.

[2] This corresponds to AD 623. *Chron. Pasch.* 713–14 dates the emperor's departure from Constantinople to 25 Mar., ind. 12 (AD 624) and says that he celebrated Easter near Nicomedia before proceeding to the East. A slight difficulty is that whereas in 623 Easter fell on 27 Mar., it did so on 15 Apr. in 624. For a summary of scholarly debate on this question see Stratos ii. 883–91, who rightly opts for 624. We cannot give here a detailed commentary on the campaigns of 624–8 for which Theoph. is our principal, if at times faulty, source. For the many problems of chronology, topography, and interpretation the reader is referred to E. Gerland, *BZ* 3 (1894), 330–73; N. H. Baynes, *United Service Magazine*, 47 (1913), 401–12, 665–79; J. A. Manandjan, *VizVrem* 3 (1950), 133–53; Stratos, i–ii; J. Howard-Johnston, 'The Official History'.

[3] It remains unclear why Theoph. should have omitted Herakleios' march through Armenia, including the capture of Dvin, the more so as the latter event is alluded to by Geo. Pisid. in *Her.* ii. 163. For a discussion of the emperor's route, mainly on the basis of Armenian sources, see Manandjan, op. cit.

[4] Dölger, *Reg.* 179. Cf. Stratos i. 377–80.

[5] This speech is plagiarized in Theoph. Cont. 478, where, with a few changes, it is put in the mouth of Nikephoros Phokas. Cf. A. Kolia-Dermitzaki, *Ὁ βυζαντινὸς ἱερὸς πόλεμος* (Athens, 1991), 249.

[6] Ganjak, Armenian Ganzak (Kanzakon in Theoph. Sim.), corresponding to Leylan, south-east of Lake Urmia. See Markwart, *Provincial Capitals*, 108–10; Minorsky, 'Atropatene', 254.

[7] Now Takht-i Sulaimān (Shīz): Minorsky, 'Atropatene', 255.

[8] Referring, it seems, to the fiction that the sacred fire left no ashes: Minorsky, loc. cit.

[9] From Armenian Aluankʿ, a district south-east of the Caucasus mountain range.

[AM 6115, AD 622/3]

Herakleios, 14th year
Chosroes, 36th year
Sergius, 15th year
Zacharias, 15th year
George, 5th year

In this year Chosroes, emperor of the Persians, appointed as his commander Sarablangas,[1] an energetic man filled with great vanity; and having entrusted him with the contingents of the so-called Chosroēgetai and Perozitai, sent him against Herakleios in Albania. 309
They pushed ahead to the boundaries of Albania, but did not dare confront the emperor in battle; instead, they seized the passes that led to Persia in the belief that they would trap him. At the beginning of spring Herakleios set out from Albania and made his way towards Persia through level plains that provided an abundance of food, even if, by this lengthy detour, he was covering a great distance. Sarablangas, on the other hand, pushed ahead by the narrow and shorter way so as to anticipate him in Persian territory.

Herakleios exhorted his army with these words: 'Let us be aware, O brethren, that ||the Persian army, as it wanders through difficult country,||[a] is exhausting and debilitating its horses. As for us, let us hasten with all speed against Chosroes so that, falling upon him unexpectedly, we may throw him into confusion.' The troops, however, opposed this course, especially the Laz, Abasgian, and Iberian allies. For this reason they fell into misfortune. For Sarbarazas, too, had arrived with his troops, whom Chosroes had armed mightily and sent against Herakleios by way of Armenia. As for Sarablangas, he was following Herakleios from behind and did not engage him, expecting, as he did, to join Sarbarazas and then give battle. When

the Romans had been apprised of the onset of Sarbarazas, they were seized by timidity and fell at the emperor's feet, repenting with tears of their misguided disobedience; for they knew how great an evil it is when a servant does not yield to his master's wishes. And they said: 'Stretch out your hand, O lord, before we miserable ones perish. We obey you in whatever you command.' Then the emperor hastened to engage Sarablangas before the latter had been joined by the army of Sarbarazas and, having made many sorties against him both by night and by day, reduced him to a state of timidity. Leaving both of them in his rear, he pushed on with all speed against Chosroes. Now two Romans deserted to the Persians and persuaded them that the Romans were fleeing out of cowardice. Another rumour had also reached them, namely that Sain, the Persian commander, was coming to their help with another army. When Sarablangas and Sarbarazas learnt this, they strove to engage Herakleios in battle before Sain had arrived and transferred to himself the glory of victory. Trusting also the deserters, they moved aginst Herakleios and, when they drew near to him, encamped, intending to engage him in the morning. But Herakleios set out in the evening and marched all night; and when he had gone a long distance from them, he found a grassy plain and encamped in it. The barbarians, thinking that he was fleeing out of cowardice, pushed on in a disorderly manner so as to overtake him. But he met them and gave battle. He occupied a certain wooded hill and, gathering there his army, routed the barbarians with God's help and slew a multitude of them after pursuing them through the ravines. ⟨Sarablangas fell, too, struck with a sword in his back.⟩[2] As these struggles were going on, Sain also arrived with his army, and the emperor routed him and slew many of his men, whilst the rest he scattered as they were fleeing; and he captured their camp equipment. Sarbarazas then joined forces with Sain and gathered together the barbarians who had survived. And, once again, they made plans to move against Herakleios. As for the emperor, he pushed on to the land of the Huns,[3] through the rough and inaccessible places of their difficult country, while the barbarians followed him from behind. Now the Lazi and the Abasgians took fright; they broke their alliance with the Romans and returned to their own country. Sain was pleased at this and, together with Sarbaros, eagerly pressed on against Herakleios. The emperor gathered his troops and gave them courage by assuaging them with these words of exhortation: ‖'Be not disturbed, O brethren, by the multitude ⟨of the enemy⟩. For when God wills it, one man will rout a thousand.‖[b] So let us sacrifice ourselves to God for the salvation of our brothers. ‖May we win the crown of martyrdom so that we may be praised in

the future‖[c] and receive our recompense from God.' Having with these and many other words encouraged the army, he arranged the battle order with joyful countenance. The two sides faced each other across a short distance from morning until evening, but did not engage. When evening had fallen, the emperor continued his march; and again the barbarians pressed on behind him. Wishing to overtake him, they took another route, but fell into marshy ground, went astray, and experienced great danger. So the emperor crossed over and went by the regions of Persarmenia. That country being under Persian control, many men joined Sarbarazas and so increased his army. And when it was winter, the multitude dispersed in their own lands so as to take rest ⟨in their houses⟩. When Herakleios learnt of this, he decided ‖to steal a battle by night.‖[d] The winter, then, having set in, and Sarbaros not suspecting anything, he selected the strongest horses and the bravest soldiers and divided them into two. The first part he ordered to move ahead against Sarbaros, whilst he himself followed behind with the rest. So they hastened through the night and reached the village Salbanōn[4] at the ninth hour of the night. The Persians who were there became aware of the attack: they rose up and rushed to resist, but the Romans slew all of them, except one who brought the news to Sarbaros. Rising up and mounting his horse, naked and unshod as he was, Sarbaros found his salvation in flight. His wives and the flower of the Persians, that is the commanders, satraps, and picked soldiers, were apprehended as they had climbed to the roofs of their houses and were preparing to fight. Herakleios brought them down by means of fire, and some he slew, others he burnt, whilst others were bound in fetters, so that nearly no one escaped except for Sarbaros. They took the arms of Sarbaros, namely his golden shield, his sword, lance, gold belt set with precious stones, and boots. When Herakleios had taken these things, he moved against the Persians who were scattered in the villages. These men, on learning of the flight of Sarbaros, also fled without restraint. He pursued them, killed or captured many of them, whilst the remainder returned to Persia in disgrace. As for the emperor, he joyfully collected his army and wintered in those parts.

[a] Geo. Pisid. *Her.* iii, frg. 5. [b] Ibid., frg. 6α–β. [c] Ibid., frg. 6γ. [d] Ibid., frg. 9.

[1] 'The Panther of the Realm'. His identity is discussed by C. J. F. Dowsett, *Byz* 21 (1951), 311–21 and his trans. of Movsēs, 81 n. 1. For the campaign of 625, which is very difficult to follow, see Stratos, i. 405 ff.

[2] This does not necessarily mean that he was killed. In Movsēs, 85 he turns up to relieve Tiflis (in 627).

[3] According to Manandjan, *VizVrem* 3 (1950), 141, this should be corrected to Siunians (*Σύννων*). Cf. also Kulakovskij, *Istorija*, iii. 343–4.

[4] This locality should be sought north of Lake Van and appears to correspond to Adi in Sebeos, 82–3. Cf. Manandjan, op. cit. 143–4.

AM 6116 [AD 623/4]

Year of the divine Incarnation 616
Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 15th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 37th year
Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 16th year
Zacharias, bishop of Jerusalem (22 years), 16th year
George, bishop of Alexandria (14 years), 6th year

In this year, on 1 March,[1] the emperor Herakleios collected his army and took counsel as to which road he should follow: for two roads lay before him, both narrow and difficult, one leading to Taranton,[2] the other to the land of Syria. And whereas the one to Taranton was superior, it lacked every kind of food supply, whereas the one to Syria that went over the Tauros provided a plentiful abundance of food. Everyone gave preference to the latter, even though it was steeper and covered with much snow. So, after traversing it with great toil, they reached in seven days the river Tigris,[3] which they crossed and arrived at Martyropolis and Amida. The army and the captives rested there. From there the emperor was able to send letters to Byzantium in which he described all his actions, thus causing great joy in the City. As for Sarbaros, he collected his scattered army and went after him. The emperor picked a band of soldiers and sent them to guard the passes leading to his position; and ||sallying forth to the eastward passages, he moved to confront||[a] Sarbaros. He crossed the Nymphios river[4] and reached the Euphrates,[5] where there was a pontoon bridge made of rope and boats. Sarbaros untied the ropes from one shore and shifted the whole bridge to the other. When the emperor came and was unable to cross by the bridge, he went by and found a ford which he safely traversed—an unexpected feat in the month of March—and so reached Samosata. Once again he went over the Tauros and arrived at Germanikeia;[6] and, going by Adana,[7] he came to the river Saros. Now Sarbaros stretched the bridge back to its former place and, crossing the Euphrates without hindrance, followed him from behind. The emperor crossed the bridge of the Saros[8] and, finding a place to rest his army and horses, encamped there. Sarbaros, in the meantime, reached the opposite bank. He found the bridge and its forward bastions occupied by the

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Romans, so he encamped. Now many of the Romans made disorderly sorties across the bridge and attacked the Persians, among whom they caused much slaughter. The emperor forbade them to sally forth indiscriminately lest the enemy found a means of entering the bridge and crossing it at the same time they did, but the army did not obey the emperor. Now Sarbaros set up ambuscades and, feigning flight, drew many of the Romans to cross over in pursuit against the emperor's wish. He then turned round and routed them, and killed as many as he overtook outside the bridge—a punishment of their disobedience. When the emperor saw that the barbarians had broken ranks in pursuit and that many of the Romans who were standing upon the bastions were being slain, he moved against them. A giant of a man confronted the emperor in the middle of the bridge and attacked him, but the emperor struck him and threw him into the river. When this man had fallen, the barbarians turned to flight ||and, because of the narrowness of the bridge, jumped into the river like frogs,||[b] whilst others were being killed by the sword. But the bulk of the barbarians poured over the river bank: they shot arrows and resisted the passage of the Romans. The emperor did cross to the other side and bravely opposed the barbarians with a few men of his guard. He fought in a superhuman manner so that even Sarbaros was astonished and said ⟨to⟩ one Kosmas (a runaway Roman and an apostate) who was standing close to him: 'Do you see, O Kosmas, ||how boldly the Caesar stands in battle, how he fights alone against such a multitude and wards off blows like an anvil?'||[c] For he was recognized by his purple boots, and received many blows, although none ⟨of a serious nature in this battle. And after they had fought this battle all day,⟩ when evening came, they drew apart. Sarbaros became frightened and retreated in the night. As for the emperor, he collected his army and hastened to the city of Sebasteia. After crossing the river Halys,[9] he spent the whole winter in that land.[10] 314

Chosroes in his rage sent emissaries to confiscate the treasure of all the churches that were under Persian rule. And he forced the Christians to convert to the religion of Nestorios so as to wound the emperor.

⌜Mamed, leader of the Arabs, 9 years.⌝

[a] Geo. Pisid. *Her.* iii, frg. 14. [b] Ibid., frg. 18. [c] Ibid., frg. 19.

[1] Presumably AD 626. The day of the month may have been drawn from the dispatch mentioned below. The geographical indications given in this entry are extremely confusing: see Stratos, i. 436 ff., ii. 900 ff.

[2] Taranta or Dalanda (modern Darende), west of Melitene (Malatya). For the site see Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, ii. 499 ff.

[3] It is difficult to see how Herakleios, if he was coming from the area of Lake Van, would have crossed the Tigris before reaching Martyropolis (Silvan).

[4] Modern Batman Su, east of Martyropolis.

[5] If correct, this implies a westward retreat from a point in Arzanene, east of the Nymphios.

[6] The Tauros does not lie between Samosata and Germanikeia (Maraş).

[7] Ramsay, *Geogr.* 311, wishes to correct Adana to Adata (between Melitene and Germanikeia). Cf. J. G. C. Anderson, *JHS* 17 (1897), 33–4.

[8] It is usually assumed that the encounter took place at the great Roman bridge over the Saros at Adana, on which see Prok. *Aed.* v. 5. 8.

[9] Sebasteia (Sivas) lies north of the Halys, which Herakleios would have had to cross in the first instance.

[10] This indication appears incorrect. If Herakleios remained on the move starting 1 Mar. 626, he may have reached Sebasteia by late April, at least six months before winter. Besides, the siege of Constantinople, related under AM 6117, is securely dated to June–Aug. 626. The mistake may be due to the fact that Theoph. started the offensive against Persia one year too early (in 623) and so had extra time to fill.

315 **[AM 6117, AD 624/5]**

Herakleios, 16th year
Chosroes, 38th year
Sergius, 17th year
Zacharias, 17th year
George, 7th year

In this year Chosroes, emperor of Persia, made a new levy by conscripting strangers, citizens, and slaves whom he selected from every nation. He placed this picked body under the command of Sain and gave him, in addition, another 50,000 men chosen from the phalanx of Sarbaros. He called them the Golden Spearmen and sent them against the emperor. As for Sarbaros, he dispatched him with his remaining army against Constantinople[1] with a view to establishing an alliance between the western Huns (who are called Avars) and the Bulgars, Slavs, and Gepids, and so advancing on the City and laying siege to it. When the emperor learnt of this, he divided his army into three contingents: the first he sent to protect the City;[2] the second he entrusted to his own brother Theodore, whom he ordered to fight Sain; the third part he took himself and advanced to Lazica. During his stay there he invited the eastern Turks, who are called Chazars, to become his allies. Now Sain with his newly recruited army overtook the emperor's brother and prepared for battle. With God's help (by the mediation of the all-praised Theotokos),

when battle was joined a storm of hail fell unexpectedly on the barbarians and struck down many of them, whereas the Roman array enjoyed fair weather. So the Romans routed the Persians and slew a great multitude of them.[3] When Chosroes learnt of this, he was angered at Sain. And Sain, because of his great despondency fell ill and died. By order of Chosroes his body was preserved in salt and conveyed to him; and, though it was dead, he subjected it to ill-treatment.

Now the Chazars broke through the Caspian Gates and invaded 316
Persia, that is the land of Adraigan,[4] under their commander Ziebel[5] who was second in rank after the Chagan. And in all the lands they traversed they made the Persians captive and burnt the towns and villages. The emperor, too, set out from Lazica and joined them. When Ziebel saw him, he rushed to meet him, kissed his neck, and did obeisance to him, while the Persians were looking on from the town of Tiphilios.[6] And the entire army of the Turks fell flat on the ground and, stretched out on their faces, reverenced the emperor with an honour that is unknown among alien nations. Likewise, their commanders climbed on rocks and fell flat in the same manner. Ziebel also brought before the emperor his adolescent son, and he took as much pleasure in the emperor's conversation as he was astonished by his appearance and wisdom. After picking 40,000 brave men, Ziebel gave them to the emperor as allies, while he himself returned to his own land. Taking these men along, the emperor advanced on Chosroes.

As for Sarbaros, he attacked Chalcedon, while the Avars approached the City by way of Thrace with a view to capturing it. They set in motion many engines against it and filled the gulf of the Horn with an immense multitude, beyond all number, whom they had brought from the Danube in carved boats. After investing the City by land and sea for ten days, they were vanquished by God's might and help and by the intercession of the immaculate Virgin, the Mother of God. Having lost great numbers, both on land and on sea, they shamefully returned to their country.[7] Sarbaros, however, who was besieging Chalcedon, did not depart, but wintered there,[8] laying waste and pillaging the regions and towns across the strait.

[1] Šahrvaraz reached Chalcedon several days before 29 June 626: *Chron. Pasch.* 716.

[2] The dispatch of a contingent to Constantinople is confirmed by Geo. Pisid. *Bell. avar.* 280–3.

[3] Neither the place nor exact date of the battle is known. The army commanded by the emperor's brother appears to have reached the Asiatic side of the Bosporus by Aug. 626: *Chron. Pasch.* 726.

[4] According to de Boor, Theoph. may have originally written Adrabigan (Azerbaijan). For the Chazar invasion see Movsēs, 81 ff. and Artamonov, *Istorija*, 145 ff.

[5] His title was Jabgu- (or Djebu-) khagan and he was accompanied by his son, styled Šad: Movsēs, 83, 87–8.

[6] Tiflis (Tbilisi). For the siege see Movsēs, 85–6. Cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, 391. A romantic version of the meeting of Herakleios with 'the lord of the Turks' in Nik. 12. 18 ff.

[7] This account of the siege of Constantinople is remarkably short. For the events see esp. F. Barišić, *Byz* 24 (1954), 371–95 and now J. Howard-Johnston, 'The siege of Constantinople in 626', in C. Mango and G. Dagron, eds., *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, (Aldershot, 1995), 131–42. Our main sources are: *Chron. Pasch.* 716 ff., a contemporary account interrupted by a large lacuna at 724. 9; Geo. Pisid. *Bell. avar.*, on which see P. Speck, *Zufälliges zum Bellum Avaricum des Georgios Pisides*, MBM 24 (Munich, 1984); the homily of Theodore Synkellos, probably of 627, ed. L. Sternbach, Analecta avarica, *Rozprawy Akad. Umiejętności, Wydz. filol.*, ser. II/15 (Cracow, 1900), 298–320.

[8] According to Theodore Synkellos, 313. 22, Šahrvaraz left Chalcedon a few days after the failure of the Avar attack, which appears more likely. He is said to have gone to Alexandria: Sebeos, 88.

317 **AM 6118 [AD 625/6]**

Year of the divine Incarnation 618
Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 17th year
Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 39th year
Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 18th year
Zacharias, bishop of Jerusalem (22 years), 18th year
George, bishop of Alexandria (14 years), 8th year

In this year the emperor Herakleios, by invading Persia together with the Turks starting in the month of September[1]—an unexpected move, since it was winter—threw Chosroes into a state of distraction when the news had reached him. But the Turks, in view of the winter and the constant attacks of the Persians, could not bear to toil together with the emperor and started, little by little, to slip away until all of them had left and returned home. Now the emperor addressed his troops, saying: 'Know, O brothers, that no one wishes to fight with us, except God and His ||Mother who bore Him without seed,||[a] and this that He may show His might, ⟨since salvation does not lie in the abundance of soldiers and weapons, but to those who trust in His mercy⟩ He sends down His aid.'

As for Chosroes, he collected all his armies and appointed Razates[2] commander over them, a most warlike and brave man,

whom he sent against Herakleios. The emperor meanwhile was burning the towns and villages of Persia and putting to the sword the Persians he captured. On 9 October of the 15th indiction he reached the land of Chamaetha,[3] where he rested his army for one week. As for Razates, he came to Gazakos, in the emperor's rear, and followed him, while the Romans, in front, were destroying the crops. ||Trailing behind, like a hungry dog,||[b] he fed with difficulty on the emperor's crumbs. On 1 December the emperor reached the Great 318
Zabas river, which he crossed and encamped near the town of Nineveh. Following him, Razates, too, came to the ford and, going another three miles downstream, found another ford which he crossed. The emperor sent out the commander Baanes with a small body of picked soldiers; the latter encountered a company of Persians and, after killing their captain, brought back his head and his sword, which was all of gold. He killed many more and made twenty-six captive, among whom was the sword-bearer of Razates. This man announced to the emperor that Razates was intending to give battle on orders from Chosroes, who had sent him 3,000 armed men; but these had not yet arrived. When the emperor had been informed of this, he sent ahead his camp equipment and himself followed, seeking a place in which to give battle before the 3,000 had joined the enemy. And when he had found a plain suitable for fighting, he addressed his troops and drew them up in battle order. Upon arriving there, Razates also drew up his army in three dense formations and advanced on the emperor. Battle was given on Saturday, 12 December.[4] The emperor sallied forward in front of everyone and met the commander of the Persians, and, by God's might and the help of the Theotokos, threw him down; and those who had sallied forth with him were routed. Then the emperor met another Persian in combat and cast him down also. Yet a third assailed him and struck him with a spear, wounding his lip; but the emperor slew him, too. And when the trumpets had sounded, the two sides attacked each other and, as a violent battle was being waged, the emperor's tawny horse called Dorkon,[5] was wounded in the thigh by some infantryman who struck it with a spear. It also received several blows of the sword on the face, but, wearing as it did a cataphract made of sinew, it was not hurt, nor were the blows effective. Razates 319
fell in battle, as did the three divisional commanders of the Persians, nearly all of their officers, and the greater part of their army. As for the Romans, fifty were killed and a considerable number wounded, but they did not die, save for another ten. That battle was waged from morning until the 11th hour. The Romans captured twenty-eight standards of the Persians, not counting those that had been

broken, and, having despoiled the dead, took their corselets, helmets, and all their arms. And the two sides remained at a distance of two bowshots from one another, for there was no retreat. The Roman soldiers watered their horses at night and fed them. But the Persian horsemen stood until the 7th hour of the night over the bodies of their dead; and at the 8th hour of the night they set forth and returned to their camp; and taking it up, they went away and encamped in fear at the foot of a rugged mountain. The Romans took many gold swords and gold belts set with pearls, and the shield of Razates, which was all of gold and had 120 laminae, and his gold breastplate; and they brought in his caftan together with his head, and his bracelets and his gold saddle. And Barsamouses,[6] the prince of the Iberians who are subject to Persia, was taken alive. ⟨No one can remember such a battle being waged between Persians⟩ and Romans inasmuch as it did not cease all day; and if the Romans won, they did so only by God's help.[7]

After encouraging his army, the emperor pushed on against Chosroes with a view to frightening him and making him recall
320 Sarbaros from Byzantium [from Chalcedon].[8] On 21 December the emperor was informed that the army of Razates—as much of it as had escaped from the battle—had been joined by the 3,000 men dispatched by Chosroes and had reached Nineveh in pursuit of him. After crossing the Great Zabas, the emperor ⟨dispatched the turmarch George with 1,000 men to ride forward and seize the bridges of the Lesser Zabas⟩ before Chosroes had become aware of it. After riding forty-eight miles, George seized the four bridges of the Lesser Zabas in the night[9] and captured the Persians he found in the forts. On 23 December the emperor reached the bridges, crossed them, and encamped in the mansions of Iesdem;[10] he rested both his army and his horses and celebrated the feast of Christ's Nativity in that place. When Chosroes was informed that the Romans had seized the bridges of the Lesser Zabas, he sent a message to the army that had been under Razates that they should try very hard to overtake the emperor so as to join him. Making haste, they crossed the Lesser Zabas in another place and overtook the emperor, in front of whom they now marched. As for the emperor, he came upon ⟨a palace called Dezeridan[11], which he destroyed and burnt, while the Persians crossed the bridge of the river Tornas[12] and encamped there. The emperor came upon⟩ a second palace of Chosroes called Rousa[13] and this, too, he destroyed. He suspected that the enemy were going to fight him at the bridge of the river Tornas; but when they saw him, they abandoned the bridge and fled. So the emperor crossed without hindrance and reached another palace called

Beklal;[14] here a hippodrome had been built, and he destroyed it. Several of the Armenians who accompanied the Persians came to the emperor ⟨at night⟩ and said: 'Chosroes with his elephants and his own army is encamped five miles on this side of the palace called 321
Dastagerd,[15] in a place called Barasroth,[16] and he has given instructions that his forces should assemble there and fight you. There is a river there that is difficult to cross, and a narrow bridge, and many cramped spaces between buildings, and fetid streams.' After taking counsel with his officers and his army, the emperor remained in the palace of Beklal. He found therein in one enclosure 300 corn-fed ostriches, and in another about 500 corn-fed gazelles, and in another 100 corn-fed wild asses, and all of these he gave to his soldiers. And they celebrated 1 January there. They also found sheep, pigs, and oxen without number, and the whole army rested contentedly and gave glory to God. They caught the herdsmen of these cattle and were exactly informed by them that Chosroes had learnt on 23 December that the emperor had crossed the bridge of the Tornas[17] and forthwith set out from the palace of Dastagerd ⟨making all speed for Ctesiphon, and all the money he had in the palace he loaded on the elephants, camels, and mules that were in his service, and he wrote to the army of Razates that they should enter that same palace and the houses of the noblemen and take away anything they found therein. So the emperor sent one half of his army to Dastagerd⟩, while he himself went by a different road to another palace called Bebdarch.[18] This, too, they destroyed and burnt, and they thanked God for having wrought such wonders by the intercession of the Theotokos. ||For who had expected that Chosroes would flee||[c] before the Roman emperor from his palace at Dastagerd and go off to Ctesiphon, when, for twenty-four years, he would not suffer to behold Ctesiphon, but had his royal residence at Dastagerd? In his 322
palace of Dastagerd the Roman army found 300 Roman standards which the Persians had captured at different times. They also found the goods that had been left behind, namely a great quantity of aloes and big pieces of aloes wood, each weighing 70 or 80 lbs., much silk and pepper, more linen shirts than one could count, sugar, ginger, and many other goods. Others found silver, silken garments, woollen rugs, and woven carpets—a great quantity of them and very beautiful, but on account of their weight they burnt them all. They also burnt the tents of Chosroes and the porticoes he set up whenever he encamped in a plain, and many of his statues. They also found in this palace an infinite number of ostriches, gazelles, wild asses, peacocks, and pheasant, and in the hunting park huge live lions and tigers. Many of the captives from Edessa, Alexandria, and

other cities—a great throng of them—sought refuge with the emperor. The emperor celebrated at Dastagerd the feast of the Epiphany; he gladdened and restored his army while he destroyed the palaces of Chosroes. These priceless, wonderful and astonishing structures he demolished to the ground so that Chosroes might learn how great a pain the Romans had suffered when their cities were laid waste and burnt by him. Many of the palace *diaitarii* were also arrested and, on being interrogated as to when Chosroes had departed from Dastagerd, they said: 'Nine days before your arrival he heard of your presence and secretly made a hole in the city wall near
323 the palace. In this way he went out unhindered through the gardens, he with his wife and children, so there should not be a tumult in the city.' Indeed, neither his army was aware of it nor his noblemen until he had gone five miles; at which point he announced that they should follow him in the direction of Ctesiphon. And this man who was incapable of travelling five miles in one day, travelled twenty-five in his flight. His wives and children, who previously had not laid eyes on one another, now fled in disorder, one jostling the other. When night had fallen, Chosroes took shelter in the house of an insignificant farmer whose door barely let him through. When, later, Herakleios saw that door, he was amazed. In three days Chosroes reached Ctesiphon. Twenty-four years earlier, when he besieged Daras in the days of the Roman emperor Phokas,[19] he had been given an oracle by his magicians and astrologers, namely that he would perish at the time he went to Ctesiphon; and although he would not suffer to go one mile in that direction from Dastagerd, he now went to Ctesiphon as he fled. But even there he did not dare stop; nay, he crossed the pontoon bridge over the river Tigris to the town on the other side, which is called Seleukeia by the Romans and Gouedeser[20] by the Persians. He deposited all his money there and remained there with his wife Seirem and three other women who were his daughters. His remaining wives and his many children he sent to a stronghold forty miles to the east.

‖Now some Persians spoke slanderously to Chosroes concerning Sarbaros, namely that the latter was on the side of the Romans and railed at him. So he sent one of his sword-bearers to Chalcedon with an order to Kardarigas, Sarbaros' fellow-commander, in which he wrote that Kardarigas should kill Sarbaros and, taking along the Persian army, hasten to Persia to assist him. But the messenger who carried the letter was apprehended by the Romans in the area of
324 Galatia. His captors, eluding the Persians, brought him to Byzantium and handed him over to the emperor's son.[21] When the young emperor had ascertained the truth from the courier, he straight away

sent for Sarbaros, who came into the emperor's presence. The emperor handed him the letter addressed to Kardarigas and showed him the messenger. Sarbaros read the letter and, being satisfied of its truth, immediately changed sides and made a covenant with the emperor's son and the patriarch. He falsified Chosroes' letter by inserting in it the instruction that, along with himself, another four hundred satraps, commanders, tribunes, and centurions should be killed, and he cunningly replaced the seal on it. He then convened his commanders and Kardarigas himself and, after reading the letter, said to Kardarigas: 'Are you resolved to do this?' The commanders were filled with anger and renounced Chosroes, and they made a peaceful settlement with the emperor. After taking common counsel, they decided to depart from Chalcedon and return home without causing any damage.‖[d 22]

Now Herakleios wrote to Chosroes: ‖'I am pursuing you as I hasten towards peace. For it is not of my free will that I am burning Persia, but constrained by you. Let us, therefore, throw down our arms even now and embrace peace. Let us extinguish the fire before it consumes everything.'‖[e] But Chosroes did not accept these proposals, and so the hatred of the Persian people grew against him. He conscripted all the retainers of his noblemen and all his servants and those of his wives and, having armed them, sent them to join the army of Razates and take a stand on the river Narbas,[23] twelve miles from Ctesiphon. He commanded them that when the emperor had crossed the river, they should cut the pontoon bridge. As for the emperor, he set out from Dastagerd on 7 January and, after marching three days, encamped twelve miles from the river Narbas, where the 325
Persian camp lay and where they had 200 elephants. The emperor sent George, turmarch of the Armeniacs,[24] as far as the river to ascertain whether the Narbas had a ford. And when he had found that they had cut the bridges and that the Narbas had no ford, he returned to the emperor. Setting forth, the emperor came to Siazouros[25] and, for the whole of the month of February, he went about burning the villages and the towns. In the month of March he came to a village called Barzan,[26] where he spent seven days; and he dispatched the commander Mezezios[27] on a foray. A certain Goundabousan,[28] who was captain of a thousand men in the army of Sarbaros, went over to him together with five others, three of whom were captains and two officers of other rank; and he brought them to the emperor. This man Goundabousan announced some vital news to the emperor, saying that 'When Chosroes fled from Dastagerd and went to Ctesiphon and Seleukeia, he contracted dysentery and wanted to crown his son Merdasan[29] who was born to Seirem. And

he crossed the river again and brought with him Merdasan along with Seirem and her other son Saliar.[30] As for his first-born son Siroes and his brothers and wives, he left them on the other side of the river. When Siroes was informed that Chosroes was intending to crown Merdasan, he was troubled and sent his foster-brother to Goundabousan with this message, "Come to the other side of the river that I may meet you." But Goundabousan was afraid to cross on account of Chosroes and declared to him, "Write me whatever it is you wish through your foster-brother." So Siroes wrote him the following: "You know how the Persian state has been destroyed by this evil man Chosroes, and now he intends to crown Merdasan and
326 has scorned me, the first-born. If you tell the army that they should accept me, I shall increase their pay and make peace with the Roman emperor ⟨and with the Turks⟩, and we shall live in plenty. So strive with your men that I should become king. I will then promote and support all of you, and yourself in particular." I informed him through his foster-brother that I would speak to the army and strive to the best of my ability. And I spoke to twenty-two captains and won them over to my views, as well as many other officers and soldiers. I announced this to Siroes, who instructed me that on 23 March[31] I should take some young regulars and meet him at the pontoon bridge of the Tigris river, present him to the army, and set forth against Chosroes. And, furthermore, that Siroes had with him the two sons of Sarbarazas, the son of Iesdem, the son of Aram, and many other sons of noblemen—a select company. If they succeed in killing Chosroes, well and good; but if they fail, all of them, including Siroes, will go over to the emperor. He sent me to you, O lord, because he feels ashamed before the Roman Empire; for, once upon a time, it saved Chosroes and, on his account, the land of the Romans has suffered many ills. Because of his ingratitude, he says, the emperor will have no reason to trust me either.'

Now the emperor sent this man back to Siroes with the message that he should open the prisons and bring out the Romans confined therein, and give them arms, and so move against Chosroes. Siroes obeyed the emperor and, after releasing the prisoners, attacked his parricide father Chosroes. The latter tried to escape, but failed and was captured. They bound him securely with iron fetters, his elbows behind his back, and hung iron weights on his feet and his neck, and so ||cast him in the House of Darkness,[32] which he himself had for-
327 tified and rebuilt to deposit his moneys therein; and they starved him by giving him a paltry amount of bread and water. For Siroes said, 'Let him eat the gold he collected in vain, on account of which he starved many men and made the world desolate.'||[f] He sent to

him the satraps that they might insult him and spit upon him, and he brought Mardesan, whom he had wished to crown, and slew him in his presence, and all his remaining children were killed in front of him, and he sent all his enemies that they might insult him, strike him, and spit upon him. After doing this for five days,[33] Siroes commanded that he should be killed with bow and arrows, and thus in slow pain he gave up his wicked soul. Then Siroes wrote to the emperor to give him the good tidings of the slaying of the foul Chosroes;[34] and after making with him a permanent peace, he handed back to him all the imprisoned Christians and the captives held in every part of Persia together with the patriarch Zacharias and the precious and life-giving Cross that had been taken from Jerusalem by Sarbarazas, when the latter captured Jerusalem.[35]

[a] Geo. Pisid. *Her.* iii, frg. 26. [b] Ibid., frg. 29. [c] Ibid., frg. 48. [d] Practically the same story in Mich. Syr. ii. 408–9; *Chr. 1234*, 181–2; Agapios, 201–2. Somewhat different in Nik. 12. 50 ff. Cf. also *Chr. Seert*, 220–1, which confirms that the messenger was captured in Galatia, and our remarks in *TM* 9 (1985), 107–9. [e] Geo. Pisid. *Her.* iii, frg. 50. [f] Ibid., frg. 52.

[1] AD 626 according to Theoph. (ind. 15 given below). Seeing, however, that Chosroes was certainly killed in Feb. 628, the year must have been 627. Cf. also below, n. 4.

[2] Rāhzādh: Justi, *Namenbuch*, 257–8; Rouzbihan in Syriac sources; Roč-Vehan or Ročveh ('the fortunate') in Sebeos, 83–4 and Movsēs, 89.

[3] *Χναιθᾶς* in Theoph. Sim. v. 8. 1, Syr. Hnāithā, north of Arbil. Cf. Minorsky, 'Atropatene', 244. Stratos, ii. 581, arguing on the basis of the distances involved, suggests that either Chamaetha should be sought elsewhere or 9 Oct. changed to 9 Nov.

[4] 12 Dec. fell on a Saturday in 627. [5] 'The Gazelle.'

[6] Vahram-Aršuša V of Gogarene. See Toumanoff, *Studies*, 263.

[7] For the battle of Nineveh cf. Nik. 14 (imprecise); Sebeos, 84; Movsēs, 89. Short account in Mich. Syr. ii. 409; *Chr. 1234*, 183; Agapios, 204.

[8] It is highly unlikely that Šahrvaraz was anywhere near Constantinople in Dec. 627. Note that Anast. 198–9, has merely 'imperator vero a se confortatum exercitum contra Chosrohen minabat, quatinus hunc deterreret', omitting all mention of Šahrvaraz.

[9] Or, 'after riding 48 miles in the night, George seized the four bridges', etc. Stratos ii. 594, thinks that George could not have covered 48 miles (77 km.) in one night.

[10] Yazdēn, the Christian treasurer of the Persian kingdom, who owned vast estates at Kerkuk, south of the Lesser Zab: Christensen, *Iran*, 451–2.

[11] Darzīndān or Darzanidan in Arabic sources, near Kufri-Salahiyyah, according to F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäol. Reise in Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, ii (Berlin, 1920), 88. Cf. O. Klima, *BSl* 22 (1961), 16–19.

[12] The Diyālā according to Sarre and Herzfeld, loc. cit. and J. Markwart,

Provincial Capitals, 59. H. C. Rawlinson, *JRGS* 10 (1841), 92–3, identifies the Tornas with the northern arm of the Nahrawan canal.

[13] *Ῥοσονχοσρόν* in Evagr. vi. 21, p. 237. 15; *Ῥησωνχοσρών* in Theoph. Sim. v. 14. 7. Probably at Zengābād, north of the Diyālāriver: Sarre and Herzfeld, loc. cit.

[14] Djalūlā according to Sarre and Herzfeld, loc. cit.

[15] The favourite residence of Khusro on the road from Ctesiphon to Hamadan, about 100 km. north-east of the capital. For the ruins see Sarre and Herzfeld, op. cit. 76 ff.

[16] Barāzrūz, modern Beled-rūz: Minosrky, 'Atropatene', 247.

[17] Or rather the Lesser Zab in the light of the preceding narrative: see Baynes, *United Service Mag.* 47 (1913), 673.

[18] Unidentified: Sarre and Herzfeld, op. cit. 88. According to *Acta Anastasii Persae*, c. 22, p. 147, the army of Herakleios arrived at Dastagerd on 1 Feb, which Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 296 n. 1, corrects to 1 Jan. This solution is rejected by Flusin, *Anastase*, ii. 267 ff., who argues persuasively that the chronology of the *Acta* is correct, whereas Theophanes drops one month some time between the battle of Nineveh (12 Dec.) and late Feb. 628. In other words, Herakleios' advance was slower than described here, while his halt at Siarzour (about which Theophanes is very vague) was correspondingly shorter. Cf. below, nn. 31 and 34.

[19] See AM 6098, n. 4.

[20] Vēh-Ardashēr, Arab. Bahurasīr: Sarre and Herzfeld, op. cit. 48, 88; Christensen, *Iran*, 387–8; Markwart, *Provincial Capitals*, 102–3.

[21] Herakleios Constantine.

[22] This incident is misplaced. It pertains to the year 626 when Šahrvaraz was at Chalcedon.

[23] The Nahrawan canal, *Ναρβάν* in *Chron. Pasch.* 731. 1.

[24] It is disputed whether this mention does or does not imply the existence by the year 628 of a *thema Armeniákon* (so accented after Lat. Armeniaci). For the former view see G. Ostrogorsky, *Byz* 23 (1953), 64–5, with some support from W. E. Kaegi, *Byz* 38 (1968), 273–7. For the latter view, A. Pertusi, *Berichte XI. Intern. Byzant.-Kongress* (Munich, 1958), 33.

[25] Šahrizūr, south-east of Sulaimaniyyah, *Σιαρσούρα* in *Chron. Pasch.* 732. 4.

[26] Called Barza by Arab geographers, modern Saqqiz, east of the Zagros range: Minorsky, 'Atropatene', 250–1, 253.

[27] Presumably Mžež Gnuni, 'le général de la région grecque': Sebeos, 91 ff.

[28] Aspad-Gušnasp: see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 120. Called *Γουσδανάσπας ὁ Ῥαζεί* in *Chron. Pasch.* 731. 8.

[29] Mardānšāh: Justi, *Namenbuch*, 196. Cf. *Khuz. Chr.* 25.

[30] Šahryar: Justi, *Namenbuch*, 174.

[31] Presumably 23 Feb.

[32] Called *νέον καστέλλιον* in *Chron. Pasch.* 728. 21; 'in domo viri cuiusdam cui nomen erat Mihraspend' in *Khuz. Chr.* 24; similarly Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 362; Maraspand in Movsēs, 92.

[33] *Chron. Pasch.* 729. 3 says that Chosroes was imprisoned four days (25–8 Feb.).

[34] The letter is preserved in part: *Chron. Pasch.* 735–7; new edn. by N. Oikonomides, *Byz* 41 (1971) 269–81. *Chron. Pasch.* 727 ff. reproduces a dispatch of Herakleios, written on or soon after 8 Apr., which mentions a previous dispatch (now lost), sent from the camp near Ganzak on 15 Mar. (p. 730. 3), detailing the movements of the Roman army starting on 17 Oct. It would be tempting to assume that the narrative of Theoph. was based on the lost dispatch. There are, however, some serious difficulties. The preserved dispatch (that of Apr.) dates the uprising of Široe to 24 Feb., his coronation to the 25th, and the execution of Khusro to the 28th; whereas Theoph., as already noted, informs us that in Mar. Herakleios, being at Barzan, learnt of the impending coup and encouraged Široe to revolt.

[35] This is incorrect: see below, AM 6120.

AM 6119 [AD 626/7]

Year of the divine Incarnation 619
Herakleios, 18th year
Siroes, emperor the Persians (1 year), 1st year. ⟨At which time also Moamed, leader of the Arabs, i.e. the Saracens, living under the Persians, was in his 6th year out of a total of 9⟩[1]
Sergius, 19th year
Zacharias, 19th year
George, 9th year

In this year, peace having been concluded between the Persians and the Romans, the emperor sent his brother Theodore bearing letters and accompanied by emissaries of Siroes, emperor of Persia, with a view to sending back peacefully to Persia those Persians who were at Edessa, in Palestine, Jerusalem, and in other Roman towns: those were to cross Roman territory without harm.[2] Now the emperor, having defeated Persia in the course of six years, made peace in the seventh and returned with great joy to Constantinople,[3] thereby fulfilling a certain ||mystical allegory: for God completed all of creation in six days||[a] and called the seventh a day of rest. So the emperor also, after undergoing many toils for six years, returned in the seventh to the City amid peace and joy, and took his rest. When the people of the City had learnt of his coming, all of them, with unrestrained eagerness, ||went out to meet him||[b] at Hiereia, together with the patriarch and the emperor Constantine, his son, holding olive ||branches and lights||[c] and acclaiming him with tears of joy. Coming forward, his son fell at his feet and embraced him, and they both ||shed tears on the ground.||[d] At the sight of this, all the people sent up to God hymns of thanksgiving. After receiving the emperor in this fashion, they entered the City dancing with joy. 328

[a] Geo. Pisid. *Her.* iii, frg. 54α–β. [b] Ibid., frg. 54γ. [c] Ibid., frg. 54δ. [d] Ibid., frg. 54ε.

[1] *Chr. 1234*, 184 places the accession of Široe in the 19th year of Herakleios and the 7th of Muhammad.

[2] Theodore had to expel by force the Persian garrison at Edessa: Mich. Syr. ii. 409–10; *Chr. 1234*, 184–5; Agapios, 205–6.

[3] The date of the emperor's return to Constantinople is uncertain. As we have seen, he was still at Ganzak in Apr. 628, from where he was intending to proceed to Armenia (*Chron. Pasch.* 734). Agapios, 452 ff. states that he spent the winter (of 628/9?) at Amida: cf. N. H. Baynes, *EHR* 27 (1912), 289 ff. He was certainly there at some point because he built a church at Amida: Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 5. There is also an early tradition that he stopped at Caesarea and gave a fragment of the True Cross to the metropolitan John: John Mamikonian, tr. J.-R. Emine, *FHG* v/2: 380. The next reasonably certain date is July 629 when Herakleios met Šahrvaraz at Arabissos in Cappadocia: *Chr. 724*, 114. Nik. 19 states that Herakleios staged his triumphal return to Constantinople after the restoration of the True Cross at Jerusalem (Mar. 630). Mich. Syr. ii. 409–10 and *Chr. 1234*, 184–5 (which is fuller) imply that Herakleios proceeded directly to Syria by way of Tella (Constantina) and Edessa.

Pertusi in his edn. of Geo. Pisid. 233–4, argues that Herakleios came to Constantinople before 1 Jan. 629 and remained there until spring, but he is certainly wrong in connecting this visit with the processions described in *Cer.* ii. 28–29, pp. 628–30, which must be dated 1 and 4 Jan., ind. 12 (639), not ind. 2 (629) in spite of the reading of the MS. On the other hand, Pertusi may be right in saying that Novel IV of Herakleios of 21 Mar. 629, (ed. J. Konidaris, *Fontes Minores*, v (Frankfurt, 1982), 84 ff.) implies the emperor's presence in the capital.

AM 6120 [AD 627/8]

Year of the divine Incarnation 620
Herakleios, 19th year
Adeser, emperor of the Persians (7 months), 1st year
Sergius, 20th year
Zacharias, 20th year
George, 10th year

In this year, setting forth from the Imperial City in the early spring, the emperor proceeded to Jerusalem, taking with him the venerable and life-giving Cross so as to offer thanks to God.[1] When he had come to Tiberias, the Christians there accused a certain man called Benjamin of oppressing them. For he was very rich and received the emperor and his army. The emperor censured him, saying: 'For what reason do you oppress the Christians?' He replied, 'Because they are

enemies of my faith.' For he was a Jew. Then the emperor instructed him and, after converting him, had him baptized in the house of Eustathios of Neapolis, a Christian who also received the emperor.

On entering Jerusalem, the emperor reinstated the patriarch Zacharias[2] and restored the venerable and life-giving Cross to its proper place.[3] After giving many thanks to God, he drove the Jews out of the Holy City and ordered that they should not have the right to come within three miles of the Holy City. And when he had reached Edessa, he restored the church to the orthodox: for, since the 329
days of Chosroes, it had been held by the Nestorians.[4] And when he came to Hierapolis,[5] he was informed that Siroes, the emperor of the Persians, had died and that Adeser, his son, had succeeded to the empire of Persia.[6] After the latter had ruled seven months, Sarbarazas rose up against him and, having smitten him, ruled over Persia for two months. But the Persians killed him and appointed queen the daughter of Chosroes, Borane, who ruled the Persian kingdom for seven months. She was succeeded by Hormisdas, who was driven out by the Saracens, and so the kingdom of Persia has remained under Arab sway to the present time.[7]

[1] This suggests that the True Cross had been taken to Constantinople, which was probably not the case. It is more likely that Herakleios took possession of it at Hierapolis: Mich. Syr. ii. 427; *Chr. 1234*, 186.

[2] An error: Zacharias had died in Persia. Cf. Flusin, *Anastase*, ii. 169. Modestus was probably appointed patriarch in Mar. 630 and died soon thereafter on 17 Dec.: G. Garitte, *Muséon*, 73 (1960), 132 n. 20; Flusin, *Anastase*, ii. 316.

[3] MSS e and m read instead: 'When the emperor had entered Jerusalem, the patriarch Zacharias having died on his return to Palestine from captivity, and the holy Modestus, archimandrite of the monastery of St Theodosios, the one who rebuilt St Anastasia [i.e. the Anastasis] and holy Bethlehem—for these had been burnt by the Persians [*verb missing*]. Thereupon the emperor ordained the holy Modestus patriarch and drove out the Jews', etc. This version is closer to the truth, except that Modestus appears to have rebuilt, not the basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem, but the church of the Shepherds (Poimnion), one mile from that town: cf. Flusin, *Anastase*, ii. 176. The date of the restoration of the Cross has been much disputed, different scholars arguing for 628, 629, 630, and 631 respectively. The correct date is almost certainly 21 Mar. 630 (*Acta Anastasii Persae*, 12; Strategios, 54–5, also gives ind. 3 but, incorrectly, the 21st year of Herakleios). This is confirmed by the fact that Herakleios' dispatch announcing the event was received at Constantinople on the day of the resurrection of Lazarus (i.e. Saturday before Palm Sunday): Geo. Pisid. *In rest. S. Crucis*, 229, v. 104 ff. In 630 Easter fell on 8 Apr. and the day of Lazarus on 31 Mar., thus allowing ten days for the arrival of the letter. This

consideration rules out both 628 (Easter 27 Mar.) and 631 (Easter 24 Mar.). In 629 Easter fell on 16 Apr.. It is difficult to see why Baynes, *EHR* 27 (1912), 287–8, thought that a message could not have been conveyed from Jerusalem to Constantinople in ten days. It would certainly have gone by sea.

[4] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 411–12; *Chr. 1234*, 185. The cathedral of Edessa was then in the hands of the Jacobites.

[5] See AM 6121.

[6] Both Mich. Syr. ii. 410 and *Chr. 1234*, 186 record the death of Široe and the accession of Ardašir (Sept. 628) after Herakleios' visit to Edessa.

[7] These indications are quite inaccurate, but correspond to those of Synkellos, 442. The accepted dates are (Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 432 ff.):

Kavad II Široe: 25 Feb.–Sept. 628
Ardašir III: Sept. 628–27 Apr. 630
Šahrvaraz: 27 Apr.–9 June 630
Boran: summer 630–winter 631
Various and Hormizd V: 631–2?
Yazdgerd III: 632/3–651/2.

Nik. 16–17 is even more confused in his sequence: Siroes, Kaboes (in reality one and the same person), Hormisdas, the latter's son, Sarbaros. Note that Theoph. did not follow the more accurate Syriac tradition as in Mich. Syr. ii. 410 and elsewhere.

AM 6121 [AD 628/9]

Year of the divine Incarnation 621
Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 20th year
Hormisdas, emperor of the Persians (11 years), 1st year
Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 21st year
Zacharias, bishop of Jerusalem (22 years), 21st year
George, bishop of Alexandria (14 years), 11th year

In this year, ||while the emperor Herakleios was at Hierapolis, the patriarch of the Jacobites, Athanasios, came to him.[1] This skilful and wicked man, who was filled with the cunning that is native to Syrians, took up with the emperor a discussion about religion, and Herakleios promised him that if he accepted the Council of Chalcedon, he would make him patriarch of Antioch. So he pretended to accept the council and confessed the two natures that are united in Christ; and he also enquired of the emperor concerning the energy and the wills, namely how these should be defined in Christ, double or single. The emperor was disconcerted by this novel language and wrote to Sergius, bishop of Constantinople; he also called in Kyros, bishop of Phasis, whom he questioned and found him

agreeing with Sergius on the one will and the one energy. For Sergius, being himself of Syrian origin, the son of Jacobite parents, confessed 330
and propounded in writing one natural will and one energy in Christ. The emperor, being satisfied with the views of these two men, found that Athanasios, too, was in agreement with them. For the latter knew that if only one energy was recognized, one nature would thereby be ackowledged. Being assured in this matter, the emperor wrote the opinion of the two men to John, Pope of Rome,[2] but the latter did not accept their heresy. And when George of Alexandria had died,[3] Kyros was sent to be bishop of Alexandria. He joined forces with Theodore, bishop of Pharan, and made that union writ in water, they, too, setting down one natural energy in Christ.[4] These matters having followed such a course, the Council of Chalcedon and the catholic faith fell into great disrespect. For the Jacobites and the Theodosians[5] boasted, saying: 'It is not we who have communicated with Chalcedon, but rather Chalcedon with us by confessing one nature of Christ through the one energy.'||[a] At this juncture Sophronios was ordained bishop of Jerusalem and, having convened the bishops under his authority, anathematized the Monothelete doctrine and sent synodal letters to Sergius of Constantinople and John of Rome.||[b6] When Herakleios had heard of this, he felt ashamed; on the one hand, he did not wish to cancel his own actions, while on the other he could not suffer the reproach. At this time, then, in the belief of doing a great deed, he published the so-called Edict,[7] which prescribed that one should confess neither one nor two energies in Christ. When the sectaries of Severus had read this, they made a mockery of the catholic Church in taverns and baths, saying: 'The Chalcedonians, who formerly held the views of Nestorios, came to their senses and returned to the truth when they united with us in the one nature of Christ by way of the one energy. Now, however, repenting of what was right, they have lost on both counts by confessing neither one nor two energies in Christ.'||[c]

||After the death of Sergius,[8] Pyrros succeeded him in the see of Constantinople and impiously confirmed the doctrines of Sergius and Kyros. When Herakleios had died and his son Constantine 331
became emperor, Pyrros along with Martina killed him by poison,[9] and Heraklonas, Martina's son, was made emperor. But the Senate and the City drove out Pyrros for his impiety together with Martina and her son. And so Constans, Constantine's son, became emperor, while Paul, who was also a heretic, was ordained bishop of Constantinople.||[d10] As for John, bishop of Rome, he convened a council of bishops and anathematized the Monothelete heresy.[11] Likewise, various bishops of Africa, Byzakion, Numidia, and

Mauritania gathered together and anathematized the Monophysites.[12] And when John of Rome had died, Theodore was ordained pope in his stead.[13] ||Now, when Pyrros had come to Africa, he met the most holy father Maximus, who was venerable by reason of his monastic achievements, as well as the godly bishops who were there, who reproved and converted him[14] and so sent him to Pope Theodore in Rome. He handed to the pope a declaration of orthodoxy and was received by him. But when he had departed from Rome and came to Ravenna, he returned to his own vomit like a dog.[e] Upon learning this, Pope Theodore called together the full body of the Church and proceeded to the tomb of the foremost Apostle, where he asked for the holy chalice and, dripping some of Christ's life-giving blood into the ink, signed with his own hand the condemnation of Pyrros and those who communicated with him. When Pyrros had arrived at Constantinople, Paul having died, the daring heretics once again installed Pyrros in the bishop's throne of Constantinople.||[f] After the death of Pope Theodore, the most holy Martin was appointed in Rome. And when Maximus had come to Rome from Africa and excited the zeal of Pope Martin, they convened a synod of 150 bishops and anathematized Sergius, Pyrros, Kyros, and Paul, while clearly proclaiming the two wills and energies of Christ our
332 God||[g]—this in the 9th year of Constans, grandson of Herakleios, indiction 8.[15] On being informed of it, Constans was filled with anger and brought Martin and Maximus to Constantinople; and, after torturing them, he exiled them to Cherson and the Klimata.[16] He also punished many of the western bishops. ||After Martin's exile, Agathon was ordained Pope of Rome, who, being moved by a divine zeal, also convened a holy synod and rejected the Monothelete heresy, while proclaiming the two wills and energies.||[h][17] And while the Church at that time was being troubled thus by emperors and impious priests, ||Amalek rose up in the desert, smiting us, the people of Christ,[18] and there occurred the first terrible downfall of the Roman army, I mean the bloodshed at Gabithas,[19] Hiermouchas,[20] and Dathesmos.[21] After this came the fall of Palestine, Caesarea and Jerusalem, then the Egyptian disaster, followed by the capture of the islands between the continents and of all the Roman territory, by the complete loss of the Roman army and navy at Phoinix, and the devastation of all Christian peoples and lands, which did not cease until the persecutor of the Church had been miserably slain in Sicily.||[i]

[a] Cf. Anast. Sin. *Sermo III*, 1. 20–65, Uthemann, 56–8. *V. Maximi*, *PG* 90: 76C–77C. [b] Cf. *V. Maximi*, 80A–B. [c] Cf. Anast. Sin. *Sermo III*, 1. 65–77, Uthemann, 58–9; *V. Maximi*, 80C–D. [d] Cf. *V. Maximi*, 81A–C. [e] 2 Pet. 2: 22. [f] Cf. *Syn. Vetus*, c. 138. [g] Cf. passage of same *V. Maximi*, ed. R. Devreesse, *AnBoll* 46 (1928), 18 and comment thereon, p. 44. [h] Cf. *V. Maximi*, 108A. [i] Cf. Anast. Sin. *Sermo III*, 1. 85–101, Uthemann, 59–61.

[1] For this meeting see Mich. Syr. ii. 412; *Chr. 1234*, 186; *Chr. Seert*, 224. Anast. Sin. (as in note a) has it happen at Antioch.

[2] John IV (24 Dec. 640–12 Oct. 642). Dölger lists this letter as *Reg.* 215, but one may wonder whether John is mentioned here by mistake instead of Honorius I (625–38). Anast. Sin. *Sermo III*, Uthemann, 57, has Herakleios writing to Pope Martin (649–55)! Cf. also below, n. 6.

[3] *C.*631.

[4] On Theodore see V. Grumel, *ÉO* 27 (1928), 259 ff.; *DTC* xv (1946), 279–82 (E. Amann); Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 25 ff. The union in question took place at Alexandria in 633: Mansi xi. 564C–568B.

[5] Followers of Theodosios, Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria (535–66).

[6] *PG* 87: 3148–3200; cf. Photios, *Bibl.*, cod. 231. The synodal letter was addressed to Sergius and Pope Honorius (not John).

[7] The Ekthesis of 638 (Mansi x. 992–7), as shown by V. Grumel, *ÉO* 27 (1928), 7–10.

[8] 9 Dec. 638. [9] Cf. below, AM 6132. [10] Cf. below, AM 6133.

[11] In 640 or 641. Cf. *Syn. Vetus*, c. 137. [12] Ibid., cc. 133–6.

[13] Theodore I (24 Nov. 642–14 May 649).

[14] The disputation between Pyrros and Maximus (*PG* 91: 288 ff.) took place in July 645 (ind. 3).

[15] The Lateran Council of 649.

[16] The 'Regions' (*klimata*) were in the southern part of the Crimean peninsula. For references see *DAI* 323, s.v. Add I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 25 (1971), 155–7; *DO Seals*, i. 182.

[17] Pope Agathon (678–81). The council was held in 680. Cf. *Syn. Vetus*, c. 140.

[18] Instead of being smitten by the Chosen People, as the Amalekites are repeatedly in the OT (by Gideon, Saul, and David).

[19] Al-Jābiya. Cf. AM 6125, n. 3.

[20] The Yarmūk, below called (dB 338. 8) Ἱερμουχθᾶς. According to F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* (Paris, 1933), i. 483 n. 3, the form Ἱερμουχάν comes from the Arabic.

[21] Anast. Sin. *Sermo III*, 1. 89 has τὴν Δαθεμών or Δαθενόν. Not mentioned again by Theoph. Possibly refers to the village of Dāthin near Gaza, where the patrician Sergius was defeated in 634. Cf. Goeje, *Conquête*, 34; Donner, *Conquests*, 115; Kaegi, *Conquests*, 88 ff.

AM 6122 [AD 629/30]

Year of the divine Incarnation 622
Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 21st year

Mouamed, leader of the Arabs (9 years), 9th year
Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 22nd year
Zacharias, bishop of Jerusalem (22 years), 22nd year
George, bishop of Alexandria (14 years), 12th year

333 ||In this year died Mouamed, the leader and false prophet of the Saracens, after appointing his kinsman Aboubacharos (to his chieftainship.||[a][1] At the same time his repute spread abroad) and everyone was frightened. At the beginning of his advent the misguided Jews thought he was the Messiah who is awaited by them, so that some of their leaders joined him and accepted his religion while forsaking that of Moses, who saw God. Those who did so were ten in number, and they remained with him until his murder.[2] But when they saw him eating camel meat, they realized that he was not the one they thought him to be, and were at a loss what to do; being afraid to abjure his religion, those wretched men taught him illicit things directed against us, Christians, and remained with him.

||I consider it necessary to give an account of this man's origin. He was descended from a very widespread tribe, that of Ishmael, son of Abraham; for Nizaros, descendant of Ishmael, is recognized as the father of them all. He begot two sons, Moudaros and Rabias. Moudaros begot Kourasos, Kaisos, Themimes, Asados, and others unknown.[3] All of them dwelt in the Midianite desert and kept cattle, themselves living in tents. There are also those farther away who are not of their tribe, but of that of Iektan, the so-called Amanites, that is Homerites. And some of them traded on their camels. Being destitute and an orphan, the aforesaid Mouamed decided to enter the service of a rich woman who was a relative of his, called Chadiga, as a hired
334 worker with a view to trading by camel in Egypt and Palestine. Little by little he became bolder and ingratiated himself with that woman, who was a widow, took her as a wife, and gained possession of her camels and her substance. Whenever he came to Palestine he consorted with Jews and Christians and sought from them certain scriptural matters. He was also afflicted with epilepsy. When his wife became aware of this, she was greatly distressed, inasmuch as she, a noblewoman, had married a man such as he, who was not only poor, but also an epileptic. He tried deceitfully to placate her by saying, 'I keep seeing a vision of a certain angel called Gabriel, and being unable to bear his sight, I faint and fall down.' Now, she had a certain monk[4] living there, a friend of hers (who had been exiled for his depraved doctrine), and she related everything to him, including the angel's name. Wishing to satisfy her, he said to her, 'He has spoken the truth, for this is the angel who is sent to all the prophets.' When she had heard the words of the

false monk, she was the first to believe in Mouamed and proclaimed to other women of her tribe that he was a prophet. Thus, the report spread from women to men, and first to Aboubacharos, whom he left as his successor. This heresy prevailed in the region of Ethribos,||[b] in the last resort by war: at first secretly, for ten years, and by war another ten, and openly nine.[5] ||He taught his subjects that he who kills an enemy or is killed by an enemy goes to Paradise; and he said that this paradise was one of carnal eating and drinking and intercourse with women, and had a river of wine, honey, and milk,||[c] and that the women were not like the ones down here, but different ones, and that the intercourse was long-lasting and the pleasure continuous; and other things full of profligacy and stupidity; also that men should feel sympathy for one another and help those who are wronged.

In the same year, indiction 4, on 7 November,[6] a son, David, was 335
born to Herakleios in the East. On the same day was born Herakleios, the son of the younger Herakleios, who was also Constantine, son of the elder Herakleios; and he was baptized by the patriarch Sergius at Blachernai on 3 November, indiction 5.[7]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 187 (also 21st year of Herakleios, AG 943, after a 'reign' of ten years); *Chr. 819*, 7 (AG 942); Elias Nis. 63 (AH 11). [b] Borrowed with some abbreviation and a few changes (e.g. Khadīǧa's adviser is called an Arian monk) by Geo. Mon. 697. 11–699. 10; *DAI* 14. 2–28 (from Geo. Mon.) and several later Byzantine authors. For the relation of *DAI* to Theoph. see J. B. Bury, *BZ* 15 (1906), 525 ff. This passage is certainly of eastern origin, but its source is unknown. Cf. *DAI*, Commentary, 70–1. Mich. Syr. ii. 403–5 and *Chr. 1234*, 178–80 give substantially different accounts of Muhammad. [c] Cf. Geo. Mon. 699, appar. (cod. P); *DAI* 14. 28–31.

[1] Muhammad died in 632.

[2] ἄχρι τῆς σφαγῆς αὐτοῦ, supported by Anast. (*usque ad caedem eius*). Note the variant φαγῆς (MSS e, f). Muhammad, of course, was not murdered. Besides, the sequence of thought appears to require something like 'until they had seen him taking food'. The reading φαγῆς is not appropriate unless it can mean the act of eating rather than 'food', the latter given by Du Cange, *Gloss.*, s.vv. φαγή, φαγί. Dr R. Hoyland has drawn our attention to *Chr. 819*, 7, which says of Muhammad, *primus fecit sacrificium, et comedendum imposuit Arabibus, praeter eorum morem.* The eating of camel is forbidden in Deut. 14: 7. The story of the rabbis, of whom only two embraced Islam sincerely, whereas the others pretended to do so, is found in the *Sīra* of Ibn Ishāq (d. 768), trans. A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad* (London, 1955), 239 ff., 246 ff.

[3] These names correspond to Nizār, Mudar, Rabī'a, Quraish, Qais, Tamīm, and Asad. Discussion by L. I. Conrad, *ByzF* 15 (1990), 11 ff. Longer genealogy in *Chr. 1234*, 187–8. On genealogies see *EI*², s.v. 'Arab (Djazīrat al-), 544 ff.

[4] μοναχόν is changed to μοιχόν in codd. d, f, z and is so already in Anast.

209. 19 (*adulterum*). The legend of a Christian monk, variously called Sergius, Bahīrā, or Nastūr, who was either the teacher of Muhammad or recognized him as a prophet, enjoyed a wide currency. See S. Gero in *Syrie colloque*, 47–58.

[5] The durations given here, although presumably derived from an Arab source, do not agree with the Muslim tradition. See L. I. Conrad, *ByzF* 15 (1990), 18 ff.

[6] AD 630. [7] AD 631.

AM 6123 [AD 630/1]

Year of the divine Incarnation 623
Herakleios, 22nd year
Aboubacharos, leader of the Arabs (3 years), 1st year
Sergius, 23rd year
Modestus, bishop of Jerusalem (2 years),[1] 1st year
George, 13th year

In this year the Persians rose up one against the other and fought an internecine war. At the same time the king of India sent gratulatory gifts to Herakleios on the occasion of his victory over Persia, namely pearls and a considerable number of precious stones.

Mouamed, who had died earlier,[2] had appointed four emirs to fight those members of the Arab nation who were Christian, and they came in front of a village called Mouchea,[3] in which was stationed the *vicarius* Theodore, intending to fall upon the Arabs on the day when they sacrificed to their idols.[4] The *vicarius*, on learning this from a certain Koraishite[5] called Koutabas,[6] who was in his pay, gathered all the soldiers of the desert guard and, after ascertaining from the Saracen the day and hour when they were intending to attack, himself attacked them at a village called Mothous, and killed three emirs and the bulk of their army. One emir, called Chaled, whom they call God's Sword,[7] escaped. Now some of the neighbouring Arabs were receiving small payments from the emperors for guarding the approaches to the desert. At that time a certain eunuch arrived to distribute the wages of the soldiers, and when the Arabs came to receive their wages according to custom, the eunuch drove them away, saying, 'The emperor can
336 barely pay his soldiers their wages, much less these dogs!' Distressed by this, the Arabs went over to their fellow-tribesmen, and it was they that led them to the rich country of Gaza, which is the gateway to the desert in the direction of Mount Sinai.[8]

[1] Incorrect: see AM 6120, n. 2. Nik. *Chron.* 126 gives him one year; Eutychios, *PG* 111: 1091B, nine months.

[2] According to Arab tradition the expedition to Mu'ta (east of the southern end of the Dead Sea) took place in 629, well before Muhammad's death. See 'Mu'ta', *EI*[1] iii. 773–4 (F. Buhl); M. V. Krikov, *VizVrem* 40 (1979), 96–103; Donner, *Conquests*, 101 with n. 26, 103 with n. 39; Kaegi, *Conquests*, 71 ff.

[3] Identification unclear: Ma'āb according to Goeje, *Conquête*, 6–7; Khirbat al-Mahna according to A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, i (Vienna, 1907), 152; Mu'ān (Ma'ān?) according to Krikov, op. cit.

[4] The construction is ambiguous (*τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς εἰδολοθυσίας αὐτῶν*). We believe Krikov, op. cit. 98, is right in saying that must refer to the Muslims irrespective of the nature of the sacrifice in question. We find it less likely that Theoph. is reproducing a Muslim tradition which referred to idolatrous Christian worship: so L. I. Conrad, *ByzF* 15 (1990), 23–6.

[5] *Κορασηνός* here and elsewhere. [6] Presumably Qutba.

[7] Khālid b. al-Walīd surnamed Sayf Allah.

[8] A different story involving the non-payment to Byzantine Arabs of 30 lbs. of gold by Sergius is told by Nik. 20.

AM 6124 [AD 631/2]

Year of the divine Incarnation 624
Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 23rd year
Aboubacharos, leader of the Arabs (3 years), 2nd year
Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 24th year
Modestus, bishop of Jerusalem (2 years), 2nd year
George, bishop of Alexandria (14 years), 14th year

‖In this year Aboubacharos sent four generals[1] who were conducted, as I said earlier, by the Arabs and so came and took Hera[2] and the whole territory of Gaza.[3] At length, Sergius arrived with some difficulty with a few soldiers from Caesarea in Palestine. He gave battle and was the first to be killed along with his soldiers, who were 300.[4] Taking many captives and much booty, the Arabs returned home after their brilliant victory.‖[a]

‖At the same time an earthquake occurred in Palestine; and there appeared a sign in the heavens called *dokites* in the direction of the south, foreboding the Arab conquest. It remained for thirty days, moving from south to north, and was sword-shaped.‖[b]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 413; *Chr. 1234*, 189–90. Both tell a similar story: Sergius, styled a patrician, raises a force of 5,000 including (or composed of) Samaritans, who defect; he escapes from battle, falls off his horse three times, then is killed. No mention of either Hera or Gaza. Condensed account in Agapios, 193–4, 208–9. [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 414 (nearly the same text; earthquake in Sept. AG 945); Agapios, 194; Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 5 (AG 937, stars moving north, presaging Arab conquest); *Chr. Seert*, 260.

[1] According to Syriac sources (as in note a), the four generals were sent respectively against Palestine, Egypt, Persia, and the Christian Arabs. Arabic sources also speak of four commanders: Donner, *Conquests*, 113 ff. The traditional date is AH 13 (634).

[2] Ἤραν, accusative (var. Ἤραν, *Ran* Anast.). Caetani, *Annali*, ii. 1143 n. 1, thinks this is a confused reference to al-Hīra, the Lakhmid capital in Iraq, which was captured by Khālid b. al-Walīd in 633. Cf. *Chr. Seert*, 260. P. Meyerson, *TAPA* 95 (1964), 161, suggests that it refers to Pharan in Sinai. Kaegi, *Conquests*, 90, takes it to mean simply 'camp' (hīra), i.e. one occupied by Arab guards in the neighbourhood of Gaza. See also L. I. Conrad, *ByzF* 15 (1990), 30.

[3] Not Gaza itself, which was taken in June/July 637: A. Guillou, *BCH* 81 (1957), 396–404.

[4] Possibly he had 300 Romans, the rest being Samaritans. The death of Sergios (called a *candidatus*) is mentioned in *Doctr. Jacobi*, v. 16, and, rather obscurely, by Nik. 20. 11, who calls him Σέργιος ὁ κατὰ Νικήταν, if that is, indeed, the same person.

[AM 6125, AD 632/3]

Herakleios, 24th year
Aboubacharos, 3rd year
Sergius, 25th year
Sophronios, bishop of Jerusalem (3 years), 1st year[1]
Kyros, bishop of Alexandria (10 years), 1st year

‖ In this year Aboubacharos died after being emir two and a half years, and Oumaros succeeded to the power. He ⟨sent an expedition against
337 Arabia⟩[2] and took the city of Bostra as well as other cities.‖[a] And they advanced as far as Gabitha.[3] Theodore, the brother of the emperor Herakleios, engaged them, but was defeated and came to the emperor at Edessa.[4] The emperor appointed another commander called Baanes and sent Theodore the *sakellarios* at the head of a Roman army against the Arabs.[5] When he came to Emesa,[6] he met a multitude of Saracens whom he slew together with their emir, and drove the rest as far as Damascus; and he encamped there by the river Bardanesios.[7] As for Herakleios, he abandoned Syria in despair[8] and, taking the Holy Cross from Jerusalem, proceeded to Constantinople. He diverted Baanes and Theodore the *sakellarios* from Damascus to Emesa at the head of an army of 40,000,[9] and they pursued the Arabs from Emesa to Damascus.

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 417, AG 946, AH 13, 24th year of Herakleios (nearly the same as Theoph., except that AbūBakr is given a reign of 2 years); *Chr. 1234*, 192 (AbūBakr 2 years).

[1] Sophronios became patriarch of Jerusalem early in 634: Schönborn, 85.

[2] i.e. the Roman province of that name. Bostra was taken in 634 according to some Arab sources: Donner, *Conquests*, 129.

[3] Al-Jābiya. Also mentioned by Nik. 20. 27. The Syriac fragment, ed. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 29 (1875), 76 ff.; tr. Chabot. *CSCO*, Scr. Syri, 3rd ser. 4 (1904), 60, associates Gabita with the battle of the Yarmūk (636). So does Mich. Syr. ii. 420. See the map in Kaegi, *Conquests*, 113.

[4] The defeat of Theodore is told very differently by Mich. Syr. ii. 418; *Chr. 1234*, 190–1 (fuller than Michael). He was one of two commanders at the battle of Ajnādain, an engagement not mentioned in Greek sources by that name. On its situation see Kaegi, *Conquests*, 98.

[5] The construction is unclear (ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς προχειρίζεται ἕτερον στρατηγόν, ὀνόματι Βαάνην, καὶ Θεόδωρον σακελλάριον . . . πέμπει κατὰ Ἀράβων). This can mean either that Theodore alone or that Baanes together with Theodore were sent against the Arabs. Kedr. i. 745 understood it in the former sense (τὸν δὲ σακελλάριον, etc.). Cf. Goeje, *Conquête*, 84–5, who proposes various emendations of this passage.

[6] According to the Syriac fragment, Emesa had capitulated in Jan. 635: Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 29 (1875), 78. The same document, p. 79, refers to the Roman army pursuing the Arabs in the region of Emesa.

[7] The Baradā. Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 420: 'le fleuve Farfar, que les Arabes appellent Bardan'. It is difficult to equate this Roman success with any event known from Arabic sources. Perhaps it refers to the engagement of Merdj as-Soffar near Damascus in which Khālid b. Sa'īd was killed. See Goeje, *Conquête*, 78 ff.

[8] The departure of Herakleios, when he uttered the famous exclamation, 'Farewell, Syria!' (Mich. Syr. ii. 424; *Chr. 1234*, 196), would more naturally have taken place after the battle of the Yarmūk rather than the previous year, when the considerable army he had raised was as yet undefeated.

[9] De Boor prints ἔχοντας στρατόν from Anast.'s *cum haberent*, in preference to ἔχοντα (x, z). This agrees with the statement under AM 6126 that the combined force of the two generals was 40,000. The movements of Baanes and Theodore are difficult to follow at this juncture.

AM 6126 [AD 633/4]

Year of the divine Incarnation 626
Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 25th year
Oumaros, leader of the Arabs (12 years), 1st year
Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 26th year
Sophronios, bishop of Jerusalem (3 years), 2nd year
Kyros, bishop of Alexandria (10 years), 2nd year

‖ In this year the Saracens—an enormous multitude of them—⟨setting out from⟩ Arabia, made an expedition to the region of Damascus.[1]

When Baanes had learnt of this, he sent a message to the imperial *sakellarios*, asking the latter to come with his army to his help, seeing that the Arabs were very numerous. So the *sakellarios* joined Baanes
338 and, setting forth from Emesa, they met the Arabs. Battle was given and, on the first day, which was a Tuesday, the 23rd of the month Loos,[2] the men of the *sakellarios* were defeated. Now the soldiers of Baanes rebelled and proclaimed Baanes emperor, while they abjured Herakleios. Then the men of the *sakellarios* withdrew, and the Saracens, seizing this opportunity, joined battle. And as a south wind was blowing in the direction of the Romans, they could not face the enemy on account of the dust and were defeated. Casting themselves into the narrows of the river Hiermouchthas, they all perished, the army of both generals numbering 40,000.[3] Having won this brilliant victory, the Saracens came to Damascus and captured it‖[a][4] as well as the country of Phoenicia, and they settled there and made an expedition against Egypt.

‖(When Kyros, the bishop of Alexandria, had been informed of their onset, he took measures and, fearing their rapacity, concluded a treaty with them, promising that Egypt would pay them every year 200,000 denarii[5] and send them gold in respect of the appointed delay. By providing these sums for three years, he spared Egypt from disaster.) Now Kyros was accused before the emperor of giving to the Saracens the gold of Egypt. The emperor, in anger, sent a message to recall him and appointed a certain Manuel, an Armenian by origin, as *augustalis*. At the end of the year the Saracen tribute collectors came to receive the gold, but Manuel drove them away empty-handed, saying, 'I am not unarmed like Kyros that I should pay you tribute. Nay, I am armed.' When these men had departed, the Saracens immediately took up arms against Egypt and, after joining battle with Manuel, routed him. He took refuge in Alexandria with a few men. Then the Saracens imposed taxes on Egypt. When Herakleios had heard of these events, he dispatched Kyros to persuade the Saracens to depart from Egypt according to the former treaty. So Kyros went to the camp of the Saracens and offered many excuses, saying he was innocent of the transgression and urging them, if they so wished, to confirm the for-
339 mer accord by oath. The Saracens, however, were not satisfied and said to the bishop, 'Are you able to swallow that enormous pillar?' He replied, 'That is impossible.' To which they said, 'Nor is it possible for us to depart from Egypt at this time.'‖[b][6]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 420–1 (some details different, but basically the same account); *Chr. 1234*, 195–6 speaks of two battles, at the second one of which a Roman army of 300,000, led by three commanders was defeated. [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 425; *Chr. 1234*, 197–8 adds a story about the role of the Monophysite patriarch Benjamin in facilitating the Arab conquest. Cf. also Agapios, 211–14.

[1] Note that the verb ἐπεστράτευσαν is an emendation (ἐστράτευσαν codd.) and ⟨καταλιπόντες⟩ an addition, both from Geo. Mon. 707 (ἐπιστρατεύσαντες οἱ Ἀραβες . . . καὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν καταλιπόντες, etc.).

[2] July in the Macedonian calendar. The day of the week corresponds to AD 636.

[3] For the battle of the Yarmūk see Goeje, *Conquête*, 103 ff.; Donner, *Conquests*, 133 ff.; Kaegi, *Conquests*, 112 ff.

[4] Elias Nis. 63 dates the capture of Damascus to Radjab, AH 14; *Chr. 819*, 7 to AG 945.

[5] De Boor by mistake prints 120,000 (the passage being supplied from Anast., who has *ducenta milia*). The use of the term 'denarii' (*dînar*) betrays the Oriental source.

[6] The story of Kyros, given very differently by Nik. 23, 26, is hopelessly confused. Butler, *Conquest*, 207–9, 261–4, 481–2, 526 ff., argues that the report of the tribute paid by Kyros to stave off the conquest of Egypt is a myth; that he made an offer of tribute only during the siege of Babylon (Sept. 640) and was recalled to Constantinople at the end of that year; that he returned to Egypt in Sept. 641. On the expedition of Manuel (late in 645), ibid. 469 ff. See also P. M. Fraser's additional notes, pp. lxviii ff.

AM 6127 [AD 634/5]

Year of the divine Incarnation 627
Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 26th year
Oumaros, leader of the Arabs (12 years), 2nd year
Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 27th year
Sophronios, bishop of Jerusalem (3 years), 3rd year
Kyros, bishop of Alexandria (10 years), 3rd year

‖In this year Oumaros invaded Palestine and, after investing the Holy City for two years, took it by capitulation;[1] for Sophronios, the bishop of Jerusalem, received a promise of immunity for the whole of Palestine. Oumaros entered the Holy City dressed in filthy garments of camel-hair and, showing a devilish pretence, sought the Temple of the Jews—the one built by Solomon—that he might make it a place of worship for his own blasphemous religion. Seeing this, Sophronios said, 'Verily, this is the abomination of desolation standing in a holy place, as has been spoken through the prophet Daniel.'[a] And with many tears the defender of piety bewailed the Christian people. While Oumaros was there, the patriarch begged him to receive from him a kerchief and a garment to put on, but he would not suffer to wear them. At length, he persuaded him to put them on until his clothes

were washed, and then he returned them to Sophronios and put on his own.‖[b] Thereupon Sophronios died[2] after adorning the Church of Jerusalem by word and deed and struggling against the Monothelete heresy of Herakleios and his companions Sergius and Pyrros.

‖In the same year Oumaros sent Iad[3] to Syria and he made all of Syria subject to the Saracens.‖[c]

[a] Dan. 11: 31; cf. Mt. 24: 15; Mk. 13: 14. [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 425–6 (AG 948, AH 15, 26th year of Herakleios); *Chr. 1234*, 199–200 (AG 946, AH 15, 46th (*sic*) year of Herakleios); Agapios, 215. [c] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 426 (Iyād not mentioned); *Chr. 1234*, 200 (presumably under AH 19); Agapios, 216 (mentioning ʿābbād b. ʿĀsim instead of Iyād).

[1] Jerusalem is usually said to have been taken in Feb. 638, but there is serious evidence that it was in Arab hands by Dec. 637. See A. Guillou, *BCH* 81 (1957), 401.

[2] According to Schönborn, 97 n. 136, Sophronios died on 11 Mar. 639.

[3] Iyād b. Ghanm al-Fihrī.

340 **[AM 6128, AD 635/6]**

Herakleios, 27th year
Oumaros, 3rd year
Sergius, 28th year
Kyros, 4th year

‖In this year John surnamed Kataias, the governor of Osrhoene,[1] came to Iad at Chalkis and covenanted to pay him every year 100,000 *solidi* on condition that he would not cross the Euphrates either peacefully or by force of arms as long as that amount of gold was paid to him.[2] Thereupon John returned to Edessa and, having collected the annual tax, sent it to Iad. When Herakleios had heard of this, he judged John to be guilty for having done such a thing without the emperor's knowledge; and, having recalled him, condemned him to exile. In his stead he appointed a certain general called Ptolemaios.‖[a3]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 200 (John given no surname); Mich. Syr. ii. 426 (Ptolemy not mentioned); Agapios, 216 (Byzantine governor of Mesopotamia called Paul, replaced by Ptolemy).

[1] ἐπίτροπος. His exact title is unclear. Cf. *PLRE* iii. 703, Ioannes 241.

[2] For the truce concluded at Chalkis cf. Kaegi, *Conquests*, 159–60. The expression 'peacefully or by force of arms' corresponds to the Arabic formula *sulhan—ʿanwatan*.

[3] *PLRE* iii. 1070, Ptolemaeus 7. For his seal see Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no. 200.

[AM 6129, AD 636/7]

Herakleios, 28th year
Oumaros, 4th year
Sergios, 29th year
Kyros, 5th year

‖In this year the Arabs captured Antioch. Mauias[1] was appointed by Oumaros commander and emir of all the territory under the Saracens, from Egypt to the Euphrates.‖[a]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 200 (presumably under AH 20); Agapios, 216–17; not in Mich. Syr.

[1] Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān.

AM 6130 [AD 637/8]

Year of the divine Incarnation 630
Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 29th year
Oumaros, leader of the Arabs (12 years), 5th year
Pyrros, bishop of Constantinople (3 years), 1st year[1]
Kyros, bishop of Alexandria (10 years), 6th year

‖In this year Iad crossed the Euphrates with his whole army and reached Edessa. The Edessenes opened their gates and were given terms, including their territory, their military commander, and the Romans who were with him. The Saracens went on to Constantia,[2] which they besieged and took by war and killed 300 Romans. From there they went on to Daras, which they also took by war and slew many people therein. In this way Iad captured all of Mesopotamia.‖[a]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 200–1, AG 951, with further details; Mich. Syr. ii. 426, less detailed (same AG, AH 18, 27th year of Herakleios, 6th of ʿUmar); Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 6 (invasion of Mesopotamia in AG 948; capture of Dara by capitulation in AG 952); Elias Nis. 64 (capture of Edessa in AH 16, of Tella and Amida in AH 18).

[1] Ordained 20 Dec. 638: Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 58.

[2] More correctly Constantina (Tella, modern Viranşehir).

[AM 6131, AD 638/9] 341

Herakleios, 30th year
Oumaros, 6th year
Pyrros, 2nd year
Kyros, 7th year

||In this year the Saracens invaded Persia. They gave battle and utterly defeated the Persians, whom they subjugated entirely. Hormisdas, emperor of Persia, took to flight and, abandoning his palace, made for the innermost part of Persia. The Saracens on their part captured the daughters of Chosroes and all the royal equipment, and these were brought to Oumaros.||[a]

||At the same time Oumaros ordered a census to be made of all the inhabited territory under his rule. The census embraced people, beasts, and plants.||[b]

[a] Source unclear. The end of the Persian Empire is described by Mich. Syr. ii. 423–4, 430 and, differently, in *Chr. 1234*, 193–4, 213 (which does specify that the Arabs, after taking Ctesiphon, *eius thesauros et divitias tulerunt, cum familia regis et familiis optimatum*). The last king of Persia was, of course, Yazdgerd. [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 426, AG 951; not in *Chr. 1234*.

[AM 6132, AD 639/40]

Herakleios, 31st year
Oumaros, 7th year
Pyrros, 3rd year
Kyros, 8th year

||In this year, in the month of March, indiction 14, the emperor Herakleios died of dropsy after a reign of 30 years and 10 months.[1] After him, his son Constantine reigned 4 months and died after being poisoned by his stepmother Martina and the patriarch Pyrros.[2] And so Heraklonas, Martina's son, became emperor together with his mother Martina.||[a]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 426; *Chr. 1234*, 203. 16–23 (both very close to Theoph.); *Chr. Seert*, 308–9.

[1] Read 5 months as in the Syriac sources. Nik. 27 implies that Herakleios died on 11 Feb. 641. The *Chr. Altinate* gives 11 Jan., which has been accepted by P. Grierson, *DOP* 16 (1962), 48. Stratos, iii. 162, 231–2, returns to Feb. Nik. 29. 6 says that Constantine III survived his father by 103 days, which means that he died on 24 May if Herakleios died on 11 Feb.

[2] It is more likely that Constantine died of natural causes. See J. Kaestner, *De imperio Constantini III* (Leipzig, 1907), 13.

[AM 6133, AD 640/1]

Heraklonas, emperor of the Romans (6 months), 1st year
Oumaros, 8th year

Paul, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 1st year
Kyros, 9th year

||In this year Mauias took Caesarea in Palestine after seven years' siege and killed 7,000 Romans in it.||[a1]

In this year the Senate rejected Heraklonas together with his mother Martina and Valentinus.[2] They cut off Martina's tongue and the nose of Heraklonas and, having exiled them, placed on the throne Constans, son of Constantine and grandson of Herakleios, and he ruled twenty-seven years. And after Pyrros had been evicted from his bishopric, Paul, the presbyter and *oikonomos* ⟨of the Church⟩ was ordained patriarch of Constantinople in the month of October, indiction 15,[3] and he remained bishop twelve years.||[b] 342

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 430–1 (more detailed; siege lasts from Dec. to May, that is 6 months, not 7 years; garrison of 7,000 Romans mentioned); *Chr. 1234*, 202–3 (AG 950; confused by editor with Caesarea of Cappadocia); Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 6 (AG 953); Elias Nis. 65 (AH 19; 100,000 people killed); Agapios, 218. [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 426–7; *Chr. 1234*, 203 (no mention of Pyrros and Paul); Nik. 32. 11 (ordination of Paul with same date).

[1] Caesarea fell some time between 639 and 641. See Donner, *Conquests*, 153.

[2] *PLRE* iii. 1353–5, Valentinus 4 and 5. On the role of Valentinus and his rebellion see Kaegi, *Unrest*, 154 ff. He is described by Sebeos as an Arsacid and a commander of the eastern forces. His promotion to *comes excubitorum* is confirmed by a seal: Zacos—Veglery, i/1, no. 1087.

[3] 1 Oct. AD 641: see Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 76.

AM 6134 [AD 641/2]

Year of the divine Incarnation 634
Constans, emperor of the Romans (27 years), 1st year
Oumaros, leader of the Arabs (12 years), 9th year
Paul, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 2nd year
Kyros, bishop of Alexandria (10 years), 10th year

In this year Constans,[1] after becoming emperor, addressed the Senate as follows: 'My father Constantine, who begot me, reigned for a considerable time in the lifetime of his father, that is my grandfather Herakleios, as co-emperor and, after his death, for a very short time; for the envy of his stepmother Martina both cut off his fair hopes and deprived him of life, and this on account of Heraklonas, her illicit offspring by Herakleios. Your godly decision rightly cast her out from the imperial dignity along with her child lest the Roman Empire appeared to be ruled in an unlawful manner, as your

superlative Magnificence[2] well knew. Wherefore I call on you to be my expert counsellors regarding the common good of our subjects.' With these words he dismissed the Senate after bestowing ⟨generous⟩ gifts on them.

[1] His official name was Constantine. He was 10 years old at the time of his accession.

[2] This appears to be addressed to a single person (the president of the Senate?).

[AM 6135, AD 642/3]

Constans, 2nd year
Oumaros, 10th year
Paul, 3rd year
Kyros, 11th year

‖In this year Oumaros started to build the temple at Jerusalem,[1] but the structure would not stand and kept falling down. When he enquired after the cause of this, the Jews said, 'If you do not remove the cross that is above the church on the Mount of Olives,[2] the structure will not stand.' On this account the cross was removed from there, and thus their building was compacted. For this reason Christ's enemies took down many crosses.‖[a]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 431; *Chr. 1234*, 204. 6–11; *Chr. Seert*, 304.

[1] The original Aqsā mosque. According to an anecdote preserved in a Georgian version the building of the mosque began before the death of the patriarch Sophronios (639): G. Garitte, *Byz* 36 (1966), 414–16. Cf. B. Flusin, 'L'Esplanade du Temple à l'arrivée des Arabes', in J. Raby and J. Johns, eds., *Bayt al-Maqdis. 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem*, pt. 1 (Oxford, 1992), 17 ff.

[2] Either the so-called Eleona or the rotunda of the Ascension at the very top of the mountain.

343 ## [AM 6136, AD 643/4]

Constans, 3rd year
Oumaros, 11th year
Paul, 4th year
Peter, bishop of Alexandria (10 years), 1st year

‖In this year the patrician Valentinian rebelled against Constans.[1] The emperor gave orders for him to be killed and transferred his army to his own allegiance.‖[a]

‖An eclipse of the sun occurred on the 5th of the month Dios,[2] a Saturday, in the 9th hour.‖[b]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 203. 31–2 (AG 955). [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 432 (year not given; 9 Oct., 3rd hour of the day); Agapios, 219 (11th year of 'Umar, Friday, 1 Nov.).

[1] Presumably the same as Valentinus mentioned under AM 6133. Cf. Kaegi, *Unrest*, 157–8.

[2] November. The eclipse occurred on 5 Nov. 644, which was a Friday.

[AM 6137, AD 644/5]

Constans, 4th year
Oumaros, 12th year
Paul, 5th year
Peter, 2nd year

‖In this year Oumaros, the leader of the Saracens, was murdered on the 5th of the month Dios by a Persian apostate who found him in prayer and pierced his stomach with a sword, thus depriving him of life after he had been emir twelve years. After him was appointed his kinsman Outhman, son of Phan.‖[a1]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 819*, 8 (AG 955, 'Uthmān killed a *servo Indo viri Coraishitae*); *Chr. 1234*, 204. 13–22 (murdered on 4 Nov. by a *servus quidam romanus alicuius coraishitae*); Mich. Syr. ii. 430; Agapios, 219.

[1] 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.

[AM 6138, AD 645/6]

Constans, 5th year
Outhman, leader of the Arabs (10 years), 1st year
Paul, 6th year
Peter, 3rd year

‖In this year Gregory, the patrician of Africa, raised a rebellion together with the Africans.‖[a1]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 440 (AG 958, AH 25, 5th year of Constans both for Gregory's rebellion and the invasion of Africa by the Arabs); *Chr.1234*, 203. 33–4 (AG 956); Agapios, 219 (contemporary with accession of 'Uthmān).

[1] For the rebellion of the exarch Gregory see Kaegi, *Unrest*, 159–60.

AM 6139 [AD 646/7]

Year of the divine Incarnation 639
Constans, emperor of the Romans (27 years), 6th year
Outhman, leader of the Arabs (10 years), 2nd year
Paul, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 7th year
Peter, bishop of Alexandria (10 years), 4th year

‖ In this year a violent wind blew upon the earth. It uprooted many plants and tore up huge trees, roots and all, and threw down many columns of stylites.‖[a]

‖ In the same year the Saracens invaded Africa and, after joining battle with the rebel Gregory, routed him, slew his followers, ⟨and drove him out of Africa⟩.‖[b] Having laid a tribute on the Africans, they returned home.

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 204. 3–5 (AG 956); Mich. Syr. ii. 445 (AG 958 conjectured by ed.: MS has 908); Agapios, 220 (2nd year of 'Uthmān). [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 440–1 (AG 958); *Chr. 1234*, 203. 34–204. 2 (AG 956); Agapios, 219. The Syriac sources add that Gregory escaped alive and made his submission to the emperor.

[AM 6140, AD 647/8]

Constans, 7th year
Outhman, 3rd year
Paul, 8th year
Peter, 5th year

‖ In this year Mauias invaded Cyprus by sea. He had 1,700 ships, and
344 took Constantia and the whole island, which he laid waste.‖[a1] On hearing, however, that the *cubicularius* Kakorizos was moving against him with a great Roman force, he sailed away to Arados and, after putting in his fleet, attempted to capture with the help of various engines the little town called Kastellos on that island. Meeting with no success, he sent to the inhabitants a certain bishop called Thomarichos to frighten them into abandoning the town, submitting to terms, and leaving the island. When the bishop had come in to meet them, they held him inside and did not yield to Mauias. The siege of Arados having thus proved fruitless, he returned to Damascus since winter had set in.‖[b2]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 441–2 (first Arab invasion of Cyprus in AG 960, followed by a second, led by Abūl-A'war); *Chr. 1234*, 209. 19–212. 36 (likewise); Agapios, 195 (6th year of Constans); Ps.-Dion. 7 (AG 960); Elias Nis. 66 (AH 28). [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 442 (more succinct); *Chr. 1234*, 211. 33–4 (report of the arrival of a Roman force), 213. 1–10 (siege of Arados); Agapios, 220 (3rd year of 'Uthmān). Note that the eastern sources do not name either the *cubicularius* Kakorizos or the town Kastellos. They call the bishop Thomas.

[1] Two inscriptions recently discovered at Soloi prove that the first invasion of Cyprus took place in 649 and the second the following year (*τῷ ἐπελθόντι χρόνῳ*): T. T. Tinh in *Soloi: Dix campagnes de fouilles (1964–74)* (Sainte-Foy, 1985), 116 ff.

[2] On this incident see the exhaustive study of L. I. Conrad, 'Arwād'.

[AM 6141, AD 648/9]

Constans, 8th year
Outhman, 4th year
Paul, 9th year
Peter, 6th year

‖ In this year Mauias set out against Arados with a great armament and took it by capitulation on condition that its inhabitants would dwell wherever they wished. He burnt the town, destroyed its walls, and caused the island to be uninhabited to this day.‖[a]

‖ In the same year a council was held in Rome by Pope Martin against the Monotheletes.‖[b1]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 442; *Chr. 1234*, 213. 10–19; Agapios, 220–1. [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 431.

[1] The Lateran Council of 649.

[AM 6142, AD 649/50]

Constans, 9th year
Outhman, 5th year
Paul, 10th year
Peter, 7th year

‖ In this year the commander ⟨Bousour⟩[1] invaded Isauria with his Arabs. He slew and captured many men and returned with 5,000 prisoners.‖[a] The emperor Constans sent a certain Prokopios as ambassador to Mauias to ask for peace, which was concluded for two years.[2] Mauias was given Gregory, the son of Theodore, as a hostage at Damascus.‖[b]

[a] Source unclear. Mich. Syr. ii. 446 mentions briefly a punitive raid into Isauria, but after the naval battle of Phoinix. [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 446; *Chr. 1234*, 213. 34–214. 2 (contemporary with the end of the Persian kingdom). Neither mentions Prokopios, who does appear in Ps.-Dion. 8, AG 964. Gregory is described in *Chr. 1234*

as *filius Theodorici* [*sic*] *fratris Heraclii*. Michael calls him the son of the emperor's brother. Agapios, 221–2, names Manuel as the Byzantine envoy.

[1] Presumably Busr b. Abī Artāt.

[2] Dölger, *Reg.* 226 (AD 650). According to Sebeos, 132, peace was concluded for three years, but whereas there he says that hostilities began again in the 12th year of Constantine, on p. 139 he claims that peace was broken in the 11th year. See also P. Peeters, *Byz* 8 (1933), 411–12, who dates the treaty to 649.

[AM 6143, AD 650/51]

Constans, 10th year
Outhman, 6th year
Paul, 11th year
Peter, 8th year

‖ In this year Pasagnathes,[1] the patrician of Armenia, rebelled against the emperor and made a treaty with Mauias, to whom he handed his own son. On hearing of this, the emperor went as far as Caesarea of Cappadocia and, giving up all hope for Armenia, came back.‖[a]

[a] Cf. Agapios, 222 (4th year of 'Uthmān).

[1] Cf. Peeters, op. cit. 405–23. According to Sebeos, 132 ff., the defection of Armenia occurred in the 12th year of Constantine and was instigated by Theodoros, lord of the Rštunis. Constantine advanced to Karin and Dvin before returning home.

AM 6144 [AD 651/2]

Year of the divine Incarnation 644
Constans, emperor of the Romans (27 years), 11th year
Outhman, leader of the Arabs (10 years), 7th year
Paul, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 12th year
Peter, bishop of Alexandria (10 years), 9th year

345 ‖ In this year Gregory, the nephew of Herakleios, died at Helioupolis. His body was embalmed and brought to Constantinople.‖[a]

In the same year dust fell from the sky and great fear came upon men.

[a] Cf. *Chr.* 1234, 214. 2–4 (no mention of Helioupolis).

[AM 6145, AD 652/3]

Constans, 12th year
Outhman, 8th year
Paul dies and Pyrros is again reinstated for 4 months, 23 days; Peter, bishop of Constantinople, (12 years), 1st year[1]
Peter, 10th year

‖ In this year Mauias took Rhodes and cast down the Colossus of Rhodes 1,360 years after its erection.[2] It was bought by a Jewish merchant of Edessa,[3] who loaded the bronze on 900 camels.‖[a]

In the same year Abibos,[4] the Arab general, invaded Armenia and, having encountered Maurianus, the Roman general,[5] pursued him as far as the Caucasus mountains and devastated the country.‖[b]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 442–3, with further details; Agapios, 222 (8th year of 'Uthmān); *DAI*, 21. 56 ff. with additional details about the Colossus. [b] Cf. Elias Nis. 66 (AH 31); Mich. Syr. ii. 441; Agapios, 223. The Syriac sources do not mention Maurianus, but he is named by Sebeos, 138, 145–6.

[1] Second tenure of Pyrros, 9 Jan.–1 June 654. Peter was ordained on 8 or 15 June 654.

[2] The Arabs landed on Rhodes in about 653: Caetani, *Chron.* 339. The story about the Colossus is probably legendary, although it is remarkable that Michael's figure for its height (107 ft.) should tally exactly with that given by ancient authorities: Strabo, 14. 2.5; Philo Byzantius, *De septem orbis spectaculis*, 4. 1,3 (70 cubits). The Colossus was erected in 304–293 BC and thrown down by earthquake in 228 BC. Its trunk, from the knees up, was still lying on the ground at the time of Strabo. See, amongst others, R. M. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (Ithaca, NY, 1984), 80, 92. It is inherently unlikely that it was still extant, much less standing (as Michael implies) in the 7th cent. See further *DAI, Commentary*, 77 and Conrad, 'Arwād', 400. Note, however, that the destruction of the Colossus in the reign of Constans II is also reported by Kosmas of Jerusalem (8th cent.) in his commentary on the poems of Gregory Nazianzen, *PG* 38: 534.

[3] Emesa according to Mich. Syr., who speaks of 3,000 loads of bronze.

[4] Habīb b. Maslama.

[5] An ex-chartulary of the general Maurianus, who became a monk and was known as Stephen of Byzantium, appears in an anecdote of Anastasios, ed. F. Nau, *Oriens Christianus*, 2 (1902), 71–2, no. xx.

[AM 6146, AD 653/4]

Constans, 13th year
Outhman, 9th year
Peter, 2nd year

‖ In this year Mauias commanded that a great naval armament should be made with a view to his fleet's sailing against Constantinople. The entire preparation was being made at Tripolis in Phoenicia. On seeing this, two Christ-loving brothers, the sons of a trumpeter,[1] who lived at Tripolis, were fired with a divine zeal and rushed to the city prison, where there was a multitude of Roman captives. They broke down the gates and, after liberating the captives, rushed to the emir of the city, whom they slew together with his suite and, having burnt all the equipment, sailed off to the Roman state. Even so, the preparation was not abandoned; and while Mauias made an expedition against Caesarea of Cappadocia,[2] he appointed Aboulauar[3] chief of the said shipbuilding. This man arrived at Phoinix (as it is called) in Lycia, where the emperor Constans lay with the Roman fleet, and engaged him in a
346 sea battle. As the emperor was about to fight on sea, he saw in a dream that night that he was at Thessalonica. When he had awakened, he related his vision to an interpreter of dreams, who said, 'Would, O emperor, that you had not fallen asleep or seen a dream: for your being at Thessalonica is interpreted as "Give victory to another",[4] (that is) victory will go to your enemy.' Now the emperor, who had taken no measures to draw up his battle line, ordered the Roman fleet to fight. And when the two sides engaged, the Romans were defeated and the sea was dyed with Roman blood. The emperor then put his robes on another man; and the aforesaid trumpeter's son leapt into the imperial ship and, snatching the emperor away, transferred him to another ship, thus saving him unexpectedly. This courageous man then stationed himself bravely on the imperial ship and killed many of the enemy before giving up his life on behalf of the emperor. The enemy surrounded him and held him in their midst, thinking he was the emperor; and, after he had slain many of them, they killed him, too, as the man who was wearing the imperial robes. Thus routed, the emperor escaped and, leaving everyone behind, sailed off to Constantinople.‖[a5]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 445–6 (AG 966, AH 35, 10th year [*sic*] of Constans, 9th of 'Uthmān); *Chr. 1234*, 214 (AG 966, AH 37, 13th year of Constans, 9th of 'Uthmān). Both add that Constans was accompanied by his brother Theodosios and that the Romans lost 20,000 dead. Cf. also Elias Nis. 67 (AH 34); Agapios, 223–4.

[1] dB prints *Βουκινάτορος* with a capital.

[2] This reference, absent from the parallel Syriac sources, is probably misplaced. Mich. Syr. ii. 441 describes an earlier expedition of Mu'āwiya against Caesarea.

[3] dB prints Aboulathar (from Anast.), but the reading of the Greek MSS (*Ἀβουλανάρ* vel sim.; *Αβουλαούαρ* Kedr. i. 756. 1) is to be preferred, the name being Abūl-A'war. See Conrad, 'Arwād', 361.

[4] *Θεὸς ἄλλῳ νίκην*, a pun.

[5] On the battle of Phoinix (655) see Stratos, *Studies*, no.XII.

[AM 6147, AD 654/5]

Constans, 14th year
Outhman, 10th year
Peter, 3rd year

‖ In this year Outhman, the leader of the Arabs, was assassinated by the inhabitants of Ethribos after he had been emir ten years. Now discord prevailed among the Arabs: for those who dwelt in the desert wanted Ali, the nephew of Ali, Mouamed's son-in-law, whereas those who were in Syria and Egypt wanted Mauias.‖[a] The latter prevailed and ruled twenty-four years.[1]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 449–50 (AG 967, AH 35): *Chr. 1234*, 215. 1–216. 18 (more detailed); Ps.-Dion. 8; *Chr. 819*, 8; Agapios, 224.

[1] Counting from the murder of 'Uthmān (656).

[AM 6148, AD 655/6]

Constans, 15th year
Mauias, leader of the Arabs (24 years), 1st year
Peter, 4th year

In this year Mauias took up arms against Ali. The two of them met in 347
the area of Barbalissos at Kaisarion[1] near the Euphrates; and the men of Mauias, gaining the upper hand, captured the water [supply], while Ali's men were reduced to thirst and were deserting. Mauias did not wish to give battle and obtained victory without any toil.[2]

[1] The construction is unclear (*ἀνάμεσον Βαρβαλισσοῦ εἰς τὸ Καισάριον*).

[2] There appears to be no similar passage in the Syriac chronicles. Barbalissos is Bālis (Eski Meskene), while Kaisarion corresponds to Neocaesarea (Prok. *Aed.* ii. 9. 10, 18), the same as the Kaisareia of George of Cyprus, 882 (ed. Honigmann, 63), identified with Dibsi Faraj by R. P. Harper, *DOP* 29 (1975), 322. The location indicated points to the famous battle of Siffīn (657), the toponym mentioned under AM 6151. See *EI*[1], 'Siffīn' (F. Buhl); Dussaud, *Topographie*, 452–4.

[AM 6149, AD 656/7]

Constans, 16th year
Mauias, 2nd year
Peter, 5th year

‖In this year the emperor made an expedition against Sklavinia,[1] and many he captured and subjected.‖[a]

In the same year took place the affair of St Maximus and his disciples, who had struggled on behalf of the true faith against the Monotheletes.[2] Being powerless to convert them to his heresy, Constans cut off the tongue of this divinely wise and most learned man as well as his right hand on account of his having written, together with his disciples, the Anastasii, many works against his impiety, [some of] which they composed in dialogue,[3] as is known to lovers of learning.

[a] Cf. Elias Nis. 68 (AH 39): *Eo [anno] Constans rex Romanorum regiones Sclavorum ingressus proelium fecit cum rege eorum et vicit eum et cum victoria exiit.*

1. The name is here given in the singular (*κατὰ Σκλαυινίας*). It is not clear to us why Lemerle, *Recueils*, ii. 186, translates 'contre les Sklavinies'; similarly, M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou in *17th International Byzantine Congress: Major Papers* (New Rochelle, 1986), 352. Later in Theoph. the name appears in the plural, designating areas of Slavonic settlement.

2 The 'affair' of Maximus and his two disciples, both named Anastasios, was in fact spread over several years. Their judgement and punishment took place at Constantinople in 662, after which they were exiled to Lazica. See e.g. Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 114.

3 *ἃ καὶ κατ' ἔπος οὗτοι γεγράφασιν*. Perhaps with reference to the so-called *Relatio motionis* (*PG* 90: 109–29) and the Disputation at Bizye and Rhegion (ibid. 136–72).

[AM 6150, AD 657/8]

Constans, 17th year
Mauias, 3rd year
Peter, 6th year

‖In this year peace was concluded between Romans and Arabs‖[a] after Mauias had sent an embassy, because of the rebellion,[1] offering that the Arabs should pay the Romans a daily tribute of 1,000 *solidi*, one horse, and one slave.[2]

‖In the same year there was a violent earthquake and buildings collapsed in Syria and Palestine in the month of Daisios,‖[b] indiction 2.[3]

In the same year Martin, the most holy Pope of Rome, was exiled.[4] He had struggled bravely for the truth and became a confessor. He died in the Klimata of the East.[5]

[a] Cf. Elias Nis. 68 (AH 42 = AD 662/3). The expiration of the peace after 7 years (*sic*) is mentioned by Mich. Syr. ii. 450 (AG 980). [b] Cf. Elias Nis. 68 (AH 39, June); *Chr. Maron.* 54 (AG 970, 17th year of Constans, June, a Friday).

1 The civil war with 'Alī.

2 The peace, concluded for 3 years (Dölger, *Reg.* 230), is usually dated to 659. The sources are set out by Stratos, iv. 290.

3 June 659.

4 Pope Martin was removed from Rome in June 653, brought to Constantinople in Sept. of the same year, exiled to Cherson in May 655. He died in 656.

5 See AM 6121, n. 16.

[AM 6151, AD 658/9]

Constans, 18th year
Mauias, 4th year
Peter, 7th year

‖This year Constans killed his own brother Theodosios.‖[a]

While the Arabs were at Sapphin,[1] Ali (the one from Persia) was assassinated[2] and Mauias became sole ruler. He established his kingly residence at Damascus and deposited there his treasure of money.‖[b]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 446; Elias Nis. 68 (AH 39); *Chr. Maron.* 55 (AG 970, 17th year of Constans). [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. II,.50; Elias Nis. 68 (AH 40); *Chr. 1234*, 218 (murder of 'Alī at Kūfa), 219 (transfer of treasure to Damascus); *Chr. 819*, 8 (AG 971, 'Alī killed); *Chr. Maron.* 54 ('Alī killed at Hīrtā).

1 Siffīn. See AM 6148, n. 2. 2 In 661.

[AM 6152, AD 659/60]

Constans, 19th year
Mauias, 5th year
Peter, 8th year

‖This year there arose among the Arabs a heresy, that of the so-called Charourgites.‖[a1] Mauias captured them, and he humiliated the men of Persia, while exalting those of Syria:‖[b] the latter he called Isamites and 348
the former Herakites. The wages of the Isamites he raised to 200 *solidi*, while those of the Herakites he lowered to 30 *solidi*.[2]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 450 (Harūrites, named after the village of Harūrā'); Agapios, 227.
[b] Cf. Agapios, 227.

[1] Here spelled *Χαρουργῖται*, elsewhere *Ἀρουρῖται* (AM 6236, 6239, 6258). Named after the village of Harūrā' near Kūfa, these were followers of 'Alī who seceded because of their opposition to the arbitration of Siffīn. Later they were known as Khāridjīs. See *EI*[2], s.v. Harūrā' and Khāridjites. They staged several uprisings in Iraq during Mu'āwiya's reign.

[2] Isamites and Herakites refer to Syrians (men of al-Šām) and Iraqis. We have found no other authority for the differential in wages.

[AM 6153, AD 660/1]

Constans, 20th year
Mauias, 6th year
Peter, 9th year

‖This year the emperor abandoned Constantinople and moved to Syracuse in Sicily, intending to transfer the imperial capital to Rome.[1] He sent an order that his wife and his three sons, Constantine, Herakleios, and Tiberius, should be brought over, but the inhabitants of Byzantium did not let them go.‖[a]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 219–20.

[1] The date of his departure from Constantinople is uncertain. He reached S. Italy in the spring of 663 after spending a fairly long time in Greece: *Lib. Pont.* i. 343; Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* v. 11.

[AM 6154, AD 661/2]

Constans 21st year
Mauias, 7th year
Peter, 10th year

In this year the Arabs made an expedition against the Roman state. They made many captives and devastated many places.[1]

[1] With reference either to the raid of AH 42 (662/3) or that of AH 43 (663/4), led by Busr b. Abī Artāt, Tabarī, xviii. 20, 32: Brooks, 'Arabs', 184. For the latter cf. Elias Nis. 68.

[AM 6155, AD 662/3]

Constans 22nd year
Mauias, 8th year
Peter, 11th year

In this year part of Sicily was captured. The captives were settled at Damascus of their own free will.[1]

[1] An Arab raid on Syracuse is recorded by *Lib. Pont.* i. 346 during the reign of Pope Adeodatus (672–6), whence Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lang.* v. 13, p. 150. Cf. M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, ed. C. A. Nallino (Catania 1933–9), i. 205f., 216 f. Theophanes is certainly wrong in placing this event before the murder of Constans II.

[AM 6156, AD 663/4]

Constans 23rd year
Mauias, 9th year
Peter, 12th year

‖ In this year there occurred a confusion concerning the date of Lent.‖[a]

‖Abderachman, son of Chaled, invaded the Roman state, wintered in it, and devastated many lands.‖[b] The Sklavinians joined him and went down with him to Syria, 5,000 of them, and were settled in the village Seleukobolos[1] in the region of Apameia.

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 451 (AG 976, AH 44, 23rd year of Constans, 5th of Mu'āwiya); *Chr. 1234*, 220. [b] Cf. *Chr. Maron.* 56–7 (AG 975, 22nd year of Constans, 7th of Mu'āwiya, with many details); Elias Nis. 69 (AH 44); *Chr. 819*, 8 has 'Abd al-Rahmān spend two years in Roman territory. Tabarī, xviii. 71, 87 records raids by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Khālid in AH 44 and 45 (664/5, 665/6). Cf. Brooks, 'Arabs', 184–5.

[1] *Recte* Seleukobelos, that is Seleukeia ad Belum (Selūqiye). See Dussaud, *Topographie*, 155 ff. and Honigmann's note to Hierokles, 712. 9. The mention of Slavs is noteworthy, but it is not clear where the Arabs found them. 'Abd al-Rahmān's march extended as far as Smyrna by way of Amorion and Pessinus according to *Chr. Maron.* loc. cit.

[AM 6157, AD 664/5]

Constans, 24th year
Mauias, 10th year
Thomas, bishop of Constantinople (3 years), 1st year[1]

In this year Bousour invaded the Roman state.[2] Thomarichos, bishop of Apameia,[3] died and the bishop of Emesa was burnt.

[1] Thomas II (17 Apr. 667–15 Nov. 669). See Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 117–20.

[2] A raid of Busr b. Abū Artāt is recorded in AH 43 (663/4) by Elias Nis. 68 (cf. above, AM 6154). Arabic sources speak of two expeditions led by him, in AH 43, 44, and later: Brooks, 'Arabs', 184.

[3] Presumably the one mentioned under AM 6140.

[AM 6158, AD 665/6]

Constans, 25th year
Mauias, 11th year
Thomas, 2nd year

In this year Bousour once again invaded the Roman state and devastated the region of Hexapolis.[1] Phadalas wintered there.[2]

[1] In Cappadocia (former Armenia II). See V. Tourneur in *Mélanges Bidez*, ii (1934), 947–52; F. Hild and M. Restle, *Kappadokien*, *TIB* 2, 71 f., 191.

[2] This appears to anticipate the events narrated in the next entry. The first raid by Fadālah b. 'Ubaid is placed in AH 49 (669/70) by Elias Nis. 69 and Arabic sources (Brooks, 'Arabs', 185–6).

[AM 6159, AD 666/7]

Constans, 26th year
Mauias, 12th year
Thomas, 3rd year

ll In this year the *strategos* of the Armeniacs, Saborios, who was of Persian origin,[1] rebelled against the emperor Constans and sent to
349 Mauias the commander Sergius, promising Mauias to subjugate the Roman state if the latter would fight along with him against the emperor. When Constantine, the emperor's son, had learnt of this, he, too, sent an emissary to Mauias, namely the *cubicularius* Andrew, bearing gifts, so that Mauias should not co-operate with the rebel. When Andrew had reached Damascus, he found that Sergius had anticipated him; as for Mauias, he pretended to be sympathetic to the emperor. Sergius was seated in front of Mauias, and when Andrew entered, Sergius, on seeing him, got up. Mauias upbraided Sergius, saying, 'Why were you afraid?' Sergius excused himself, saying he had done so out of habit. Turning to Andrew, Mauias asked, 'What are you seeking?' He replied, 'That you should give help against the rebel.' The other said, 'Both of you are my enemies. To the one that gives me more I will give help.' Then Andrew said to him, 'Be not in doubt, O

Emir: a few things from an emperor are more advantageous to you than a great many from a rebel. However, do as you please.' Having said these things, Andrew fell silent. Mauias said, 'I am thinking it over'; and he bade both of them go out. Then Mauias summoned Sergius in private and said to him, 'You will no longer do obeisance to Andrew, since by so doing you will achieve nothing.'

The next day Sergius anticipated Andrew and was seated in front of Mauias. When Andrew entered, he did not arise as on the previous day. Looking round at Sergius, Andrew cursed him mightily and threatened him, saying, 'If I remain alive, I will show you who I am.' Sergius replied, 'I am not getting up for you because you are neither a man nor a woman.' Mauias stopped both of them and said to Andrew, 'Undertake to give me as much as Sergius is giving me.'—'And how much is that?' asked Andrew. Mauias replied, 'To give to the Arabs the tax revenue.' Andrew said, 'Woe to you, O Mauias! You are advising me to give you the body and keep the shadow. Make any agreement you wish with Sergius; for I will do no such thing. However, disregarding you, we shall have recourse to God, who has more power than you to defend the Romans, and we shall place our hopes in Him.' After these words he said to Mauias, 'Farewell.' And he departed from 350
Damascus in the direction of Melitene along the road that Sergius, too, was about to travel because the rebel dwelt in those parts. When he had reached Arabissos, he met the commander of the pass,[2] who had not joined the rebel, and ordered him to be on the look-out for Sergius when the latter would be returning, so as to hand him over to him. And he himself proceeded to Amnesia[3] to await Sergius and reported to the emperor what had taken place. Now Sergius, after making a covenant with Mauias as he saw fit, took along the Arab general Phadalas with a force of barbarians to fight on the side of Saborios. Sergius was travelling in front of Phadalas and, as he was proceeding joyfully to meet Saborios, he fell into Andrew's trap in the passes. They seized him and brought him prisoner to Andrew. When Sergius saw Andrew, he fell at his feet, begging him to spare his life. But Andrew said to him, 'Are you the Sergius who took pride in his private parts in front of Mauias and called me effeminate? Behold, from now on your private parts will be of no benefit to you. Nay, they will cause your death.' Having said this, he ordered that Sergius' private parts should be cut off, and he hanged him on a gibbet.ll[a]

llWhen Constantine had been informed of the arrival of Phadalas to assist Saborios, he sent the patrician Nikephoros with a Roman force to oppose Saborios. Now Saborios was at Adrianoupolis[4] and, when he had learnt that Nikephoros was marching against him, he trained himself for battle. It happened that one day he was going out of the

town on horseback as was his custom. When he came near the town gate, he struck his horse with his whip. The horse became restive and dashed his head against the gate, thus causing him to die miserably. In this way God granted victory to the emperor.

So when Phadalas had come to the Hexapolis and learnt everything, he was in a quandary, and sent a message to Mauias, asking for help,
351 seeing that the Romans had healed their rift. Mauias sent him his son Izid with an armed force of numerous barbarians. The two of them came to Chalcedon and made many captives.||[b] They also took Amorion in Phrygia and, after leaving there a guard of 5,000 armed men, returned to Syria. When winter had fallen, the emperor sent the same *cubicularius* Andrew, and he reached Amorion at night when there was much snow. He and his men climbed on the wall with the help of planks and entered Amorion. They killed all the Arabs, all 5,000 of them, and not one of them was left.

||The same winter there was a flood at Edessa and many men perished.||[c] A sign also appeared in the sky.

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 451–4 (AG 977, 26th year of Constans); *Chr. 1234*, 220–3 (closer to Theoph.); Agapios, 228 (incomplete). [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 454 (more succinct); *Chr. 1234*, 223; Agapios, 229 (closest to Theoph.). [c] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 451 (AG 977); *Chr. 1234* (same year, 4 Nov.); Agapios, 229.

[1] Called Šabur Aprasit'gan by Mich. Syr. ii. 451. Cf. P. Peeters, *Byz* 8 (1933), 406.

[2] *κλεισουροφύλαξ*: an officer, independent of the local *strategos*, who commanded a strategic pass. On the *kleisourai* of Asia Minor see J. Ferluga, *ZRVI* 16 (1975), 9–23.

[3] Unidentified.

[4] No Hadrianopolis is known in Cappadocia. Tourneur, *Mélanges Bidez*, ii. 949, believes this was Hadrianopolis of Pisidia (on which see *TIB* 7: 171–2) on the assumption that Šabur had left the region of Melitene and was advancing on Constantinople. Note that Agapios calls it Awdina.

AM 6160 [AD 667/8]

Year of the divine Incarnation 660
Constans, 27th year
Mauias, 13th year
John, bishop of Constantinople (6 years), 1st year[1]

||In this year the emperor Constans was assassinated in Syracuse of Sicily, in a bath||[a] called Daphne. The reason for this was the following. After the murder of his brother Theodosios he was hated by the people of Byzantium, particularly because he had also brought ignominiously to Constantinople Martin, the most holy Pope of Rome, and exiled him to the Klimata of Cherson; because he had cut off the tongue and hand of the most learned confessor Maximus, and had condemned many of the orthodox to torture, banishment, and confiscation of property for not accepting his heresy; because he had subjected to exile and torture the two Anastasii, who were disciples of Maximus, the confessor and martyr. For these reasons he was greatly hated by all; and it was out of fright that he intended to transfer the seat of the Empire to Rome. He accordingly wished to remove the empress and his three sons, but his design was thwarted by the *cubicularius* Andrew and Theodore of Koloneia. And so he spent six years in Sicily. ||And when he had entered the aforesaid bath, he was accompanied by a certain Andrew, son of Troilos,[2] who was his attendant. As he began to smear himself with soap, Andrew picked up a bucket, struck the emperor on the head and immediately escaped. 352
And as the emperor had been in the bath for a long time, those who were outside rushed in and found him dead. After burying him, they made emperor by constraint a certain Mizizios, an Armenian; for he was very comely and handsome. When Constantine had heard of his father's demise, he arrived in Sicily with a great fleet and, having captured Mizizios, put him to death together with his father's murderers. After establishing order in the West, he hastened to Constantinople and reigned over the Romans together with his brothers Tiberius and Herakleios.||[b][3]

[a–b] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 450–1 (AG 980); *Chr. 1234*, 223–4 (AG 980, 27th year of Constans, 9th of Mu'āwiya); Agapios, 230–1 and the remarks of P. Peeters, *AnBoll* 51 (1933), 228–31.

[1] John V (Nov. 669–Aug. 675).

[2] Cf. the seal of Troilos, patrician, in Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no. 132.

[3] E. W. Brooks, *BZ* 17 (1908), 455–9, denies the historicity of Constantine's Sicilian expedition.

[AM 6161, AD 668/9]

Constantine, emperor of the Romans (17 years), 1st year
Mauias, 14th year
John, 2nd year

||In this year Constantine became emperor together with his brothers. The Saracens invaded Africa and made, it is said, 80,000 captives.||[a]

Now the men of the Anatolic *thema* came to Chrysopolis, saying, 'We believe in the Trinity. Let us crown all three!' Constantine was

troubled, since he alone had been crowned, whereas his brothers had no dignity whatever.[1] So he dispatched to them Theodore, the patrician of Koloneia, who deceived them with words of praise and took along their leaders that they might enter the City and confer with the Senate so as to carry out their wishes. Straight away the emperor impaled them across the water at Sykai. When they had seen this and been shamed, the Anatolics returned home in dejection. The emperor, for his part, cut off his brothers' noses.[2]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 454; *Chr. 1234*, 224; Agapios, 231 (100,000 captives).

[1] Untrue: they were crowned in 659 as shown by the acts of the Council of 680, Mansi, xi. 209A, 217A, etc. = *ACO* 2nd ser. ii/1 (1990), 14, 26, etc.

[2] This entry, derived from a Greek source, contradicts AM 6173 and is clearly misplaced. The deposition of Constantine's brothers took place in the latter part of 681 and the revolt of the Anatolic troops very shortly thereafter as proved by Brooks, *EHR* 30 (1915), 42–51. Mich. Syr. ii. 455–6 and *Chr. 1234*, 225 (who also record the exclamation about the Trinity) are nearer the truth. Note that Geo. Mon. 728, while paraphrasing the text of Theoph., places the incident after the Arab blockade of Constantinople.

353 **AM 6162 [AD 669/70]**

Year of the divine Incarnation 662
Constantine, emperor of the Romans (17 years), 2nd year
Mauias, leader of the Arabs (24 years), 15th year
John, bishop of Constantinople (6 years), 3rd year

‖ In this year there was a severe cold, and many men as well as beasts suffered hardship.‖[a] Phadalas wintered at Kyzikos.[1]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 456 (AG 980; olive trees and vines withered in Syria and Mesopotamia); Agapios 231; *Chr. 819*, 8 (AG 976).

[1] Raids by Fadāla b. 'Ubaid, the first by sea, are recorded in AH 50 (670/1) and 51 (671/2), Tabarī, xviii. 96, 122: Brooks, 'Arabs', 186.

[AM 6163, AD 670/71]

Constantine, 3rd year
Mauias, 16th year
John, 4th year

In this year Bousour made an expedition and, after taking many captives, returned home.[1]

[1] Raids by Busr are recorded in AH 50 and 51 (670/1 and 671/2): Elias Nis. 70, Tabarī, xviii. 96, 122: Brooks, 'Arabs', 186.

[AM 6164, AD 671/2]

Constantine, 4th year
Mauias, 17th year
John, 5th year

‖ In this year, in the month of Dystros (March), a rainbow appeared in the sky, and all men shuddered and said it was the end of the world.‖[a]

In this year the deniers of Christ equipped a great fleet, and after they had sailed past Cilicia, Mouamed, son of Abdelas, wintered at Smyrna, while Kaisos[1] wintered in Cilicia and Lycia. ‖A plague occurred in Egypt.‖[b] The emir Chale[2] was also sent to assist them inasmuch as he was a competent and bold warrior. The aforesaid Constantine, on being informed of so great an expedition of God's enemies against Constantinople, built large biremes bearing cauldrons of fire and *dromones* equipped with siphons,[3] and ordered them to be stationed at the Proclianesian harbour[4] of Caesarius.‖[c]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 456 (AG 989, in the 3rd watch of the night, hence the fear); *Chr. 1234*, 224 (4th year of Constantine, 4th watch of the night); Agapios, 231 (13th year of Mu'āwiya). [b] Cf. Agapios, 232. [c] Cf. Nik. 34. 2 ff.

[1] These names appear to be garbled. Arabic sources mention, among commanders active during this period, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, Muhammad b. Mālik, and 'Abdallāh b. Qays (for the last cf. AM 6166): Brooks, 'Arabs', 186–7.

[2] Presumably Khālid (not mentioned in Arabic sources); Nik. 34. 6 has Chaleb (Chaleph in London MS).

[3] See AM 6165, n. 5. The 'siphons' were probably pumps for the propulsion of 'Greek fire'.

[4] The harbour of Caesarius was the same as the Theodosian harbour on the Propontis side of Constantinople. The designation Proclianesian (presumably after a person called Proclianus) remains unexplained.

[AM 6165, AD 672/3]

Constantine, 5th year
Mauias, 18th year
John, 6th year

‖In this year the aforesaid fleet of God's enemies set sail and came to anchor in the region of Thrace, btween the western point of the Hebdomon, that is the Magnaura, as it is called, and the eastern promontory, named Kyklobion.[1] Every day there was a military engagement from morning until evening, between the *brachialion*[2] of the Golden Gate and the Kyklobion,with thrust and counter-thrust. 354

The enemy kept this up from the month of April until September. Then, turning back, they went to Kyzikos, which they captured, and wintered there. And in the spring they set out and, in similar fashion, made war on sea against the Christians. After doing the same for seven years[3] and being put to shame with the help of God and His Mother; having, furthermore, lost a multitude of warriors and had a great many wounded, they turned back with much sorrow. And as this fleet (which was to be sunk by God) put out to sea, it was overtaken by a wintry storm and the squalls of a hurricane in the area of Syllaion. It was dashed to pieces and perished entirely.‖[a]

Now Souphian, the younger son of Auph,[4] joined battle with Florus, Petronas, and Cyprian, who were at the head of a Roman force, and 30,000 Arabs were killed.‖[b]

At that time Kallinikos, an architect from Helioupolis in Syria, took refuge with the Romans and manufactured a naval fire with which he kindled the ships of the Arabs and burnt them with their crews.[5] In this way the Romans came back in victory and acquired the naval fire.‖[c]

[a] Cf. Nik. 34. 6–21. Zon. iii. 224 adds that the Arab fleet was also attacked by the *strategos* of the Kibyrrhaiots. [b] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 455; Agapios, 232 (the engagement took place in Lycia). [c] Cf. Mich. Syr. and Agapios, locc. citt.

[1] For a plan of the area see Demangel, *Hebdomon*, fig. 1. The Magnaura (presumably from *magna aula*) should not be confused with a building of the same name in the Great Palace. The promontory of the Kyklobion corresponds to modern Zeytinburnu. See Van Millingen, *Byz. CP* 327, and Demangel, 47–8. Cf. also below, AM 6209.

[2] Presumably an outwork (cf. the military sense of Lat. *bracchium*) covering the juncture between the land and sea walls. *Chron. Pasch.* 719. 15, with reference to the siege of 626, says that the Chagan set up engines *ἀπὸ βραχιαλίου καὶ ἕως βραχιαλίου* that is along the whole stretch from the Propontis to the Golden Horn. In *Mir. S. Demetrii*, p. 215. 18, a similar feature at Thessalonica is called *βραχιόνιον*.

[3] It is usually held that the 'siege' of Constantinople lasted not seven years but five (674–8). In fact, there was no siege but a series of engagements, which, if Arabic sources are to be believed, may have started as early as 669. For the chronology see Lilie, 76 n. 61.

[4] Sufyān b. 'Awf is repeatedly mentioned in the campaigns of AH 50, 52, and 55: Tabarī, xviii. 96, 165, 180. His death in Roman territory is, however, reported in AH 52.

[5] Theoph. fails to explain that the first use of 'Greek fire' was allegedly directed against an Arab fleet that had attacked a coastal town of Lycia (in 671 according to Mich. Syr.) and appears to have overlooked the previous entry (AM 6164), which records that warships stationed at Constantinople had already been equipped with the new weapon. For modern bibliography on 'Greek fire', see *ODB* s.v.

[AM 6166, AD 673/4]

Constantine, 6th year
Mauias, 19th year
Constantine, bishop of Constantinople (2 years), 1st year[1]

‖In this year Abdelas, the son of Kais, and Phadalas wintered in Crete.‖[a2]

[a] Cf. Elias Nis. 70 (AH 55; no mention of Crete).

[1] Constantine I (2 Sept. 675–9 Aug. 677): Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 123–4.

[2] This incident is not recorded elsewhere. Tabarī, xviii. 166, 172, speaks of the conquest of Rhodes by Junādah in AH 53 (672/3) and of Arwād, an island near Constantinople (!) in AH 54 (673/4). Cf. Tsougarakis, *Crete*, 23.

[AM 6167, AD 674/5]

Constantine, 7th year
Mauias, 20th year
Constantine, 2nd year

‖In this year a sign appeared in the sky on a Saturday.‖[a]

[a] Cf. Elias Nis. 70 (AH 56 from 26 Aug. to 26 Oct.); Mich. Syr. ii. 456 (AG 988).

[AM 6168, AD 675/6]

Constantine, 8th year
Mauias 21st year
Theodore, bishop of Constantinople (2 years), 1st year[1]

‖In this year there was a great plague of locusts in Syria and Mesopotamia.‖[a]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 457 (AG 990).

[1] Theodore I, first tenure (Aug./Sept. 677–Nov./Dec. 679): Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 125–9.

AM 6169 [AD 676/7]

Year of the divine Incarnation 669
Constantine, emperor of the Romans (17 years), 9th year
Mauias, leader of the Arabs (24 years), 22nd year
Theodore, bishop of Constantinople (2 years), 2nd year

‖ In this year the Mardaites[1] entered the Lebanon range and made themselves masters from the Black Mountain[2] as far as the Holy City and captured the peaks of Lebanon. Many slaves, captives, and natives took refuge with them, so that in a short time they grew to many thousands.‖[a] When Mauias and his advisers had learnt of this, they were much afraid, realizing that the Roman Empire was guarded by God. So he sent ambassadors to the emperor Constantine, asking for peace and promising to pay yearly tribute to the emperor. Upon receiving these ambassadors and hearing their request, the emperor dispatched with them to Syria the patrician John, surnamed Pitzigaudes, a man of ancient lineage in the state and possessed of much experience and excellent judgement, that he might parley suitably with the Arabs and conclude a treaty of peace. When this man had arrived in Syria, Mauias gathered a group of emirs and Korasenoi and received him with great honour. After exchanging many conciliatory speeches, they mutually agreed to draw up a written treaty of peace under oath, stipulating a yearly tribute of 3,000 [pieces] of gold,[3] fifty captives, and fifty thoroughbred horses to be paid by the Hagarenes to the Roman state. These conditions having been approved by both sides for a duration of thirty years, complete peace prevailed between the Romans and the Arabs. After these two written treaties[4] had been mutually sworn and exchanged, the oft-
356 mentioned illustrious man[5] returned to the emperor with many gifts.

When the inhabitants of the West had learnt of this, namely the Chagan of the Avars as well as the kings, chieftains, and *castaldi*[6] who lived beyond them, and the princes of the western nations, they sent ambassadors and gifts to the emperor, requesting that peace and friendship should be confirmed with them. The emperor acceded to their demands and ratified an imperial peace with them also. Thus great security prevailed in both East and West.‖[b]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 455; *Chr. 1234*, 224 (both in the 9th year of Constantine); Agapios, 232–3 (17th year of Mu'āwiya). [b] Cf. Nik. 34. 21–37.

[1] An Irano-Armenian tribe according to H. M. Bartikian in *Byzantium: Tribute to A. N. Stratos*, i (Athens, 1986), 17–39.

[2] The Amanus.

[3] Or possibly lbs. (χρυσοῦ χιλιάδας τρεῖς) seeing that the sum of 3,000 *solidi* appears too low. MSS e, m have 365,000 instead of 3,000, confirmed at AM 6176. Nik. gives the same figures as Theoph., but the quotation from the latter in *DAI* 21. 15–16 has 800 instead of 50 prisoners. For the peace treaty, which is not mentioned in Syriac sources, cf. Dölger, *Reg.* 239, who dates it to 678; Stratos, v. 51 ff.

[4] i.e. two copies of the same treaty.

[5] Clearly, he must have been mentioned several times previously in the source Theoph. is following.

[6] Or *gastaldi*, a Lombard term for local governors acting on behalf of the king.

AM 6170 [AD 677/8]

Year of the divine Incarnation 670
Constantine, 10th year
Mauias 23rd year
George, bishop of Constantinople (6 years), 1st year[1]

‖ In this year a severe earthquake occurred in Mesopotamia, as a result of which Batnai[2] and the dome of the church of Edessa[3] fell down. Mauias rebuilt the latter by the zeal of the Christians.‖[a]

[a] Cf. Ps.-Dion. 9 (3 Apr. AG 990); *Chr. 819*, 8; *Chr. 846*, 175; Mich. Syr. ii. 457; *Chr. 1234*, 224 (for a.950 read 990).

[1] George I (Dec. 679–Feb. 686): Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 130–45.

[2] Not capitalized by dB (τὸ βατᾶν).

[3] The cathedral of Edessa, reconstructed as a domed building by Justinian after its destruction by flood in 525, is described in a Syriac hymn, on which see K. E. McVey, *DOP* 37 (1983), 91–121.

[AM 6171, AD 678/9]

Constantine, 11th year
Mauias, 24th year
George, 2nd year

‖ In this year Mauias, the Caliph[1] of the Saracens, died on the 6th of the month Artemisios, indiction 1.[2] He had been military commander 20 years and emir 24 years. His son Izid assumed power.‖[a]

‖In this year,[3] too, the tribe of the Bulgars assailed Thrace. It is now necessary to relate the ancient history of the Ounnogoundour Bulgars[4] and Kotragoi. On the northern, that is the far side of the Euxine Sea, is the so-called Maeotid Lake into which flows a huge river called Atel,[5] which comes down from the Ocean through the land of the Sarmatians. The Atel is joined by the river Tanais, which also rises from the Iberian Gates that are in the mountains of Caucasus. From the confluence of the Tanais and the Atel (it is above the aforementioned Maeotid Lake that the Atel splits off) flows the river called Kouphis[6] which discharges into the far end of 357

the Pontic Sea near Nekropela,[7] by the promontory called Ram's Head.[8] From the aforesaid lake is a stretch of sea like a river which joins the Euxine through the land of the Cimmerian Bosphorus,[9] in which river are caught the so-called *mourzoulin*[10] and similar fish. Now on the eastern side of the lake that lies above, in the direction of Phanagouria and of the Jews that live there, march a great many tribes; whereas, starting from the same lake in the direction of the river called Kouphis[11] (where the Bulgarian fish called *xyston* is caught)[12] is the old Great Bulgaria and the so-called Kotragoi, who are of the same stock as the Bulgars.

In the days of Constantine, who dwelt in the West, Krobatos,[13] the chieftain of the aforesaid Bulgaria and of the Kotragoi, died leaving five sons, on whom he enjoined not to depart under any circumstances from their common life that they might prevail in every way and not be enslaved by another tribe. A short time after his demise, however, his five sons fell out and parted company, each with the host that was subject to him. The eldest son, called Batbaian, observed his father's command and has remained until this day in his ancestral land. His younger brother, called Kotragos, crossed the river Tanais and dwelt opposite his eldest brother. The fourth and fifth went over the river Istros, that is the Danube: the former became subject of the Chagan of the Avars in Avar Pannonia and remained there with his army, whereas the latter reached the Pentapolis, which is near Ravenna, and accepted allegiance to the Christian Empire.[14] Coming after them, the third brother, called
358 Asparouch, crossed the Danapris and Danastris (rivers that are farther north than the Danube)[15] and, on reaching the Oglos,[16] settled between the former and the latter, since he judged that place to be secure and impregnable on both sides: on the near side it is marshy, while on the far side it is encircled by the rivers. It thus provided ample security from enemies to this tribe that had been weakened by its division.

When they had thus divided into five parts and been reduced to a paltry estate, the great nation of the Chazars issued forth from the inner depths of Berzilia,[17] that is from the First Sarmatia, and conquered all the country beyond the sea as far as the Sea of Pontos; and they subjugated the eldest brother Batbaian, chieftain of the First Bulgaria, from whom they exact tribute to this day.[18] Now, when the emperor Constantine had been informed that a foul and unclean tribe had settled beyond the Danube at the Oglos and was overrunning and laying waste the environs of the Danube, that is the country that is now in their possession, but was then in Christian hands, he was greatly distressed and ordered all the *themata* to cross over

to Thrace. He fitted out a fleet and moved against them by land and sea in an attempt to drive them away by force of arms; and he drew up his infantry on the land that faces the so-called Oglos and the Danube, while he anchored his ships by the adjoining shore. When the Bulgars had seen the sudden arrival of this enormous armament, they despaired of their safety and took refuge in the aforementioned fastness, where they made themselves secure. For three or four days they did not dare come out of their fastness, nor did the Romans join battle on account of the marshes that lay before them. Perceiving, therefore, the sluggishness of the Romans, the foul tribe was revived and became bolder. Now the emperor developed an acute case of gout and was constrained to return to Mesembria together with five *dromones* and his retinue so as to have the use of a bath. He left behind the commanders and the army, whom he ordered to make 359
simulated attacks so as to draw the Bulgars out of their fastness and so engage them in battle if they happened to come out; and if not, to besiege them and keep watch over the defences. But the cavalrymen spread the rumour that the emperor was fleeing and, being seized by fear, they, too, fled, although no one was pursuing them. When the Bulgars saw this, they gave pursuit and put most of them to the sword and wounded many others. They chased them as far as the Danube, which they crossed and came to Varna, as it is called, near Odyssos and the inland territory that is there. They perceived that this place was very secure, being guarded at the rear by the river Danube, in front and on the sides by means of mountain passes and the Pontic Sea. Having, furthermore, subjugated the so-called Seven Tribes of the neighbouring Sklavinian nations,[19] they settled the Severeis from the forward mountain pass of Beregaba[20] in the direction of the east, and the remaining six tribes, which were tributary to them, in the southern and western regions as far as the land of the Avars. Having thus extended their domains, they grew arrogant and began to attack and capture the forts and villages that belonged to the Roman state. Being under constraint, the emperor made peace with them and agreed to pay them yearly tribute. Thus the Romans were put to shame for their many sins.‖[b]

Both those who lived afar and those who lived near were astonished to hear that he who had subjugated everyone, those in the east and in the west, in the north and in the south, was vanquished by this foul and newly-arisen tribe. But he believed that this had happened to the Christians by God's providence and made peace in the spirit of the Gospels; and until his death he remained undisturbed by all his enemies. His particular concern was to unite God's holy churches which had been everywhere divided from the days of the

emperor Herakleios, his great grandfather, and of the heretical Sergius and Pyrros, who had unworthily presided over the see of Constantinople and had taught one will and one energy in our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ. ||Being anxious to refute their evil
360 beliefs, the same most Christian emperor convened at Constantinople an ecumenical council of 289 bishops. He confirmed the doctrines previously established by the five earlier holy and ecumenical councils and joined in promulgating the pious dogma of the two wills and two energies at this holy and most accurate Sixth ecumenical Council,||[c] which was presided by the same most pious emperor Constantine and the pious bishops.[21]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 819*, 8 (AG 991); *Chr. 846*, 175; Mich. Syr. ii. 468 (AG 992, AH 63; he had governed Syria 21 years and reigned 20 years); *Chr. 1234*, 224–5 (AH 59, 11th year of Constantine); Agapios, 233 (Sunday 6 May, AG 991; he had been emir 20 years and reigned 20 years); Elias Nis. 71 (AH 60). [b] Cf. Nik. 35. [c] Cf. Nik. 37. 6–10.

[1] *πρωτοσύμβουλος*: according to Reiske, *Cer.* ii. 806–7, this is a mistaken rendering of Amīr al-Umarā (commander-in-chief), the 8th form of the verb *amara* (to command), meaning 'to take counsel'. Examples of the Greek term, which entered diplomatic usage, are collected in A. Kazhdan in *Zu Alexander d. Gr., Festschrift G. Wirth* (Amsterdam, 1988), 1203f., 1208f. The rendering of *amīr* as *σύμβουλος* is quite early seeing that it occurs in an inscription dated 662 from the baths of Gadara and in documents of the late 7th cent.: J. Green and Y. Tsafrir, *IEJ* 32 (1982), 95f.; I. Hasson, ibid., 100; *Excavations at Nessana*, iii: *Non-literary Papyri*, ed. C. J. Kraemer (Princeton, 1958), nos. 58. 10, 75. 3, etc.

[2] The ind. corresponding to AM 6171 is 7. The correct indiction for Mu'āwiya's death (680) would have been 8. Arabic sources record it in the month of Rajab (7 Apr.–6 May): Tabarī, xviii. 210–11.

[3] Or 'at this time' (*τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ*).

[4] The Onogundurs were a tribe of the Bulgars. Cf. V. Beševliev, *REB* 28 (1970), 153–9; *Βυζαντινά*, 13/1 (1985), 48–9. Nik. 35. 1 has, presumably incorrectly, *Οὔννων καὶ Βουλγάρων*.

[5] The Volga, which, of course, neither flows into the Sea of Azov nor unites with the Don (Tanais). Cf. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* ii. 78–9, s.v. *Ἀτήλ*.

[6] Usually identified with the Kuban. Cf. *DAI, Commentary*, 155. Here, however, it seems to refer to a river west of the Crimean peninsula (the Bug?).

[7] The Karkinitic Gulf between the Crimean peninsula and the mouth of the Dnieper, hence a great distance from the Kuban. Cf. *DAI* 42. 69, 79 (spelled *Νεκρόπηλα*, not *Νεκρόπυλα* in the best MS) and *infra*, AM 6196.

[8] The southern promontory of the Crimean peninsula, called *Κριοῦ μέτωπον* in antiquity: Skylax, *Periplus*, 68; Anon. *Periplus*, 18, 52; Strabo, 125, 309, 496, 545.

[9] The MSS read *διὰ τῆς γῆς Βοσφόρου καὶ Κιμμερίου*, which should probably be emended to *Βοσφόρου τοῦ Κιμμερίου*.

[10] An hapax.

[11] Here the Kuban.

[12] Cf. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, ii. 89, 212–13, who thinks it may be the same as a fish called *βερζίτικον* that was caught in the area of the Maeotis.

[13] Called Koubratos by Nik. 22. 1. He was on friendly terms with Herakleios, who conferred on him the dignity of patrician. There has been lengthy debate whether he was or was not the same person as the Chrobatos of *DAI* 30. 65 and the Kouber of *Mir. S. Demetrii*, 227 ff. For a judicious review see P. Lemerle's commentary on the latter, ii. 143 ff.

[14] Cf. A. Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'Empire byzantin au VIIe s.* (Rome, 1969), 102, quoting relevant western sources.

[15] Transposing the text to read: *τὸν Δάναπριν καὶ Δάναστριν περάσας, βορειοτέρους τοῦ Δανουβίου ποταμούς, καὶ τὸν Ὄγλον καταλαβών, μεταξὺ τούτου κἀκείνων ᾤκησεν*, as suggested by V. Beševliev *BZ* 27 (1927), 35.

[16] Presumably in the Danube delta. There has been much discussion whether O(n)glos is derived from Old Slav. ǫglŭ = 'corner' or from Turc. aghul = 'court', 'fortified enclosure'. See Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, ii, s.v. *Ὄγγλος* and *αὐλή*; N. Bănescu, *Byz* 28 (1958), 433–40; R. Rašev, *Bulgarian Historical Review* (1982), 68–79.

[17] N. Dagestan. Cf. Theoph. Sim. VII.8. 3 (*Βαρσήλτ*) and Mich. Syr. ii. 364 ('le pays d'Alân qu'on appelle Barsâlia') with the comments of Artamonov, *Istorija*, 128, 130–2.

[18] Referring, presumably, to the time of the composition of the source here followed by Theoph.

[19] On which see I. Dujčev, *Medioevo biz.-slavo*, i (Rome, 1965), 55–6, 67–82.

[20] Very probably the Riš pass, 66 km. north-west of Burgas: Bury, *ERE*, 339; *TIB* 6: 202.

[21] The council met in 680–1.

AM 6172 [AD 679/80]

Year of the divine Incarnation 672
Constantine, 12th year
Azid, leader of the Arabs (3 years), 1st year[1]
George, 3rd year[2]

||In this year the holy and ecumenical Sixth Council of 289 holy bishops and fathers assembled at Constantinople at the behest of the pious emperor Constantine.||[a3]

[a] *Chr. 846*, 174–5, AG 992; Cf. Agapios, 233 (1st year of Yazīd).

[1] Yezid b. Mu'āwiya (Apr. 680–Nov. 683).
[2] *Recte* 2nd year. Cf. AM 6177, n. 6.
[3] The council convened on 7 Nov. 680 and adjourned on 16 Sept. 681. The 12th year of Constantine IV is, however, correct.

AM 6173 [AD 680/1]

Year of the divine Incarnation 673
Constantine, emperor of the Romans (17 years), 13th year
Azid, leader of the Arabs (3 years), 2nd year
George, bishop of Constantinople (6 years), 4th year

‖ In this year Constantine expelled from the imperial dignity his brothers, Herakleios and Tiberius, and reigned alone with his son Justinian.‖[a]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 225 (two years after Mu'āwiya's death, that is in the 13th year of Constantine, with more details); Mich. Syr. ii. 455–6; Agapios, 234.

[AM 6174, AD 681/2]

Constantine, 14th year
Azid, 3rd year
George, 5th year

‖ In this year the impostor Mouchtar[1] rebelled and became master of Persia. He called himself a prophet. The Arabs were troubled.‖[a]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 225–6 (contemporary with the death of Yezid in the 14th year of Constantine, AH 63); Mich. Syr. ii. 468, AG 995; Agapios, 234.

[1] The Shī'a agitator Al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubaid, who won control of Kūfa from 684 to 686. See relevant art. by G. Levi della Vida in *EI*[1].

[AM 6175, AD 682/3]

Constantine, 15th year
Marouam, leader of the Arabs (1 year), 1st year
George, 6th year

‖ In this year Izid died. The Arabs of Ethribos were troubled and rose up under the leadership of a certain Abdelas, son of Zouber.[1] The Phoenicians and Palestinians gathered at Damascus and came as far as Gabitha to Asan, emir of Palestine.[2] They laid their hands on Marouam, whom they appointed leader, and he was emir for nine months.[3] When

he had died, his son Abimelech succeeded to the power and was emir 21 and a half years.[4] He captured the rebels and slew Abdelas, son of Zouber, as well as Dadachos.‖[a][5] 361

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 226–7; Mich. Syr. ii. 468–9 (less full); Agapios, 234–7.

[1] 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubair, on whom see relevant art. by M. Seligsohn in *EI*[1]. He was proclaimed Caliph in Mecca in AH 61 (680/1).
[2] Hassān b. Mālik, cousin of Yazīd I, governor of Palestine and Jordan.
[3] Marwān b. al-Hakam (on whom see relevant art. by H. Lammens in *EI*[1]), d. Apr. or May 685.
[4] 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (685–705).
[5] Al-Dahhāk b. Qais al-Fihrī, governor of the province of Damascus, killed at the battle of Mardj Rāhit in 684. See relevant art. by H. Lammens in *EI*[1].

[AM 6176, AD 683/4]

Constantine, 16th year
Abimelech, leader of the Arabs (22 years), 1st year[1]
Theodore, bishop of Constantinople for the second time (3 years), 1st year[2]

‖ In this year there was a famine and a great plague in Syria;‖[a] and Abimelech assumed power over the nation. As the Mardaites were attacking the regions of the Lebanon and the plague was raging, the same Abimelech sent ambassadors to the emperor begging for the peace that had been requested in the days of Mauias and covenanted to provide as tribute the same 365,000 gold pieces,[3] 365 slaves, and, likewise, 365 thoroughbred horses.‖[b]

[a] Cf. Agapios, 237. See also H. Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul* (Paris, 1907), No. 84, AG 995. [b] Cf. *Chr. 819*, 8, AG 996 (3 years' truce concluded by 'Abd al-Malik); *Chr. 846*, 175 (likewise); Agapios, 237 (10 years' truce concluded after accession of Justinian II); *Chr. 1234*, 227 (Arab embassy to Constantine; terms not given); Elias Nis. 72 (likewise); Mich. Syr. ii. 469 (no mention of embassy).

[1] 'Abd al-Malik's accession occurred in Apr.–May 685. The treaty is dated by Elias Nis. 7 July 685. Theophanes' date is, therefore, one year too early.
[2] Theodore's second tenure lasted from Feb./Mar. 686 (after the accession of Justinian II) until 28 Dec. 687, that is about 1 year 10 months. The 3 years given by Theophanes represent the aggregate of his two tenures. See Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 146–8.
[3] Cf. AM 6169, n. 3.

[AM 6177, AD 684/5]

Constantine, 17th year
Abimelech, 2nd year
Theodore, 2nd year

‖ In this year the pious emperor Constantine died after a reign of 17 years and Justinian, his son, became emperor.‖[a1]

⌜It should be noted that those who maintain that the Summary Definitions of the Sixth Council[2] (which they make much of)[3] were issued four years later[4] are chattering in vain. For, as in all other respects they are convicted of lying, so here, too, they are proved not to be speaking the truth. Indeed, an accurate chronological notation shows that the holy ecumenical Sixth Council, which was directed against the Monotheletes, took place in the 12th year of the reign of Constantine, descendant of Herakleios, in the year 6172 from Creation; and that the same Constantine reigned 5 years thereafter; and, after his death, his son Justinian reigned alone 10 years; and after Justinian had been expelled, Leontios ruled 3 years, and after Leontios, Tiberius (who was also Apsimaros) 7 years, and again the expelled Justinian 6 years. One may, therefore, determine from the published Definitions themselves that they were set forth in the second year of the latter reign of the same Justinian whose nose had been cut off,[5] since the Third Definition contains the following,
362 word for word: 'We decree that those who have become entangled in two marriages and have remained enslaved to their sin until 15 January of the past 4th indiction of the year 6199, and have not chosen to come to their senses should be subjected to a canonical deposition.'[b] And further down, 'Those who, after their ordination, have contracted one illegal marriage, that is presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons, and have already been debarred for a short time from the holy liturgy and been reproved, shall be reinstated in their respective ranks, but shall on no account be promoted to a higher rank. Their illicit union shall, of course, have been dissolved.'[c] From this chronological indication it appears clearly that from the holy ecumenical Sixth Council until the publication of the Definitions there accrued 27 years. At the holy ecumenical council the patriarch of Constantinople was George, who was in the third year of his patriarchate,[6] and after the council he remained patriarch another 3 years; and, after him, came the tenures of Theodore (3 years), Paul (7 years), Kallinikos (12 years), and Kyros (2 years),[7] so that, on the basis of the patriarchs, too, 27 years may be deduced. From the publication of the Definitions until the first year of Philippikos passed 5 years;

and in the first year of Philippikos took place an insane synod against the holy ecumenical Sixth Council; and after Kyros had been expelled in the 6th year of his patriarchate, John was made patriarch of Constantinople; and both Andrew, metropolitan of Crete, and Germanus, metropolitan of Kyzikos, clearly signed and anathematized, along with everyone else at that time, the holy ecumenical Sixth Council that had been directed against the Monotheletes. And John having died 3 years later, Germanus was translated from Kyzikos and was made patriarch of Constantinople; and in the 13th year of the reign of Leo he was exiled and Anastasios was made patriarch, who ruled 24 years; and, after him, Constantine 12 years; Niketas 14; Paul 5; Tarasios 21; Nikephoros 8; Theodotos 6; Antony 16; and John, who divined with a basin, 6 years, 1 month.⌝[8]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 227 (after a reign of 16 years). [b] Mansi, xi. 941C. [c] Ibid. 941E–944A.

1 Constantine IV died in early Sept. 685 according to *Lib. Pont.* i. 366 or on 10 July according to *Chr. Alt.*: see P. Grierson, *DOP* 16 (1962), 50. The former date has been defended by V. Grumel, *AnBoll* 84 (1966), 254–60, who identified as Constantine IV the emperor Constantine the younger commemorated in *Syn. CP* 12. 6 under 3 Sept. See, however, F. Halkin, *AnBoll* 24 (1954), 14–17 and P. Karlin-Hayter, *Byz* 36 (1966), 624–6. Discussion in Stratos, v. 162–3, who favours the July date. If the latter is correct and falls, as it must, in 685, then Theophanes' AM date is also correct.

2 This refers to the canons of the Quinisext Council (691/2).

3 *τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς φημιζομένους*, rendered by Anast. by *quae diffamatae sunt*, perhaps under the influence of *φάμωσσον, φάμουσον = famosus libellus*. It is, however, difficult to attach a negative meaning ('to decry') to the verb *φημίζω*, which has either a neutral connotation ('to spread a report' as in Theoph. 234. 21, *ἐφημίσθη. . . ὅτι ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ βασιλεύς*) or a positive one ('to celebrate').

4 i.e. 4 years after the accession of Justinian II. Note that precisely such a claim was officially made at the Council of 787, namely that the Fathers of the Quinisext were the same who had taken part in the Sixth Council and that they met *μετὰ τέσσαρας ἢ πέντε χρόνους* after the accession of Justinian II: Mansi xiii. 220C. This indicates that the author of the 'scholion' is writing from an iconoclastic position; hence his desire to post-date the Quinisext (which in its famous 82nd canon recommended the representation of Christ in human form) and his unflattering reference to Germanus and Andrew of Crete. It is perhaps misleading to speak of a 'scholion', since that would imply an iconoclastic annotator of our Chronicle. It is more likely that we have here part of a polemical tract, which an absent-minded copyist or editor of the Chronicle thought fit to include without realizing its ideological orientation. As to the date of this tract, it should be noted that in Anast.'s version (dB 230) it concludes with *Tarasius viginti uno*, which

suggests a time of composition shortly after 806. Later the list of patriarchs was continued by an iconodule down to John VII (838–43), who is given the opprobrious epithet of *Λεκανομάντις*.

[5] The calculation is erroneous owing to the fact that the author of the 'scholion' mistook the year 6199 given in can. 3 as being in the Alexandrian era, whereas, in fact, it is reckoned according to the Byzantine era (= Jan. 691).

[6] This synchronism (as in AM 6172) is incorrect, since the Sixth Council was in session from Nov. 680 to Sept. 681, whereas George was ordained in Dec. 679. He would, therefore, have been in his 2nd year during most of the duration of the Council.

[7] *Recte* 6 as below, unless our author means to say that the Quinisext was held in the 2nd year of Kyros. It is difficult to understand the reasoning underlying his enumeration of patriarchs if he did not have some reason for believing that the Quinisext had met under Kyros, whereas, in fact, it did so under Paul (Mansi, xi. 988).

[8] The last four names represent a later addition: see above, n. 4. *Contra* Grumel, *ÉO* 34 (1935), 164, Treadgold, *DOP* 33 (1979), 178–9, argues that John's accession took place on 21 Apr. 838, that is that he was in office 5 years and 11 months.

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AM 6178 [AD 685/6]

Year of the divine Incarnation 678
Justinian, emperor of the Romans (10 years), 1st year
Abimelech, leader of the Arabs (22 years), 3rd year
Theodore, bishop of Constantinople (3 years), 3rd year

‖ In this year Abimelech sent emissaries to Justinian to ratify the peace, and it was concluded on these terms: that the emperor should remove the host of the Mardaites from the Lebanon and prevent their incursions; that Abimelech would give to the Romans every day 1,000 gold pieces, a horse, and a slave;[1] and that they would share in equal parts the tax revenue of Cyprus, Armenia, and Iberia. The emperor sent the *magistrianus* Paul to Abimelech in order to ratify the agreement, and a written guarantee was drawn up and witnessed. After being honourably rewarded, the *magistrianus* returned home. The emperor sent orders to receive the Mardaites, 12,000 of them,‖[a] thereby injuring the Roman state: for all the cities along the border that are now inhabited by Arabs, from Mopsuestia to the Fourth Armenia, were then weak and uninhabited because of the assaults of the Mardaites. Since these have been repressed, the Roman country has been suffering terrible ills at the hands of the Arabs until this day.

‖ In the same year Abimelech sent Ziados, the brother of Mauias,[2] to Persia against the impostor and usurper Mouchtar. And Ziados was

slain by Mouchtar. When Abimelech had heard of this, he came to Mesopotamia, and Saidos[3] revolted against him. Turning back, he persuaded Saidos by agreement to open Damascus (which the latter had previously seized) and then treacherously assassinated him.‖[b]

‖Being a young man, about 16 years old,‖[c] and foolish in the administration of his affairs, Justinian sent the *strategos* Leontios with a Roman army to Armenia. He slew the Saracens that were there and subjugated Armenia to the Romans; likewise Iberia, Albania, Boukania,[4] and Media,[5] and, after imposing taxes on those countries, sent a great sum of money to the emperor. When Abimelech had been informed of this, he occupied Kerkesion[6] and subjugated Theoupolis.[7]

[a] See AM 6176, n. b (the *magistrianus* Paul does not appear in the Syriac sources).
[b] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 227–8; Elias Nis. 72 (AH 70). [c] Cf. Nik. 38. 2.

[1] Quoted in *DAI* 22. 12 with a slight variant (*ἵππον εὐγενῆ ἕνα καὶ Αἰθίοπα δοῦλον ἕνα*).

[2] In fact, 'Ubaid Allāh b. Ziyād, who was defeated and killed by the Shi'ites on 6 Aug. 686. His father Ziyād b. Abīhi was Mu'āwiya's half-brother.

[3] 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdak (see relevant art. by K. V. Zettersteen in *EI*[2]), who revolted in Damascus during the Caliph's expedition to Iraq in AH 69 (689) and was put to death the following year.

[4] Presumably the canton of Bukha south of Tayk', *Βακχία* in Ptolemy, *Geogr.* 5. 12. 3. Cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, 450 n. 53.

[5] Azerbaijan.

[6] Circesium (Karkīsiyā) at the confluence of the Euphrates and the Khābūr. After revolting under Zufar b. al-Hārith (cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 469), it submitted to the Caliph in AH 71 (690). This action was not, of course, motivated by the operations of Leontios.

[7] A revolt at Antioch does not appear to be recorded at this juncture.

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[AM 6179, AD 686/7]

Justinian, 2nd year
Abimelech, 4th year
Paul, bishop of Constantinople (7 years), 1st year[1]

‖ In this year there was a famine in Syria and many men migrated to the Roman country.‖[a]

‖The emperor went to Armenia and received there the Mardaites of Lebanon, thereby destroying a 'brazen wall'.[b] He also broke the peace that had been concluded with the Bulgars, upsetting the formal treaty made by his own father, and ordered the cavalry *themata* to cross over to Thrace, intending to conquer the Bulgars and the Sklavinias.‖[c]

[a] Cf. Elias Nis. 72 (AH 68). [b] Proverbial from Homer, *Odyssey* x. 3–4. [c] Cf. Nik. 38. 5–7.

[1] Paul III (Jan. 688–20 Aug. 693). Nik. *Chron.* 119. 6 and Fischer, *Catal.* 289, no. 65 give him a tenure of 6 years 8 months.

AM 6180 [AD 687/8]

Year of the divine Incarnation 680
Justinian, 3rd year
Abimelech, 5th year
Paul, 2nd year

‖In this year Justinian made an expedition against Sklavinia and Bulgaria. He pushed back for the time being the Bulgars who had come out to oppose him and, having advanced as far as Thessalonica, took a multitude of Slavs, some by war, while others went over to him.[1] He made them cross by way of Abydos and settled them in the area of Opsikion.‖[a2] On his return, however, he was waylaid by the Bulgars in the narrow pass and was barely able to make his way, after suffering the slaughter of his army and many wounded.

‖ In the same year, too, Abdelas Zouber sent his own brother Mousabos[3] against Mouktaros. After they had joined battle, Mouktaros was routed and fled to Syria.[4] Mousabos overtook him and slew him. Abimelech made an expedition against Mousaros[5] whom he vanquished and slew; and he subjugated all of Persia.‖[b]

[a] Cf. Nik. 38. 7–11. [b] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 228; Elias Nis. 72–3 (AH 71) neither close to Theoph.

[1] The success of the expedition of 688 is alluded to in the inscription, now lost, found in 1885 in the church of St Demetrios at Thessalonica: J.-M. Spieser, *TM* 5 (1973), 156–9, no.8. The inscription records the grant to the church of a salt pan as from Sept., indiction 2 (= 688), which proves that in this case the AM is correct.

[2] i.e. in Bithynia.

[3] Mus'ab b. al-Zubair (see relevant entry by H. Lammens in *EI*[1]). He was defeated and killed in AH 72 (691).

[4] Untrue. Mukhtār had been killed at Kūfa in AH 67.

[5] Read Mousabos.

AM 6181 [AD 688/9]

Year of the divine Incarnation 681
Justinian, emperor of the Romans (10 years), 4th year

Abimelech, leader of the Arabs (22 years), 6th year
Paul, bishop of Constantinople (7 years), 3rd year

‖In this year Abimelech sent Chagan[1] to Mecca against Zoubeir,[2] whom Chagan slew there. Chagan subjugated for Abimelech that country, which was opposed to him, and burnt their pagan temple together with the idol they worshipped.[3] On this account Abimelech made Chagan military governor of Persia.‖[a] And so Persia and Mesopotamia and the Great Arabia of Ethribos submitted to Abimelech and their internecine wars ceased. 365

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 228; Mich. Syr. ii. 470 (shorter); Elias Nis. 73 (AH 72 and 73).

[1] Read Χαγάγ = Hadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, on whom see A. Dietrich in *EI*[2].

[2] 'Abdallāh b.al-Zubair as under AM 6180.

[3] The Ka'ba of Mecca. Hadjdjādj destroyed its outer wall, which he later rebuilt. The siege of Mecca occurred in 692.

[AM 6182, AD 689/90]

Justinian, 5th year
Abimelech, 7th year
Paul, 4th year

‖In this year the Arab state was delivered from all wars and Abimelech dwelt in peace after having subjugated everybody.‖[a]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 230. 28, AG 1002; Ps.-Dion. 10.

[AM 6183, AD 690/91]

Justinian, 6th year
Abimelech, 8th year
Paul, 5th year

‖In this year Justinian foolishly broke the peace with Abimelech; for he strove in his folly to move the population of the island of Cyprus and refused to accept the minted coin that had been sent by Abimelech because it was of a new kind that had never been made before.[1] As the Cypriots were crossing, a multitude of them drowned or died of illness, and the remainder returned to Cyprus.‖[a] When Abimelech had been informed of this, he diabolically feigned to be begging that peace should not be broken and that Justinian should accept his currency, seeing that the Arabs could not suffer the Roman imprint on their own currency; and inasmuch as the gold was paid by weight, the

Romans did not suffer any loss from the fact that the Arabs were minting new coin. Justinian mistook his plea as a sign of fear, not understanding that their concern was to stop the incursions of the Mardaites[2] and then break the peace under a seemingly reasonable pretext; which, indeed, came to pass.

Abimelech gave instructions for the rebuilding of the temple of Mecca and wanted to remove the columns of Holy Gethsemane.[3] Now Sergius, son of Mansour, a good Christian, who was treasurer[4] and stood on close terms with Abimelech, as well as his peer, Patricius surnamed Klausys, who was prominent among the Christians of Palestine, begged him not to do this, but to persuade Justinian, through their supplication, to send other columns instead of those; which, indeed, was done.[5]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 470; *Chr. 1234*, 230, AG 1003.

[1] Justinian's refusal to accept tribute in the form of the new Arab coinage, which Theoph. is alone to mention, has been accepted by some scholars, denied by others. For the case *contra*, see J. D. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II* (New York, 1959), 69 ff. The point at issue is which kind of coinage is meant here. The mint of Damascus issued in quick succession three types of gold: (1) With imitated imperial images and, on the reverse, a staff on steps (AD 692–4); (2) With standing caliph (694–7); (3) Exclusively with Arabic inscriptions (from 697 onwards). If Theoph. refers to Type 1, which may have gone into production by 691, his statement cannot be ruled out on chronological grounds. So M. L. Bates, *Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau*, 65 (1986), 247 ff. Cf. also C. Morrisson in *Syrie colloque*, 311 ff. It may be noted, however, that according to Mich. Syr. and *Chron. 1234*, the *casus belli* was Justinian's claim of exclusive jurisdiction over Cyprus and the instructions he sent to the Cypriots not to pay tribute to the Arabs. Syriac chronicles speak only of the introduction of Type 3 coinage: in AH 76/AG 1006 according to Elias Nis. 73; in AG 1008 according to *Chr. 819*, 9; *Chr. 846*, 176; Mich. Syr. ii. 473.

[2] But the Mardaites had already been removed (AM 6179).

[3] This may refer either to the basilica of the Agony, which was still standing in the early 8th cent., or the octagonal Tomb of the Virgin Mary, rebuilt by the emperor Maurice. On these churches see Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 263–4.

[4] *γενικὸς λογοθέτης*. Mentioned by Mich. Syr. ii. 477, 492 as secretary of 'Abd al-Malik and an opponent of the Jacobites; by Tabarī, xviii. 216 as secretary of Mu'āwiyah. He was presumably the father of St John Damascene, called simply Mansour (his given name?) in the anathema directed against him by the Council of 754. John does not appear to have been mentioned in Theophanes' eastern source. On his confused biographical data see now M.-F. Auzépy, *TM* 12 (1994), 194 ff. Cf. also below, AM 6221, 6226, 6234.

[5] This account, presumably derived from a Syro-Palestinian Melkite source, is not otherwise attested. See H. A. R. Gibb, *DOP* 12 (1958), 229 n. 14.

[AM 6184, AD 691/2]

Justinian, 7th year
Abimelech, 9th year
Paul, 6th year

||In this year Justinian made a levy among the Slavs he had transplanted and raised an army of 30,000, whom he armed and named 'the Chosen People'. He appointed Neboulos to be their leader. Being confident in them, he wrote to the Arabs that he would not abide by the written peace treaty. So, taking along the Chosen People and all the cavalry *themata*, he advanced to Sebastopolis, which is by the sea.[1] Now the Arabs feigned to be unwilling to break the peace, which they were obliged to do by the emperor's fault and rashness; and, having also armed themselves, they came to Sebastopolis, protesting to the emperor that the mutual agreements made under oath should not be dissolved; otherwise, God would judge the guilty and take revenge on them. Since the emperor would not even suffer to hear such things, but was pressing for battle, they unfolded the written peace treaty and hung it, instead of a standard, from a tall spear which they carried in front of them, and so rushed against the Romans under the leadership of Mouamed[2] and joined battle. At first the Arabs were defeated. Mouamed, however, won over the commander of the Slavs who were fighting on the Roman side by sending him a pouch full of gold pieces and, after deceiving him with many promises, persuaded him to join their side together with 20,000 Slavs; and in this way he caused the Romans to flee.||[a] Thereupon Justinian killed the rest of them, together with their wives and children, at a rocky place called Leukete[3] near the gulf of Nicomedia. 366

[a] Cf. Nik. 38. 11–26.

[1] Sebastopolis (modern Sulusaray) was in Armenia II, north-west of Sebasteia (Sivas), hence a considerable distance from the sea. On the site see F. and E. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, ii (Brussels, 1906), 201 ff. The attempt by Brooks, *BZ* 18 (1909), 154–6, to discover a maritime Sebastopolis in Pontos Polemoniakos has been proved vain by A. Maricq, *Byz* 22 (1952), 350–4. Mich. Syr. ii. 470 places the engagement near Caesarea in Cappadocia. He adds that 7,000 Slavs defected to the Arabs and were settled at Antioch and Kyrrhos. Elias Nis. 73 (AH 73) records that *Muhammad filius Marwan Sebastiam urbem Romanorum intravit, et victor fuit et cum gaudio exiit.*

[2] Muhammad b. Marwān, governor of Mesopotamia, 'Abd al-Malik's brother. See relevant art. by K. V. Zettersteen in *EI*[1].

[3] Modern Yelkenkayaburnu on the north side of the gulf, facing Yalova. See Janin, *CP*, 500–1; *Grands centres*, 425. The statement that all the remaining Slavs were killed is, of course, greatly exaggerated. Sigillographic evidence suggests that considerable numbers of them were sold off as slaves in 694/5, not only in Bithynia, but also in other parts of Asia Minor. See N. Oikonomides, *DOP* 46 (1986), 51–3; for a different interpretation, Hendy, *Economy*, 631 ff.

[AM 6185, AD 692/3]

Justinian, 8th year
Abimelech, 10th year
Paul, 7th year

‖In this year Sabbatios, the patrician of Armenia,[1] on being informed of the defeat of the Romans, delivered Armenia to the Arabs. Inner Persia, which is called Chorasan, also submitted to them. There arose there an impostor (?)[2] by the name of Sabinos,[3] who killed many Arabs and nearly drowned Chaganos[4] himself in a river.‖[a]

367 ‖From that time on the Hagarenes were further emboldened and devastated the Roman country.‖[b]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 231. 1–9. Theoph. has confused the names: it was Hadjdjādj who drowned Shabīb in the Euphrates. [b] Cf. Nik. 38. 26–8.

[1] Smbat VI Bagratuni, who frequently changed sides between the emperor and the caliph. See Toumanoff, *Studies*, 341.

[2] παράβουλος, a variant form of παράβολος (classical) = 'deceitful, reckless'. See Lampe, s.v. Rendered as *insidiator* by Anast.; glossed *tyrannus* by dB 764, but cf. *Chr. 1234*, 231. 4, *vir harurita, id est raphidhaeus [vox arabica, quae 'fanaticus' sonat]*. See discussion by L. I. Conrad, *ByzF* 15 (1990), 38 ff.

[3] Shabīb b. Yazīd, the Khāridji leader, defeated in 697. Cf. Elias Nis. 74 (AH 77). His end is wrongly dated AG 1016 in *Chr. 819*, 9 and *Chr. 846*, 176.

[4] Read Χαγάγ as under AM 6181.

AM 6186 [AD 693/4]

Year of the divine Incarnation 686
Justinian, emperor of the Romans (10 years), 9th year
Abimelech, leader of the Arabs (22 years), 11th year
Kallinikos, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 1st year[1]

‖In this year there occurred an eclipse of the sun on the 5th of the month Hyperberetaios, a Sunday, in the 3rd hour, so that some of the brighter stars became visible.‖[a]

‖Mouamed made an expedition against the Roman country, taking along the Slav refugees who were acquainted with it, and made many prisoners.‖[b] There was also a slaughter of pigs in Syria.‖[c]

As for Justinian, he busied himself with constructions in the palace. He built Justinian's Hall,[2] as it is called, and the circuit wall of the palace. ‖He appointed as supervisor of works, as lord and master his treasurer and chief eunuch, Stephen the Persian, a most bloodthirsty and cruel man who, not content with punishing the workmen pitilessly, used to stone them as well as their foremen. The emperor being absent, this wild beast even dared to have his mother, the Augusta Anastasia, whipped with a strap as if she were a child. Having done much evil in these respects as well as to the entire body of citizens, he caused the emperor to be hated. Furthermore, Justinian appointed as head of the State treasury[3] a certain monk called Theodotos, who had previously been a hermit on the Thracian side of the Bosporus, a terrible and savage man who, quite gratuitously and without cause, inflicted demands, exactions and confiscations on many dignitaries of the state and prominent men, both among the administrators and the inhabitants of the City, whom he hanged from ropes, placing smoking straw beneath them.‖[d] In addition, the prefect, by imperial command, threw many men in prison and caused them to be confined for several years. All these acts increased the people's hatred of the emperor.

Now the emperor demanded the patriarch Kallinikos that he 368
should recite a prayer enabling him to demolish the church of the holy Mother of God *tōn metropolitou*, which was near the palace,[4] because he wished to set up a fountain at that spot and erect benches for the Blue faction that they might receive the emperor there.[5] But the patriarch said, 'We do have a prayer for the construction of a church,[6] but none has been handed down to us for the destruction of a church.' As the emperor went on pressing him and demanding a prayer at all cost, the patriarch said, 'Glory be to God who suffers everything, now and for ever and ever. Amen.' On hearing this, they destroyed the church and built the fountain. And they built the church *tōn metropolitou* at the Petrion.[7]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 474, AG 1005, AH 75, a Sunday in Oct., 3rd and 4th hours; Elias Nis. 73 (AH 74), 5 Oct. and again AH 75, Sunday, 5 Oct., 5th hour of the day. 5 Oct. 693 is the correct date, thus agreeing with the AM. [b] Cf. Elias Nis. 74. 1–2 (AH 77). See also Brooks, 'Arabs', 189, AH 75. [c] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 475; *Chr. 846*, 176. 17, AG 1015; *Chr. 1234*, 230. 26–7. [d] Cf. Nik. 39.

[1] Aug./Sept. 693–Aug. 705. Codd. e, m add at this point: 'Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem—blank—years.' Alexander is not listed in Grumel, 451.

[2] On this building see Ebersolt, *Grand Palais*, 95–9.

[3] *τοῦ γενικοῦ λογοθεσίου*. Theodotos is the first attested *λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ*: see Bury, *Adm. System*, 86–7; Oikonomides, *Listes*, 313.

[4] Cf. Janin, *Églises*, 197.

[5] On the *phiale* of the Blues see Ebersolt, *Grand Palais*, 100–2. It was situated at the foot of the terrace of the Pharos.

[6] For the prayer in question see V. Ruggieri, *OCP* 54 (1988), 79 ff.

[7] A quarter along the Golden Horn: Janin, *CP*, 407–8.

[AM 6187, AD 694/5]

Justinian, 10th year
Abimelech, 12th year
Kallinikos, 2nd year

‖In this year Mouamed made an expedition against the Fourth Armenia and, after taking many captives, returned home.‖[a]

The same year Justinian was expelled from the imperial office in the following manner. He directed Stephen surnamed Rousios, the patrician and *strategos*, to kill at night the people of Constantinople, starting with the patriarch. ‖Now the patrician Leontios, who had been *strategos* of the Anatolics and proved successful in war, and who later had spent three years in prison as the result of an accusation,[1] was suddenly released and appointed *strategos* of Hellas. He was ordered to embark on three *dromones* and set out from the City the same day. That night, as he had put in at Julian's harbour (that of Sophia), next to the quarter of Mauros,[2] in preparation for sailing away from the City, he was bidding farewell to the friends who came to see him. Among those who presented themselves were his close friends, Paul, monk of the monastery of Kallistratos,[3] who was also an astronomer, and Gregory the Cappadocian, who had been a *kleisourarch*[4] and later became monk and abbot of the monastery of Florus.[5] These men had frequently visited him in prison and assured him that he would become Roman emperor. Now Leontios said to them, 'In prison you have made assurances to me concerning the
369 imperial office, and now my life is about to end in evil circumstances. For every hour of the day I shall expect death to be standing behind me.' They answered, 'If you do not hesitate, your goal will soon be accomplished. Do but hearken to us and follow us.' So Leontios took his men and as many arms as he had and went up very quietly to the Praetorium. They knocked on the gate and alleged that the emperor had come to make arrangements concerning some of

the inmates. This was announced to the prefect then in office, who came and opened the gates; whereupon he was seized by Leontios, beaten, and bound hand and foot. Leontios went in, opened the prison cells, and released the prisoners, a numerous band of brave men, most of them soldiers, who had been confined six or eight years. He gave them arms and went to the Forum with them, shouting, 'All Christians to St Sophia!' He also sent emissaries to each region[6] with orders to proclaim the same call. The populace of the City was perturbed and hastily gathered in the atrium[7] of the church. Leontios himself, together with his friends, the two monks, and some of the more prominent men that had come out of prison, went up to the Patriarchate to see the patriarch. Finding him equally perturbed by the order given to the patrician Stephen Rousios, he persuaded him to come down to the atrium and cry out, 'This is the day that the Lord hath made!'[b] Then the whole multitude raised the shout, 'May Justinian's bones be dug up!' And so all the people rushed to the Hippodrome. When it was day, they brought Justinian out into the Hippodrome through the Sphendone and, after cutting off his nose and tongue, banished him to Cherson. The mob seized both the monk Theodotos, who was logothete of the *genikon*, and the *sakellarios* Stephen the Persian, and after tying ropes round their feet, dragged them through the main street to the Forum Bovis and burnt them there. And thus they proclaimed Leontios emperor.‖[c]

[a] See AM 6186, n. b. Cf. also Brooks, 'Arabs', 190 (raid in the region of Malatya, AH 76 = 695/6). [b] Ps. 117 (118): 24. [c] Cf. Nik. 40.

[1] Punctuating *ἐν φρουρᾷ τε χρόνους τρεῖς ποιήσας κατηγορηθείς, ἐξάπινα ἀνεκλήθη* (dB punctuates *ποιήσας, κατηγορηθείς* etc.).

[2] On this quarter see Janin, *CP*, 387.

[3] On which see Janin, *Églises*, 275–6.

[4] See AM 6159, n. 2.

[5] See Janin, *Églises*, 495–6.

[6] With reference to the (originally 14) urban regions of Constantinople.

[7] *λουτήρ*. For the meaning of this term see Ebersolt, *Ste-Sophie*, 5.

[AM 6188, AD 695/6]

Leontios, emperor of the Romans (3 years), 1st year
Abimelech, 13th year
Kallinikos, 3rd year

In this year Leontios was made emperor and remained in peace on all sides.[1]

[1] *Chr. 1234*, 231. 12–13, places the accession of Leontios in the 12th year of 'Abd al-Malik, AG 1007.

370 **[AM 6189, AD 696/7]**

Leontios, 2nd year
Abimelech, 14th year
Kallinikos, 4th year

In this year Alidos[1] made an expedition against the Roman country and, after taking many captives, returned home. Sergius, the patrician of Lazica, son of Barnoukios,[2] raised a rebellion and made Lazica subject to the Arabs.

[1] Perhaps a mistake for al-Walīd, who is recorded to have made an expedition to the area of Malatya in AH 77 (696/7): Elias Nis. 74. 1–2; Brooks, 'Arabs', 190.

[2] Barnoukios appears to have been the same as *Λεβαρνίκιος ὁ πατρίκιος Λαζικῆς*, mentioned in c. 655 in the *Hypomnesticon* by Theodore Spoudaios, ed. R. Devreesse, *AnBoll* 53 (1935), 68. See Toumanoff, *Studies*, 255 n. 355. Lazica had been a kingdom in the 6th cent., but its political status in the second half of the 7th is unclear.

AM 6190 [AD 697/8]

Year of the divine Incarnation 690
Leontios, 3rd year
Abimelech, 15th year
Kallinikos, 5th year

In this year the Arabs made an expedition against Africa, which they occupied and garrisoned with their own army.[1] When Leontios had been informed of this, he dispatched the patrician John, an able man, at the head of the entire Roman fleet. On reaching Carthage, this man opened by force of arms the chain of the harbour that is there, routed and expelled the enemy, liberated all the forts of Africa, and, after stationing his own garrison, reported these matters to the emperor and wintered there, awaiting the emperor's orders. But the Caliph, when he had heard these things, sent against him a numerous and more powerful fleet and forcibly drove out of the harbour the aforesaid John with his ships; and having entered within [the city] merely to make a tour (?),[2] he encamped his army outside. The said John returned to the Roman country intending to obtain a bigger force from the emperor and came as far as Crete on his way to the

capital. But his soldiers, incited by their own officers and being unwilling to return to the capital (for they were gripped by fear and shame), turned to an evil plan: they abjured the emperor and elected in his stead Apsimaros, the *drungarius* of the Kibyraiots, who belonged to the squadron of Korykos,[3] whom they renamed Tiberius. Now, as Leontios was cleansing the Neorion harbour[4] at Constantinople, a bubonic plague fell upon the City and, in the course of four months, killed a multitude of people. Apsimaros arrived with his fleet and anchored opposite the City at Sykai. For some time the people of the City did not wish to betray Leontios, but 371
a betrayal was made through the single wall of the Blachernai by the provincial commanders who, under terrible oaths, had been entrusted over the altar table with the keys of the Land Walls: it was they who treacherously surrendered the City. When the marines of the fleet entered the citizens' houses, they stripped bare their inhabitants. As for Apsimaros, he cut off the nose of Leontios and ordered him to be kept under guard in the monastery of Delmatos.‖[a] The commanders who were friendly with the latter and ready to die on his behalf he exiled, after flogging them and confiscating their property. He appointed his own brother Herakleios, a most able man, sole commander[5] of all the provincial cavalry *themata* and sent him to patrol the area of Cappadocia and of the passes and take charge of defence against the enemy.

[a] Cf. Nik. 41.

[1] The course of the Arab conquest of Roman Africa is extremely obscure. See J. Wellhausen, Die *Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romäern*, Nachr. Kön. Ges. d. Wiss. Gött. (1901), 434–6; Caetani, *Chron.* 883 ff.; Stratos, vii. 88 ff.; *EI*[2], s.v. Hassān b. al-Nu'mān al-Ghassānī (M. Talbi). The ease of the Byzantine reoccupation of Carthage is probably to be explained by Hassān's defeat at the hands of the Berber queen al-Kāhina, which Elias Nis. 74 places at this juncture (AH 78).

[2] We are not certain of the meaning of the clause *καὶ εἰς περίδρομον λιτὸν ἔνδον παραλαβών*, which Anast. has omitted from his translation, presumably because he failed to understand it. Possibly *παραλαβών* should be emended to *παραβαλών*. For *παραβάλλω* (intrans.) = 'to arrive, to enter' see Lampe, s.v. We have translated accordingly.

[3] The wording is ambiguous (*εἰς Κουρικιώτας ὑπάρχοντα*). Nik. paraphrases *στρατοῦ ἄρχοντα τῶν Κουρικιωτῶν τυγχάνοντα τῆς ὑπὸ Κιβυραιωτῶν χώρας*. Cf. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance* (Paris, 1966), 85, 96 n. 5, who believes that Apsimaros commanded a contingent of men from Cilician Korykos stationed in the area of Kibyra. See also P. A. Yannopoulos, *Byz* 61 (1991), 524.

[4] In the area of modern Sirkeci: Janin, *CP*, 235–6, 396–7; Ahrweiler, *Mer*,

430 ff. The dredging of the harbour was probably motivated by military considerations.

[5] Seal of Herakleios, patrician and *monostrategos* in Zacos–Veglery, i/2: 1982.

AM 6191 [AD 698/9]

Year of the divine Incarnation 691
Apsimaros, emperor of the Romans (7 years), 1st year
Abimelech, leader of the Arabs (22 years), 16th year
Kallinikos, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 6th year

In this year Apsimaros acceeded to the Empire. ‖Abderachman[1] revolted in Persia, of which he became master, and drove Chagan out of there.‖[a]

[a] Elias Nis. 74–5 records the rebellion of 'Abd Allāh (*sic*) b. Muhammad b. al-Ash'ath in AH 82.

[1] 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ash'ath, whose revolt is placed in AH 81 (700/1) by Caetani, *Chron.*, 969.

[AM 6192, AD 699/700]

Apsimaros, 2nd year
Abimelech, 17th year
Kallinikos, 7th year

‖ In this year there was a great plague.‖[a] Mouamed,[1] at the head of a multitude of Arabs, made an expedition against Abderachman. When he reached Persia, he joined forces with Chagan. They made war on Abderachman, whom they killed,[2] and, once again, Persia was handed over to Chagan.‖[b]

‖The Romans invaded Syria and came as far as Samosata. They laid waste the surrounding country and killed, it is said, as many as 200,000 Arabs. They took much booty and many Arab captives and, after instilling great fear in them, returned home.‖[c]

[a] Elias Nis. 74 records a plague in AH 79 and another the following year; *Chr. 819*, 9 in AG 1011. [b] Cf. Elias Nis. 75 (AH 83). [c] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 473–4 (5,000 Arabs killed).

[1] Muhammad b. Marwān.

[2] The defeat of 'Abd al-Rahmān is dated AH 82 (701) in *EI*², s.v. Al-Hādjdjādj b. Yūsuf (by A. Dietrich), in AH 83 (702) by Caetani, *Chron.* 993–5.

[AM 6193, AD 700/1]

Apsimaros, 3rd year
Abimelech, 18th year
Kallinikos, 8th year

‖ In this year Abdelas[1] made an expedition against the Roman country. He besieged Taranton[2] to no avail and returned home. He built up Mopsuestia and placed a guard therein.‖[a]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 819*, 9 and *Chr. 846*, 176, AG 1015 (expedition of 'Abd Allāh and rebuilding of Mopsuestia); *Chr. 1234*, 231, AG 1013; Elias Nis. 75 (expedition of 'Abd al-Malik or 'Abd Allāh in AH 83, rebuilding of Mopsuestia the following year); Mich. Syr. ii. 477–8 (capture of Mopsuestia by Maslamah in AG 1015 and its rebuilding in AG 1017). Cf. also Brooks, 'Arabs', 191, AH 83 and 84.

[1] 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik.

[2] Cf. Caetani, *Chron.* 996: raid on Tarandah in AH 83 (702).

[AM 6194, AD 701/2]

Apsimaros, 4th year
Abimelech, 19th year
Kallinikos, 9th year

In this year Baanes, nicknamed Heptadaimon, subjugated the Fourth Armenia to the Arabs.[1]

Apsimaros exiled Philippikos,[2] the son of the patrician Nikephoros, to Kephalonia because he was dreaming of becoming emperor; for he claimed to have seen in a dream that his head was shadowed by an eagle. When the emperor had heard this, he immediately banished him.

[1] In AH 82 (701/2) according to Caetani, *Chron.* 982. Baanes (Vahan) Seven-Devils appears to be otherwise unrecorded.

[2] The future emperor. He was called Bardanes and was Persarmenian by origin: *ACO* 2nd ser. ii/2 (1992), 899

[AM 6195, AD 702/3]

Apsimaros, 5th year
Abimelech, 20th year
Kallinikos, 10th year

‖ In this year the Armenian chieftains rebelled against the Saracens and killed the Saracens who were in Armenia.[1] Once more they made

contact with Apsimaros and brought the Romans into their country. Mouamed,[2] however, made an expedition against them and killed many people. He subjugated Armenia to the Arabs,‖[a] and as for the Armenian chieftains, he gathered them in one place and burnt them alive.‖[b]

The same year Azar[3] made an expedition against Cilicia at the head of 10,000 men. The emperor's brother, Herakleios, met him and killed most of the enemy; the remainder he sent as captives to the emperor.

[a] Cf. *Chr.* 1234, 231. 26–30, AG 1014. [b] Ibid. 229. 2–4; Mich. Syr. ii. 474.

[1] In AH 83 (702/3): Caetani, *Chron.* 996–7.
[2] Muhammad b. Marwān. See Caetani, *Chron.* 1010, AH 84 (703/4).
[3] Not mentioned in other sources. Perhaps this is a doublet of the Arab defeat recorded the following year.

[AM 6196, AD 703/4]

Apsimaros, 6th year
Abimelech 21st year
Kallinikos, 11th year

In this year Azidos, son of Chounei,[1] made an expedition against Cilicia and laid siege to the fortress of Sision.[2] The emperor's brother Herakleios fell on him and killed 12,000 Arabs in battle.[3]

‖Now, while Justinian was living at Cherson and proclaiming publicly that he would regain the Empire once again, the inhabitants of those parts took fright of the danger they were incurring on the emperor's part and decided either to kill him or to send him to the emperor. But he became aware of this and managed to escape; and having reached Daras,[4] he requested an audience with the Chagan of the Chazars. On being informed of this, the latter received him with
373 great honour and gave him in marriage his own sister Theodora.[5] After a short time he obtained permission to come down to Phanagouria,[6] and there he lived with Theodora. When Apsimaros had heard of these matters, he wrote to the Chagan, promising him many gifts if the latter would send him Justinian alive; if not, at least his head. The Chagan yielded to this request and sent a guard to Justinian on the pretext that the latter should not fall victim to a plot made by his own countrymen. He also gave orders to Papatzys, his representative in those parts, and to Balgitzis,[7] commander of the Bosphoros,[8] that they should kill Justinian when so instructed. These matters, however, were announced to Theodora by a servant of the Chagan's and so became known to Justinian, who invited

Papatzys to a private meeting and strangled him with a cord; and he did the same to the commander Balgitzis. Straight away he sent Theodora off to the land of the Chazars, while he himself secretly fled from Phanagouria and came down to Tomis.[9] He found a fishing boat that was fitted out and boarded it; and having sailed past Assas,[10] he came to Symbolon,[11] which is close to Cherson. He sent word to Cherson in secret and took along Barasbakourios[12] and the latter's brother, as well as Stephen, Moropaulos, and Theophilos; and, sailing off with them, he went past the lighthouse of Cherson. After he had thus sailed by Nekropela,[13] the mouth of the Danapris and that of the Danastris, there arose a storm and all of them gave up hope of being saved. His servant Myakes said to him, 'Behold, O lord, we are about to die. Make a promise to God for your salvation, so that, if He gives you back your empire, you will not take revenge on any of your enemies.' And he answered in anger, 'If I spare one of them, may God drown me right here!' He came out of that storm unharmed and entered the river Danube. He then dispatched 374
Stephen to Terbelis, the lord of Bulgaria, so as to obtain help to regain his ancestral empire, and promised to give him many gifts and his own daughter as wife. The latter promised under oath to obey and co-operate in all respects and, after receiving him with honour, roused up the entire host of Bulgars and Slavs that were subject to him. The following year they armed themselves and came to the Imperial City.‖[a]

[a] Cf. Nik. 42. 1–44.

[1] Yazīd b. Hunain.
[2] A fort (formerly Sis, now Kozan) north of Anazarbos at the entrance of a pass of the Anti-Taurus. See *TIB* 5/1 (1990), 413–16.
[3] See Caetani, *Chron.* 1022, AH 85 (704/5); Brooks, 'Arabs', 191 (from Tabarī), AH 87 (705/6), naming Yazīd b. Djubair and omitting the outcome of the battle.
[4] Recte *Δόρος* as in Nik. and *Notit.* iii. 42, 611, ed. J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatuum*, 231, 241; *Δόρυ* in Prok. *Aed.* iii. 7. 13. Believed to have been in the uplands of the south-western part of the Crimean peninsula. See L. V. Firsov, *VizVrem* 40 (1979), 104–13.
[5] She must have assumed that name upon her marriage to Justinian.
[6] The ancient *Φαναγόρου πόλις* on the Taman peninsula.
[7] For these two Chazar names see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, ii, s.vv.
[8] The Cimmerian Bosporus.
[9] This must refer to a coastal locality on the strait of Kerch H. Grégoire, *Nouvelle Clio*, 4 (1952), 288–92, argues that *Τομή* (cutting) = Taman and *Τομὴ(ν) τάριχα* = Tmutarakan.
[10] *τὴν Ἀσσάδα* [var. *Ἀσάδα*, *Ἄσαδα*]: unidentified.

[11] Cf. Arrian, *Peripl.* 30; *DAI* 53. 296, 302, 309. Modern Balaklava.

[12] The correct form in Nik.; all MSS of Theoph. read *Βασβακούριον*. dB prints *Βαρισβακούριον* from Anast. On his extant seals he is styled patrician and *comes* of Opsikion: Zacos–Veglery, i/3, nos. 3080A, 3081; Likhačev, *Molivdovuly*, 54–5. Presumably the same as the Georgian prince Varaz-Bakur described as ex-consul (or proconsul) and patrician: Toumanoff, *Studies*, 421–2, 424–5, 427.

[13] The Karkinitic gulf, described in *DAI* 42. 5, 69, 79 as 'a great gulf . . . where it is utterly impossible for a man to pass through'. Note that the best MS of *DAI* (P = Paris. gr. 2009) writes consistently *Νεκρόπηλα*, not *Νεκρόπυλα* as printed by the editors.

AM 6197 [AD 704/5]

Year of the divine Incarnation 697
Apsimaros, emperor of the Romans (7 years), 7th year
Abimelech, leader of the Arabs (22 years), 22nd year
Kallinikos, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 12th year

‖ In this year Abimelech, the leader of the Arabs, died and his son Oualid assumed power.‖[a]

‖In the same year Justinian reached the Imperial City together with Terbelis and the latter's Bulgars, and they encamped from the Charsian gate[1] as far as the Blachernai. For three days they parleyed with the inhabitants of the City, who insulted them and refused any terms. Justinian, however, together with a few of his countrymen made his way in, without fighting, through the aqueduct[2] and, after raising a shout of 'Dig up the bones!', he won the City. For a short time he established his residence in the palace of Blachernai.‖[b]

[a] Cf. *Chr.* 819, 9, AG 1016 (corrected by Chabot from 1019); *Chr.* 846, 581, AG 1016; Mich. Syr. ii. 478, AG 1017 (corrected by Chabot from 1014); *Chr.* 1234, 232, AH 87, AG 1017; Elias Nis. 75 (AH 86). [b] Cf. Nik. 42. 44–9.

[1] The present Adrianople gate: Janin, *CP*, 281–2.

[2] Which enters the city near the Adrianople Gate. See K. O. Dalman, *Der Valens-Aquädukt in Konstantinopel* (Bamberg, 1933), 8. *Chr. Alt.* 108 dates the deposition of Apsimar to 21 Aug. [705]. See P. Grierson, *DOP* 16 (1962), 51 and AM 6198, n. 4.

[AM 6198, AD 705/6]

Justinian, emperor of the Romans for the second time (6 years), 1st year
Oualid, leader of the Arabs (9 years), 1st year
Kyros, bishop of Constantinople (6 years),[1] 1st year

In this year Justinian regained the Empire[2] and, after giving many gifts and imperial vessels to Terbelis,[3] dismissed him in peace. 375
Apsimaros abandoned the City[4] and fled to Apollonias,[5] but was pursued, apprehended, and brought to Justinian. ‖Herakleios, too, was brought in fetters from Thrace together with all the commanders who supported his side, and all of them were impaled on the walls. Justinian also sent emissaries to the interior and, after finding many of them who were either in office or out of office, likewise put them to death. As for Apsimaros and Leontios, he caused them to be paraded in chains through the whole City; and while games were being held in the Hippodrome and he himself was sitting on the throne, they were dragged publicly and thrown at his feet; and he trod on their necks until the end of the first race while the people cried, 'You have set your foot on the asp and the basilisk, and you have trodden on the lion and the serpent!'[a] He then sent them to the Kynegion to be beheaded.[6] He blinded the patriarch Kallinikos and banished him to Rome; and in his stead he appointed Kyros, who had been a hermit on the island of Amastris,[7] for having predicted to him his restoration to a second reign. He also destroyed a numberless multitude from both the civilian and military registers:[8] some he threw into sacks and caused to die painfully in the sea; others he invited to lunch or to dinner and, as soon as they rose from the table, either impaled them or beheaded them. So everyone was seized by great fear.

He also sent a fleet to bring his wife from the land of the Chazars and many ships sank together with their crews. When the Chagan had heard of this, he sent him this message: 'O fool, could you not have taken your wife on two or three ships without killing so great a multitude? Do you think that you are taking her, too, by war? Behold, a son has been born to you. Send your emissaries and take them away.' So he sent the *cubicularius* Theophylaktos and brought Theodora and her son Tiberius and crowned them; and they reigned jointly with him.‖[b]

[a] Ps. 90(91): 13. [b] Cf. Nik. 42. 49–77. The story of the mission to bring Justinian's wife and son to Constantinople occurs, strangely enough (from a Greek source?), in Mich. Syr. ii. 478 and Agapios, 237–8.

[1] Sept. 705–Dec. 711.

[2] A repeat from the previous entry. C. Head, *Byz* 39 (1969), 104–7, argues that Justinian's restoration occurred in the spring of 705. She does so because she believes that Justinian became emperor on 10 July 685 (but that is not absolutely certain: cf. AM 6177, n. 1) and because of the existence of copper coins dated to his 20th year, some of which, in addition to the

imperial bust, also bear that of the young Tiberius: Grierson, *Catal. DO*, ii. 655, 657. Theoph. implies that at the time of his restoration Justinian was unaware of the birth of his son. See also n. 4 below.

[3] Theoph. omits to say that Justinian conferred on Tervel the title of Caesar (confirmed by a seal: Zacos–Veglery, no. 2672) and that the two of them sat side by side and received the homage of the people of Constantinople (these details in Nik.). See also *Parastaseis*, c. 37 and Souda, s.v. *Βούλγαροι*.

[4] See AM 6197, n. 2. If the date 21 Aug. refers to his arrest rather than to his flight, it can accord with Justinian's restoration before 10 July 705.

[5] Perhaps Apollonia ad Rhyndacum (Apolyont) rather than several other towns of Asia Minor bearing the same name.

[6] On 15 Feb. according to *Chr. Alt.* 108. Cf. P. Grierson, *DOP* 16 (1962), 51.

[7] At Amastris there are two small off-shore islands, one now joined to the mainland and walled on the landward side, the other (called Büyükada) deserted. See S. Eyice, *Küçük Amasra tarihi* (Ankara, 1965), 8 f., who notes the existence of ruins, perhaps of a monastery, on the latter island.

[8] On this passage, cf. Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 119; Haldon, *Praetorians*, 264.

[AM 6199, AD 706/7]

Justinian, 2nd year
Oualid, 2nd year
Kyros, 2nd year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (30 years), 2nd year[1]

376 ||In this year Oualid seized the most holy cathedral of Damascus.[2] The wretched man did this out of envy of the Christians, because this church was surpassingly beautiful.||[a] He also forbade that the registers of the public offices should be written in Greek; instead, they were to be expressed in Arabic,[3] except for the numerals, because it is impossible in their language to write a unit or a pair or a group of three or 8½ or 3 (?).[4] For this reason they have Christian notaries until this day.||[b]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 232. 22–6 (immediately on Walīd's accession); Mich. Syr. ii. 481; Agapios, 238. Elias Nis. 75 records the building of the mosque of Damascus in AH 88.
[b] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 481, AG 1022; *Chr. 1234*, 233. 1–4, AG 1019; Agapios, 238 (without mention of the numerals).

[1] Cf. above, p. lxxiii. Theoph. must have forgotten to enter John's 1st year under AM 6198.

[2] The mosque of Damascus was begun in AH 86 (705); it was enlarged by the addition of the cathedral of St John in AH 88 (706/7): Caetani, *Chron.* 1037, 1065.

[3] Cf. Caetani, *Chron.* 972, 1110, AH 81 (700/1) and 91 (709/10). See also below, AM 6251.

[4] 'Three' should perhaps be emended to 'one third.' On this passage see K. Krumbacher, 'Woher stammt das Wort Ziffer (chiffre)?' *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences philol. et hist.* 92 (1892), 351–2.

AM 6200 [AD 707/8]

Year of the divine Incarnation 700
Justinian, emperor of the Romans (6 years), 3rd year
Oualid, leader of the Arabs (9 years), 3rd year
Kyros, bishop of Constantinople (6 years), 3rd year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (30 years), 3rd year

||In this year Justinian broke the peace between the Romans and the Bulgars and, after ferrying the cavalry *themata* across to Thrace and fitting out a fleet, set out against Terbelis and his Bulgars.[1] When he had reached Anchialos, he anchored his fleet in front of the fortress and commanded that the cavalry should encamp in the plains above, without guard or any suspicion. As the army scattered in the fields like sheep to collect hay, the Bulgarian spies saw from the mountains the senseless disposition of the Romans. Gathering together like wild beasts, they suddenly attacked and inflicted great losses on the Roman flock, taking many captives, horses, and arms in addition to those they killed. As for Justinian, he sought refuge in the fortress with the survivors and for three days kept the gates shut. On seeing the perseverance of the Bulgars, he was the first to cut the sinews of his horse and ordered the others to do the same. After setting up trophies on the walls, he embarked at night and stealthily sailed away, and so reached the City in shame.||[a]

[a] Cf. Nik. 43.

[1] For the campaign of 708 see Beševliev *Protobulg. Periode*, 196.

[AM 6201, AD 708/9]

Justinian, 4th year
Oualid, 4th year
Kyros, 4th year
John, 4th year

||In this year Masalmas[1] and Abas[2] made an expedition against Tyana, incensed as they were on account of Maiouma's army that 377

had been slain by Marianos;[3] and, after laying siege to the town, they wintered there. The emperor sent against them two generals, namely Theodore Karteroukas and Theophylaktos Salibas with an army and a throng of peasant militia so as to fight and expel them. Rent by mutual dissensions, they made a disorderly attack and were routed; many thousands perished and many more were taken captive. The Arabs seized the camp equipment and the provisions and continued the siege until they had taken the city:[4] for they had been short of food and were on the point of departing. On seeing this, the inhabitants of Tyana gave up hope. They accepted a promise of immunity and came out to the Arabs, leaving the city deserted until this very day.[5] The Arabs did not keep their promise and drove some of them into the desert, keeping many others as slaves.‖[a]

[a] Cf. Nik. 44. 1–18 (with notable differences, on which see our commentary on Nik. 201–2). Independent account in Mich. Syr. ii. 478 and *Chr. 1234*, 232. 26–34, AG 1019 (the latter mentioning the Roman general Theophylaktos); Agapios, 238–9.

[3] Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik.

[4] Al- 'Abbās b. al-Walīd mentioned as joint commander by Elias Nis. 76 and Arabic sources. Nik. names Solymas (Sulaimān) as second commander.

[5] This presumably refers to the Arab defeat recorded under AM 6196. One of the victims was Maymūn the Mardaite, emir of Antioch: Caetani, *Chron.* 1022, AH 85.

[4] According to Mich. Syr., Tyana fell in Mar. after a siege of nine months; May–June according to Tabarī (Brooks, 'Arabs', 192). See also Stratos, vi. 156–8; Lilie, 116–18.

[5] This statement was probably contained in the source of Theoph.

AM 6202 [AD 709/10]

Year of the divine Incarnation 702
Justinian, 5th year
Oualid, 5th year
Kyros, 5th year
John, 5th year

‖In this year Abas made an expedition against the Roman country and, after taking many captives, returned home.‖[a] He[1] began to build Garis in the region of Helioupolis.‖[b]

[a] Cf. Elias Nis. 76 (AH 90); Agapios, 239. [b] Cf. *Chr. 819*, 9; *Chr. 846*, 176 ('Aīn Gērā = Anjar).

[1] The Caliph Walīd rather than 'Abbās.

[AM 6203, AD 710/11]

Justinian, 6th year
Oualid, 6th year
Kyros, 6th year
John, 6th year

‖In this year Outhman[1] made an expedition against Cilicia and took many forts by capitulation.‖[a] Kamachon[2] and the surrounding country were betrayed to the Arabs.[3]

‖Motivated as he was by malice and remembering the conspiracy that had been made against him by the inhabitants of Cherson, the Bosporus and the other Klimata, Justinian sent to Cherson the patrician Mauros[4] and the patrician Stephen surnamed Asmiktos. He fitted out a great fleet of every kind of ship—*dromones*, triremes, transports, fishing boats, and even *chelandia*—from contributions raised by the senators, artisans, ordinary people, and all the officials that lived in the City. He sent forth the fleet with orders to put to the sword all the inhabitants of those forts and leave no one alive; and he handed to them the *spatharios* Elias, who was to be appointed governor of Cherson. Having arrived at Cherson and meeting with 378
no resistance, they occupied the forts and put everyone to the sword, except for the children, whom they spared because of their age so as to make slaves of them. As for Toudounos,[5] who was governor of Cherson and representative of the Chagan, and Zoilos, who was by descent First Citizen, and another forty prominent men of Cherson together with their families,[6] they sent them prisoners to the emperor. Another seven distinguished men of Cherson they affixed to wooden spits and roasted them over the fire; and another twenty they bound with their arms behind their backs and, after tying them to the oar-straps of a *chelandion*, filled it with stones and sank it in the sea. When Justinian had been informed of these things, he was incensed that the children had been spared and ordered the expedition to return with all speed. The fleet set sail in the month of October and was overtaken on the high sea by a storm at the rise of the star called Taurouras.[7] Very nearly the whole fleet sank, and the men who perished in the shipwreck numbered 73,000. When Justinian had been informed of this, instead of being distressed, he was filled with joy. Being still possessed by this frenzy, he threatened with loud cries that he would send another fleet and mow everyone down to the ground, to the last man that pissed against the wall.[b] The inhabitants of those forts heard these things and put themselves on guard; being obliged to turn against the emperor, they wrote to the Chagan in Chazaria asking for an army to defend them.

At this juncture even the *spatharios* Elias and Bardanes (who had been banished, but had then been recalled from Kephalonia and was with the fleet at Cherson) rose up in revolt. Justinian, when he had learnt of these things, dispatched, at the head of a few *dromones*, the patrician George surnamed the Syrian, who was logothete of the *genikon*,[8] the prefect John, and Christopher, turmarch of the
379 Thrakesians, with 300 armed men. He handed to them Toudounos and Zoilos with instructions to reinstate them in their former positions at Cherson, to offer an apology to the Chagan through an ambassador, and to bring to him Elias and Bardanes. When these men had crossed over to Cherson, the inhabitants of the city of Cherson refused to treat with them. The next day the men of the city invited the leaders alone to come in and, after shutting the gates, put to the sword the logothete of the *genikon* and the prefect; as for Toudounos and Zoilos and the aforesaid turmarch together with the 300 soldiers, they handed them to the Chazars and sent them off to the Chagan. As Toudounos died on the way, the Chazars in his honour killed the turmarch along with the 300 soldiers. Then the men of Cherson and of the other forts cursed Justinian and acclaimed as emperor Philippikos Bardanes, who was exiled there. When Justinian had learnt of this, he became even more enraged: he slaughtered the children of Elias in their mother's lap and obliged her to marry her own cook, who was an Indian. After which, he fitted out another fleet and dispatched the patrician Mauros, called Bessos, to whom he gave a battering ram and every other kind of siege engine, with instructions to destroy the walls of Cherson and the entire town, and not to leave a single soul alive there; furthermore, to inform him of his actions by means of frequent dispatches. This man, then, crossed the sea and threw down with the battering ram the tower called Kentenaresios[9] as well as the adjoining tower called the Wild Boar; but as the Chazars arrived on the scene, a truce was made. Then Bardanes escaped and fled to the Chagan. Being reduced to inaction, the fleet did not dare return to the emperor; and so, they, too, cursed Justinian and proclaimed Bardanes emperor. They also petitioned the Chagan to hand Philippikos to them. The
380 Chagan insisted on an assurance that they would not betray him and that he would be paid one gold piece per man; to which they immediately agreed and so received Philippikos as their emperor. As the fleet was delayed and no dispatch had come, Justinian divined the cause and, taking along the contingent of Opsikion and part of the Thrakesians, advanced as far as Sinope[10] to reconnoitre the situation at Cherson. While he was gathering intelligence concerning the regions across the sea, he saw the fleet sailing in the direction of

the City and, with a roar like a lion's, he, too, rushed to the City. Since Philippikos had overtaken him and seized the City, he came to Damatrys[11] and encamped there with his men. Philippikos, for his part, immediately sent the patrician Mauros and the *spatharios* John, surnamed Strouthos, against Tiberius; he sent Elias, also with an armed band, against Justinian at Damatrys; and another man against Barasbakourios, who had taken to flight. Mauros proceeded to Blachernai together with the aforesaid Strouthos and found Tiberius grasping with one hand the little column of the altar table in the sanctuary of the Virgin Mary and, with the other, the wood of the cross, wearing, furthermore, phylacteries round his neck, while his grandmother Anastasia sat outside the *bema*.[12] The latter fell at the feet of Mauros and begged him not to kill her grandson Tiberius since he had not done any improper deed. Even as she was holding this man's feet and imploring him with tears, Strouthos entered within the *bema* and seized him by force. He took away from him the wood of the cross and placed it on the altar, while the phylacteries he affixed to his own neck. Leading the boy to the postern which is above the quarter of Kallinike,[13] they stripped him and, stretching him out on the door-sill, cut his throat as if he were a sheep and ordered him to be buried in the church of the Holy Anargyroi, which is called that of Paulina.[14] Barasbakourios, who was First Patrician and *comes* of Opsikion, was also arrested and killed. As for Elias, he went up to Damatrys with his soldiers and, after he had parleyed with the army that was there and given a promise of immunity to the men that were with Justinian, all of the latter scattered and forsook Justinian, leaving him all alone as they joined the side of 381
Philippikos. Then the aforesaid *spatharios* Elias rushed up to him angrily and, seizing him by the neck, cut off his head with the dagger he wore on his belt and sent it to Philippikos in the hands of the *spatharios* Romanus. Philippikos dispatched it in the care of the same Romanus to the countries of the West as far as Rome.||[c15]

Before he had become emperor, there was at the monastery of Kallistratos a clairvoyant and heretical monk.[16] When once Philippikos had gone there, he said to him, 'You are destined for the empire.' The latter was troubled and the hermit said to him, 'If God so commands, why do you contradict him? This I say to you, that the Sixth Council was wrongly enacted. So, if you become emperor, do cast it down, and your reign is destined to be mighty and long.' Philippikos promised him under oath to do so. When Leontios had succeeded Justinian, Philippikos went up to the hermit. The latter said to him, 'Do not hurry; it is yet to come.' And when Apsimaros became emperor, Philippikos went up to him again, and again the

latter said to him, 'Do not hurry. That thing awaits you.' Philippikos confided the secret to one of his friends, who announced it to Apsimaros. The latter had him flogged, tonsured, fettered, and exiled to Kephalonia. And when Justinian had become emperor for the second time, he recalled him. ‖And when Philippikos had become emperor, he convened a bogus council of bishops in accordance with the injunction of the false monk, the hermit, and he cast down the holy Sixth ecumenical Council. The same year the foolish man was blinded. He lived a carefree life in the palace where he had found an abundance of money and splendid belongings that for many years had been collected by his predecessors as a result of confiscations and under various pretexts, especially by the aforesaid Justinian, and these he dissipated at random without taking any trouble. And whereas in his discourse he appeared to be eloquent and prudent,[17] he was proved by his actions to be in every way incompetent, living as he did in an unseemly and incapable manner. He was also a heretic and an adulterer. He drove out of the Church the patriarch Kyros and appointed his accomplice and fellow-heretic John.‖[d]

[a] Cf. Elias Nis. 76 (AH 91); Agapios, 239. [b] 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 25: 22, 34; 3 Kgs. (1 Kgs.) 12: 24, 14: 10, 16: 11, 20: 21. [c] Cf. Nik. 45. [d] Cf. Nik. 46. 1–2.

[1] 'Uthman b. al-Walīd according to Elias Nis.; 'Uthman b. Hayan according to Agapios.

[2] Kamacha (Kemah), on the left bank of the Euphrates between Tephrike (Divriği) and Erzincan. See Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 56. For the site, Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, ii. 415 ff.

[3] See Caetani, *Chron.* 1110, AH 91 (709/10).

[4] Described below as a Thracian (Bessos), Mauros has been identified with the Bulgarian chieftain of that name, who plays a sinister role in *Mir. Dem.*, ii. 5 (presumably between 678 and 685). The latter Mauros was involved in a plot by the Bulgarian chief Kouber to capture Thessalonica. The plot having failed, Mauros went over to the emperor (Constantine IV) with the people under his command and was given a title. His treachery was, however, exposed by his own son. Instead of being executed, he was deprived of his command and confined to his quarters, presumably in Thrace. The identification has been supported by a seal (Zacos–Veglery, 934) naming 'Mauros the patrician, chief of the Sermesiani [men of Sirmium] and Bulgarians'. See Lemerle's commentary, ii. 152 ff. Setting aside the gap of some 25–30 years between the incident at Thessalonica and the present entry, it is odd that a man convicted of treachery should have been reinstated in his high dignity and enjoyed the favour of Justinian II.

[5] A title (tudun = viceroy), not a proper name. See Moravcsik, ii, s.v.

[6] *συμφαμίλους*. For this word cf. Anastasius monachus, ed. F. Nau, *OrChr* 2 (1902), 87. 20.

[7] The tail of the constellation Taurus.

[8] The *γενικὸν λογοθέσιον* was the department that collected the taxation of the Empire. See AM 6186, n. 3.

[9] The exact connotation of this name, which was applied to big towers, is unclear. Towers called Kentenarion are attested at: (i) Constantinople, namely, (*a*) A tower of the sea walls to which was attached one end of the chain that guarded the mouth of the Golden Horn: Leo Diac. 79; *Patria*, 264, c. 150 (with false etymology from *kentenarion* = 100 lbs. of gold); (*b*) A tower of the walls of the Great Palace: Niketas Chon., ed. van Dieten, 346. Nikolaos Mesarites, *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos*, ed. A. Heisenberg (Würzburg, 1907), 27. 25; (ii) Nicaea, mentioned in the inscription of Leo III and Constantine V, ed., e.g., A. M. Schneider and W. Karnapp, *Die Stadtmauer von Iznik (Nicaea)* (Berlin, 1938) 49, no. 29; (iii) Trebizond. See F. Uspenskij, *Očerki iz istorii Trapezuntskoj Imperii* (Leningrad, 1929), 157.

[10] 'To the coastal village called Gingilissos' according to Nik. 45. 79.

[11] Probably corresponding to modern Samandra, east of the mountain of St Auxentios (Kayişdağ). See Janin, *Grands centres*, 50–1. Theoph. omits to mention the presence at Damatrys of 3,000 Bulgarian men sent as auxiliaries by Tervel (Nik. 45. 74).

[12] Women not being admitted into the sanctuary.

[13] *ἐπὶ τῷ ἄνω τῶν Καλλινίκης παραπορτίῳ*. Nik. 48. 2, has *εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὑπερκειμένου τείχους πυλίδα* [*πυλίδα* omitted by Vatican MS] *τὴν καλουμένην τῶν Καλλινίκων*. The postern in question was probably in the destroyed portion of the Theodosian walls to the east of, and on higher ground than the church of St Mary of Blachernai. Wrongly identified with the Xyloporta by Van Millingen, *Byz. CP*, 173–4 and others. If the fem. form Kallinike is correct, it may refer to the Blachernai Virgin, who brought about the victory over the Avars in 626.

[14] The famous church of Sts Kosmas and Damian at Kosmidion, usually, but probably incorrectly, placed at modern Eyüp. Note the fem. name Paulina (so also in Nik. and most MSS of the *Patria*, 261 c. 146), which suggests that the church had no connection with Paulinus (*magister officiorum* in 430), the companion of Theodosios II, as stated in the *Patria*. Cf. our remarks, 'On the Cult of Sts Cosmas and Damian at Constantinople', *Θυμίαμα στη μνήμη της Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα* (Athens, 1994), 189–92.

[15] The date of Justinian's death is given as 24 Nov. [711] in *Chr. Alt.* 108; as 4 Nov. in the presumed Greek original of that document: C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 16 (1962), 62. Nov. 711 would correspond to AM 6204.

[16] Paul: see above, AM 6187.

[17] His learning is praised by Mich. Syr. ii. 479; *Chr. 1234*, 233.

AM 6204 [AD 711/12]

382

Year of the divine Incarnation 704
Philippikos, emperor of the Romans (2 years), 1st year
Oualid, leader of the Arabs (9 years), 7th year

John, bishop of Constantinople (3 years), 1st year[1]
John, bishop of Jerusalem (30 years), 7th year

‖ In this year Philippikos drove the Armenians out of his country and obliged them to settle in Melitene and the Fourth Armenia.‖[a 2] Masalmas captured Amaseia and other fortified places and took many captives.‖[b 3] George, the bishop of Apameia,[4] was transferred to Martyropolis.

‖Philippikos was not ashamed to make a furious attack on the holy Sixth ecumenical Council, hastening to subvert the divine doctrines that had been confirmed by it. He found allies in John, whom he made bishop of Constantinople after deposing its bishop Kyros, whom he confined in the monastery of the Chora; in Germanus who later occupied the see of Constantinople, but was then bishop of Kyzikos; Andrew, who was bishop of Crete;[5] Nicholas who, from being a servant in charge of cups[6] became a professor of medicine, and was at the time quaestor; Elpidios, deacon of the Great Church; Antiochos the *chartophylax*, and other men of the same ilk who anathematized in writing the holy Sixth Council.

Meanwhile, the Bulgarians stealthily threw themselves upon the Bosporus by way of Philea[7] and made great slaughter. They raided as far as the City and surprised many people who had gone across the water to celebrate opulent weddings and lavish luncheons with much silver plate and other equipment. They advanced as far as the Golden Gate and, after devastating all of Thrace, returned home unharmed with innumerable cattle.[8] And likewise, the Arabs occupied Mistheia[9] and other forts, and captured a great many families and cattle without number.‖[c]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 482; *Chr. 1234*, 233. 24–6; Agapios, 240. [b] Cf. *Chr. 846*, 177, AG 1021; Mich. Syr. ii. 479, AG 1023; *Chr. 1234*, 233. 12–15; Agapios, 239. [c] Cf. Nik. 46. 2–47. 14.

[1] John VI, Dec. 711–July/Aug. 715.

[2] The wording of this sentence is unclear. According to Mich. Syr., Philippikos (who was himself an Armenian!) expelled the Armenians from the Empire, forcing them to seek refuge with the Arabs. It was the latter who settled them at Melitene and in Armenia IV. Cf. also Caetani, *Chron.* 1120, 1135, AH 92 (710/11) and AH 93 (711/12).

[3] Cf. Brooks, 'Arabs', 193, AH 93.

[4] Presumably Melkite bishop.

[5] Andrew, a native of Damascus, was the most important preacher and liturgical poet of his time. After the fall of Philippikos he repented of his error and returned to orthodoxy. See H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzant. Reich* (Munich, 1959), 500 ff.

[6] ἀπὸ καυκοδιακόνων. The sophist Nicholas is mentioned among the supporters of Philippikos by Germanus, *De haer. et synodis*, *PG* 98: 76B.

[7] A village on a lake of the same name (modern Derkos). See A. Sargologos, *La Vie de S. Cyrille le Philéote*, Subs. hag. 39 (1964), 16.

[8] According to Agathon the deacon, Mansi, xii. 193B = *ACO* 2nd ser. ii/2 (1992), 900, the raid was caused by the non-payment of tribute due to the Bulgarians.

[9] In Lykaonia, modern Beyşehir. See *TIB* 4: 205–6. For the capture of Mistheia see *Chr. 846*, 177, AG 1021; Brooks, 'Arabs', 193 n. 3, AH 93 (Samastiyya); Lilie, 120.

[AM 6205, AD 712/13]

Philippikos, 2nd year
Oualid, 8th year
John, 2nd year
John, 8th year

‖ In this year Abas made an expedition against the Roman country and took Antioch in Pisidia,[1] where he made many prisoners; and he returned home.‖[a] There was a violent earthquake in Syria on the 28th of the month Peritios.‖[b]

‖Philippikos having meanwhile reigned two years,[2] when the hippodrome games of the City's birthday[3] had been celebrated and the Greens had won, the emperor decided to make on the Saturday of Pentecost[4] an entry on horseback, to bathe in the public baths of Zeuxippos and to lunch with citizens of ancient lineage. While he was having his siesta, Rufus, *protostrator* of Opsikion, suddenly entered through the Golden Gate with the soldiers of the same *thema* that he had in Thrace[5] (at the behest of the patrician George surnamed Bouraphos, who was *comes* of Opsikion, and of the patrician Theodore Myakios) and, having rushed into the palace, found Philippikos asleep. He seized him and carried him to the *ornatorion*[6] of the Greens, where he blinded him, without anyone being aware of this. The next day, that is on Pentecost, the people gathered in the Great Church, and Artemios, the *protoasekretis*, was crowned emperor and renamed Anastasios. On Saturday after Pentecost Theodore Myakes was blinded, and the following Saturday George Bouraphos was also blinded, and they were exiled to Thessalonica.‖[c]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 479, presumably in AG 1023; Elias Nis. 76 (AH 94); Agapios, 240. [b] Cf. *Chr. 819*, 10, AG 1024, 28 Shebat (Feb.); Mich. Syr. ii. 481, likewise; *Chr. 846*, 177; *Chr. 1234*, 233. 32–5; Agapios, 240. Peritios = Feb. in the calendar of Antioch. [c] Cf. Nik. 48.

[1] Cf. Brooks, 'Arabs', 194, AH 94.
[2] See AM 6207, n. 10.
[3] 11 May.
[4] 3 June 713, confirmed by Agathon the deacon, Mansi, xii. 193B = *ACO* 2nd ser. ii/2 (1992), 900. Nik. implies that the overthrow of Philippikos took place on the day of the 'birthday games'. Unless the games were for some reason postponed, the gap between 11 May and 3 June is hard to explain. Cf. our comment on Nik., p. 205.
[5] Agathon, ibid., explains that the army was in Thrace because of a Bulgar attack.
[6] The place where was kept the *urna* for drawing lots as to which chariot would have which place at the start of the games. See *Cer.* 312. 5 and Reiske's note, ii. 318–19; A. D. E. Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford, 1973), 63. The *urna* is represented schematically in the 'Kugelspiel' relief, now in the Berlin Museum, reproduced by Cameron, pl. 15.

AM 6206 [AD 713/14]

Year of the divine Incarnation 706
Artemios, emperor of the Romans (2 years), 1st year
Oualid, leader of the Arabs (9 years), 9th year
John, bishop of Constantinople (3 years), 3rd year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (30 years), 9th year

‖ In this year Masalmas made a raid into the Roman country and, after devastating Galatia,[1] returned home with captives and much booty.‖[a]

‖Artemios, for his part, appointed very able *strategoi* of the cavalry *themata* and learned officials to fill civil posts, and so remained secure. And as the Arabs were preparing an armament against the
384 Roman country by land and by sea, the emperor sent a number of dignitaries to Oualid in Syria on the pretext of negotiating peace,[2] ⟨among them⟩ Daniel Sinopites, the patrician and prefect of the City, whom he instructed to inform himself thoroughly concerning the expedition against the Roman country and the enemy's strength. When this man had gone and come back, he reported to the emperor their great armament of land and sea forces. ⟨Then the emperor commanded⟩ that each man should store provisions for himself up to a period of three years, and anyone not having the means to do so should leave the City. He appointed overseers and started building *dromones*, ⟨fire-carrying⟩ biremes ⟨and great triremes⟩. He restored the sea walls[3] and likewise the land walls, and set up on the towers catapults for darts and stones and other engines. Having fortified the City as much as he was able, he stored a great quantity of produce in the imperial depots and so made himself safe.‖[b]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 479, AG 1026; Elias Nis. 77 (AH 97); Agapios, 240. [b] Cf. Nik. 49.

[1] Cf. Caetani, *Chron.* 1147, 1177, AH 94 (712/13) and 96.
[2] Ibid. 1162, AH 95 (713/14).
[3] The repair of the sea walls is ascribed to Apsimaros in *Parast.*, 20, c. 3.

[AM 6207, AD 714/15]

Artemios, 2nd year
Souleiman, leader of the Arabs (3 years), 1st year
Germanus, bishop of Constantinople (15 years), 1st year[1]
John, 10th year

‖ In this year Oualid died[2] and Souleiman succeeded to the throne.‖[a]

In the same 2nd year of the reign of Artemios (who was also called Anastasios), on 11 August of the 13th indiction Germanus was transferred from the metropolitan see of Kyzikos to the see of Constantinople. On that occasion the following decree of translation[3] was issued: 'By the choice and approbation of the reverend presbyters and deacons, of all the pious clergy, of the sacred Senate and the Christ-loving people of this God-guarded Imperial City, God's Grace, which always cures what is ailing and supplies what is wanting, hereby transfers Germanus, the most holy bishop of the metropolis of Kyzikos to become bishop of this God-guarded 385
Imperial City. The present translation took place in the presence of Michael, the most-holy presbyter and legate of the Apostolic See,[4] and of other priests and bishops, in the reign of Artemios.'

‖On being informed that a Saracen fleet had sailed up from Alexandria to Phoinix[5] with a view to cutting cypress wood, Artemios chose the swiftest vessels of his own fleet, manned them with soldiers of the Opsikion *thema*, and ordered that they should all assemble at Rhodes. He appointed as their commander and head John the deacon of the Great Church, nicknamed Papa-Ioannakis, who was at that time logothete of the *genikon*. When this man had reached Rhodes and the fleet had assembled, he conferred with the officers with a view to their setting out for Phoinix so as to burn the timber and the armament of the Hagarenes that was there. While everyone else readily obeyed, the men of Opsikion refused to do so: they cursed the emperor and killed the deacon John with their swords. The fleet consequently dispersed and each squadron sailed off to its own station, while the evil-doers moved against the Imperial City. When they had come to Adramytion, being leaderless, they found there a local man called Theodosios, who was a collector

of public taxes, an idle and ordinary fellow,[6] whom they urged to become emperor. He ran away and hid on a mountain, but they found him and acclaimed him emperor by force.

When Artemios had been informed of these things, he appointed men of his household to positions of command in the City and over the fleet he had built and, after arming them, departed himself to the city of Nicaea, where he made himself secure. Now the rebels, when they had arrived and stirred up the whole *thema* of Opsikion as well as the Gothograeci,[7] apprehended a great number of big and small merchant vessels and came up to Chrysopolis by land and sea. The
386 City fleet was stationed at the harbour of St Mamas,[8] and for six months they fought one another every day. When, however, the City fleet moved its moorings to the urban harbour of Neorion, Theodosios crossed over and occupied the region of Thrace. And, as a result of treachery, they took the City through the gate of the single wall of the Blachernai.[9] The lawless soldiers of Opsikion and the Gothograeci raided by night the houses of the citizens and wrought great havoc without respect for anything. They arrested Artemios' officers who were in the City as well as Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, and brought them to Nicaea as evidence before Artemios and his companions. When Artemios had seen them, he gave up hope and surrendered himself on obtaining a promise of immunity; and he assumed the habit of a monk. Theodosios kept him unharmed and exiled him to Thessalonica.||[b]

Philippikos reigned 2 years 9 months,[10] Artemios 1 year 3 months.[11] Now Leo, who was *strategos* of the Anatolics, remained on the side of Artemios and did not submit to Theodosios. He enjoyed the support and co-operation of the Armenian Artabasdos, *strategos* of the Armeniacs, to whom he promised to give his daughter in marriage—a promise he carried out.[12]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 479; *Chr. 819*, 10; *Chr. 846*, 177; Elias Nis. 77; *Chr. 1234*, 233–4.
[b] Cf. Nik. 50–1. Independent account in *Chr. 1234*, 234. 3–16 and, more briefly, in Mich. Syr. ii. 479.

[1] Germanus was transferred to Constantinople on 11 Aug. 715, which corresponds to the 3rd (from 4 June 713), not the 2nd year of Artemios. G. V. Sumner, *GRBS* 17 (1976), 290, wishes to redate this event to 714 because in Aug. 715 the emperor had withdrawn to Nicaea and Constantinople was under siege by a rebel fleet. The naval engagements mentioned by Theoph. may not, however, have amounted to a siege. Unfortunately, we do not have an exact date for the death or deposition of Germanus' predecessor, John VI, who is given a tenure of 3 years (starting in Dec. 711?). See Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 172 f.

[2] 25 Feb. 715.

[3] κιτατόριν (*citatorium*) μεταθεσίμου, presumably preserved in the patriarchal archives. For the term cf. J. Duncan, *Coislin 213. Euchologe de la Grande Église* (Rome, 1983), 42.

[4] Of Rome.

[5] Perhaps the Phoinix of the Rhodian Peraia (modern Fenaket) rather than Phoinix (Finike) on the south coast of Lycia.

[6] Or, possibly, 'a private citizen who was fond of quiet' (ἀπράγμονά τε καὶ ἰδιώτην). Sumner, op. cit. 292, argues that Theodosios, far from being an obscure tax-collector, was actually the son of Tiberius III Apsimaros. He does so because (1) according to *Chr. Alt.*, 109, Theodosios became after his abdication bishop of Ephesos, *et mortuus est ac sepultus in templo sancti Phylippi, in antiqua urbe iuxta portum, faciens mirabilia in sepultura;* (2) a Theodosios, bishop of Ephesos, described as son of Apsimaros, presided over the iconoclastic Council of Hiereia in 754 (below, AM 6245). The identification is unlikely on several counts. It makes Theodosios survive nearly 40 years after his abdication. It does not explain why the iconoclast bishop is called 'son of Apsimaros' instead of former emperor. It forces us to suppose that the grave of a heretic worked miracles. We are inclined to believe that the emperor Theodosios did die at Ephesos as a cleric, not a bishop, and was buried in the church of St Philip 'next to the harbour in the old city' (confirmed by Kedr. i. 787 f.). He later enjoyed a reputation for his great piety (e.g. *Syn. CP* 828. 25), irreconcilable with having been a leading iconoclast.

[7] Also mentioned in the *Acta* of Sts David, Symeon, and George (9th cent.), *AnBoll* 18 (1899), 256. The Gothograeci appear to have been descendants of the Gothic Optimati settled in Bithynia. The later *thema* of the Optimati was situated on the gulf of Nicomedia. See Kulakovskij, iii. 414 ff.

[8] On the European side of the Bosporus at modern Dolmabahçe rather than Beşiktaş.

[9] i.e. the forward wall built after the siege of 626 to protect the church of St Mary of Blachernai: *Chron. Pasch.* 726; Nik. 13. 40–1.

[10] Incorrect *pace* P. Grierson, *DOP* 16 (1962), 52. Perhaps 1 year 9 months if the length of his reign was reckoned from the time of his proclamation at Cherson (in Sept. 711?). Cf. Brooks, *BZ* 6 (1897), 52; G. V. Sumner, *GRBS* 17 (1976), 287–9.

[11] Also incorrect. Artemios (proclaimed 4 June 713) reigned more than two years if the translation of Germanus to Constantinople is correctly dated to 11 Aug. 715. Cf. also Grierson, Catal. *DO* ii/2. 683, no. 23. Mich. Syr. ii. 479, gives him a reign of 2 years 5 months, which would place his abdication in *c.* Nov. 715. This date is accepted by Sumner, op. cit. 290 f.

[12] Repeated below, am 6209, p. 545.

AM 6208 [AD 715/16]

Year of the divine Incarnation 708
Theodosios, emperor of the Romans (1 year), 1st year
Souleiman, leader of the Arabs (3 years), 2nd year
Germanus, bishop of Constantinople (15 years), 2nd year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (30 years), 11th year

In this year Masalmas made an expedition against Constantinople. He sent in front of him Souleiman[1] with a land army and Oumaros by sea,[2] while he himself followed them with much military equipment. When Souleiman and Bakcharos[3] had reached Amorion, they
387 wrote the following to Leo, *strategos* of the Anatolics: 'We know that the Roman Empire befits you. Come, therefore, to us and let us confer about peace.' Souleiman observed that Amorion had no army and was in a state of enmity with the *strategos* because of the latter's support of Artemios; so he laid siege to it, intending to await Masalmas there. When he had drawn close to the city, the Saracens began to acclaim the *strategos* Leo as emperor and they urged those inside to do the same. On seeing that the Saracens were acclaiming him fervently, the people of Amorion acclaimed him too. Now the *strategos* knew that in the absence of regular soldiers and officers Amorion was about to be lost, so he sent this message to Souleiman: 'If you want me to come to you so as to confer about peace, why are you besieging the city?' The latter replied: 'Do but come, and I will depart.' So, after obtaining a promise from him, the *strategos* came before him with 300 horsemen. When the Hagarenes saw him, they put on their corselets and armour and met him; and he encamped half a mile away from their army. For three days he would come forward to them, and they negotiated about peace and their departing from the city. But they said: "Once you have ratified the peace, we shall depart." The *strategos* perceived, however, that they were intending to seize him, so he invited many of the prominent Saracens to dinner. While they were eating, Souleiman dispatched 3,000 men in corselets to surround him and keep guard lest he escape. His watch became aware of this and reported to him, 'A multitude of mounted Saracens are standing round us.' One of these horsemen, called Zouber, came forward and, standing in front of him, said: 'A slave of ours has stolen much money and fled, and on his account we have mounted our horses.' But the *strategos* understood their crafty deceit and replied: 'Do not be troubled. No matter
388 where he goes among our forts, we shall find him.' Distressed as he was, he managed to convey this message secretly through one of his men to the inhabitants of Amorion: 'For the fear of God, do not sur-

render. For, behold, Masalmas is drawing near.' The bishop, too, came out to see him, and he told him the same. When Souleiman had been informed that the bishop had come out to see him, he sent this message to the *strategos*, namely, 'Give us the bishop.' But he, cornered as he was, hid the bishop and said to one of his men: 'While we are talking, put another garment on him and let him go into the mountains as if to fetch wood or water.' And as the Saracens were insisting about the bishop, the *strategos* said: 'He is not here. But go to the emir, and I shall come, too, and we shall discuss everything.' Thinking that when he went in to see the emir they would seize him in their midst, they let him go. Mounting horses, he and 200 of his men turned to the left as if going on a hunt. The Saracens who accompanied him asked, 'Where are you going?' He replied, 'I wish to move my camp to the meadows.' They said, 'Your intention is not a good one. We are not coming with you.' Then the *strategos* said to his men, 'After giving us their word, they wanted to seize us and, through us, to ruin the Christians. But they will not take any of the men or horses that are left to us.' And going ten miles, he encamped there. The next day he sent the *domesticus* of his grooms[4] and declared to the Arabs: 'You gave me your word, yet intended to seize me by deceit. This is why I departed.' Now Masalmas had already gone over the mountain passes,[5] but Souleiman was not aware of this. The emirs and the soldiers rose up against Souleiman, saying, 'Why are we investing the walls instead of raiding?' And, taking down their tents, they departed. Meanwhile the *strategos* introduced the turmarch Nikaias with 800 soldiers into Amorion and ejected most of the women and children. And he himself went off to Pisidia.
389 When Masalmas had come to Cappadocia, the Cappadocians despaired of their own safety and went out towards him begging him to take them. But Masalmas, hearing of the hostility which the emperor Theodosios felt towards the *strategos*, wished to entrap the latter and make peace with him, and through him to subjugate the Roman country. So he said to them, 'Do you not belong to the *strategos*?' They answered 'Yes.'—'And will you do whatever he does?'—'Yes.' Then he said to them, 'Go back to your forts and have no fear of anyone.' And he instructed his army not to raid in any of the provinces of the *strategos*.[6] When he had heard of this, the *strategos* realized that Souleiman would report to Masalmas that he had left him and departed, and so he sent a letter to Masalmas, saying, 'I wanted to come in your presence. But Souleiman, when I had gone towards him, intended to seize me, and now I am afraid of coming to you.' Then Masalmas said to the servant of the *strategos*, 'I know that the *strategos* is tricking me so that I should not devastate at all

his provinces.' The servant of the *strategos* replied to him, 'This is not so. He has written you truthfully.' Then the other one asked, 'How is Amorion disposed towards him?' Reply: 'Well, and in subjection to him.' Masalmas became angry and insulted him, saying, 'Why are you lying?' He answered, 'It is as I have said. And he has placed his soldiers and a turmarch therein, and removed the surplus families.' Masalmas was greatly grieved by this and drove him out in anger; for he was intending to take Amorion in the summer and await his fleet, and then go down to Asia and winter there. So he summoned once more the servant of the *strategos* and interrogated him a second time. The latter told him under oath, 'Everything I have said to you is true. Indeed, 1,000 soldiers have entered there with their turmarch. And he has removed thence all the goods of the inhabitants and the indigent families.' On hearing this, Masalmas wrote to the *strategos*, 'Come into my presence, and I shall make
390 peace with you and do everything as you wish.' Observing that Masalmas had approached Masalaios[7] and in another five days would march past his provinces, the *strategos* sent two consuls[8] to him with this message, 'I have received your letter and approved your intention. Behold, I am coming to you. But, as you know, I am a *strategos* and I shall have money, silver and soldiers in my train. Send me your word concerning each one of these. And if my affairs are settled as I desire them from you, well and good; if not, I shall, at least, return unharmed and unmolested.' When the consuls reached him at Theodosiana,[9] Masalmas said to them, 'I knew that your *strategos* was tricking me.' But they replied, 'Not at all.' Then he delivered the promise they had sought and dismissed them. So, while the consuls were proceeding to the *strategos* with the signed promise, Masalmas, being at the head of a great multitude and unable to stop anywhere, arrived at Akroinos.[10] Now the *strategos*, on seeing that he had gone beyond his provinces, went off to Nicomedia. He chanced upon the son of Theodosios and apprehended him together with the entire imperial household and the palace dignitaries. Masalmas, for his part, went down to Asia and wintered there, and Oumaros did so in Cilicia.

Now the *strategos*, taking along the emperor's son, held counsel with his companions and came to Chrysopolis. On being informed of these events, Theodosios conferred with the patriarch Germanus and the Senate, and received through the same patriarch a promise of his immunity from Leo ⟨and an undertaking that he would preserve the Church undisturbed⟩, and so he handed the Empire to him. Theodosios and his son became clergymen and spent the remainder of their lives in peace.[11]

||Now Masalmas came to Pergamon, which he besieged and, by God's dispensation, captured[12] because of the Devil's machinations. For, at the instigation of a magician, the inhabitants of the city produced a pregnant woman who was about to give birth and cut her up. And after removing her infant and cooking it in a pot, all those who were intending to fight dipped the sleeve of their right arm in this 391
detestable sacrifice, and for this reason they were delivered to the enemy.||[a]

[a] Cf. Nik. 53.

[1] Sulaymān b. Muʿād. Cf. Brooks, 'Campaign', 24. Mich. Syr. ii. 484 confuses him with the Caliph. It is possible that the beginning of this entry is derived from the Oriental source. Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 234. 36 ff.: *Et praecepit Maslamas Soleimano filio Mawidae et Bochtario ut arida procederent, Omaro autem filio Hubairae, mari. Progressi sunt Bochtarius et Soleimanus et venerunt usque Amorium civitatem.* The greater part of the entry reads, however, like an eyewitness account.

[2] ʿUmar b. Hubaira.

[3] Al-Bakhtari b. al-Hassān named in Agapios, 241. For the main Arabic sources see Brooks, 'Campaign'.

[4] For thematic *domestici* see Oikonomides, *Listes*, 341; Haldon, *Praetorians*, 214, 230 f.

[5] Of the Tauros.

[6] i.e. the Thema Anatolikon. A similar statement in *Chr. 1234*, 235. 8–10.

[7] Situation unknown. Also mentioned as a *kastron* and a place of exile in *V. Nicet. Medic.* xxxE. Cf. *TIB* 7: 336.

[8] *ὑπάτους*, that is persons bearing the honorary title of consul, which in the 9th cent. was 7th from the bottom in the palatine hierarchy. Cf. Oikonomides, *Listes*, 296.

[9] Situation unknown. See Ramsay, *Geogr.* 356.

[10] Modern Afyon Karahisar: *TIB* 7: 177 f. We may deduce from this passage that Akroinon lay outside the Anatolic Theme, although it is usually marked as being within it on maps representing the extent of the *themes*, e.g. *Cambridge Med. Hist.* iv/1 (1966), 69.

[11] See AM 6207, n. 6.

[12] *Chr. 819*, 10, AG 1027; *Chr. 846*, 177 and Mich. Syr. ii. 483 record the capture of Pergamon as well as Sardis. See C. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), 60 f.

AM 6209 [AD 716/17]

Year of the divine Incarnation 709
Leo the Isaurian, emperor of the Romans (24 years), 1st year
Souleiman, 3rd year

Germanus, 3rd year
John, 12th year

In this year Leo, whose place of origin was Germanikeia—in reality Isauria[1]—became emperor.[2] Justinian, during his first reign, removed him, together with his parents, to Mesembria in Thrace.[3] And when Justinian became emperor for the second time and was marching down with the Bulgarians,[4] Leo met him and gave him a present of 500 sheep. Thus conciliated, Justinian immediately named him *spatharios* and had him as a close friend. Certain envious people accused him of seeking the crown, but were shamefully exposed as slanderers after an inquiry had been made into this matter. Yet, from that time on, this rumour began to be spread about by many people. Now Justinian did not wish to harm him openly, but conceived some sort of aversion towards him and dispatched him to Alania with a sum of money so as to rouse up the Alans against Abasgia: for the Saracens were in control of Abasgia, Lazica, and Iberia.[5] When he had gone to Lazica, he deposited the money at Phasis and, taking a few natives with him, proceeded to Apsilia,[6] crossed the Caucasian mountains, and reached Alania. Wishing to destroy him, Justinian sent instructions for the money to be removed from Phasis. The Alans, however, received the *spatharios* with great honour and, obeying his words, invaded and captured Abasgia.[7] Now the lord of the Abasgians sent this message to the Alans: 'As I found out, Justinian did not have a bigger liar than this man whom he might have sent to rouse you up against us, your neighbours. He lied to you even about the promise of money; for Justinian has given instructions for its removal. Surrender this man to us and we shall pay you 3,000 gold pieces lest our ancient friend-
392 ship be broken.' The Alans replied: 'We have obeyed this man not on account of money, but because of our friendship with the emperor.' Once again the Abasgians sent emissaries to them, saying: 'Give us this man, and we shall pay you 6,000 gold pieces.' Now the Alans, wishing to reconnoitre the land of the Abasgians, agreed to receive the 6,000 gold pieces and to surrender the *spatharios*. They confided everything to the *spatharios* and said to him: 'As you can see, the road leading to the Roman country is closed, and you have no means of going on your way. Let us rather deceive them by agreeing to surrender you, and we shall send some of our men to accompany them. Thus we shall gain a knowledge of their mountain passes so as to raid and destroy their country and perform what is pleasing to you.' So the Alan emissaries went to Abasgia and, after agreeing to surrender the *spatharios*, they received many gifts. And once again [the

Abasgians] sent a great number of emissaries with the sum of gold so as to take possession of the *spatharios*. Now the Alans said to the *spatharios*: 'These men, as we have said before, have come in order to take you, and Abasgia awaits you. As we draw near to them, there is a constant stream of merchants going to their country. So, lest our purpose be divulged, we shall surrender you openly. And as you move away, we shall secretly send men after you, and we shall kill the Abasgians and hide you until our army is gathered and we are able to invade their country by stealth.' Which, indeed, came to pass. For the Abasgian emissaries took possession of the *spatharios* and his companions and, after tying them up, they went off. Now the Alans under their lord Itaxes,[8] overtook them from behind and killed the Abasgians, while they concealed the *spatharios*. And, raising an army, [Itaxes] moved against Abasgia; entering unexpectedly through the mountain passes, he made many captives and caused much destruction among the Abasgians. When Justinian had heard 393
of these matters, namely that his instructions had been carried out even without money, he sent the following letter to the Abasgians: 'If you escort our *spatharios* and let him pass through your country without harm, we shall forgive you all your transgressions.' They gladly received this letter and, once again, sent emissaries to Alania saying: 'We shall give you our children as hostages if you give us the *spatharios* that we may send him on his way to Justinian.' But the *spatharios* would not agree to this, saying: 'God is able to open me a door that I may go out: for I shall not leave by way of Abasgia.'

Some time later an army of Romans and Armenians entered Lazica and were besieging Archaiopolis,[9] but on hearing that the Saracens were coming, they departed. About 200 men split off [from the main army] and went looting in the region of Apsilia and the Caucasian mountains. When the Saracens reached Lazica, the army of Romans and Armenians took to flight and returned to Phasis, while the 200 who had been left behind gave up hope and remained as robbers in the Caucasian mountains. The Alans, on being informed of this, thought that a multitude of Romans was in the Caucasian mountains, and they joyfully said to the *spatharios*: 'The Romans have drawn near. Go to them.' Taking fifty Alans along, the *spatharios* crossed in snow-shoes[10] the snowy mountains of Caucasus in the month of May and found the men. Joyfully he asked them: 'Where is the army?' They replied: 'It returned to the Roman country when the Saracens attacked. As for us, being unable to depart to the Roman country, we were making our way to Alania.' He said to them: 'What shall we do now?' They replied: 'It is impossible for us to traverse this country.' But the *spatharios* said: 'It is not

possible to make our way out by any other route.' Now there was a fort there called Sideron,[11] whose warden, a man named Pharasmanios, was subject to the Saracens and at peace with the Armenians. The *spatharios* sent word to him, saying: 'Since you are at peace with the Armenians, make peace with me too, and become
394 subject to the emperor. Help us go down to the sea and cross over to Trebizond.' But since the warden chose not to do so, the *spatharios* sent some of his men, including some Armenians, and instructed them to set an ambush, [saying]: 'When they go out to work [in the fields], capture as many of them as you can, and take hold of the gates from the outside until we too get there.' So they went off and set the ambush; and when the people went out to work, they suddenly fell upon them, took many captives and seized the gates. Since Pharasmanios had remained in the fort with a few men, the *spatharios*, on reaching the spot, spoke to him that he might peacefully let them in, but Pharasmanios was unwilling to do so and made war. The fort, however, was strong and they could not take it. Now Marinus, the chief of the Apsilians, was seized by fear when he had been informed that the fort was under siege, thinking that the *spatharios* had a big army with him. So, taking 300 men along, he went to the *spatharios* and said: 'I will accompany you safely as far as the coast.' Pharasmanios, for his part, on seeing his difficult position, said to the *spatharios*: 'Take my son as hostage, and I undertake to serve the Empire.' The other took the boy and said: 'What kind of emperor's servant do you call yourself when you speak to us while remaining locked up? There is no question of our departing until we take the fort.' Then Pharasmanios says, 'Give me your word.' The *spatharios* swore not to harm him and to enter the fort with no more than thirty men. But when the other had not observed the agreement, he instructed the thirty men that were being let in along with him, saying: 'As you go in, take hold of the gates and let everyone enter.' When this had taken place, he ordered that the fort should be set on fire; and as a great conflagration flared up, the families [of the inhabitants] went out seizing whatever possessions they could carry. Remaining there another three days,[12] [the *spatharios*] demolished the walls down to the ground, and then set out on his downward journey to Apsilia together with Marinus, the local chief,and was
395 received with great honour by the Apsilians. From there he went down to the coast and crossed over to [the emperor] Justinian. After Justinian had been slain and Philippikos had been blinded, Artemios became emperor and appointed him *strategos* of the Anatolics. And when Artemios had been ousted and Theodosius was made emperor, while the Roman state was in confusion because of barbarian inva-

sion, Justinian's murders, and the evil deeds of Philippikos, the aforesaid Leo took the side of Artemios[13] and opposed Theodosios. He had the agreement and co-operation of Artabasdos, *strategos* of the Armeniacs whom, after he had become emperor, he made his son-in-law through marriage to his daughter Anna and also promoted him to the rank of *curopalates*.[14]

||Now Masalmas, after he had wintered in Asia, was awaiting Leo's promises. But when he had received nothing from Leo and realized that he had been tricked,||[a] he moved to Abydos, crossed over to Thrace with a considerable army, and advanced towards the Imperial City.||[b] He also wrote to the Caliph Souleiman[15] that the latter should come with the fleet that had been fitted out in advance.|| After devastating the Thracian forts, Masalmas laid siege to the City on 15 August.[16] [The Arabs] fenced the land walls all round by digging a wide trench and building above it a breast-high parapet of dry stone. On 1 September of the 1st indiction[17] Christ's enemy Souleiman[18] sailed up with his fleet and his emirs. He had enormous ships, military transports, and *dromones* to the number of 1,800. He put in between the Magnaura[19] and the Kyklobion. Two days later a south wind blew, and they set out from there and sailed 396
past the City. Some of them crossed over to [the suburbs] of Eutropios and Anthemios,[20] while others put in on the Thracian side, from the fort of Galata[21] all the way to the Kleidion.[22] Since the big ships were heavily laden and moved slowly, some twenty transports protected the rear, each one of them guarded by a hundred men clad in corselets. These found themselves becalmed in the midst of the current and, when a slight breeze blew down the straits, they were pushed back. Straight away, the pious emperor sent against them the fire-bearing ships from the Acropolis and, with divine help, set them on fire, so that some of them were cast up burning by the sea walls, others sank to the bottom with their crews, and others were swept down flaming[23] as far as the islands Oxeia and Plateia. As a result, the inhabitants of the City took courage, whereas the enemy cowered with fear after experiencing the efficacious action of the liquid fire: for they had intended to beach their ships that evening by the sea walls and set their steering paddles upon the battlements.[24] But God brought their counsel to nought through the intercession of the all-pure Theotokos. That same night the pious emperor stealthily drew up the chain[25] on the Galata side. The enemy, however, thinking that the emperor had drawn it aside with a view to entrapping them, did not dare move in and anchor on the inside of Galata. Instead, they sailed up to the bay of Sosthenion and made their fleet secure there.||[c]

||On 8 October their leader Souleiman died and Oumar became emir.||[d]

||That winter proved very severe in Thrace, so much so that for a hundred days the earth could not be seen beneath the congealed snow. As a result, the enemy lost a multitude of horses, camels, and other animals. In the spring Souphiam[26] arrived with a fleet that had been built in Egypt: he had 400 transports laden with corn as well as *dromones*. Having been informed of the efficacy of the Roman fire,
397 he sailed past Bithynia and crossed to the harbour of Kalos Agros[27] on the other side, where he anchored. Shortly thereafter, Izid, too, arrived with another fleet that had been built in Africa: he had 360 transports, a store of arms, and provisions. He had received the same information about the liquid fire and so put in at Satyros and Bryas, all the way to Kartalimen.[28] Now the Egyptian [crews] of these two fleets took counsel among themselves and, after seizing at night the skiffs of the transports, sought refuge in the City and acclaimed the emperor; as they did so, the sea, all the way from Hiereia to the City, appeared to be covered with timber. When the emperor had been informed by them of the two fleets hidden in the bay,[29] he constructed fire-bearing siphons which he placed in *dromones* and biremes and sent these against the fleets. With God's help, thanks to the intercession of the all-pure Theotokos, the enemy were sunk on the spot. Our men took the enemy's supplies as booty and returned in joyous victory.||[e] Furthermore, while Mardasan[30] was raiding with his Arab army from Pylai to Nicaea and Nicomedia, the imperial officers who, like Mardaites, were concealed with their foot soldiers at Libos[31] and Sophon[32], suddenly attacked them and broke them in pieces and so forced them to withdraw from those parts. In this way the seacoast on the other side gained a short respite, so that ships could go out of the City and obtain plentiful provisions. Likewise, fishing boats were not prevented from catching fish near the islands and the city walls. The Arabs, on the other hand, suffered from a severe famine, so that they ate all of their dead animals, namely horses, asses, and camels. It is said that they even cooked in ovens and ate dead men and their own dung which they leavened. A pestilence fell upon them also and killed an infinite number of them. Furthermore, the Bulgarian nation made war on them and, as well-informed persons affirm, massacred 22,000 Arabs.[33] Many other calamities befell them at that time and made them learn by experi-
398 ence that God and the all-holy Virgin, the Mother of God, protect this City and the Christian Empire, and that those who call upon God in truth are not entirely forsaken, even if we are chastised for a short time on account of our sins.

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 485; *Chr. 1234*, 237. 4–6 (Maslamah crosses to Europe in June). [b] Cf. Nik. 54. 1–2. [c] Cf. Nik. 54. 3–18. [d] Cf. Elias Nis. 77. 26–7 (AH 99), 'die octavo safar' (= 20 Sept. 717). *Chr. 819*, 11 and *Chr. 846*, 177 record Sulaimān's death in Sept. Mich. Syr. ii. 485 and *Chr. 1234*, 238. 21–5, give neither day nor month. [e] Cf. Nik. 54. 18–39.

[1] This is considered a later gloss seeing that Anast. has *genere Syrus*. Cf. K. Schenk, *BZ* 5 (1896), 296 ff. The supposition that Leo III came to be called an Isaurian by being confused with the Isaurian Leontios (695–8), as argued by C. Head, *Byz* 41 (1971), 105 ff. and others, ignores the fact that he is already so designated in *Parast.*, 20, c. 1, a text of the 8th cent.

[2] The date of his accession is given below, p. 572, as 25 Mar. 717, but he may have entered Constantinople in the winter of 716/17.

[3] The removal of Leo's family to Thrace is needlessly questioned by S. Gero, *Leo III*, 30–1, cf. Hendy, *Economy*, 667 ff.

[4] In 705. Strictly speaking, Justinian had not yet regained the Empire at the time.

[5] Leo's mission to the Caucasus is recorded only by Theoph. See M. Canard, *RÉArm* NS 8 (1971), 353–7. Theoph. appears to reproduce a contemporary source in which Leo was represented as an able commander. Note that he is repeatedly referred to as 'the *spatharios*'. The Caucasian mission, which could hardly have been motivated by Justinian's desire to bring about unobtrusively Leo's death, does not appear to have achieved any noteworthy results. It is not clear how long Leo remained in Alania, but we see no reason to question Theophanes' statement that he returned while Justinian was still on the throne. Canard, following Kulakovskij, iii. 324, suggests that he returned in *c.*713, that is in the reign of either Philippikos or Anastasios II. According to another tradition, represented by the *Epist. ad Theophilum*, *PG* 95: 357C and Geo. Mon. 737, Leo was made *spatharios* by Theodosios III (certainly incorrect) and undertook in the same reign a successful naval expedition to S. Italy, after which he was proclaimed emperor by the army.

[6] Between Lazica and Abasgia according to Arrian, *Peripl.* 15. Cf. A. Maricq, *Res gestae divi Saporis* (Brussels, 1953), 65 and n. 4. See also the *Hypomnesticon* of Theodore Spoudaios, *AnBoll* 53 (1935), 69.

[7] This statement is contradicted by the sequel of the story, unless the verb ἠχμαλώτευσαν can be taken to mean 'set about taking prisoners'.

[8] Perhaps the Persian–Armenian title Vitaxa (viceroy), usually rendered in Greek as *βιτάξης*, *πυτιάξης*, *vel sim.* Cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, 155 ff.

[9] Nokalakevi, north of Phasis. Its situation is described by Prok. *BG* iv. 14. 1–3. Frequently mentioned by Agathias. See *RE* iii (1895), 435–6 (Tomaschek). Site described by A. M. Schneider, *Forschungen u. Fortschritte*, 7 (1931), 354f. and Braund, *Georgia*, 302–4 (with a plan).

[10] Or 'skis' (μετὰ κυκλοπόδων).

[11] Between Tsebelda and Sukhumi according to Artamonov, *Istorija*, 361. Its ancient name was Tzachar: Agath. 4. 16. 4.

[12] 'Thirty' in Anast.

[13] Or 'pretended to take the side of Artemios' if one follows Anast. (*hic Leo simulabatur et pro Artemio expugnabat*). Anast. also adds: *Theodosio adversatus, quin, ut verum dicatur, ad se ipsum imperium transferre decertans.* Anast.'s version appears to reflect an anti-Leo gloss.

[14] Repeated with some amplification from p. 536.

[15] Surely confused with the Sulaymān who did arrive at the head of a fleet (below, n. 18). Same confusion in *DAI* 21. 115 ff.

[16] So also *Syn. CP* 904. 18 (probably from Theophanes). If this indication is correct, the siege lasted exactly one year to the day, which is not very likely, especially in view of the consideration that 15 Aug. was already celebrated as the feast of the Koimesis. It would thus have been particularly appropriate if the Arabs both arrived and left on the chief feast day of the Virgin Mary, the saviour of Constantinople. Nik. 54. 5, however, gives the siege a duration of 13 months, which may indicate that it started on 15 July.

[17] AD 717.

[18] Not the Caliph, as implied here, but presumably Sulaimān b. Mu'ād, unless it was yet a third Sulaimān, as conjectured by Brooks, 'Campaign', 26 n. 1.

[19] In the suburb of Hebdomon. Cf. above, p. 493 n. 1.

[20] The harbour of Eutropios (see above, pp. 414, 423) was outside Chalcedon; the suburb of Anthemios on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus. For the latter see Janin, *CP*, 483.

[21] Mentioned here for the first time (the attribution to Tiberius II in *Patria*, 265, c. 157, is fanciful). Remains marked by Yeraltı Camii: see A. M. Schneider and M. I. Nomidis, *Galata* (Istanbul, 1944), 6.

[22] Traditionally placed at modern Defterdarburnu: Janin, *CP*, 472.

[23] *λαυρίζουσαι*, paraphrased as *καταφλεγόμεναι* in Cramer, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 355. Anast. (dB 255. 34) renders it, not quite correctly, by *consumptae.* Presumably from *λάβρος*: cf. *κάμινος λαυροτάτη* in *Acta S. Adriani et soc.*, *AASS*, Sept. III (1750), 228D: *ὑπὸ λαυροτάτου πυρὸς ἐκφυσώμενον* in *Miracula S. Georgii*, ed. J. B. Aufhauser (Leipzig 1913), 37.

[24] *τοὺς αὐχένας εἰς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐπιθεῖναι*, rendered by Anast. (dB 256. 3) as *temones supra pugnacula imponere.*

[25] This is the earliest mention of the chain guarding the Golden Horn, on which see R. Guilland, *Études byzantines* (Paris, 1959), 263–97.

[26] Sufyān: neither he nor Izid (Yazīd) appears in the Arabic sources. See M. Canard, *JA* 208 (1926), 83 n. 3, 90.

[27] Near the mouth of the gulf of Nicomedia. Cf. *Syn. CP* 777. 10 and Janin, *Grands centres*, 94 n. 1; more specifically, near modern Tuzla, as shown by an inscription copied in the 17th cent. by John Covel: D. Feissel, *TM* 10 (1987), 429–30.

[28] Corresponding to modern Küçükyalı (near Bostanci), Maltepe, and Kartal respectively. See Janin, *CP*, 239–40; *Grands centres*, 42–3, 51–2. On Bryas cf. our remarks in *TM* 12 (1994), 347 ff.

[29] Of Nicomedia.

[30] He does not appear to be recorded elsewhere.

[31] On the road from Nicomedia to Nicaea, corresponding to Libo or Mansio Libum of the Itineraries: O. Cuntz, *Itineraria romana*, i (Leipzig, 1929), 20, 92. Approximate site marked in D. French, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*, i (1981), map 3. See also C. Foss, *AnatSt* 40 (1990), 168 ff.

[32] Mountain and lake of the same name corresponding to modern Sapanca. See Ramsay, *Geogr.* 188.

[33] The crucial role played by the Bulgarians is apparent from the related narratives of Mich. Syr. and *Chr. 1234*. Cf. V. Gjuzelev, 'La Participation des Bulgares à l'échec du siège arabe de Constantinople en 717–718', in *Medieval Bulgaria, Byzantine Empire, Black Sea, Venice, Genoa* (Villach, 1988), 91–113.

AM 6210 [AD 717/18]

Year of the divine Incarnation 710
Leo, 2nd year
Oumaros, leader of the Arabs (2 years), 1st year
Germanus, 4th year
John, 13th year

[In this year Sergius, who was *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Sicily, on learning that the Saracens were besieging the Imperial City, crowned in those parts his own emperor—one of his men, called Basil, a native of Constantinople, son of Gregory Onomagoulos, whom he renamed Tiberius. The latter appointed his own dignitaries with the consent of the aforementioned Sergius. When the emperor had heard of this, he dispatched Paul,[1] chartulary of his own household, whom he promoted patrician and *strategos* of Sicily, and gave him as helpers ⟨two *spatharii* and a few men to serve him⟩ as well as orders addressed to the western commanders and a *sacra*[2] to the people. These men embarked at night on an expeditionary *dromon*[3] and sailed off to the region of Kyzikos. Having made their journey from place to place, by both land and sea, they suddenly arrived in Sicily. When they had entered Syracuse, Sergius was amazed to hear of it; recognizing his own guilt, he sought refuge with the Lombards who dwell adjacent to Calabria. When the people had assembled and been assured by the reading aloud of the *sacra* that the Empire stood firm and that the City was confident as regards the enemy; when, furthermore, they had been told about the two fleets, they immediately acclaimed Leo as emperor and surrendered to the *strategos* as captives both Basil Onamagoulos and the dignitaries who had been appointed by him. He caused Basil and the latter's commander-in-chief[4] to be beheaded and sent to the emperor their heads preserved in vinegar[5] by care of the *spatharii.* The others

399 he exiled, after having them scourged and tonsured and, in some cases, cutting off their noses. As a result, great order prevailed in the western parts. As for the aforementioned Sergius, he sought and obtained from the *strategos* a promise of immunity and so joined him; and all the western parts were pacified.‖[a]

‖When Oumaros had become master of the Arabs,[6] he ordered Masalmas to turn back,‖[b] and, on 15 August, the Hagarenes moved off in great shame. As their fleet sailed away,[7] a God-sent storm fell upon them and scattered them through the intercession of the Mother of God. Some sank by Prokonesos and the other islands, others by Apostropha[8] and the adjoining shores. The remainder were going through the Aegean Sea when a terrible calamity came over them; for a fiery hail fell upon them and brought the sea-water to a boil, and as the pitch of their keels dissolved, their ships sank in the deep, crews and all.[9] Only ten of them escaped, and this by God's providence, so as to proclaim both to us and to the Arabs the divine prodigies they had experienced. Some of our men chanced upon them and were able to seize five of them, while the other five escaped to Syria to announce God's mighty deeds.‖[c]

‖In the same year, after a violent earthquake had occurred in Syria,‖[d] Oumar banned the use of wine in cities and set about forcing the Christians to become converted: those that converted he exempted from tax, while those that refused to do so he killed and so produced many martyrs. He also decreed that a Christian's testimony against a Saracen should not be accepted.‖[e] He composed a letter concerning religion addressed to the emperor Leo[10] in the belief that he would persuade him to convert.‖[f]

[a] Cf. Nik. 55. [b] Cf. Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 13; Mich. Syr. ii. 486; *Chr. 1234*, 239. 1–3. [c] Cf. Nik. 56. 2–8. [d] Cf. *Chr. 846*, 177, 24 Dec. AG 1029; Mich. Syr. ii. 490; Elias Nis. 77; Agapios, 242. [e] Cf. Mich. Syr. II, 489; Agapios, 242. [f] Cf. Agapios, 242–3.

[1] It has been conjectured that he was the same as Paul, later exarch of Ravenna (723–6): T. S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers* (Rome, 1984), 65.

[2] i.e. a decree or imperial letter. On the term see F. Dölger and J. Karayannopulos, *Byz. Urkundenlehre* (Munich, 1968), 24, 89.

[3] *εἰς ἐξελαστικὸν δρόμωνα*. For the term cf. *Actes de Lavra*, I (1970), 10. 15 (a. 993).

[4] *τῷ μονοστρατήγῳ αὐτοῦ*. This term, something like generalissimo, is repeatedly used by Theoph. to denote a combined command of two or more armies, but its precise meaning in this context is not clear. See Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien*, 40. The person in question was probably George, named by Nik. 55. 16. It is surprising that Sergius should not have been given a leading post in the command structure of his protégé.

[5] *τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν φουσκιάσας* from *φοῦσκα* (Lat. *posca*, *pusca*). Cf E. Kislinger, *JÖB* 24 (1984), 49 ff.; I. Rochow, *BSl* 47 (1986), 25 ff.

[6] Actually, Sulaymān died at Dabiq in Sept.–Oct. 717, when the siege of Constantinople had barely begun, and was succeeded by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. In MSS e, m the paragraph begins as follows: 'Departing from Byzantium in disgrace, Meselmes [*sic*] proceeded to Damascus. He found that Maroen [Marwan], his lord and Caliph, had died. In his stead Oumaris took power and sent Meselmes back to besiege Byzantium by land and sea. This Oumaris was the youngest son of Aptelazez.'

[7] *ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἐκπορίζειν*. On the verb *ἐκπορίζω* (to sail away from Constantinople through the straits) see comment on *Life of Porphyry of Gaza*, ed. H. Grégoire and M.-A. Kugener (Paris, 1930), c. 27, p. 107.

[8] Situation unknown to us. Note that the *Life of Porphyry*, c. 34, p. 29, speaks of *τὰ ἀπόστροφα* of Rhodes, which the editors translate as 'les régions écartées de l'île'.

[9] The miraculous destruction of the Arab fleet is mentioned in a contemporary homily by the Patriarch Germanus, ed. V. Grumel, *RÉB* 16 (1958), 197. Though doubtless embellished, the report of boiling waters in the Aegean may well be connected with unusual volcanic activity, which culminated in the eruption of Thera (AM 6218).

[10] The text of 'Umar's alleged letter has been reconstructed by J. M. Gaudeul, *Islamochristiana*, 10 (1984), 109–57, on the basis of a truncated Arabic tract no later than the 9th cent., ed. D. Sourdel, *Rev. des études islamiques*, 34 (1966), 1–33, and a fuller version in a Romance dialect preserved in a Madrid MS. Cf. S. H. Griffith in *Syrie colloque*, 133 n. 51. Leo's alleged reply survives in an Armenian version, on which see A. Jeffery, *HTR* 37 (1944), 269–332. The Latin version in *PG* 107: 315–24 appears to be a fabrication.

[AM 6211, AD 718/19]

Leo, 3rd year
Oumaros, 2nd year
Germanus, 5th year
John, 14th year

‖In this year a son was born to the impious emperor Leo,[1] namely the yet more impious Constantine,‖[a] the precursor of the 400
Antichrist. On the 25th of the month of December[2] Leo's wife Maria was crowned in the Augusteus hall[3] and solemnly processed alone[4] to the Great Church, without her husband. After praying in front of the sanctuary doors, she went over to the Great Baptistery,[5] which her husband had entered earlier along with a few members of his household. While the archbishop Germanus was baptizing there the successor to their wicked empire, namely Constantine, a terrible

and evil-smelling sign was manifested in his very infancy, for he defecated in the holy font, as affirmed by actual eyewitnesses.[6] Whereupon the most holy patriarch Germanus declared prophetically that that sign denoted the great evil that would befall the Christians and the Church on account of Constantine. When he had been baptized, the chief men of the *themata* and of the Senate received him as sponsors. After the holy liturgy, the Augusta Maria returned in procession with her baptized son and distributed largess on her way from the church to the Bronze Gate of the palace.

||In the same year Niketas Xylinites[7] wrote to Artemios at Thessalonica, urging him to go over to Terbelis with a view to attacking Leo with Bulgarian support.[8] Consenting to do so, Artemios went off and obtained an army as well as 50 *centenaria* of gold. Thus equipped, he marched on Constantinople. Since, however, the City did not accept him, the Bulgarians surrendered him to Leo and returned home, duly rewarded by the latter. The emperor put him to death along with Xylinites, whose fortune he confiscated: the man was his[9] *magistros* and very rich. The Bulgarians also beheaded the patrician Sisinnios surnamed Rendakis[10] who was a companion of Artemios, and they betrayed to the emperor the archbishop of Thessalonica, who was beheaded along with Artemios. Likewise Leo put to death the patrician Isoes, who was *comes* of
401 Opsikion,[11] Theoktistos the *protoasekretis*, and Niketas Anthrax, Commander of the Wall,[12] for being friends and supporters of Artemios. Others he banished, after cutting off their noses and confiscating their property.||[b]

[a] Cf. Nik. 56. 1–2. [b] Cf. Nik. 57. There is also an account of this incident in Agapios, 243, where the Bulgars are transformed into Nubians.

[1] Contrast with the 'pious emperor', above, p. 545. Constantine's birth is recorded by Nik. before the departure of the Arabs on 15 Aug. 718.

[2] 'December' is dB's emendation based on Anast.; the Greek MSS have 'October'.

[3] The normal venue for the coronation of an Augusta, as described in *Cer.* i. 40.

[4] *προῆλθεν ἔμπρακτος*. The term *ἔμπρα(κ)τος*, usually means 'in office' or 'exercising a function' (*in actu*) as opposed to *vacans*. Cf. Oikonomides, *Listes*, 290.

[5] The order for the baptism of an imperial prince is described in *Cer.* ii. 22, pp. 619–20. The Great Baptistery, also mentioned in the office of Holy Saturday (Mateos, *Typicon* ii. 84), was situated north of St Sophia, as appears from Goar, *Euchologion*, 357–9 and the *Typikon* in cod. Dresden A104, analysed by A. A. Dmitrievskij, *Drevnejšie patriaršie tipikony* (Kiev, 1907), 161–2. Correctly placed by Ebersolt, *Ste-Sophie*, 33–5.

[6] So also *Adv. Const. Caballinum*, PG 95: 337A–B; *V. Nicetae Medic.*, xxviiiE.

[7] His seal in Zacos-Veglery, No. 437, unless it is that of an earlier (?) Niketas, *magistros* in 680: Mansi, xi. 209, 217 = *ACO* 2nd ser. ii/1 (1990), 14, 16. Xylinites is recorded in *Patria*, p. 276, as the founder of a monastery.

[8] Exceptionally, the story of the plot of Artemios is told more fully and with somewhat different particulars by Nik., who represents the Bulgarians as acting in a friendly manner towards the Empire. It is unlikely that in this one case Nik. should have followed a source different from that of Theoph. We consider it more probable that Theoph., who repeatedly shows an anti-Bulgarian bias, has deliberately condensed and altered the narrative. The events are discussed by G. Cankova-Petkova, *BSl* 24 (1963), 41–53; Kaegi, *Unrest*, 211–12; Beševliev, *Protobulg. Periode*, 201–2.

[9] Presumably the *magistros* of Artemios, that is appointed by the latter. So Bury, *Adm. System*, 29, who discusses the history of the office.

[10] For his seals see Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, nos. 78, 136; for the surname, Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien*, 148, 181. On the Rendakis or Rentakios family, which was based in Greece and achieved prominence in the 9th/10th cent., see N. Svoronos, *BCH* 83 (1959), 74 f; Seibt, op. cit., no. 192. According to Nik., Sisinnios had been dwelling in Bulgaria, whither he had been sent by Leo to obtain help against the Arabs, and it was he who acted as Artemios' intermediary in obtaining Bulgar support for the coup. His dispatch to Bulgaria could hardly have been later than the spring of 717, since the Arabs were harassed by the Bulgarians on their march through Thrace (June/July). He must have been prevented from returning to Constantinople by the siege. The attempt by Ahrweiler, *Mer*, 28 ff., to identify our Sisinnios with his namesake, *strategos* of the fleet in *Mir. Dem.*, ii. 5, has been rejected by P. Lemerle, *Recueils*, ii. 155. P. A. Giannopoulos, *EEBΣ* 39–40 (1972–3), 579–93, argues that Sisinnios Rendakis was the same as Sisinnios *strategos* of the Anatolics, mentioned in a somewhat legendary account of the early career of Leo III: Geo. Mon. 737; *Epist. ad Theophilum*, *PG* 95: 357; Leo Gramm. 175; Kedr. i. 789.

[11] On whom see Winkelmann, *Rangstruktur*, 72 f. For his seals, Likhačev, *Molivdovuly*, 206 f.

[12] This is the earliest mention of the office, called *κόμης* or *δομέστικος τῶν τειχέων* (or *τοῦ τείχους*) or, for short, *ὁ τειχιώτης*. See Bury, *Adm. System*, 67–8, whose suggestion that he had charge of the Anastasian wall in Thrace is rightly contested by B. Croke, *GRBS* 23 (1982), 76 ff. Oikonomides, *Listes*, 336–7, and Haldon, *Praetorians*, 265 f., believe he had charge of the walls of the Imperial Palace.

AM 6212 [AD 719/20]

Year of the divine Incarnation 712
Leo, emperor of the Romans (24 years), 4th year
Izid, leader of the Arabs (4 years), 1st year

Germanus, bishop of Constantinople (15 years), 6th year
John, bishop of Jerusalem (30 years), 15th year

||In this year, the 3rd indiction, on Easter day[1] Constantine was crowned by his father Leo in the Tribunal of the Nineteen Couches. The customary prayers were recited by the blessed patriarch Germanus.||[a]

||In the same year Oumaros, who had been emir of the Arabs 2 years and 4 months, died and Izid became emir.[2] There rose up against him a usurper in Persia, called like him Izid Moualabi,[3] and many Persians joined his cause. Izid sent Masalmas, who killed him and subjugated Persia.||[b]

[a] Cf. Nik. 58. [b] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 240. 3–13; Mich. Syr. ii. 489 (less close); Elias Nis. 77–8 (AH 101, 102).

[1] 31 Mar. 720. Nik. gives the date incorrectly as 25 Mar.
[2] Yazīd II (720–4). [3] Yazīd b. al-Muhallab.

[AM 6213, AD 720/1]

Leo, 5th year
Izíd, 2nd year
Germanus, 7th year
John, 16th year

||In this year there appeared a certain Syrian,[1] who was a false messiah and deceived the Jews by calling himself Christ, the son of God.||[a]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 490; *Chr. 1234*, 240. 18–25 with further details; Agapios, 244; long account in Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 25–7 (under Hishām).

[1] Called Severus, a Christian dwelling in the district of Marde.

[AM 6214 ,AD 721/2]

Leo, 6th year
Izid, 3rd year
Germanus, 8th year
John, 17th year

In this year the emperor forced the Jews and the Montanists to accept baptism. The Jews, for their part, were baptized against their will and then washed off their baptism; and they partook of holy communion on a full stomach and so defiled the faith.[1] As for the

Montanists, they made divination among themselves and, after determining a certain day, entered the houses appointed for their false worship and burnt themselves.[2]

[1] The measure against the Jews is briefly mentioned in *Chr. 1234*, 240. 26–7; Elias Nis. 78 (AH 101); more fully by Mich. Syr. ii. 489–90, who adds that those who accepted baptism were called 'new citizens'. So also Agapios, 244. Theophanes' account does not appear to be based on an oriental source.
[2] For similar action taken by the Phrygian Montanists in the reign of Justinian I see Prok. *Anecd.* 11. 23. Their forced baptism by Leo III is not mentioned in any other source and has been doubted by some scholars: references in Rochow, *Byzanz*, 104.

[AM 6215, AD 722/3]

Leo, 7th year
Izid, 4th year
Germanus, 9th year
John, 18th year

||In this year a Jewish magician, who was a native of Laodikeia in Maritime Phoenicia, came to Izid and promised him that he would reign forty years over the Arabs if he destroyed the holy icons that were venerated in Christian churches throughout his dominions. The senseless Izid was persuaded by him and decreed a general constitution against the holy images.[1] But by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and by the intercessions of His chaste Mother and of all the saints, Izid died that same year before his satanic constitution had come to the notice of most people. The emperor Leo partook of the same error, a grievous and illicit one, and so became responsible for inflicting many evils upon us.||[a] He found a partner in this boorishness—a man called Beser,[2] a former Christian who had been taken captive in Syria, who had abjured the Christian faith and become imbued with Arab doctrines and who, not long before, had been freed from their servitude and returned to the Roman state. Because of his physical strength and like-mindedness in error, he was honoured by the same Leo. This man, then, became the emperor's ally with regard to this great evil. Another of his wicked coadjutors was the bishop of Nakoleia[3] who was filled with every kind of impurity and lived in similar boorishness. 402

[a] Cf. the report of John, vicar of the Oriental patriarchs, presented to the Council of 787, Mansi xiii. 197B ff.; Nikephoros, *Antirrheticus* III, *PG* 100: 528 ff. (both with different details: the Jewish magician, called Tessarakontapechys (Forty Cubits high),

hails from Tiberias; he promises to Yazīd a reign of 30 years; Yazīd dies 2 years later; bishop of Nakoleia mentioned, but not Beser). Cf. also Nikephoros, *Contra Eusebium*, in Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, i (Paris, 1852), 375–6, with one further feature (Yazīd is seriously ill when he is approached by the Jew). Theophanes' version is distinctive and cannot have been derived from the Acts of 787.

[1] The measure is mentioned by Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 17, AG 1035; *Chr. 819*, 11 and *Chr. 846*, 178, both AG 1031; Mich. Syr. ii. 489; *Chr. 1234*, 178, AH 102 (carried out by Maslamah on Yazīd's instruction). See further A. A. Vasiliev, *DOP* 9–10 (1956), 25–47.

[2] On whom see L. Bréhier, *DHGE* viii (1935), 1171–2; Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 235; Gero, *Leo III*, 189 ff. The original form of the name must have been Bišr. Seal: Zacos–Veglery, 2835; cf. W. Seibt, *BSl* 36 (1975), 212.

[3] Constantine of Nakoleia, addressee of a letter of reproof from the patriarch Germanus, *PG* 98: 161 ff., and widely regarded as the main instigator of Byzantine iconoclasm. See G. Ostrogorsky in *Mélanges Ch. Diehl*, i (Paris, 1930), 236–7.

[AM 6216, AD 723/4]

Leo, 8th year
Isam, leader of the Arabs (19 years), 1st year
Germanus, 10th year
John, 19th year

I am now going to tell the story of the blessed Stephen, Pope of Rome,[1] how he fled to the land of the Franks and was saved.[2]

This celebrated man Stephen suffered many ills at the hands of Astulphos, king of the Lombards.[3] He sought refuge among the Franks at the time of Pipin, who was majordomo[4] and chief of the administration of all the affairs of the Frankish nation: for it was their custom that their lord, that is their king, would reign by virtue of heredity, but take no part in the administration and do nothing except eat and drink inordinately. He would live at home and on 1
403 May[5] would preside over the whole nation to greet them and to receive their greetings and customary gifts and to give them gifts in return, and then would live by himself until the following May. He has a majordomo, as the man is called, who administers all the affairs according to the king's and the nation's wishes. The descendants of that line were called Kristatai, which means 'hairy backs': for, like pigs, they had bristles sprouting from their back.[6]

Now, the aforementioned Stephen, compelled by the cruelty and senselessness of Astulphos, obtained the latter's permission to proceed to the Frankish country to do whatever he was able. When he arrived, he performed the investiture of Pipin,[7] a man who was then

greatly esteemed and was also administrator of public affairs on the king's behalf; who, furthermore, had fought the Arabs who had crossed from Africa to Spain,[8] the same who have held Spain until now, and attempted to make war even against the Franks. The said Pipin opposed them with his host; he killed the commander of the enemy, Abderachman,[9] as well as a countless multitude of them by the river Eridanos,[10] and drew his nation's admiration and love, not only for this deed, but also on account of his other qualities. He was the first to rule his nation not by virtue of heredity, the said Stephen having absolved him of his oath to the king, tonsured his predecessor[11] and confined him honourably in a comfortable monastery. This Pipin had two sons, the brothers Karoulos and Karoulomagnos.[12]

‖ In the same year Izid, who had been Caliph of the Arabs for four years, died.[13] His brother Isam became Caliph and started to build palaces in the country and in towns, to lay out plantations and gardens and to channel water.‖[a] He campaigned against the Roman country and, after losing many of his men, returned home.‖[b]

Stĕphen, the Pope of Rome, sought refuge with the Franks.

[a] Cf. *Chr. 819*, 11, AG 1035; *Chr. 846*, 178; *Chr. 1234*, 241. 5–15 with further details; Mich. Syr. ii. 490, AG 1037; Agapios, 245; Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 23–4. [b] Cf. Agapios, 245 (raid led by Kathīr b. Rabī'ah). Tabarī records under AH 105 (723/4) an unsuccessful raid by Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik: Brooks, 'Arabs', 198.

[1] Stephen III (752–7).

[2] The story that follows appears to have been a scholion to the last entry for this year, based on a western source, perhaps originating in the Greek colony of Rome. For a similar assessment of the Merovingian kings see e.g. Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, 1; *Annales Fuldenses*, a.751: 'qui reges quidem dicebantur, sed potestas regni tota apud maiorem domus habebatur, excepto quod chartae et privilegia regis nomine scribebantur; et ad Martis campum, qui rex dicebatur, plaustro . . . vectus . . . semel in anno a populis visus publica dona solemniter sibi oblata accipiebat . . . sicque rege domum redeunte cetera regni negotia maior domus administrabat'. Pope Stephen's journey is here badly misplaced, seeing that it occurred in 753. Anastasius (dB 272–3) inserts it under AM 6234 either because he found it there or because he moved it himself.

[3] Aistulf (749–56).

[4] Rendered as *πρόοικος*, a term that occurs in Const. Porph. *De Them.* xii. 28, 33 and in a number of early Byzantine inscriptions, mostly from Asia Minor. See note by J. G. C. Anderson, *JHS* 19 (1899), 298. Pipin the Short was *maior palatii* after his father's death in 741.

[5] The Frankish assembly, previously held in Mar., was moved to May by Pipin: *Annales Petaviani*, *MGH SS* i (1826), a.755, p. 11.

[6] In spite of much discussion, this passage remains obscure. *Cristati*

means 'tufted' or 'crested' (usually applied to animals). A. Cameron, *Rev. belge de philol. et d'hist.* 43 (1965), 1203 ff., has shown that the Merovingian kings were distinguished by the inordinate length of their hair. Long hair falling over the back does not, however, suggest a hog's bristles. Whatever exactly it may mean, this passage is derogatory as noted by L. Halphen in his edn. of Einhard, *Vie de Charlemagne*[2] (Paris, 1938), 10 n. 1.

[7] On 28 July 754 at Saint-Denis. He was given by the pope the title of 'patrician of the Romans'.

[8] Pipin is here confused with his father Charles Martel, who defeated the Arabs at Poitiers then pushed into the Rhône valley.

[9] *Abderahman filius Mahuhi* in Anast. The Arab commander at the battle of Poitiers was 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh.

[10] The Rhône.

[11] Childeric III.

[12] Charles (Charlemagne) and Carloman.

[13] 27 Jan. 724.

404 **[AM 6217, AD 724/5]**

Leo, 9th year
Isam, 2nd year
Gregory, bishop of Rome (9 years), 1st year
Germanus, 11th year
John, 20th year

This year the impious emperor Leo started making pronouncements[1] about the removal of the holy and venerable icons. When Gregory, the Pope of Rome,[2] had been informed of this, he withheld the taxes of Italy and of Rome[a] and wrote to Leo a doctrinal letter[3] to the effect that an emperor ought not to make pronouncements concerning the faith nor to alter the ancient doctrines of the Church which had been defined by the holy Fathers.

||The same year a swollen stream flooded the city of Edessa and killed many people.||[b]

[a] Cf. Agapios, 246.

[b] This entry seems to have strayed from the next indictional cycle. See below, AM 6232.

[1] There has been much discussion whether λόγον ποιεῖσθαι in this passage means 'to make public declarations of policy' or simply 'to speak'. For a survey of scholarly opinion see M. V. Anastos in *ByzF* 3 (1968), 8–10, who favours the former interpretation. Nik. 60. 6–7 represents Leo as trying 'to expound his own doctrine to the people' after the eruption of Thera, hence not before the summer of 726. After the 10th year of his reign in *Vita Stephani iun.*, *PG* 100: 1084C.

[2] Theoph. has conflated Gregory II (715–31) and Gregory III (731–41) into a single pope, whom he represents as ruling from 725 to 734. According to

Lib. Pont. i. 403. 20 ff., Gregory II withheld the taxes before the arrival of the imperial decree against images. Cf. Anastos, op. cit. 24.

[3] The reference appears to be to the two letters preserved in Greek, which are probably a fabrication of the late 8th/early 9th cent. So J. Gouillard, *TM* 3 (1968), 260. Even if they are substantially or partly genuine, as many scholars have argued, they cannot on internal evidence be earlier than 732, because of the allusion to the capture of Ravenna by the Lombards, so that the mention of them at this point is misplaced.

[AM 6218, AD 725/6]

Leo, 10th year
Isam, 3rd year
Gregory, 2nd year
Germanus, 12th year
John 21st year

||This year Masalmas made a campaign against Caesarea in Cappadocia and captured it.||[a] There was a plague in Syria.||[b] The Caliph's camels were burnt at St Elijah's.||[c] Mauias, Isam's son,[1] made a campaign against the Roman country and returned home after marching up and down.||[d]

||In the summer season of the same year, indiction 9,[2] a vapour as from a fiery furnace boiled up for a few days from the depth of the sea between the islands of Thera and Therasia. As it gradually became thicker and filled with stones because of the heat of the burning fire, all the smoke took on a fiery appearance. Then, on account of the density of the earthy substance, pumice stones as big as hills were thrown up against all of Asia Minor, Lesbos, Abydos, and coastal Macedonia, so that the entire surface of that sea was filled with floating pumice. In the midst of so great a fire an island that had not previously existed was formed and joined to the Sacred Island, as it is called;[3] for, just as the aforementioned islands Thera and Therasia had once been thrown up, so was this one, too, in the present days of God's enemy Leo. Thinking that God's wrath was in 405
his favour instead of being directed against him, he stirred up a more ruthless war on the holy and venerable icons,||[e] having as his ally the renegade Beser who rivalled his own senselessness; for both of them were filled with boorishness and complete ignorance, the cause of most evils. The populace of the Imperial City were much distressed by the new-fangled doctrines and meditated an assault upon him. They also killed a few of the emperor's men who had taken down the Lord's image that was above the great Bronze Gate,[4] with the result that many of them were punished in the cause of the true faith by

mutilation, lashes, banishment, and fines, especially those who were prominent by birth and culture. This led to the extinction of schools and of the pious education that had lasted from St Constantine the Great until our days, but was destroyed, along with many other good things, by this Saracen-minded Leo.[5]

||At this juncture the inhabitants of Hellas and the Cyclades, moved by divine zeal, came to an accord and revolted against him with a great fleet, bringing in their train a certain Kosmas who was to be crowned emperor. The expedition was commanded by Agallianos, turmarch of the Helladics,[6] and Stephen. They approached the Imperial City on 18 April of the 10th indication[7] and, after joining battle with the people of Byzantium, had their ships burnt with artificial fire and were defeated. Some of them were drowned by the Hollow,[8] among them Agallianos, who threw himself in the sea armed as he was, while the survivors deserted to the emperor. Kosmas and Stephen were beheaded.||[f] As for the impious Leo and his supporters, they grew in wickedness as they intensified the persecution of the true faith.

||At the summer solstice of the same 10th indiction, after the unhappy defeat of our fellow-countrymen, a multitude of Saracens led by two emirs was drawn up against Nicaea in Bithynia: Amer[9] with 15,000 scouts led the van and surrounded the town which he found unprepared, while Mauias followed with another 85,000
406 men.[10] After a long siege and a partial destruction of the walls, they did not overpower the town||[g] thanks to the acceptable prayers addressed to God by the holy Fathers who are honoured there in a church[11] (wherein their venerable images are set up to this very day and are honoured by those who believe as they did). A certain Constantine, however, who was the *strator* of Artabasdos, on seeing an image of the Theotokos that had been set up, picked up a stone and threw it at her. He broke the image and trampled upon it when it had fallen down. He then saw in a vision the Lady standing beside him and saying to him: 'See, what a brave thing you have done to me! Verily, upon your head have you done it.' The next day, when the Saracens attacked the walls and battle was joined, that wretched man rushed to the wall like the brave soldier he was[12] and was struck by a stone discharged from a siege engine, and it broke his head and face, a just reward for his impiety. After collecting many captives and much booty, the Arabs withdrew.[13] In this manner God showed to the impious one[14] that he had overcome his fellow-countrymen[15] not on account of his piety, as he himself boasted, but for some divine cause and inscrutable judgement, whereby so great an Arab force was driven away from the city of the holy Fathers thanks

to their intercession—on account of their most exact likenesses that are honoured therein—and this, too, in reproof and unanswerable condemnation of the tyrant and in vindication of the true believers. Not only was the impious man in error concerning the relative worship[16] of the holy icons, but also concerning the intercession of the all-pure Theotokos and all the saints, and he abominated their relics like his mentors, the Arabs. From this time on he impudently harassed the blessed Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, blaming all the emperors, bishops, and Christian people who had lived before him for having committed idolatry in worshipping the holy and venerable icons, unable as he was to grasp the argument concerning relative veneration because of his lack of faith and crass ignorance.

[a] Cf. *Chr. 819*, 12, AG 1037; *Chr. 846*, 178; Mich. Syr. ii. 490; *Chr. 1234*, 241. 18–21; Agapios, 246 (3rd year of Hishām); Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 24, AG 1040. All name Neocaesarea in Pontos. Caesarea in Elias Nis. 78 (AH 107). Cf. Tabarī, xxv. 29 and Brooks, 'Arabs', 198–9, AH 107, 108. [b] Cf. *Chr. 819*, 11, AG 1036; Mich. Syr. ii. 491; Agapios, 246; Elias Nis. 78 (AH 107). [c] No identifiable parallel. Perhaps with reference to the monastery of the patriarch Elias at Jericho: Vailhé, 'Monastères', i. 529–30. [d] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 241. 22–4, AG 1038; Agapios, 246, unless these refer to the raid mentioned under AM 6219. [e] Cf. Nik. 59. 1–60. 6. [f] Cf. Nik. 60. 8–18. [g] Cf. Nik. 61. The siege of Nicaea is also mentioned in *Chr. 1234*, 241. 37–242. 3, AG 1040. Mich. Syr. ii. 501 mistakenly states that Nicaea was captured by the Arabs.

[1] Mu'āwiya b. Hishām.

[2] AD 726. It should be noted that this AM covers two indictional years, the 9th and the 10th, as already pointed out by G. Ostrogorsky, *BNJ* 7 (1930), 50.

[3] On which see Strabo, i. 3. 16; Pliny, *HN* ii. 202.

[4] According to the *Vita Stephani iun.*, *PG* 100: 1085C, this famous incident took place in 730. Discussion in Mango, *Brazen House*, 170–4. M.-F. Auzépy, *Byz* 60 (1990), 445–92, has put forward the intriguing idea that there was no destruction of the Chalke image by Leo III for the reason that no such image existed at the time.

[5] The decline of education is more plausibly attributed by Nik. 52. 1–4 to the anarchy that prevailed after the downfall of Justinian II.

[6] It is not known whether at this date the *thema* of Hellas was headed by a *strategos* or merely by a turmarch. Cf. Winkelmann, *Rangstruktur*, 94. Agallianos passed into Constantinopolitan folklore: *Patria*, p. 257, c. 133.

[7] AD 727.

[8] The indication *περὶ τὸν λάκκον* may refer to the Golden Horn. Cf. Mateos, *Typicon*, i. 362, appar. (reading of Patm. 266), *ἐβυθίσθησαν ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ* with reference to the barbarians (Slavs) drowned in the course of the siege of 626.

[9] Possibly the same as the Gamer under AM 6231 (Ghamr b. Yazīd). See F. Gabrieli, 'Il califato di Hisham', *Mém. de la soc. royale d'archéol.*

d'Alexandrie, 7/2 (1935), 87 n. 4; H. Grégoire, *Byz* 11 (1936), 573–4. Mu'āwiya's fellow commander was, however, 'Abdallāh al-Battāl.

10. The wording (Ἄμερ ἐν χιλιάσι . . . καὶ Μανίας . . . ἐν . . . μυριάσιν) recalls 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 18: 7, ἐπάταξεν Σαοὺλ ἐν χιλιάσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ Δαυὶδ ἐν μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ.

11 This sentence, as given in all the Greek MSS, is extremely awkward. dB, with some support from Anast., proposes to shift the phrase τῷ τῶν τιμιωμένων ἁγίων πατέρων αὐτόθι τεμένει after θεόν (p. 406. 3). Another expedient would be to supply ⟨παρὰ⟩ after μερικήν, that is 'a partial destruction of the walls next to the church of the holy Fathers', etc. The awkwardness, we suspect, stems from the circumstance that Theoph. has reworked in a partisan spirit a text that originally contained no mention of images. There are further signs of alteration lower down (see nn. 12 and 15).

For the church of the Holy Fathers see Janin, *Grands centres*, 119 (incomplete). Further particulars are provided in a sermon, ed. J. Compernass, *Gregorios Lobrede auf die 318 Väter des Konzils zu Nikaia* (Bonn, 1909), 29–30, which, we believe, also mentions the siege of 727. Cf. our remarks in *TM* 12 (1994), 356–7. The portraits of the Fathers were seen at about the same time by Willibald (*Vita Willibaldi, MGH SS* XV, 101. 25, *et in illa aecclesia erant imagines episcoporum, qui erant ibi in synodo*) and are alluded to by Nikephoros in his *Refutatio et eversio*: Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 246 (mosaics), 254 and n. 4 (wrongly rendered as 'statues'). The 'fact' that the 318 Fathers had allowed themselves to be so represented proved, of course, the correctness of the iconophile cause.

12 An unexpected qualification, perhaps copied mechanically from the original document.

13 The restoration of the walls of Nicaea after the 'humbling' of the Arabs thanks to divine help is commemorated by an inscription, ed. e.g. by A. M. Schneider and W. Karnapp, *Die Stadtmauer von Iznik (Nicaea)* (Berlin, 1938), 49, no. 29. Whatever exactly happened during the siege of Nicaea must have encouraged the emperor to proceed with iconoclasm.

14 Leo III.

15 Unless this refers back to the victory over the Helladics (who do not seem to be meant here), ὁμοφύλων should be corrected to ἀλλοφύλων. The rest of the sentence is somewhat deficient in both clarity and logic.

16 A technical term in the iconoclastic controversy: icons were accorded σχετικὴ προσκύνησις, that is relative or qualified veneration as opposed to outright worship. Examples in Lampe, s.v. σχετικός, 2e.

407 **[AM 6219, AD 726/7]**

Leo, 11th year
Isam, 4th year
Gregory, 3rd year
Germanus, 13th year
John, 22nd year

‖ In this year Mauias captured the fort Ateous[1] and returned home.‖[a]

[a] See AM 6218, note d.

[1] A fort in Phrygia or Galatia, mentioned in connection with the flight of Leo Phokas in 919: Leo Gramm. 303; Geo. Mon. cont. 889 and other chronicles of the same family. See H. Grégoire, *Byz* 11 (1936), 537–9; *TIB* 4: 62 n. 132; 7: 194 f.

[AM 6220, AD 727/8]

Leo, 12th year
Isam, 5th year
Gregory, 4th year
Germanus, 14th year
John, 23rd year

‖ In this year the son of the Chagan, that is the ruler of Chazaria, invaded Media and Armenia. In Armenia he encountered the Arab general Garachos,[1] whom he slew together with his army. After devastating the lands of the Armenians and the Medes and causing great fear to the Arabs, he returned home.‖[a]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 241. 25–30, AG 1039; Elias Nis. 79 (AH 112); Mich. Syr. ii. 501, AG 1042 (encounter between Khazars and Maslama); Agapios, 246; Ps.- Dion. *Chron.* 22–3, AG 1043.

[1] Djarrāh b. 'Abdallāh. For the events, see Laurent, *Arménie*, 210 and n. 129.

[AM 6221 AD 728/9]

Leo, 13th year
Isam, 6th year
Gregory, 5th year
Germanus, 15th year
John, 24th year

‖ In this year Masalmas invaded the land of the Turks. He joined battle with them and there were many casualties on both sides. Seized by cowardice, Masalmas took to flight and returned through the mountains of Chazaria.‖[a]

The same year the lawless emperor Leo in his raging fury against the correct faith summoned the blessed Germanus and began to entice him with flattering words. The blessed bishop said to him,

'We have heard it said that there will be a destruction of the holy and venerable icons, but not in your reign.'[1] When the other compelled him to declare in whose reign that would be, he said, 'That of Konon.' Then Leo said, 'Truly, my baptismal name is Konon.'[2] The patriarch replied, 'May not this evil be accomplished in your reign, O lord! For he who commits this deed is the precursor of the Antichrist and the subverter of the divine Incarnation.' Waxing irritated at this, the tyrant assailed the blessed man as Herod had once done to the Forerunner. The patriarch reminded him of the covenants he had made before becoming emperor, namely that he had sworn by God not to undermine the Church with respect to any of her apostolic and God-given rites. Not even then, however, was the wretched man put to shame. He spied on the patriarch and tried to put in his mouth certain statements against his imperial Majesty: for if, by chance, he found him making such statements, he would
408 depose him from his throne as a mover of sedition and not as a confessor. In this he had an ally and a partner in the person of Anastasios, pupil and *synkellos* of Germanus, to whom he had promised (inasmuch as Anastasios shared his impiety) to make him succeed adulterously to the episcopal throne. The blessed man was not unaware that Anastasios was holding such a perverse position: imitating his own Lord, he wisely and gently kept bringing to his attention, as to another Judas Iscariot, the circumstances of the betrayal. Seeing him, however, to be irrevocably in error, once when he was on his way to the emperor and Anastasios had stepped on the hind part of his vestments, he turned to him and said, 'Don't hurry, you will enter the Diippion[3] in good time!' Anastasios was disturbed by these words and, along with others who had heard them, was unaware of the prediction, which came to pass fifteen years later, in the 3rd year of Constantine the persecutor, indiction 12,[4] and convinced everybody that the prophecy had been delivered to the ungrateful man by divine grace. For when Constantine had obtained the Empire after the sedition of his brother-in-law Artabasdos, he had Anastasios flogged along with other enemies and paraded him naked in the Hippodrome, by way of the Diippion, seated backwards on a donkey; and this because Anastasios had cursed him, as did his other enemies, and had crowned Artabasdos as will be related in the proper place. So then, this holy and admirable man Germanus was prominent in defending pious doctrine in Byzantium and fought the wild beast Leo (fitly so named) and the latter's supporters; while in the Elder Rome it was Gregory, that most holy and apostolic man, enthroned next to Peter, the chief apostle, who shone forth in word and deed and who severed Rome, Italy, and all the western lands

from civil and ecclesiastical subjection to Leo and the latter's domain.[5] And in Damascus of Syria there shone forth in his life and discourse John of the Golden Stream, son of Mansour,[6] a presbyter and a monk, a most excellent teacher. Now Leo ejected Germanus, who was subject to him, from the episcopal throne, while Gregory reproved him openly in his widely known Letters,[7] and John, together with the eastern bishops, subjected the impious man to anathema.[8]

||On 7 January of the 13th indiction,[9] a Tuesday, the impious Leo convened a *silentium* against the holy and venerable icons in the 409
Tribunal of the Nineteen Couches, to which he had also invited the most holy patriarch Germanus, whom he thought he could persuade to sign a condemnation of the icons. But Christ's courageous servant was in no way persuaded by Leo's abominable error: after expounding correctly the true doctrine, he resigned from the episcopacy and surrendered his pallium. Following many words of instruction he said, 'If I am Jonah, cast me into the sea.[10] For without an ecumenical council it is impossible for me, O emperor, to innovate in matters of faith.' He retired to his family house at the so-called Platanion[11] having served as bishop 14 years, 5 months, and 7 days. On the 22nd of the same month of January Anastasios, the spurious pupil and *synkellos* of the blessed Germanus, who had adopted Leo's impiety, was ordained and appointed false bishop of Constantinople||[b] on account of his worldly ambition. Gregory, however, the holy bishop of Rome, as I have said, repudiated Anastasios along with his *libelli*[12] and reproved Leo by means of letters for the latter's impiety. He also severed Rome and all of Italy from Leo's dominion. In his anger the tyrant intensified the assault on the holy icons. ||Many clerics, monks, and pious laymen faced danger on behalf of the true faith and won the crown of martyrdom.||[c]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 241. 31–6, AG 1040; *Chr. 819*, 12, AG 1039; *Chr. 846*, 178; Mich. Syr. ii. 501: two campaigns, the first in AG 1039, terminating in a flight of the Arabs, the second in AG 1042; Agapios, 247; Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 21–3, AG 1042–3 (two victorious campaigns of Maslama against the Turks); Elias Nis. 79 (campaigns of Maslama in AH 110 and 113). [b] Cf. Nik. 62. 1–9. [c] Cf. Nik. 62. 9–12.

[1] i.e. no such destruction had yet taken place.

[2] Confirmed by *Parast.* 20, c. 1; *Adv. Const. Caball.* (composed between 775 and 787) *PG* 95: 336C, and later sources.

[3] The gates of the Hippodrome and the space immediately in front of them. See our remarks in *RÉB* 8 (1951), 152 ff.

[4] See below, AM 6235 *ad fin.* Indiction 12 = 743/4. Constantine V regained Constantinople on 2 Nov. 743. The alleged prediction must, therefore, have been made in 728/9.

[5] Untrue. In spite of considerable tension, both Gregory II and Gregory III remained, on the whole, faithful to Byzantium. The break between the Papacy and Constantinople occurred in the 750s. For a recent survey of this much-discussed question see P. Riché in *Histoire du christianisme*, iv (1993), 652 ff. The expression 'ecclesiastical subjection' is also misleading in this context.

[6] Mansour appears to have been John's given name, not that of his father, probably called Sergius. See AM 6183, n. 4. The epithet Chrysorrhoas, said to denote John's wisdom (so Georgius Hamartolus, *PG* 110: 941C), appears here for the first time. Cf. also AM 6234.

[7] Cf. AM 6217, n. 3. The 'widely known letters' are probably the two dubious ones that are preserved in Greek. If that is so, the fabrication of these documents must be dated not later than *c.*800.

[8] This formulation is misleading, suggesting as it does a condemnation of Leo III by a synod of oriental bishops in which John Damascene took part. No such synod or joint action is, however, recorded before the synodal condemnation of Kosmas of Epiphaneia in 764 (AM 6255), which may have involved another John, namely the *synkellos* John of Jerusalem. On this obscure episode see Melioranskij, *Georgij*, 93 ff.

[9] AD 730, when, however, 7 Jan. fell on a Saturday. Most scholars have opted for the 17th, a simple textual correction.

[10] For this exclamation see S. Gero, *Vigiliae christianae*, 29 (1975), 141–6, who explains it as a reminiscence of Greg. Naz. *De seipso*, *PG* 37: 1158, vv. 1838–42. Gregory was willing, for the sake of concord, to be another Jonah and be cast in the sea, although he was not responsible for the storm.

[11] Later tradition identified the Platanion (or Platonion) with the monastery of Chora. So *Passio X martyrum* (composed in or after 869), *AASS*, Aug. II, 441B: *ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Πλατωνίῳ, ἤτοι ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῇ νῦν καλουμένῃ Χώρᾳ*. *Vita Germani*, c. 31, ed. L. Lamza, *Patriarch Germanos I. von Konstantinopel* (Würzburg, 1975), 238: *ἐν τῷ Πλατωνίῳ . . . τῇ χώρᾳ* (*sic*). Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 254, summarizing that author's *Refutatio et eversio*, notes this passage concerning the iconoclastic Council of Hiereia-Blachernai: 'They have omitted to mention the lofty plane-tress (*πλατάνους*) outside the city walls where this gathering assembled. Therefore, the synod should be called *πλατανίτης*, since it remained sterile like that tree.' The reference is surely to Blachernai, fairly close to Chora, not to Hiereia, as Alexander suggests. According to *Vita Michaelis syncelli*, ed. M. B. Cunningham, 108, Germanus was banished to the monastery of Chora, in which he died and was eventually buried. A different tradition may be found in the prologue to the Latin translation of the Acathist Hymn (first half of the 9th cent.), ed. M. Huglo, *Le Muséon*, 64 (1951), 33 f.: 'Qui [Leo] . . . Germanum . . . contra fas, sede in quamdam diaconiam, quam [*sic*] grece nomine proprio *εἰς τὰ Βήρου* appellatur, crudeliter pepulit, ibique eum dolo . . . interfici fecit. Qui sepultus in monasterio *εἰς τὰ Ῥωμαίου* vocabulo in quo . . . devotissime veneratur.'

[12] i.e. the announcement of his ordination. Cf. *Lib. Pont.* i. 409. 17. Strictly speaking, Theoph. had not said before that Pope Gregory refused to recognize Anastasios.

[AM 6222, AD 729/30]

Leo, 14th year
Isam, 7th year
Gregory, 6th year
Anastasios, bishop of Constantinople (24 years), 1st year
John, 25th year

‖In this year Masalmas invaded the Roman country. He came to Cappadocia and captured the fort Charsianon[1] by deceit.‖[a]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 501 (Charsianon taken by Mu'āwiya b. Hishām, not Maslama). So also Tabarī, AH 112 (730/1) (Brooks, 'Arabs', 200).

[1] Situated between Caesarea and the Halys. See esp. I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Byz* 51 (1981), 410–29.

[AM 6223, AD 730/1]

Leo, 15th year
Isam, 8th year
Gregory, 7th year
Anastasios, 2nd year
John, 26th year

‖ In this year Masalmas invaded Turkey.[1] He reached the Caspian Gates and withdrew in fear.‖[a]

[a] See AM 6221, note a. The second campaign must be meant here.

[1] i.e. the land of the Chazars.

[AM 6224, AD 731/2]

Leo, 16th year
Isam, 9th year
Gregory, 8th year
Anastasios, 3rd year
John, 27th year

‖In this year the emperor Leo betrothed his son Constantine to the daughter of the Chagan, that is the ruler of the Scythians.‖[a1] He made her a Christian and named her Irene. She learned Holy Scripture and lived piously, thus reproving the impiety of those men. 410

||Mauias, son of Isamos, invaded the Roman country. He came as far as Paphlagonia and withdrew with many captives.||[b]

Now the emperor, who was furious with the pope for the secession of Rome and Italy, fitted out and dispatched against them a great fleet under the command of Manes, *strategos* of the Kibyraiots.[2] The wretched man was, however, put to shame when the fleet was shipwrecked in the Adriatic Sea. Then God's enemy became even more furious: possessed by his Arab mentality, he imposed a capitation tax on one third of the people of Sicily and Calabria.[3] As for the so-called Patrimonies[4] of the holy chief apostles who are honoured in the Elder Rome (these, amounting to three and a half talents[5] of gold, had been from olden times paid to the churches), he ordered them to be paid to the Public Treasury. He also decreed that watch should be kept to have new-born male infants entered in a register as the Pharaoh had aforetime done in the case of the Jews—something that not even his mentors the Arabs have ever done to the Christians in the East.

[a] Cf. Nik. 63. 1–4; Mich. Syr. ii. 501; *Chr. 1234*, 242. 4–7, AG 1041; Agapios, 247.
[b] Cf. Agapios, 247 in same sequence as Theoph.; Elias Nis. 79 (AH 114).

[1] It has been conjectured that her original name was Čiček (Turkish for 'flower'): so G. Moravcsik, *Studia byzantina* (Budapest, 1967), 119–26, on the basis of a scholion to *Cer.* 22. 19, which says that a garment called *tzitzakion* was introduced by the Chazar empress. Note here the classicizing term 'Scythians', which is uncharacteristic of Theophanes' usage.

[2] This is the earliest mention of the *strategos* of a maritime theme: Ahrweiler, *Mer*, 51 n. 1; 81–3. On the expedition of Manes, which is not mentioned elsewhere, see O. Bertolini, *ByzF* 2 (1967), 15–49. He suggests it was directed against the Lombards, who had temporarily seized Ravenna (in 732). It could not, of course, have been directed against the pope.

[3] Under AM 6232 Crete is added to the list. We have translated here the Greek as it stands, although its interpretation is questionable. A. Guillou, *ZRVI* 19 (1980), 75, translates likewise, but denies that a new tax is meant. He believes that the patrimonies accounted for two-thirds of the tax yield, one third being, therefore, 'le reste des terres imposables', and that Leo's reform consisted in taking direct charge of tax collection, thus excluding the Church of Rome from the process. Yet, if the one third was not tied to the patrimonies, why had the government not taxed it directly before this time? It may be suspected that Theoph. has carelessly paraphrased his source and that τῷ τρίτῳ μέρει designated a general increase of tax 'by one third'. So understood by M. V. Anastos, *ByzF* 3 (1968), 38.

[4] Situated in Sicily and Calabria, as stated in the letter of Pope Nicholas I to Michael III (a. 860), *MGH*, *Epist.* 6, 439. 4. Theoph. appears to regard the patrimonies as a tax yield. On this passage cf. F. Masai, *Byz* 33 (1963), 198–201, who misunderstands it; A. Guillou, *ByzF* 5 (1977), 105–7.

[5] i.e. *centenaria*. The total sum in question was, therefore, 25,200 *solidi*. Codd. e, m read '57' instead of 'three and a half', which would amount to 410,400 *solidi*.

[AM 6225, AD 732/3]

Leo, 17th year
Isam, 10th year
Gregory, 9th year
Anastasios, 4th year
John, 28th year

|| In this year there was a plague in Syria and many people died.||[a]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 504, AG 1040; Agapios, 248.

[AM 6226, AD 733/4]

Leo, 18th year
Isam, 11th year
Zacharias, bishop of Rome (21 years), 1st year[1]
Anastasios, 5th year
John, 29th year

In this year Theodore, son of Mansour,[2] was banished to the desert regions. ||A fiery sign that gave forth light appeared in the sky.||[a] Mauias devastated Asia.||[b]

[a] Cf. Agapios, 248 (Oct.). [b] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 242. 15–16, AG 1043; Agapios, 248, 11th year of Hishām.

[1] Zacharias was pope from Dec. 741 to Mar. 752.

[2] Perhaps brother of Sergius (above, AM 6183), the latter believed to have been the father of John Damascene.

[AM 6227, AD 734/5]

Leo, 19th year
Isam, 12th year
Zacharias, 2nd year
Anastasios, 6th year
John, 30th year

|| In this year Souleiman, son of Isam, invaded the land of Armenia, but did not accomplish anything.||[a]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 242. 17–19, AG 1044 (Sulaimān invades not Armenia, but Roman territory). So also Agapios, 248, 12th year of Hishām. Cf. below, AM 6230.

[AM 6228, AD 735/6]

Leo, 20th year
Isam, 13th year
Zacharias, 3rd year
Anastasios, 7th year

‖ In this year Mauias invaded the Roman country. A few days after his return he fell from his horse and died.‖[a]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 242. 20–1, AG 1045; Agapios, 248. Elias Nis. 80 records the death of Mu'āwiya in AH 119.

411 ## [AM 6229, AD 736/7]

Leo 21st year
Isam, 14th year
Zacharias, 4th year
Anastasios, 8th year

‖ In this year Souleiman, son of Isam, took many captives in Asia, among them a certain native of Pergamon[1] who claimed to be Tiberius, son of Justinian. In order to honour his own son and to frighten the emperors, Isam dispatched this man to Jerusalem with the appropriate imperial honours, namely a guard of soldiers with banners and sceptres, and decreed that he should tour all of Syria with great pomp so that all should see him and be amazed.‖[a]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 503–4; *Chr. 1234*, 242. 22–243. 21, AG 1048, both with further details, but without mention of Jerusalem.

[1] Called Bešer in the Syriac sources (to be distinguished from Beser, the companion of Leo III).

[AM 6230, AD 737/8]

Leo, 22nd year
Isam, 15th year
Zacharias, 5th year
Anastasios, 9th year

‖ In this year Souleiman, son of Isam, invaded the Roman country and

captured the fort called Sideron.[1] He took prisoner Eustathios, son of the patrician Marianos.‖[a2]

[a] *Chr. 1234*, 243. 22–4, records an invasion by Suleymān in AG 1049.

[1] Agapios, 248 records the capture of the fort Soudour in the 12th year of Hishām (as in AM 6227). Tabarī calls it Sindirah and places its capture in AH 120 (737/8): xxv. 167; Brooks, 'Arabs', 201. Situation unknown.

[2] The martyrdom of Eustathios is recorded in AM 6232. His father cannot be identified with any certainty.

[AM 6231, AD 738/9]

Leo, 23rd year
Isam, 16th year
Zacharias, 6th year
Anastasios, 10th year

In this year, in the month of May, indiction 8,[1] Souleiman invaded the Roman country with 90,000 men under four commanders. One of these, Gamer,[2] led the van with 10,000 scouts and set up ambushes in the region of Asia. He was followed by Melich[3] and Batal[4] with 20,000 cavalry as far as the area of Akroinos and, after them, Souleiman with 60,000 men advanced to the area of Tyana in Cappadocia. Those in Asia and Cappadocia captured many men, women, and animals and returned home unharmed, whereas the contingents of Melich and Batal were fought and defeated by Leo and Constantine at Akroinos. Most of them, including the two commanders, perished by the sword. About 6,800 of their warriors, however, fought on[5] and fled to Synada. They safely joined Souleiman and returned to Syria. In the same year many were killed by them[6] in Africa as well, including the commander called Damaskenos.

[1] AD 740.

[2] Ghamr b. Yazīd: see AM 6218, n. 4.

[3] Malik b. Shu'aib, emir of Melitene, rather than Malik b. Sebib as in Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 25, AG 1046 (attack on Synada).

[4] 'Abdallāh al-Battāl, later transformed into the epic hero Sayyid Battāl. On these events see F. Gabrieli, 'Il califato di Hisham' (as in 6218 n. 9), 89; H. Grégoire, *Byz* 11 (1936), 571–5.

[5] Or possibly, 'About 800 of their warriors, after standing up to 6,000' (ὀκτακόσιοι δέ που μαχηταὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν πρὸς ἓξ χιλιάδας ἐνστάντες).

[6] Gramatically it is unclear who killed whom. The reference is probably to the Arab defeat by the Berbers at the 'Battle of the Nobles' near Tangier (AD 740) and again the following year. Damaskenos may be identified with

Kulthūm b. 'Iyād, governor of Damascus, whom the Caliph sent to quell the rebellion, but who was himself defeated and killed. For the events see Gabrieli, 'Hisham', 98 ff.

412 **[AM 6232, AD 739/40]**

Leo, 24th year
Isam, 17th year
Zacharias, 7th year
Anastasios, 11th year

In this year, the 24th of the reign of the lawless tyrant, the Syrian Leo, markets in Damascus were burnt by the Hierakites,[1] who were put to the gallows. ‖Edessa was flooded by its stream on the 28th of the month Peritios.‖[a]

‖In the same year a violent and fearful earthquake occurred at Constantinople on 26 October, indiction 9,[2] a Wednesday, in the 8th hour. Many churches and monasteries collapsed and many people died. There also fell down the statue of Constantine the Great that stood above the gate of Atalos[3] as well as that of Atalos himself, the statue of Arkadios that stood on the column of the Xerolophos, and the statue of Theodosios the Great above the Golden Gate; furthermore, the land walls of the City,[4] many towns and villages in Thrace, Nicomedia in Bithynia, Prainetos, and Nicaea, where only one church was spared. In some places the sea withdrew from its proper boundaries. The quakes continued for twelve months.‖[b]

‖On seeing that the walls of the City had fallen down, the emperor addressed the people saying: 'You do not have the means to build the walls, so we have given orders to the tax collectors to exact according to the register[5] one additional *miliaresion* for every gold piece. The imperial government will collect that and build the walls.' So started the custom of paying two extra carats[6] to the tax gatherers.‖[c] It was the year 6248 from the creation of the world, that is from Adam according to the Romans, 6232 according to the Egyptians, that is the Alexandrians, 1063 from Philip according to the Macedonians.[7] Leo reigned from 25 March of the 15th indiction until 18 June of the 9th indiction,[8] a reign of 24 years, 2 months, 25 days. So also his son Constantine, who succeeded to his impiety and his kingdom, reigned from the same 18 June of the 9th indiction
413 until 14 September of the 14th indiction.[9] He reigned, by God's dispensation, 34 years, 3 months, 2 days.[10] So then, as we have said, in that same year of the 9th indiction, on 18 June, Leo died the death not only of his soul, but also of his body and his son Constantine

became emperor. The evils that befell the Christians at the time of the impious Leo both as regards the orthodox faith and civil administration, the latter in Sicily, Calabria, and Crete for reasons of dishonest gain and avarice; furthermore, the secession of Italy because of his evil doctrine, the earthquakes, famines, pestilences, and foreign insurrections (not to mention all the details) have been related in the preceding chapters.[11] It is now proper to review in succession the lawless deeds, yea, even more sacrilegious and abhorred by God, of his most impious and altogether wretched son, yet to do so objectively (inasmuch as all-seeing God is observing us) for the benefit of posterity and of those wretched and wicked men who still follow the abominable heresy of that criminal, namely by recounting his impious actions from the 10th indiction,[12] the first year of his reign, until the 14th indiction, the year of his damnation. Now this pernicious, crazed, bloodthirsty, and most savage beast, who seized power by illegal usurpation, from the very start parted company from our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, His pure and all-holy Mother and all the saints; led astray as he was by magic, licentiousness, bloody sacrifices, by the dung and urine of horses and delighting in impurity and the invocation of demons. In a word, he was reared from early youth in all soul-destroying pursuits. And when he took over both his father's dominion and his wickedness, need one explain how great an evil he straight away kindled and fanned into a conspicuous flame that rose up into the air? When the Christians saw these things they were seized by great despondency, so that everyone immediately hated him for his effrontery and took up the cause of his brother-in-law (by his sister Anna), Artabasdos, the *curopalates* and *comes* of Opsikion, with a view to giving him the Empire inasmuch as he was orthodox.

‖In the same year Isam, the ruler of the Arabs, put to death the Christian prisoners in all the towns of his realm, among them the blessed Eustathios, son of the distinguished patrician Marianos, who did not abjure his pure faith in spite of much violence and proved to be a true martyr at Harran, a notable city of Mesopotamia, where his precious and holy relics work all manner of healing by God's grace.[13] Many others, too, met their death in martyrdom and blood.‖[d]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 504–5, March, AG 1050; *Chr. 1234*, 243–4, 29 Mar., AG 1051; Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 29, AG 1054. Peritios = Feb. in the Antiochene calendar. See also above, AM 6217. [b] Cf. Nik. 63. 4–16 (mentioning St Eirene as one of the churches destroyed); *Meg. Chron.* c. 15, Schreiner, 44 (from Theoph.). The earthquake is briefly mentioned by Mich. Syr. ii. 504, AG 1050, and 511; Agapios, 249. [c] Cf. *Megas Chr.*, ibid., abbreviated from Theoph. [d] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 501, apparently under AG 1042; *Chr. 1234*, 244. 6–13, AG 1051. Both express doubt whether Eustathios (called

filius Marini in *Chr. 1234*), a Chalcedonian, was a true martyr. Neither mentions his relics.

[1] Same as the Herakites (AM 6152).

[2] AD 740. Liturgical commemoration on 26 Oct.: Mateos, *Typicon*, i. 78.

[3] A gate of the Constantinian walls situated along the Mesê, hence probably the original Golden Gate, as shown by Mateos, *Typicon*, i. 374. Cf. R. Janin, *REB* 21 (1963), 268. The identity of Attalos is uncertain (perhaps Priscus Attalus, western Augustus, 414–15).

[4] The repair of the land walls after the earthquake is amply documented by a series of inscriptions naming the emperors Leo and Constantine. See van Millingen, *Byz. CP*, 98 ff.; B. Meyer-Plath and A. M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, ii (Berlin, 1943), 126 ff.

[5] εἰς τὸν κανόνα, that is the amount of tax entered in the registers. Cf. F. Dölger, *BZ* 42 (1943), 282 f.

[6] 1 carat (*keration*, a notional denomination) = ¼ of a *solidus*.

[7] The accumulation of chronological indications (cf. AM 5983 for the accession of Anastasios I) is certainly unexpected at this point as is the use of the obscure era of Philip Arrhidaeus, reckoned from 12 Nov. 324 BC = 1 Thoth 425 in the Babylonian era of Nabonassar. Table in Elias Nis. 22–3. Cf. Grumel, 208. The year of the 'Byzantine' reckoning corresponds to 1 Sept. 739—31 Aug. 740, whereas the earthquake occurred on 26 Oct. 740, hence in the year 6249.

[8] AD 741. [9] AD 775.

[10] Under AM 6267 the length of his reign is given correctly as 34 years, 2 months, 26 days.

[11] One may suspect that this passage has been mechanically copied from an iconophile tract similar in spirit to Nikephoros' *Antirrheticus* III, which dwells on the plague, famine, and earthquakes in the reign of Constantine V. Note that Crete has not been previously mentioned (cf. AM 6224, n. 2), that the only famine recorded by Theoph. during the reign of Leo III affected the Arab camp in 717/18, and the only plagues were in Syria (AM 6218, 6225). The mention of Crete in this passage has been construed by J. Herrin in *Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Ν. Σβορῶνο* (Rethymno, 1986) i. 120–1, as an indication that the island had been raised to the status of a *thema*, but that is not supported by other evidence. See D. Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete* (Athens, 1988), 167 ff.

[12] AD 741/2. [13] He is not recorded in the Byzantine calendar.

AM 6233 [AD 740/1]

Year of the divine Incarnation 733
Constantine, emperor of the Romans (35 years) 1st year
Isam, leader of the Arabs (19 years), 18th year
Zacharias, bishop of Rome (21 years), 8th year
Anastasios, bishop of Constantinople (24 years), 12th year

In this year the subverter of our ancestral customs, Constantine, became emperor by God's judgement on account of the multitude of our sins. ||On 27 June of the following 10th indiction[1] he marched forth against the Arabs and came to a place called Krasos[2] in the region of Opsikion. Now the said Artabasdos was at Dorylaion with the Opsikian army and they eyed each other suspiciously. Constantine sent a message to him requesting that the latter's sons be sent to him; he wished to see them because they were his nephews. His purpose, however, was to seize them and keep them under guard. The other, comprehending his treachery and giving up all hope for himself; being, furthermore, aware of Constantine's infinite wickedness, spoke to his troops and, after winning them over to his views, attacked Constantine with all his men and killed by the sword the Saracen-minded patrician Beser who had gone out to meet him. As for Constantine, he mounted an outrunner that happened to be saddled and fled to Amorion, where he sought refuge with the Anatolic *thema*, commanded at the time by Langinos. They protected him and he extended to them great promises. He immediately sent a message to Sisinnakios, who was then *strategos* of the Thrakesian *thema*,[3] and persuaded them, too, to fight on his side. Thus two emperors were 415
proclaimed and there ensued terrible battles and conflicts between the subjects. Artabasdos, through the agency of the *silentiarius* Athanasios, sent an account of what had happened to the patrician and *magistros* Theophanes who was the emperor's *locum tenens* in the City. The latter, being favourable to Artabasdos, gathered the people in the gallery of the Great Church and persuaded everyone, by means of the letter and the testimony of the said Athanasios, that the emperor had died and Artabasdos had been proclaimed emperor by the *themata*. Thereupon all the people as well as Anastasios, the spurious patriarch, anathematized and cursed Constantine for being a wretch and God's enemy and gladly received the news of his murder as if they had been delivered of a great evil, while they proclaimed Artabasdos emperor inasmuch as he was orthodox and a defender of divine doctrine. Straight away Monotes[4] sent a message to the Thracian region, addressed to his son Nikephoros, who was *strategos* of Thrace, bidding him collect the army that was there so as to guard the City. After closing the gates of the walls and setting a watch, he apprehended Constantine's friends whom he scourged, tonsured, and threw in gaol. After Artabasdos had entered the City with the Opsikian army,[5] Constantine, too, arrived at Chrysopolis with the two *themata*, namely the Thrakesian and the Anatolic, but he failed to accomplish anything and so returned to winter at Amorion. Artabasdos, for his part, restored the holy icons throughout the City.||[a6]

||The Arabs, aware of the internecine war between those men, made many captives in the Roman country under Souleiman's command.||[b] As for the false patriarch Anastasios, he swore to the people while holding the venerable and life-giving Cross, 'By Him who was nailed to this, thus did the emperor Constantine say to me, namely, "Do not regard Mary's offspring, who is called Christ, as the Son of God, but as a mere man. For Mary gave birth to Him just as my mother Mary gave birth to me." ' When the people heard this, they cursed Constantine.

[a] Cf. Nik. 64. 11–42. The usurpation of Artabasdos is briefly described by Mich. Syr. ii. 502, and a little more fully in *Chr. 1234*, 244. 22–34. [b] Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 24–5, AG 1045, describes a raid led by Sulaimān, who captured Pelozonium (*sic*) during the usurpation of Artabasdos. Agapios, 250, speaks of an invasion of Paphlagonia. Elias Nis. 80–1 records a successful raid in AH 123 (26 Nov. 740–14 Nov. 741) and another in AH 124 (15 Nov. 741–3 Nov. 742), in the course of which Sulaimān *filio Leonis occurrit*. Cf. Brooks, 'Arabs', 202; Speck, *Artabasdos*, 283 ff.

[1] AD 742, which would have corresponded to Constantine's 2nd year. The expression *τῆς ἐπέκεινα ι' ἰνδικτιῶνος* is unusual, but we cannot follow W. Treadgold, *JÖB* 42 (1992), 89 n. 4, in rendering it 'the preceding 10th indiction'. According to Nik., Artabasdos decided to rebel as soon as he had heard of Leo's death, that is in June 741. The question remains why in this exceptional case Theoph. should give the correct AM and the wrong indiction. P. Speck, *Artabasdos*, 78 f., offers a very complex explanation. A simpler one might be that Theoph. was misled by his Oriental source: *Chr. 1234*, 244. 22, places the rebellion of Artabasdos the year after the death of Leo III.

[2] Described as being in Phrygia, below, AM 6296. See *TIB* 7: 317 (probably west or north-west of Dorylaion on the route to Nicaea).

[3] Diminutive of Sisinnios, as he is called by Nik. He is the first known *strategos* of the Thrakesian *thema*.

[4] The same as the *magistros* Theophanes.

[5] According to *Kleinchronik*, 2. 3 (Schreiner, i. 46), Artabasdos held Constantinople 2 years 4 months. That would place his entry in July 741. Cf. Speck, *Artabasdos*, 72–3.

[6] *Pace* Speck, there appears to be no reason to doubt that Artabasdos restored icons as a political move if not from conviction. Cf. Gero, *Constantine V*, 15 ff.

[AM 6234, AD 741/2]

Constantine, 2nd year
Isam, 19th year
Zacharias, 9th year
Anastasios, 13th year
Stephen, bishop of Antioch (2 years), 1st year

||In this year Isam, the leader of the Arabs, died.||[a] He had been on friendly terms with a Syrian monk called Stephen, a man who was rather simple, but pious. Seeing that the most holy see of Antioch had been vacant for forty years (for the Arabs forbade that a patriarch should be appointed there), (he permitted) the eastern Christians, if they wished to be allowed to have a patriarch, to elect this Stephen. They, believing that this was happening by God's will, ordained him to the throne of Theoupolis. This dispensation has prevailed from that time until now. 416

||In this year Oualid, Isam's son,[1] became ruler of the Arabs.||[b] Both Constantine and Artabasdos sought his alliance by dispatching to him, the former the *spatharios* Andrew, the latter the logothete Gregory.||[c] There was much drought and earthquakes occurred in several places so that mountains were joined to one another in the desert of Saba[2] and villages were swallowed up by the earth.||[d]

In this year Kosmas, patriarch of Alexandria, together with his flock reverted to orthodoxy from the Monothelete heresy which had prevailed from the time of Kyros, bishop of Alexandria under Herakleios.[3]

||Gamer invaded the Roman country with a multitude of Arabs and returned after making many captives.||[e] In the month of June a sign appeared in the sky to the north.||[f]

||Oualid ordered that Peter, the most holy metropolitan of Damascus, should have his tongue cut off because he was publicly reproving the impiety of the Arabs and the Manichees, and exiled him to Arabia Felix,||[g] where he died a martyr on behalf of Christ after reciting the holy liturgy.[4] Those who have told the story affirm to have heard it with their own ears. This man's homonym and imitator, Peter of Maiouma,[5] proved at the same time a voluntary martyr on behalf of Christ. Having fallen ill, he invited the prominent Arabs who were his friends (for he served as chartulary of the public taxes) and said to them: 'May you receive from God the recompense for visiting me, even if you happen to be infidel friends. I wish you, however, to witness this my 417
will: "Anyone who does not believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the consubstantial and life-giving Trinity within a unity, is spiritually blind and deserving of eternal punishment. Such a one was Mouamed, your false prophet and precursor of the Antichrist. If you believe me as I testify to you today by heaven and earth (for I am your friend), abandon his fables that you may not be punished along with him." ' When they had heard him utter these and many other words about God, they were seized by astonishment and fury, but decided to be patient, thinking he was out of his mind on account of his illness. After he had recovered from his illness, however, he started to cry out even louder, 'Anathema on Mouamed and his fables and on everyone who believes in them!' Thereupon he was chastised with the sword and so became a

martyr. He has been honoured in a laudation by our holy father John,[6] rightly surnamed the Golden Stream because of the golden gleam of spiritual grace that bloomed both in his discourse and his lifeII—John, whom the impious emperor Constantine subjected to an annual anathema because of his pre-eminent orthodoxy and, instead of his paternal name, Mansour (which means 'redeemed'), he, in his Jewish manner, renamed the new teacher of the Church Manzeros.[7]

III*n the same year* ⟨Oualid transferred the Cypriots to Syria.II[h]

IIAs for Artabasdos, he appointed his son Niketas commander-in-chief[8] and sent him to the Armeniac *thema*, while his other son Nikephoros he had crowned by the patriarch Anastasios. In the same year,⟩ in the month of May Artabasdos went forth to the region of Opsikion and, after raising an army, marched on Asia and started devastating it. Constantine, upon learning of this, moved against him and overtook him in the area of Sardis as the latter was coming up from Kelbianon.[9] He joined battle, routed him, and pursued him as far as Kyzikos. On reaching Kyzikos, Artabasdos boarded a ship and escaped to the City. In the month of August of the same 11th
418 indiction,[10] Niketas, the commander-in-chief, gave battle to Constantine near Modrine,[11] but was defeated and fled. The patrician Tiridates the Armenian, who was Artabasdos' cousin and a brave soldier, was killed along with other choice commanders and there was much slaughter on both sides as the Armenians and Armeniacs fought the Anatolics and the Thrakesians, supporters of Constantine. The Devil, instigator of evil, roused in those days such fury and mutual slaughter among Christians that sons would murder their fathers without any mercy and brothers would murder their own brothers and pitilessly burn each other's houses and homes.II[i]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 819*, 12, AG 1054; *Chr. 846*, 179; Mich. Syr. ii. 502, AG 1056; *Chr. 1234*, 244–5, AG 1054; Agapios, 250; Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 30, AG 1055; Elias Nis. 81 (AH 125). [b] Same sources. [c] Cf. Agapios, 250, without names of envoys. [d] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 506–7, AG 1056 (earthquake in the desert of the Arabs); *Chr. 1234*, 245. 16–17 (drought only); Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 30–2 (drought and plague); Agapios, 250 (drought and earthquakes). [e] Cf. Agapios, 251, naming ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, but Ghamr b. Yazīd in Al-Yaʿkubi: Brooks, 'Arabs', 202. [f] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 507, June AG 1056; *Chr. 1234*, 245. 18–20, 17 June AG 1054; Agapios, 251. [g] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 506, AG 1056 (wrongly calling him Chalcedonian patriarch of Syria); *Chr. 1234*, 245. 21–4, AG 1054 (unnamed Chalcedonian bishop of Damascus). [h] Cf. Agapios, 251 (to a place between Tyre and Sidon). [i] Cf. Nik. 65.

[1] *Recte* Walīd b. Yazīd (Feb. 743–Apr. 744).

[2] i.e. Sheba in south Arabia.

[3] There had been no proper Melkite patriarch of Alexandria since Peter III (643/4–651).

[4] John Damascene's *Contra Jacobitas*, ed. Kotter, iv. 109, was commissioned by Peter of Damascus. The latter was also the recipient of John's *Libellus de recta sententia*, *PG* 94: 1421.

[5] The same as Peter of Capitolias (in Transjordan), commemorated in *Syn. CP* 105–6 (described as a presbyter ordained by the bishop of Bostra, executed at Damascus). The latter is the subject of a *Passio* in Georgian, discussed by P. Peeters, *AnBoll* 57 (1939), 299–333, and 58 (1940), 123–5. Several problems remain: (1) According to the indications of the *Passio*, Peter was executed on 13 Jan. 715, at the very end of the reign of Walīd I, not under Walīd II. (2) Why has a presbyter been transformed by Theoph. or his source into a chartulary of public taxes? (3) Why has Capitolias been changed to Maiouma? Regarding Maiouma, Peeters argues that it refers not to the port of Gaza, but to a monastery called Mīmās near Emesa.

[6] This laudation is not preserved. The Georgian *Passio* is, however, attributed to John Damascene.

[7] Mansūr = 'victorious', or 'aided [by God]' rather than 'redeemed'. The Aramaic *μάνζηρος*, meaning 'bastard', occurs in *Vita Symeonis sali*, ed. Rydén, 163. 12; *μάμζιρος* in *Doctr. Jacobi* (see index, p. 223). Cf. Gero, *Leo III*, 62 n. 11.

[8] On the title *μονοστράτηγος* see AM 6210, n. 4.

[9] The Kaystros valley: Ramsay, *Geogr.* 130.

[10] AD 743. The chronology of Artabasdos' revolt is problematic: whereas it certainly lasted two and a half years, the narrative of Theoph. appears to cover only one and a half, and there are no extra events in the parallel account of Nik., who gives no dates. Speck, *Artabasdos*, 71 ff., argues that the missing year is 741/2 and offers a complicated theory to explain its omission. Treadgold, *JÖB* 42 (1992), 87–93, disagrees: he believes that the siege of Constantinople by Constantine (AM 6235) lasted not barely two months, but over a year, that is from Sept. 742 to Nov. 743. If the latter hypothesis is accepted, the battle of Modrine would have to be redated to Aug. 742 = indiction 10.

[11] Usually identified with Turkish Mudurnu. See Ramsay, *Geogr.* 459–60; Ruge, *RE* xv/2 (1932), 233, Modra; Janin, *Grands centres*, 106–9. The bishopric of Modrine/Mela was subject to Nicaea. Anast. 272. 7 has *apud Modrinem et Cisseum*. The latter name remains unexplained.

[AM 6235, AD 742/3]

Constantine, 3rd year
Oualid, leader of the Arabs (1 year), 1st year
Zacharias, 10th year
Anastasios, 14th year
Stephen, 2nd year

II In this year a sign appeared in the north and in some places dust fell down from heaven.II[a] There was also an earthquake at the Caspian Gates.

‖Oualid was killed by the Arabs on 16 April, a Thursday,[1] after a reign of one year, and power was seized by Izid the Defective.[2] This man took Damascus thanks to large distributions of money and received pledges of submission from the Arabs in Damascus, Persia and Egypt. When, however, these matters had been reported to Marouam, son of Mouamed, the governor of Armenia, he arrived in Mesopotamia, ostensibly to support Oualid's sons and oppose Izid.‖[b] Five months later Izid died, leaving his brother Abraim[3] to succeed him at Damascus.‖[c] Marouam made war on him, having on his side the men of Mesopotamia: he marched to Edessa[4] and thence to the region of Damascus and the Antilebanon to a plain called Garis,[5] where he gave battle to Souleiman[6] by the river Litas (that is the Evil river),[7] routed him, and killed 20,000.[8] Souleiman fled with a few men and found
419 refuge at Damascus. When he had entered the city, he slew Oualid's sons,[9] whom Marouam appeared to be supporting, and then left Damascus after laying his hands on a considerable sum of money. Then Marouam, too, came to Damascus: he killed many prominent men and those who had lent themselves to the murder of Oualid and the latter's children, while others he maimed. He then transferred all the moneys and treasures to Harran, a city of Mesopotamia.‖[d]

‖In the month of September, indiction 12,[10] Constantine came to the area of Chalcedon and crossed to Thrace, while Sisinnios, *strategos* of the Thrakesians, had crossed by way of Abydos and laid siege to the land walls. Coming to the Charsian gate, Constantine proceeded as far as the Golden Gate showing himself to the populace and then withdrew and struck up camp at St Mamas. Those in the City began experiencing shortages of supplies: accordingly, Artabasdos dispatched the *a secretis* Athanasios and Artabasdos, his *domesticus*, to bring supplies by ship. The fleet of the Kibyraiots found these men beyond Abydos, arrested them and brought them to the emperor, who donated the grain to his own men and straight away blinded Athanasios and Artabasdos. After this, Artabasdos attempted to open the gates of the land walls and give battle to Constantine, but the men of Artabasdos were routed in the engagement and many were killed, including Monotes. Then Artabasdos constructed fire-bearing biremes and sent them to St Mamas against the fleet of the Kibyraiots, but when these had set out, the Kibyraiots sallied forth and chased them away. There was a severe famine in the City, so much so that a *modius* of barley sold for 12 *nomismata*, a *modius* of pulse for 19, one of millet or lupins for 8, oil at 5 measures to a *nomisma*, and a pint of wine for a *semissis*.[11] As the peo-
420 ple were dying, Artabasdos was forced to let them leave the City, but he took note of their faces and some he prevented from leaving. For

this reason some painted their faces[12] and put on female dress, while others donned monastic costume and garments of hair and in this guise they were able to escape detection and leave. Now Niketas, the *monostrategos*, gathered his army that had scattered at Modrine and came to Chrysopolis; and as he was turning back, the emperor crossed the straits and pursued him. He overtook him at Nicomedia and captured him together with the *curator* Marcellinus (an ex-bishop),[13] whom he immediately ordered to be beheaded. The *monostrategos*, however, he chained and exhibited him to his father on the other side of the walls. On 2 November he suddenly drew up his forces in the evening and took the City through the land walls. Artabasdos, for his part, boarded a ship together with the patrician Baktangios and departed temporarily[14] to Opsikion. He went off to the fort Pouzane[15] and made himself secure. The emperor, however, apprehended them: Artabasdos with his two sons he blinded, while Baktangios he beheaded in the Kynegion and hung up his head at the Milion for three days. Thirty years later the unforgiving and merciless emperor ordered that man's wife to proceed to the monastery of Chora (where he had been buried),[16] dig up his bones, place them in her pallium, and cast them at the so-called tombs of Pelagios[17] among the bodies of executed criminals. What inhumanity! He killed many other prominent men who had assisted Artabasdos, blinded a multitude without number, and cut off the arms and legs of others. He allowed the provincial officers who had entered the City with him to break into houses and seize citizens' possessions and inflicted numberless other calamities on the City. He also held hippodrome games and brought in through the Diippion Artabasdos with his sons and friends, all in fetters, as well as the false patriarch Anastasios, who had been publicly scourged[18] and was seated on an ass facing backwards. He thus brought him into the Hippodrome and 421
paraded him, and then once again, after terrorizing him and bending him to his will (for the man held beliefs similar to his own), seated him on the episcopal throne. As for Sisinnios, the patrician and *strategos* of the Thrakesians, who had helped him greatly and had fought on his side, and was moreover his cousin, he blinded forty days later by God's righteous judgement.[19] For it is written that he who helps the impious shall fall into his hands.‖[e]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 507, AG 1057; *Chr. 1234*, 245. 26–7, AG 1054 (dust only); Agapios, 251; Elias Nis. 81 (AH 127) (extraordinary star in Jan. 745). [b] Differently in Mich. Syr. ii. 502–3; *Chr. 1234*, 245. 27–247. 9 and 247. 18–20; Agapios, 251–2. [c] Mich. Syr. ii. 503; *Chr. 1234*, 247. 9–12; Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 40; Agapios, 253; Elias Nis. 81 (AH 126) (Yazīd reigns 162 days). [d] Fuller account in *Chr. 1234*, 247. 17–248. 32 (battle of 'Ain-Gara in Nov. AG 1056); short account in Mich. Syr. ii. 505;

Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 40–2 (differently); Agapios, 253–5. [e] Cf. Nik. 66. The final quotation is loosely based on Eccles. 8: 1.

[1] Thurs. 25 (read 27) Djumada II, AH 126 = 16 Apr. 744 in Elias Nis. 81.

[2] ὁ λειψός, rendering the Arabic *al-nāqis*, an epithet given to Yazīd because he reduced military stipends. Called Yazīd the Simple in Agapios, 251. See L. I. Conrad in *ByzF* 15 (1990), 29.

[3] Ibrāhīm b. Walīd.

[4] Read Emesa as in *Chr. 1234*, 247. 25; Agapios, 253.

[5] 'Ain Gara (that is 'Andjar) in *Chr. 1234*, 247. 31, 248. 3; Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 40; between Loubnan and Tell-Gara in Agapios, 254.

[6] Son of Hishām.

[7] The Litani, connected here with Syriac *līṭā* = 'accursed'.

[8] 12,000 according to Mich. Syr., *Chr. 1234*, and Agapios.

[9] According to *Chr. 1234* and Agapios, Walīd's sons were killed by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Hadjādj, son of Ibrāhīm's brother.

[10] AD 743. See AM 6234, n. 10 for the suggestion that the siege of Constantinople started in Sept. 742. It would indeed be difficult to squeeze into a period of two months at the most (from Sept. without indication of day to 2 Nov.) all the events narrated below and to account for the famine in the City. A mythical version of the siege appears in *Gesta episc. Neapol., MGH, Scr. rer. Langob. et Ital.* (1878), 423. 10–16. On this text see I. Rochow, *Klio*, 68 (1986), 194–6.

[11] Nikephoros, *Antirrh.* III, *PG* 100: 500C, reports that during the civil war 1 bushel of wheat sold for 50 *nomismata*.

[12] The MSS read ἐκώλυσαν τὰ ἑαυτῶν πρόσωπα which makes no sense. dB suggests ἐκαλλώπισαν on the basis of Anast.'s *emundaverunt*. The variant ἐκάλυπτον (cod. z) = 'covered' is equally acceptable. Nik. 66. 7–9 adds that some people threw themselves down the walls in desperation, while others bribed the guards to be let out.

[13] Nik. 62. 6 describes him as metropolitan of Gangra.

[14] The expression πρὸς τὸ παρόν is surprising in this context. Speck, *Artabasdos*, 32, suggests that it goes back to a contemporary account, written before the capture of Artabasdos.

[15] Situation unknown. Ramsay, *Geogr.* 190, places it south of Nicaea. Speck, *Artabasdos*, 289, 336 n. 326, believes it may have been much farther east, on the way to Armenia. Nik. 66. 16–18 records that on his flight Artabasdos stopped at Nicaea and recruited some soldiers there.

[16] *V. Mich. Sync.*, 108 records in the monastery of Chora the tombs of Artabasdos, his wife Anna and their nine children.

[17] A charnel pit in which bodies of executed criminals were thrown. On its situation (near the church of St Andrew in Krisei in the western part of the city) see our note on Nik., p. 222.

[18] Note that τυφθέντι is dB's emendation based on Anast. All the Greek MSS read τυφλωθέντι, 'blinded'.

[19] Nik. 66. 24–5 explains that Sisinnios was convicted of plotting against

Constantine. His punishment, therefore, was not an act of gratuitous wickedness, as Theoph. implies.

AM 6236 [AD 743/4]

Year of the divine Incarnation 736
Constantine, emperor of the Romans (35 years), 4th year
Marouam, leader of the Arabs (6 years), 1st year
Zacharias, bishop of Rome (21 years), 11th year
Anastasios, bishop of Constantinople (24 years), 15th year
Theophylaktos, bishop of Antioch (7 years), 1st year

ll In this year a great comet appeared in Syria.ll[a] Thebit[1] and Dahak the Arourite[2] rebelled against Marouam. Marouam captured them and killed them in the territory of Emesa together with 12,000 warriors.ll[b] In the same year, at the request of the eastern Christians, he allowed that Theophylaktos, a priest of Edessa, should be ordained patriarch of Antiochll[c] (for Stephen had died) and ordered that he should be honoured by the Arabs in public decrees: for the man was adorned with spiritual gifts, especially that of chastity. llAt Emesa he impaled 120 Chalbenoi ll[d3] and he killed Abas in prison—a man who had shed much Christian blood and had devastated and depopulated many places. The Ethiopian who was dispatched by Marouam to carry out this task filled a bag with unslaked lime and, having approached Abas, placed it over his head and nostrils and so smothered him, thus contriving a just punishment for the magician. For he had wrought much evil to the Christians by means of magic and the invocation of demons. He had also shared in the murder of Oualid.[4]

[a] Cf. Agapios, 255; Elias Nis. 81. 18 (AH 127). Possibly the column of fire in the night sky recorded by Mich. Syr. ii. 507–8 along with many other prodigies. [b] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 248. 33–6, 249. 22 ff. (long account of the civil war); Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 42, AG 1058. Theoph. has confused these events, but may be regarded as giving a summary of a version similar to that of Agapios, 255–6. Thābit revolted in Palestine; Dahhāk at Kūfa. [c] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 511, who calls him Theophylact Bar Qanbara of Harrān, and describes him as Marwān's jeweller and a persecutor of the Maronites. [d] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 250. 1–4; Agapios, 256 (Kalbites hanged and exiled; no number given).

[1] Thābit b. Nu'aim, leader of the western Arabs. Cf. Caetani, *Chron.*, AH 127, no. 16.

[2] Dahhāk b. Qais (Elias Nis. 81. 23). Note that he reappears the following year. For the Harūrites, followers of 'Ali, see AM 6152, n. 1.

[3] Members of the tribe of Kalb, whose home was south of Palmyra. For the rebels executed at Homs, see Caetani, loc. cit.

[4] Al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd, for whose role in the murder of Walīd II cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 502; *Chron. 1234*, 245–6. He died in prison at Harrān in 750: see *EI*², s.v.

422 **[AM 6237, AD 744/5]**

Constantine, 5th year
Marouam, 2nd year
Zacharias, 12th year
Anastasios, 16th year
Theophylaktos, 2nd year

‖ In this year Souleiman gathered his armies and, after engaging Marouam once again, was defeated with the loss of 7,000 men[1] and escaped, first to Palmyra‖[a] and then to Persia. ‖The inhabitants of Emesa, Helioupolis, and Damascus raised a rebellion and shut their gates to Marouam. The latter sent his son[2] at the head of an army against Dahak‖[b] and himself came to Emesa, which he captured after a siege of four months.‖[c] Dahak, for his part, was marching from Persia with a great force. Marouam engaged him in Mesopotamia and, after killing many of his companions, captured him and slew him.‖[d][3]

‖At this juncture Constantine invaded Syria and Doulichia and captured Germanikeia,‖[e][4] taking advantage of the internecine war among the Arabs. The Arabs who lived in those parts he sent off unarmed under a verbal assurance. He took along his maternal relatives [5] and transferred them to Byzantium together with many Syrians—Monophysite heretics, most of whom have continued to live in Thrace to this very day and crucify the Trinity in the Trisagion[6] in the manner of Peter the Fuller.

‖From 10 to 15 August there was a misty darkness.‖[f] At that time Marouam, after victoriously taking Emesa, killed all the relatives and freedmen of Isam.‖ He also demolished the walls of Helioupolis,‖[h] Damascus, and Jerusalem, put to death many powerful men, and maimed those remaining in the said cities.

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 250. 16–23; Agapios, 257. [b] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 250. 32–4; Agapios, 258. [c] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 250. 1–3; Mich. Syr. ii. 505; Agapios, 259. [d] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 251. 10–23; Agapios, 260; Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 42. [e] Cf. Nik. 67. 1–4. The advance to Dulūk is mentioned by Agapios, 259. [f] Cf. Agapios, 260 (5 days in Aug.). [g] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 250. 26–7; Agapios, 259. [h] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 505. Marwān destroys the walls of Emesa and Baalbek: Agapios, 260.

[1] For the defeat of Sulaymān see Caetani, *Chron.*, AH 127, no. 17.
[2] 'Abdallāh b. Marwān.
[3] See Caetani, *Chron.*, AH 128, nos. 9, 12.
[4] Ibid., AH 127, nos. 21–2. Dulūk (ancient Doliche, modern Dülük) was in

Commagene. For the site see Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, iv. 121–2. According to Balādhuri (Brooks, 'Arabs', 207) Germanikeia was taken and destroyed by Constantine while Marwān was besieging Emesa.
[5] His father having been a native of Germanikeia.
[6] i.e. recite the Trisagion with the Monophysite addition, 'Who wast crucified for us'.

[AM 6238, AD 745/6]

Constantine, 6th year
Marouam, 3rd year
Zacharias, 13th year
Anastasios, 17th year
Theophylaktos, 3rd year

‖ In this year there was a great earthquake in Palestine, by the Jordan and in all of Syria on 18 January, in the 4th hour. Numberless multitudes perished, churches and monasteries collapsed, especially those in the desert of the Holy City.‖[a]

‖In the same year a pestilence that had started in Sicily and Calabria travelled like a spreading fire all through the 14th indiction[1] to Monobasia,[2] Hellas, and the adjoining islands, thus scourging in advance the impious Constantine and restraining his fury against the Church and the holy icons, even though he remained unrepentant like Pharaoh of old. This disease of the bubonic plague spread to the Imperial City in the 15th[3] indiction. All of a sudden, without visible cause, there appeared many oily crosslets upon men's garments, on the altar cloths of churches, and on hangings. The mysteriousness of this presage inspired great sorrow and despondency among the people. Then God's wrath started destroying not only the inhabitants of the City, but also those of all its outskirts. Many men had hallucinations and, being in ecstasy, imagined to be in the company of certain strangers of terrible aspect who, as it were, addressed in friendly fashion those they met and conversed with them. Taking note of their conversation, they later reported it. They also saw the same men entering houses, killing some of the inmates, and wounding others with the sword. Most of what they said came to pass just as they had seen it. 423

In the spring of the 1st indiction[4] the plague intensified and in the summer it flared up all at once so that entire households were completely shut up and there was no one to bury the dead. Because of extreme necessity a way was devised of placing planks upon animals saddled with four paniers each[5] and so removing the dead or piling them likewise one upon the other in carts. When all the urban and

suburban cemeteries had been filled as well as empty cisterns and ditches, and many vineyards had been dug up and even the orchards within the old walls[6] to make room for the burial of human bodies,
424 only then was the need satisfied.[7] When every household had been destroyed by this calamity on account of the impious removal of the holy icons by the rulers, straight away the fleet of the Hagarenes sailed from Alexandria to Cyprus, where the Roman fleet happened to be. The *strategos* of the Kibyraiots fell upon them suddenly in the harbour of Keramaia[8] and seized the mouth of the harbour. Out of 1,000 *dromones*[9] it is said that only three escaped.||[b]

[a] Cf. Agapios, 261 (Jan.): earthquake in Palestine, esp. at Tiberias, where more than 100,000 were killed. Mich. Syr. ii. 509–10; *Chr. 1234*, 254. 33 ff. (without date): damage at Damascus, Tiberias, Mabbug, and elsewhere. Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 42–3, AG 1059: Chalcedonian bishop of Mabbug crushed with his flock. [b] Cf. Nik. 67. 4–43; 68. 3–11. *Kleinchronik*, 1. 17 (Schreiner, i. 45) abbreviates Theoph. as regards the plague.

[1] AD 745/6. [2] Monemvasia on the east coast of the Peloponnese.
[3] dB mistakenly prints '5th'.
[4] AD 747/8. This is the date given for the plague in *Kleinchronik*, 2. 4 (Schreiner, i. 47).
[5] Reading διὰ ζώων σαγματουμένων ὑπὸ τετρακανθήλου. For the meaning of this expression see I. Rochow, *Klio*, 69 (1987), 571–2.
[6] The Constantinian walls.
[7] On the plague see also Theodore Studites, *Laud. Platonis*, *PG* 99: 805D. Nik. *Antirrh.* III, *PG* 100: 496B–D, adds that the emperor betook himself during the plague to the suburbs of Nicomedia. So also Geo. Mon. 754 and *Epist. ad Theophilum*, *PG* 95: 364B.
[8] Situation unknown. See Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, i (Cambridge, 1940); 262 n. 5; L. Philippou, *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί*, 6 (1942), 1–5, who believes the battle did not take place in Cyprus. According to Nik. the conflict was initiated by Constantine, who sent a fleet against the Arabs.
[9] Thirty in Anast., probably correctly.

[AM 6239, AD 746/7]

Constantine, 7th year
Marouam, 4th year
Zacharias, 14th year
Anastasios, 18th year
Theophylaktos, 4th year

In this year Gregory[1] was killed by the Arourites and Marouam, the Arab leader, was victorious as I have already said.

[1] His identity is unclear.

[AM 6240, AD 747/8]

Constantine, 8th year
Marouam, 5th year
Zacharias, 15th year
Anastasios, 19th year
Theophylaktos, 5th year

In this year a people called the Chorasanite Maurophoroi[1] rose up in the eastern part of Persia against Marouam and the entire clan that had ruled from the time of Mouamed, the false prophet, down to that same Marouam, that is the so-called progeny of Oumaia. For while the latter were busy fighting one another after the murder of Oualid, the sons of Echim and of Alim[2] (as they are called), who were likewise related to the false prophet, but were fugitives and lived in hiding in the Lesser Arabia, gathered together under the leadership of Abraim[3] and dispatched a certain freedman of theirs named Aboumouslim[4] to some of the prominent men of Chorasan asking for armed help against Marouam. These banded together round a certain Chaktaban[5] and, after taking counsel, incited slaves against their own masters and made great slaughter in one night; equipped with their victims' arms, horses, and money, they became powerful. They were divided into two tribes, the Kaisinoi and the Imanites.[6] Judging the Imanites to be the stronger, Aboumouslim incited them against the Kaisinoi and, after killing the lat- 425
ter, came to Persia together with Chaktaban. He made war on Ibindara[7] and captured all of his men, some 100,000 of them. He then moved against Ibinoubeira,[8] who was encamped with 200,000 men and undid him also. Then, at the river Zabas, he overtook Marouam, who had 300,000 men, made war on him, and slew an infinite multitude. One could then see one man chasing a thousand and two men driving ten thousand, as Scripture says.[a] When Marouam had observed that those men were winning signal victories, he went to Harran and, after crossing the river, cut the bridge which was made of boats. Taking all the money, his household, as well as 3,000 servants,[9] he fled to Egypt.[b]

[a] Deut. 32: 30. [b] The story of Marwān's downfall is told quite differently in the Christian Oriental chronicles. See esp. *Chr. 1234*, 256. 17 ff.; Agapios, 261–5. Mich. Syr. ii. 517 is very brief.

[1] i.e. the Abbasids. 'Not only were their faces black, but their clothes also, for which reason they were called Messouadi, meaning black': Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 44–5.
[2] Presumably Hāshim and 'Alī. Lesser Arabia denotes the Roman province of that name, east and south of Palestine. Cf. AM 6243.
[3] Ibrahīm al-Imām b. Muhammad b. 'Alī: Caetani, *Chron.*, AH 126, no. 12.

[4] Abū Muslim al-Khurāsāni: ibid., AH 128, no. 4.
[5] Qahtaba b. Šabīb: ibid., AH 130, no. 4.
[6] Presumably the 'Abd al-Qais and the Yemenites: ibid., AH 130, no. 1.
[7] Ámir b. Dubāra, defeated by Qahtaba near Isfahan in Feb./Mar. 749: ibid., AH 131, no. 5.
[8] Ibn Hubaira in Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 45; Yazīd ibn-Hubaira in Agapios, 262–3. Defeated in Aug. 749: Caetani, *Chron.*, AH 132, no. 3.
[9] 10,000 in all according to *Chron. 1234*, 257. 35. The defeat of Marwān occurred in Jan. 750: Caetani, *Chron.*, AH 132, no. 12.

[AM 6241, AD 748/9]

Constantine, 9th year
Marouam, 6th year
Zacharias, 16th year
Anastasios, 20th year
Theophylaktos, 6th year

In this year Marouam was pursued by the Maurophoroi, who captured him and killed him after waging a very heavy war.[1] They were commanded by Salim, son of Alim,[2] one of the aforementioned fugitives who had sent Aboumouslim on his mission.[a] The rest of them gathered in Samaria and Trachonitis[3] and awarded their leadership by lot to Aboulabas,[4] and next to him to his brother Abdela,[5] and next to the latter to Ise Ibinmouse.[6] ||They appointed Abdela, son of Alim and brother of Salim, to be commander in Syria; Salim himself to be commander in Egypt; while Abdela, brother of Aboulabas (from whom he received the nomination to the command) they appointed over Mesopotamia.||[b] Aboulabas himself, who was in supreme authority, established his seat in Persia, the government and all the seized treasure (which Marouam had carried away) having been transferred to him
426 and his Persian allies from Damascus. Marouam's surviving sons and relatives went from Egypt to Africa, whence they crossed the narrow sea that separates Libya from Europe next to the Ocean at a place called Septai and settled until this day in Spain of Europe, where some kinsmen and correligionists of theirs had come to dwell at an earlier time—the latter being descendants of Mauias who had suffered shipwreck there.[7] The devastation in the days of Marouam lasted six years and in the course of it all the prominent cities of Syria lost their walls except Antioch, which he planned to use as a refuge. Innumerable Arabs were also killed by him for he was very cunning in civil matters. He belonged to the heresy of the Epicureans, that is Automatists, an impiety he had imbued from the pagans who dwell at Harran.[8]

||On 25 January of the same 3rd indiction[9] a son was born to the

emperor Constantine by the daughter of the Chagan of Chazaria and he called him Leo. In the same year there was an earthquake and terrible destruction in Syria, as a result of which some cities were entirely destroyed, others partially so, while others slid down entire, with their walls and houses, from positions on mountains to low-lying plains, a distance of six miles or thereabout.[10] Eyewitnesses affirmed that the ground in Mesopotamia was split along two miles and that out of the chasm was thrown up a different soil, very white and sandy, in the midst of which, they said, there came up an animal like a mule,[11] quite spotless, that spoke in a human voice and announced the incursion of a certain nation from the desert against the Arabs, which indeed came to pass.

The next year, in the 4th indiction,[12] on the feast of holy Pentecost the impious emperor Constantine conferred the imperial crown on his son Leo by the hand of the false patriarch Anastasios who shared his views.||[c]

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 258. 33 ff., with many details. [b] Ibid. 264. 5–8; Agapios, 272. [c] Cf. Nik. 69. 1–70. 2

[1] In Aug. 750: Caetani, *Chron.*, AH 132, no. 39.
[2] Sālih b. 'Alī: Caetani, *Chron.*, AH 132, no. 16. See also *Chr. 1234*, 258. 33; Agapios, 267–9.
[3] East of the Jordan.
[4] The Caliph Abū-l-'Abbās al-Saffāh, proclaimed at Kūfa in Nov. 749.
[5] Abdallāh Abū Dja'far, appointed governor of Mesopotamia, Armenia, etc. (Elias Nis. 82 (AH 133)).
[6] 'Īsā b. Mūsā, Al-Saffāh's cousin. Cf. Agapios, 273.
[7] The passage of the Umayyads to Spain 'in the days of Justinian Rhinotmetos' is recorded by Const. Porph. *DAI* 21. 28–32, who adds that these events 'are not recorded by our historians'. He confuses the first conquest of Spain (711) with the establishment of the emirate of Cordova by 'Abd al-Rahmān (756). Cf. Bury, *BZ* 15 (1906), 527–9.
[8] Mich. Syr. ii. 508 says that Marwān did not believe in God.
[9] AD 750.
[10] According to Mich. Syr. ii. 510 and *Chr. 1234*, 255. 28 ff. a village near Mount Tabor was moved 4 miles with all its houses intact, and a source near Jericho was shifted 6 miles. Cf. Elias Nis. 82 (AH 131).
[11] A female mule in Nik. 69. 12. [12] AD 751. Pentecost fell on 6 June.

[AM 6242, AD 749/50]

Constantine, 10th year
Mouamed, leader of the Arabs (5 years), 1st year[1]
Zacharias, 17th year

Anastasios, 21st year
Theophylaktos, 7th year

In this year the inhabitants of Chalkis rose up against the Maurophoroi Persians and 4,000 of them were killed in the territory of Emesa. The same happened in Arabia to the Kaisinoi at the hands of the same Persians.[2] Most of the rebellions ceased on the arrival of Marouam's embalmed head.[3] In the same year the most holy patriarch of Antioch Theophylaktos died on the 29th of the month Daisios.[4]

[1] Abū-l-ʿAbbās b. Muhammad (750–4).

[2] The various rebellions against the Chorasanites are described in *Chr. 1234*, 260. 16 ff.; Agapios, 270–1. The encounter in the territory of Emesa refers to the battle fought between Abū-l-Ward, governor of Qinnasrīn, and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī: Caetani, *Chron.*, AH 132, no. 27.

[3] On this cf. *Chr. 1234*, 259. 20–1; Agapios, 269.

[4] June.

[AM 6243, AD 750/1]

Constantine, 11th year
Mouamed, 2nd year
Zacharias, 18th year
Anastasios, 22nd year
Theodore, bishop of Antioch (6 years), 1st year

In this year the new masters slew the greater part of the Christians, whom they treacherously arrested at Antipatris in Palestine, because of their being related to the previous rulers.[1] ||In the same year Constantine occupied Theodosioupolis[2] as well as Melitene and conquered the Armenians.||[a] Theodore, son of Vikarios, a native of the Lesser Arabia,[3] was ordained patriarch of Antioch.

[a] Cf. Nik. 70. 2–5 (Melitene only; no mention of Armenians). The capture of Melitene and depopulation of Claudias and Armenia (IV) are recorded in *Chr. 1234*, 263. 1–7, AG 1063; Mich. Syr. ii. 518, same year; Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 55–6, AG 1061; Elias Nis. 82 (AH 133); Agapios, 271. For Arab sources see Brooks, 'Abbasids', 731–2.

[1] *Chr. 1234*, 260. 1 ff. records that ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī established his residence at Antipatris, where he treacherously killed 70 Umayyads. Cf. Agapios, 269.

[2] The capture of Theodosioupolis is recorded separately by Mich. Syr. ii. 521 and Agapios, 278, immediately after the accession of Abu Djaʿfar.

[3] Theodore was a native of the Moab in the Roman province of Arabia: below, AM 6248.

[AM 6244, AD 751/2]

Constantine, 12th year
Mouamed, 3rd year
Zacharias, 19th year
Anastasios, 23rd year
Theodore, 2nd year

In this year the impious Constantine, puffed up in his spirit and making many plans against the Church and the orthodox faith, held audiences every day[1] and treacherously urged the people to follow his designs, thus paving the way to the complete impiety that was later to overtake him.

[1] The reading σιλέντια καθ' ἑκάστην ποιῶν is confirmed by Anast. (p. 280. 7), *silentia per dies singulos faciens*. Melioranskij, *Georgij*, 67–71, argues, however, that one should supply καθ' ἑκάστην ⟨πόλιν⟩, that is 'held audiences in every city', the word πόλιν being present (but on what authority?) in the Paris and Bonn editions (i. 659. 3) of Theoph.

[AM 6245, AD 752/3]

Constantine, 13th year
Mouamed, 4th year
Zacharias, 20th year
Anastasios, 24th year
Theodore, 3rd year

||In this year Anastasios, who had held in unholy fashion the episcopal throne of Constantinople, died a spiritual as well as a bodily death of a dreadful disease of the guts after vomiting dung through his mouth, a just punishment for his daring deeds against God and his teacher.[1] In the same year the impious Constantine convened in the palace of Hiereia an illegal assembly of 338 bishops against the holy and venerable icons under the leadership of Theodosios of Ephesos,[2] son of Apsimaros, and of Pastillas of Perge.[3] These men by themselves decreed whatever came into their heads, though none of the universal sees was represented, namely those of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Starting on 10 February, they 428
went on until 8 August of the same 7th indiction.[4] On the latter day the enemies of the Theotokos having come to Blachernai, Constantine ascended the ambo holding the monk Constantine, former bishop of Syllaion, and, after reciting a prayer, said in a loud voice, 'Long live Constantine, the ecumenical patriarch!' On the

27th of the same month the emperor went up to the Forum together with the unholy bishop Constantine and the other bishops and they proclaimed their misguided heresy in front of all the people after anathematizing the most holy Germanus, George of Cyprus,[5] and John Damascene of the Golden Stream, son of Mansour, holy men and venerable teachers.‖[a]

[a] Cf. Nik. 72. The council is also recorded by Mich. Syr. ii. 521, who says that John, George of Damascus, and George of Cyprus were anathematized by it. *Chr. 1234*, 263. 15–19 names Sergius, John son of Mansur, and George of Damascus (*sic*); Agapios, 273, John son of Mansur of Damascus and Gregory of Cyprus.

[1] The exact date of his death is unknown.
[2] His seal in Laurent, *Corpus*, v/1, no. 255. Cf. AM 6207, n. 6.
[3] His name was Sisinnios: Mansi, xiii. 400A, 416C and other sources.
[4] AD 754. On the council see Gero, *Constantine V*, 53 ff. Its Definition (Horos) is preserved in the Acts of 787: Mansi, xiii. 204–356.
[5] A certain George 'dwelling on the Mount of Olives in the Cilician Taurus' is the hero of *The Admonition of the Old Man concerning the Holy Images*. Melioranskij, *Georgij*, 72 ff., identifies him with George of Cyprus. The preserved anathemas of the Council of 754 (Mansi xiii. 356C–D) are directed against Germanus, George [of Cyprus], and Mansour.

[AM 6246, AD 753/4]

Constantine, 14th year
Mouamed, 5th year
Zacharias, 21st year
Constantine, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 1st year
Theodore, 4th year

In this year Mouamed, also called Aboulabas, died after a reign of five years.[1] His brother Abdelas,[2] who was then at Mecca (the place of their blasphemy), wrote to Aboumouslim, who was in Persia, to guard the throne for him as it had been allotted. Now Aboumouslim, on being informed that Abdelas, son of Alim and brother of Salim, sole commander of Syria, was seeking the kingship and marching to take possession of Persia; furthermore, that he was hostile to the Persians and friendly to the Syrians who supported him, roused his army and engaged him at Nisibis.[3] Having vanquished him, Aboumouslim killed many men, most of whom were Slavs and Antiochenes. Abdelas, who alone escaped, sought a few days later a pledge from the other Abdelas, Mouamed's brother, who in great haste had arrived in Persia from Mecca. The latter, however, confined him in a ramshackle hut
429 whose foundations he ordered to be dug up and so killed him by

stealth.[a] Now Aboumouslim was incensed at the Syrian Arabs for having rebelled against the Maurophoroi and taken many captives in Palestine, Emesa, and on the sea coast, and was intending to attack them with his army, but Abdelas held him back. The other, furious at Abdelas, withdrew with his host to inner Persia. Being very much afraid of him, Abdelas called him back by means of plausible excuses and entreaties, even with the help of the abominable symbols of their kingship—I mean the staff and sandals of the false prophet Mouamed—asking him to turn aside the distance of one day's journey in his direction that he might pay him the gratitude due to a father. Thus deceived, Aboumouslim arrived with 100,000 horsemen and, when he had joined Abdelas, the latter killed him with his own hands.[4] The army immediately scattered and departed after receiving considerable largess. In this manner Abdelas achieved the kingship.

[a] Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 265. 1–15 (differently); Agapios, 274–6; Mich. Syr. ii. 518 (very briefly).

[1] 9 June 754.
[2] Abū Dja'far al-Mansūr, whose name was 'Abdallāh b. Muhammad.
[3] On 26 Nov. 754: Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 62.
[4] For the end of Abū Muslim cf. Agapios, 277.

[AM 6247, AD 754/5]

Constantine, 15th year
Abdelas, leader of the Arabs (21 years), 1st year[1]
Paul, bishop of Rome (7 years), 1st year[2]
Constantine, 2nd year
Theodore, 5th year

In this year Niketas of Helioupolis[3] was anathematized by the whole Church.

‖The emperor Constantine transferred to Thrace the Syrians and Armenians whom he had brought from Theodosioupolis and Melitene‖[a] and, through them, the heresy of the Paulicians[4] spread about. ‖Likewise in the City, whose inhabitants had been reduced on account of the plague, he brought families from the islands, Hellas, and the southern parts[5] and made them dwell in the City so as to increase the population.‖[b] The same year the Bulgarians asked for tribute because of the forts that had been built,[6] and when the emperor had treated their emissary dishonourably, they made a military expedition and came as far as the Long Walls in an advance on

the Imperial City.||[c] After causing much destruction and taking many prisoners, they returned home unharmed.[7]

[a] Cf. Nik. 73. 1–5; *Antirrh.* III, *PG* 100: 508D f.; Agapios, 284. [b] Cf. Nik. 68. 1–3 (immediately after the plague). [c] Cf. Nik. 73. 5–9.

[1] Abū Dja'far al-Mansūr (754–75). [2] Paul I (757–67).
[3] Identity unknown.
[4] This is the earliest mention of Paulicians in a Byzantine chronicle. See P. Lemerle, *TM* 5 (1973), 78–9.
[5] *τῶν κατωτικῶν μερῶν*, an expression usually applied without great precision to Hellas–Peloponnese. Cf. AM 6282 (where it seems to be used in a wider sense); Bon, *Péloponnèse*, 159 f.; Laurent, *Corpus*, v/1, no. 763.
[6] For the Syrian and Armenian settlers.
[7] Nik. 73. 9–11 says, on the other hand, that Constantine pursued the Bulgarians and killed many of them.

430 **[AM 6248, AD 755/6]**

Constantine, 16th year
Abdelas, 2nd year
Paul, 2nd year
Constantine, 3rd year

‖ In this year, on 9 March, there occurred a considerable earthquake in Palestine and Syria.||[a] Theodore, patriarch of Antioch, was exiled because of the malice of the Arabs, having been accused of frequently communicating Arab affairs by letter to the emperor Constantine. And so, Salim[1] himself banished him to the land of Moab which was his native country. The same Salim decreed that no new churches should be built, that crosses should not be displayed and that Christians should not discourse with Arabs on matters of religion. ||He invaded the Roman country[2] with a force of 80,000 and, when he had come to Cappadocia, he heard that Constantine was taking up arms against him. Taking fright, he returned empty-handed without causing any damage, except that he took a few Armenians who had joined him.||[b]

[a] Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 63 records an earthquake in Mesopotamia on 3 Mar. AG 1067.
[b] Cf. Agapios, 278, with different details.

[1] Sālih b. 'Alī. He was governor of Egypt down to AH 140 (757/8). In AH 141 (758/9) he was appointed over Qinnasrīn (Chalkis), Emesa, and Damascus: Tabarī, Williams, i. 28, 31, 36, 44. His measures against the Christians, including the patriarch of Antioch, would thus appear to date from 758/9.
[2] Sālih led two expeditions to rebuild Melitene, the first in AH 138 (755/6), the second the following year (which is probably the one meant here). On the latter occasion he entered Byzantine territory by the pass of Adata: Tabarī, Williams, i. 29, 32. Cf. Brooks, 'Abbasids', 733.

[AM 6249, AD 756/7]

Constantine, 17th year
Abdelas, 3rd year
Paul, 3rd year
Constantine, 4th year

‖ In this year Abdelas intensified the taxation of Christians,||[a] so much so that he laid taxes on all monks, solitaries, and stylites who led lives pleasing to God. He also put under seals the treasuries of churches and brought Jews to sell their contents and these were bought by freedmen.

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 522; *Chr. 1234*, 265. 24–30 (exactions carried out by Mūsā b. Mus'ab, governor of Mosul).

[AM 6250, AD 757/8]

Constantine, 18th year
Abdelas, 4th year
Paul, 4th year
Constantine, 5th year

In this year Constantine conquered the Sklavinias in Macedonia and subjected the rest.[1]

The same year some of the Persian Maurophoroi who were of the Magian religion were deceived by the Devil: after selling their possessions, they went up naked on the walls and threw themselves down, believing that they would fly up to heaven. But having no appreciable share of the heavenly kingdom, they returned to earth and broke their limbs. The leaders of their error, who were sixteen in number, were put to death at Beroia and Chalkis by Abdelas acting through Salim.[2]

[1] The wording is unclear. For the Sklavinias see AM 6149, n. 1; P. Charanis in *Balkan Studies*, 11 (1970), 11 ff.
[2] On Sālih see AM 6248, n. 1. The incident related here may be connected with the uprising in AH 141 (758/9) of the Khurasani Rāwandīya, who believed in the transmigration of souls. See Tabarī, Williams, 37 ff. and below, AM 6252.

[AM 6251, AD 758/9]

Constantine, 19th year
Abdelas, 5th year
Paul, 5th year
Constantine, 6th year

431 In this year the Arabs maliciously expelled the Christians from government chanceries for a short time, but were once again obliged to entrust the same duties to them because they were unable to write numbers.

The Arabs invaded the Roman country and took many prisoners. They killed Paul, *strategos* of the Armeniacs, along with many of his soldiers, whom they fought at the river Melas,[1] and captured forty-two prominent men and many officers.

The emperor invaded Bulgaria. When he had come to the pass of Beregaba, the Bulgarians encountered him and killed many of his men, among them Leo, patrician and *strategos* of the Thrakesians,[2] another Leo who was logothete of the Course, as well as numerous soldiers whose arms they took. And so he returned ingloriously.[3]

[1] There were several rivers of that name in Asia Minor. See Ruge, *RE* xv/1 (1931), 440. Perhaps a tributary of the Halys (modern Karasu) is meant. Cf. *TIB* 2: 233. Arab sources have no clear reference to this campaign. Cf. Lilie, 170.

[2] His seal in Zacos–Veglery, i/2, no. 2132.

[3] Nik. 73. 11–20 speaks instead of a successful expedition, including a defeat of the Bulgarians at Markellai. For attempts to reconcile these two accounts see Lombard, *Constantin V*, 43–5; Beševliev, *Protobulg. Periode*, 209–10. Cf. our comments on Nik., p. 219.

[AM 6252, AD 759/60]

Constantine, 20th year
Abdelas, 6th year
Paul, 6th year
Constantine, 7th year

‖ In this year there was an error concerning the date of Easter and, whereas the eastern orthodox celebrated Easter on 6 April,[1] the misguided heretics did so on the 13th.‖[a]

In the same year the head of St John the Forerunner and Baptist was translated from the monastery of the Cave to his splendid church in the city of Emesa and a crypt was built, wherein to this very day it is worshipped by the faithful and honoured with both material and spiritual

incense while it pours cures upon all who come to it in a spirit of faith.[2]

‖ In the same year a very bright comet appeared for ten days in the east and another twenty-one days in the west.‖[b]

A certain Theodore, a Lebanese Syrian, rose up against the Arabs in the territory of Helioupolis, which adjoins the Lebanon, and fought them: many were killed on both sides. In the end he was routed and fled and all his Lebanese companions were slain.

‖ In Africa there was disorder and war‖[c] following an eclipse of the sun on 15 August,[3] a Saturday, at the 10th hour.

Some of the Maurophoroi rose up at Dabekon[4] proclaiming the Caliph's son[5] to be a god inasmuch as he was their provider, a doctrine they made public. The Maurophoroi entered the house of their error and killed the key-bearers who numbered sixty. Some of them went forth to Basrason,[6] took many captives, and a big sum of money.

[a] Cf. Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 63, incorrectly dated AG 1070 (758/9). [b] Ibid. 63–4, AG 1071. [c] Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 522.

[1] In 760.

[2] St John's head was discovered in 452 (rather than 453), an event that caused a great stir at the time. The essential text is the account by the archimandrite Marcellus of the monastery of the Cave (*BHG* 840), ed. Du Cange, *Traité historique du chef de S. Jean Baptiste* (Paris, 1665), 215 ff. See also Marcell. com. and *Chron. Pasch.* a.453; Whitby and Whitby, *Chron. Pasch.* 82 n. 270, who are, however, unaware of the text by Marcellus. On the church of St John at Emesa, half of which was turned into a mosque, see Le Strange, *Palestine*, 353.

[3] AD 760.

[4] Dabik, north of Aleppo, close to a large plain used for stationing troops. See Dussaud, *Topographie*, 474; *EI*², s.v.

[5] Al-Mahdī. According to Tabarī, Williams, i. 37, the Shiite Rāwandīya regarded the Caliph as divine because he gave them to eat and drink.

[6] Basra (Basrathon in AM 6255).

[AM 6253, AD 760/61] 432

Constantine, 21st year
Abdelas, 7th year
Paul, 7th year
Constantine, 8th year

In this year the Kasiotai[1] rebelled against the Maurophoroi on account of their women. For a number of them[2] lived in a house wherein three brothers also dwelt and they wanted to drown their wives. So the three

brothers rose up, killed them, and buried them. Their companions assembled and killed the rest. Then Selichos[3] sent out his troops, who came upon them by deceit, captured them, hanged the three brothers and killed many others. On the feast of Easter he entered the church during holy service, and as the metropolitan was standing by and saying loudly the words, 'For Thy people and Thy Church entreat Thee',[4] they took him out and confined him in a prison, and another completed the holy service. There ensued great fear. Had not the metropolitan assuaged him by means of tactful behaviour and humble words, great evil would have been done at that time. It was the most blessed Anastasios.[5]

In the same year Constantine the persecutor killed by scourging in the Hippodrome of St Mamas the illustrious monk Andrew, surnamed Kalybites, who practised at Blachernai, because the latter had reproved his impiety and called him a second Valens and a second Julian.[6] The emperor ordered him to be thrown in the Bosporus, but his sisters snatched him away and buried him at the trading post of Leukadios.[7]

[1] A gloss in MSS e, m explains that these were Arabs descended from *Καής*, that is members of the tribe of Qays, whom Theoph. elsewhere calls *Καϊσινοί*. The Kasiotai appear, however, to have been Christian. dB (p. 637) suggests that they may have been inhabitants of Mount Kasios near Antioch.

[2] Presumably of the Maurophoroi.

[3] Presumably the same Sālih whom Theoph. previously called Salim.

[4] During the Invocation: Brightman, *Liturgies*, 53.

[5] It is not made clear of what city Anastasios was metropolitan.

[6] Apparently the first victim of Constantine's persecution, Andrew is not otherwise known. G. Millet, *BCH* 70 (1946), 396–8, tried to show that another iconophile monk, Anastasios, allegedly burnt in the Hippodrome (*Parast.*, 61, c. 63) met his end in 742 or 743, but his argument is not convincing. *Syn. CP* 689. 52 records a St Peter of Blachernai, killed by scourging, possibly confused with Andrew. Cf. AM 6259, n. 8.

[7] There was a monastery *τοῦ Λευκαδίου* in the diocese of Chalcedon. Janin, *Grands centres*, 425, does not connect it with Cape Leukate on the grounds that the latter would have been subject to Nicomedia.

[AM 6254, AD 761/2]

Constantine, 22nd year
Abdelas, 8th year
Constantine, bishop of Rome (5 years), 1st year[1]
Constantine, 9th year

In this year a comet appeared in the east and Fatima's son was killed.[2]

||The Bulgarians rose up, killed their hereditary lords and set up as their king an evil-minded man called Teletzes who was 30 years old. Many Slavs escaped and joined the emperor, who settled them on the Artanas.[3] On 16 June the emperor marched into Thrace after dispatching a fleet by way of the Black Sea—as many as 800 *chelandia*, each carrying 12 horses.[4] When Teletzes had heard of the expedition against him both by land and by sea, he recruited 20,000 men among the neighbouring nations to fight on his side and, after stationing them at the fortifications, made himself secure. The emperor, for his part, encamped in the plain of Anchialos. On 30 June of the 1st indiction,[5] a Thursday, Teletzes came marching with a multitude of nations and, battle having been joined, there was mutual slaughter for a long time. Teletzes was routed and fled. The battle lasted from the 5th hour until evening. Great numbers of Bulgarians were killed, many were captured, and others deserted.[6] Elated by this victory, the emperor celebrated a triumph in the City, which he entered in full armour together with his army to the acclamations of the *demes*, dragging the Bulgarian captives in wooden fetters. The latter he ordered to be beheaded by the citizens outside the Golden Gate.||[a] The Bulgarians rose in rebellion, killed Teletzes together with his chieftains, and set up as their king Sabinos,[7] the brother-in-law of their former lord, Kormesios. When Sabinos had straight away sent an embassy to the emperor seeking to make peace, the Bulgarians called a meeting and opposed him strenuously, saying, 'On your account Bulgaria is about to be enslaved by the Romans.' A rebellion having ensued, Sabinos fled to the fort of Mesembria and went over to the emperor.||[b] The Bulgarians set up another lord over themselves by the name of Paganos.[8]

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[a] Cf. Nik. 75; 76. 1–21. [b] Cf. Nik. 77. 1–9.

[1] In fact, 767–9.

[2] Mich. Syr. ii. 522, AG 1074, and Agapios, 282 (9th year of 'Abdallāh) record the revolt at Medina and death of Muhammad [b. 'Abdallāh b. Hassān], a descendant of Fātima. The revolt started on 23 Sept. 762: Tabarī, Williams, i. 90. Hence the present entry is placed one year too early.

[3] On the Black Sea coast, near Şile: Ramsay, *Geogr.* 438. Nik. 75. 4 puts the number of Slav refugees at 208,000 and dates the migration, which he does not connect to developments in Bulgaria, several years after the winter of 763/4. According to Zlatarski, i/1. 276, the usurpation of Teletz occurred in late 761.

[4] To the Danube according to Nik. 76. 10.

[5] AD 763.

[6] For the heavy casualties cf. Nik. *Antirrhet.* III, *PG* 100: 508B.

[7] Apparently the same as Vinekh in the Bulgarian Princes' List. See Bury, *BZ* 19 (1910), 143–4; Zlatarski, i/1. 285 n. 38, 465–6; Beševliev, *Protobulg. Periode*, 212 n. 3.

[8] Perhaps the same as Kampaganos (a title rather than a proper name), whose death in 765 is recorded by Nik. 79. 8–10. See Beševliev, op. cit. 219, 505 ff.

[AM 6255, AD 762/3]

Constantine, 23rd year
Abdelas, 9th year
Constantine, 2nd year
Constantine, 10th year

In this year the inhabitants of the desert and of Basrathon rebelled against Abdelas under the leadership of two brothers[1] against whom he sent [an army] and killed them along with 80,000 soldiers. In the same year the Turks went out of the Caspian Gates, killed many people in Armenia, took many captives, and returned home.[2]

A certain Kosmas surnamed Komanites,[3] bishop of Epiphaneia (in the region of Apameia in Syria), on being accused by the citizens of Epiphaneia before Theodore, patriarch of Antioch, concerning the alienation of consecrated objects, and being unable to make them good, renounced the orthodox faith and gave his adherence to
434 Constantine's heresy directed against the holy icons.[4] By common consent, Theodore, patriarch of Antioch, Theodore of Jerusalem, and Kosmas of Alexandria, together with their suffragan bishops, unanimously anathematized him on the day of holy Pentecost after the reading of the holy Gospel, each in his own city.[5]

‖In the same year, starting in early October, there was very bitter cold, not only in our land, but even more so to the east, the north, and the west, so that on the north coast of the Pontos to a distance of 100 miles the sea froze from the cold to a depth of thirty cubits. The same happened from Zigchia[6] to the Danube, including[7] the river Kouphis, the Danastris, the Danapris, and Nekropelai, and the rest of the coast as far as Mesembria and Medeia.[8] All this ice was snowed upon and grew by another twenty cubits, so that the sea became indistinguishable from land: upon this ice wild men and tame animals could walk from the direction of Chazaria, Bulgaria, and other adjoining countries. In the month of February of the same 2nd indiction[9] this ice was, by God's command, split up into many different mountain-like sections which were carried down by the force of the winds to Daphnousia[10] and Hieron[11] and, by way of the

Straits, reached the City and filled the whole coast as far as the Propontis, the islands, and Abydos. Of this I was myself an eyewitness, for I climbed on one of those [icebergs] and played on it together with some thirty boys of the same age. Some of my wild and tame animals also died.[12] Anyone who so wished could walk without hindrance as on dry land from Sophianai[13] to the City and from Chrysopolis to St Mamas and to Galata. One of the icebergs struck the jetty of the Acropolis and crushed it. Another huge one struck the wall and shook it greatly so that the houses on the inside partook of the quake. It then broke into three pieces and ringed the City from 435
the Mangana to the Bosporus,[14] rising in height above the walls. All the inhabitants of the City, men, women, and children, ceaselessly watched these things and would return home with lamentation and tears, not knowing what to say.‖[a]

‖In the same year, in the month of March the stars were seen falling from heaven all at once, so that all the observers thought it was the end of the present world.‖[b] Then there was a great drought, so much so that sources dried up.[15] The emperor summoned the patriarch and said to him: 'What harm is there if we call the Mother of God Mother of Christ?' The other embraced him and said: 'Have mercy, O lord! May not this statement come even to your mind. Don't you see how much Nestorios is held up to public scorn and anathematized by the whole Church?' The emperor replied: 'I have asked you for my own information. Keep it to yourself.'[16]

[a] Cf. Nik. 74; *Kleinchronik*, 2. 6, p. 48, wrongly dated indiction 1. [b] Cf. Nik. 71; *Kleinchronik*, 2. 7, p. 48, indiction 2; Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 67, 4 Jan. AG 1076.

[1] Muhammad b. 'Abdallāh, whose death is reported under AM 6254, and Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh, who seized Basra and was defeated in battle in Feb. 763. See Tabarī, Williams, i. 151 ff.; *EI*², s.v. 'Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh'.

[2] On the Khazar incursion cf. Agapios, 283–4; Tabarī, Williams, i. 177, AH 145 (762/3): 'This year the Turks and the Khazars came out of their territory by Darband, and slew a great number of Muslims in Armenia.' For further details see Laurent, *Arménie*, 228 n. 130.

[3] i.e. a native of Komana, either the one in Armenia I or the one in Pontos Polemoniakos.

[4] A bishop named Kosmas appears as the iconoclast spokesman in *The Admonition of the Old Man.* On his possible identity with Kosmas of Epiphaneia (Hama) see Melioranskij, *Georgij*, 75–6.

[5] In 767 Theodore of Jerusalem sent to Pope Paul I a *synodica* dealing with the question of images, approved by the two other oriental patriarchs and many other bishops: *Cod. Carolinus, MGH, Epist.* iii. 652 f. It was read at Nicaea in 787: Mansi xii. 1135 ff. Cf. L. Wallach, *Diplomatic Studies in Latin and Greek Documents from the Carolingian Age* (Ithaca, NY, 1977), 99 n. 74.

[6] Usually spelled Zichia (the land of the Zichoi) or Ze(k)chia, on the north-east coast of the Black Sea. See *Anon. Periplus*, 15, 18, 20 in Baschmakoff, *Synthèse*, 136; *DAI* 6. 5, 42. 97ff; *Acta Andreae apostoli*, ed. M. Bonnet, *AnBoll* 13 (1894), 333–4; Epiphanius, *Vita S. Andreae*, *PG* 120: 244. Also archbishopric, including originally cities of Cherson, Bosphoros, and Nikopsis (Darrouzès, *Notitiae*, 1. 62–4; 2. 66–8, etc.), later equated with Tamatarcha.

[7] We have translated *ad sensum*, the construction being very loose (*ἀπὸ Ζιγχίας μέχρι τοῦ Δανουβίου καὶ τοῦ Κοῦφι ποταμοῦ, τοῦ Δάναστρί τε καὶ Δάναπρι*, etc.). The stretch of coast from Zichia to the mouth of the Danube would naturally have included the other localities mentioned.

[8] Ancient Salmydessos, modern Midye. [9] AD 764.

[10] Modern Kefken Adası, a small island off the north coast of Asia Minor, west of the mouth of the Sangarios. See K. Ziegler, *RE* ii/11 (1936), 718–20, Thynias 2.

[11] Modern Anadolu Kavağı near the mouth of the Bosporus: Janin, *CP*, 485; *Grands centres*, 10.

[12] See Introduction, p. lviii.

[13] Cf. AM 6061. Sophianai, the palace built by Justin II, is usually placed at Çengelköy on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus: Janin, *CP*, 489. It may, however, correspond to the 6th-cent. Byzantine ruin (not that of a church) at Beylerbey, on which see K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *BNJ* 3 (1922), 110–13; S. Eyice, *Bizans devrinde Boğaziçi* (Istanbul, 1976), 55, figs. 68–72.

[14] With reference either to the Acropolis point or to the old Prosphorion (Bosphorion) harbour, a short distance west of the point. On the latter see *Patria*, 263, c. 149.

[15] Perhaps with reference to the drought of AM 6258.

[16] For Constantine's hostility to the Theotokos cf. Nikephoros, *Antirrh.* I, *PG* 100: 216D f.; *Antirrh.* II, 341A–D and later sources.

AM 6256 [AD 763/4]

Year of the divine Incarnation 756
Constantine, emperor of the Romans (35 years), 24th year
Abdelas, leader of the Arabs (21 years), 10th year
Constantine, bishop of Rome (5 years), 3rd year
Constantine, bishop of Constantinople (12 years), 11th year

In this year the Turks went forth again to the Caspian Gates and to Iberia. They fought the Arabs and there were many casualties on both sides.[1]

As for Abdelas, he used the following ruse to remove from power Ise Ibinmouse who, as we have said above, had received the third lot of ruling after him. Observing him to suffer from a migraine on one side of his head, which filled him with dizziness, he persuaded him that he

would be cured if he were injected in the nose with a sneezing drug that was prepared by his physician, a certain Moses (a deacon of the Church of Antioch), whom he had already bribed to concoct a very strong medicine that would also act as a potent narcotic. Thus convinced by Abdelas, the same Ise, even though he took precautions not to eat with him for fear of a plot, received the nose medicine. Having had the regions of his head injected and been deprived of his senses 436
and his reasonable faculties, he lay speechless. Then Abdelas called in the leaders and prominent men of their race and said, 'What do you think about your future king?' They unanimously repudiated him and pledged themselves to the son of the same Abdelas, Mouamed, surnamed Madi. As for Ise, they conveyed him to his house, senseless as he was. Three days later, when he had recovered, Abdelas consoled him with feigned excuses and repaid the injury with 100 talents of gold.[2]

||In the same year Paganos, the lord of Bulgaria, sent an emissary to the emperor requesting a personal meeting. Having received a pledge, he came down with his boyars. The emperor, having taken his seat and having Sabinos seated next to him, received them and reproved them for their disorderly conduct and their hatred for Sabinos. And so they made a semblance of peace.||[a3] The emperor, however, sent a secret mission to Bulgaria and apprehended Sklavounos, chief of the Severi,[4] who had caused much damage in Thrace. Also arrested was Christianos, a renegade from the Christian faith and leader of the Skamaroi.[5] They amputated his arms and legs at the pier of St Thomas[6] and, in the presence of physicians, dissected him alive from the genitals to the chest so as to comprehend the construction of the human body. Then they consigned him to the fire.

Of a sudden the emperor left the City and, finding the passes unguarded because of the nominal peace, invaded Bulgaria as far as the Tounza.[7] He set fire to the courts[8] that he came across and returned in fear without having accomplished any brave deed.[9]

[a] Cf. Nik. 77. 14–18.

[1] Cf. Elias Nis. 84 (AH 147 = 764/5); Tabarī, Williams, i. 186, same year, mentioning Armenia and Tiflis.

[2] For the removal of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā from the succession see Tabarī, Williams, i. 188 ff., AH 147 (764/5). ʿĪsāwas ill, possibly as the result of poison, but recovered. The physician who treated him is named as the Nestorian Bukhtishuʿ Djurdjis AbūDjibraʾīl, not Moses. ʿĪsāis said to have demanded ten million dirhams as compensation for renouncing his rights.

[3] According to Nik. 78. 1 peace was concluded in indiction 1 (762/3).

[4] On the Slavonic tribe of the Seberioi see *DAI* 9. 108 and Commentary, 61.

[5] The Skamareis (not, it seems, an ethnic designation) are named at the end of the 6th cent. by Menander Protector, frg. 15. 6 (frg. 35 in *FHG* iv. 237) as robber bands in the Danubian area. Cf. A. D. Dmitrev, *VizVrem* 5 (1952), 3–14; *RE* Suppl. 11 (1968), 1239–42.

[6] At the harbour of Sophia, next to which there was a church of St Thomas.

[7] i.e. the river Tundža. The Greek MSS have *ἕως Τούνζας* or *ἕως τὸ Βύζας* (presumably Bizye in Thrace, which makes no sense here). dB, following Anast., prints *ἕως τοῦ Τζίκας*. Beševliev, *Protobulg. Inschr.* 267, thinks that the correct form was *Τούτζα*.

[8] Or 'fortified camps' (*αὐλάς*), the standard term for Bulgar settlements.

[9] This presumably corresponds to the expedition of indiction 3 (764/5), told very differently by Nik. 79.

[AM 6257, AD 764/5]

Constantine, 25th year
Abdelas, 11th year
Constantine, 4th year
Constantine, 12th year

||In this year, on 20 November of the 4th indiction,[1] the impious and unholy emperor, becoming enraged at all God-fearing people, commanded that Stephen, the new Protomartyr (who was a recluse at St
437 Auxentios,[2] the mountain close to Damatrys) should be dragged in the street. Having apprehended him, the *scholarii* and members of the other *tagmata* (who partook of the emperor's boorishness and shared his views) tied a cord to one of his feet and dragged him off from the Praetorium to the quarter of Pelagios, where they broke him apart and threw his venerable remains in the ditch of executed criminals because he had admonished many people to enter the monastic life and had persuaded them to scorn imperial dignities and moneys. This man was venerated by all because he had spent about sixty years[3] in his hermitage and shone with many virtues. The emperor also inflicted various punishments and cruel tortures on many officers and soldiers who had been traduced for worshipping icons. He imposed a general oath on all the subjects of his empire that no one would worship an icon.[4] Furthermore, he caused the false patriarch Constantine to mount the ambo, raise the holy life-giving Cross, and swear that he was not a worshipper of icons.||[a] Straight away he persuaded him to assume a clerical instead of a monastic tonsure,[5] to partake of meat, and to put up with cither

music at the imperial table. It was not long, however, before divine Justice delivered him into the murderer's hands.

||On 21 June of the 4th indiction[6] the emperor set out against the Bulgarians and dispatched to Achelos[7] 2,600 *chelandia* which he equipped with contingents drawn from all the *themata*. When these had been beached along the shore, a north wind blew and nearly all of them were smashed. So many men were drowned that the emperor ordered fishing nets to be extended to collect and bury the dead. On 17 July he returned ignominiously to the City.

On 21 August of the same 4th indiction he held up to public scorn and dishonour the monastic habit in the Hippodrome by ordering that each monk hold a woman by the hand and so process through 438
the Hippodrome while being spat upon and insulted by all the people. And likewise on the 25th of the same month nineteen prominent dignitaries were brought to the Hippodrome and paraded for having made evil designs on the emperor. They had been falsely accused, but, in fact, the emperor bore them a grudge because they were handsome and strong and were praised by everyone; and some of them because of their piety and for resorting to the aforementioned recluse[8] whose sufferings they proclaimed in public. These men he killed, the foremost among them being Constantine, patrician and former logothete of the Course, whom he nicknamed Podopagouros;[9] his brother Strategios, *spatharios* and domestic of the excubitors; Antiochos, former logothete of the Course and *strategos* of Sicily;[10] David, follower of Beser,[11] *spatharios* and *comes* of Opsikion; Theophylaktos of Ikonion, *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Thrace; Christopher, follower of the patrician Himerios,[12] a *spatharios*; Constantine, *spatharios* and imperial *protostrator*, son of the patrician Bardanes; Theophylaktos the *candidatus*, follower of Marinakes,[13] and others. After exposing these men to scorn during the hippodrome games and causing them to be spat upon and cursed by all the people, he delivered his verdict. The two brothers, namely Constantine and Strategios, he beheaded at the Kynegion. There was much lamentation over them by all the people, so that when the emperor had been informed of it, he was annoyed and flogged the prefect Prokopios, whom he deprived of his office for having permitted this manifestation. All the others he blinded and exiled, and every year the madman ordered that emissaries should be sent to their respective places and give them a hundred lashes.

On 30 August of the same 4th indiction he of the evil name became enraged at his namesake and sectary, the patriarch. He found some clergymen, monks, and laymen who were intimate friends of the latter and caused them to say, 'We have heard the patriarch

speak to Podopagouros against the emperor.' He sent these men to
439 the Patriarchate to cross-examine him. As the latter was denying their charges, the emperor made them swear on the holy cross that 'We have heard this abuse from the patriarch.' Thereupon he sent his men to put the Patriarchate under seal, and the patriarch he banished first to Hiereia||[b] and then to Prinkipos.

[a] Cf. Nik. 81. [b] Cf. Nik. 82. 1–83. 28, giving a fuller account of the Bulgarian campaign, drawn from the same source.

[1] AD 765. According to *V. Steph. iun.* 1177D, the saint was martyred on 28 Nov., being then in his 53rd year. The same source states that his birth occurred soon after the ordination of Germanus as patriarch of Constantinople (11 Aug. 715), which would place his death in Nov. 767. There can be little doubt that the chronology of Theoph. is here correct. Cf. G. Huxley, *GRBS* 18 (1977), 97–108; M.-F. Rouan, *TM* 8 (1981), 421. Rochow, *Byzanz*, 186–7, is misleading on this point.

[2] Modern Kayişdağ, 12 km. south-east of Kadiköy. See Janin, *Grands centres*, 43 ff.

[3] Manifestly wrong if he died in or near his 53rd year.

[4] According to other sources on the army only. See Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 13 n. 2.

[5] *στεφανίτην ἀντὶ μοναχοῦ ἔπεισε γενέσθαι.* The meaning of *στεφανίτης* (not 'married' as imagined by Gero, *Constantine V*, 130) is explained in a marginal gloss to Anast.'s version (dB II, 288 app.): *Stephanites clericalem coronam in capite habens cum antea fuerit monachorum more graecorum toto capite tonsus.* Cf. I. Rochow, *BSl* 47 (1986), 26–7. Constantine had become a monk following a quarrel with his superior, the metropolitan of Perge (Pastillas?): Fischer, *Catal.* 290.

[6] AD 766. Note that 'June' is dB's emendation. The Greek MSS as well as Anast. give 'January'.

[7] A popular form of the name Anchialos, as pointed out by N. Bănescu, *BZ* 26 (1926), 114.

[8] St Stephen. This statement suggests that he had played a political role by being implicated in what was certainly a serious conspiracy.

[9] i.e. 'Crabfoot'.

[10] His seal in Zacos–Veglery, i/2, no. 1726.

[11] *κατὰ τὸν Βησήρ*, presumably the same Beser who appears under AM 6215, 6218 and 6233. For the formula cf. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien*, 151f., 214, who suggests, not quite convincingly to our mind, that it was equivalent to a family name.

[12] *ὁ κατὰ τὸν πατρίκιον Ἰμέριον.* [13] *ὁ κατὰ τὸν Μαρινάκην.*

[AM 6258, AD 765/6]

Constantine, 26th year
Abdelas, 12th year
Constantine, 5th year
Niketas, bishop of Constantinople (14 years), 1st year

In this year Abdelas Ibinalim died, the tower in which he was imprisoned having collapsed on top of him.[1] As for the Caliph Abdelas, he inflicted many evils on his Christian subjects, for he removed the crosses from churches, forbade night vigils and instruction in their own letters. The Arourites,[2] as they are called among the Arabs (this means zealots), rebelled in the desert of Palmyra. The wickedness of those men towards God's churches is evident inasmuch as they are infidels; but the emperor of the Christians, perhaps by God's ineffable judgement (as in the case of the maniac Ahab who was king of Israel),[a] manifested a fury much worse than that of the Arabs towards the orthodox bishops, monks, and laymen, those in authority as well as subjects that were in his dominion. Everywhere he rejected as being useless, both in writing and orally, the intercession of the holy Virgin, the Mother of God, and of all the saints, thanks to which all manner of help wells forth for us. He suppressed and obliterated their relics whenever it was said that those of some famous saint were reposing for the good of spiritual and bodily health and, as usual, were venerated by the faithful. Such men were straight away threatened with death for being irreligious, as well as with confiscation, banishment, and torture, while the God-pleasing relic, like the treasure it was to its possessors, was removed and disappeared thenceforth. This the unholy emperor did to the most precious relic of the all-praised martyr Euphemia which he cast into the sea together with its casket, for he could not suffer to behold her exuding myrrh[3] in front of all the people and refuting his inanities directed against the intercession of the saints. God, however, who guards the bones of them that please Him (as Scripture saith)[b] preserved it intact and manifested it once again on the island of 440
Lemnos. By means of a nocturnal vision, He ordered it to be picked up where it lay and guarded. Under the pious Constantine and Irene, in the 4th indiction,[4] it returned with due honour to her church[5] which he, like the enemy of churches that he was, had profaned by turning it into an arms-store and a dungheap, while they cleansed it and reconsecrated it so as to refute his godlessness and manifest their own godly piety. Twenty-two years after the criminal's death I myself saw this wonderful and memorable miracle in the company of the most pious emperors and Tarasios the most holy patriarch

and, along with them, I kissed it, unworthy as I was to have been granted so signal a grace.[6]

||On 16 November of the same 5th indiction[7] the eunuch Niketas, a Slav,[8] was unlawfully ordained by the emperor's decree patriarch of Constantinople.||[c] There ensued a drought, such that even dew did not fall from heaven and water entirely disappeared from the City. Cisterns and baths were put out of commission; even those springs that in former times had gushed continuously now failed. On seeing this, the emperor set about restoring Valentinian's aqueduct,[9] which had functioned until Herakleios and had been destroyed by the Avars.[10] He collected artisans from different places and brought from Asia and Pontos 1,000 masons and 200 plasterers, from Hellas and the islands 500 clay-workers,[11] and from Thrace itself 5,000 labourers and 200 brickmakers.[12] He set taskmasters over them including one of the patricians. When the work had thus been completed, water flowed into the City.||[d]

In the same 5th indiction he appointed several *strategoi* who shared his views and were suitable perpetrators of his wickedness, namely Michael Melissenos in the *thema* of the Anatolics, Michael Lachanodrakon[13] in that of the Thrakesians, and Manes (homonym of madness)[14] in that of the Bucellarii.[15] Who would be able to recount their sacrilegious deeds, some of which we shall describe in their proper places? For if one were to set down all the deeds they
441 committed to win the emperor's favour, it is fair to say with the Gospel that the whole world would not contain the books that should be written concerning them.[e]

[a] 3(1) Kgs. 16: 30 ff. [b] Ps. 33 (34): 21 (20). [c] Cf. Nik. 83. 28–30. [d] Cf. Nik. 85. 1–12. [e] Jo 21: 25.

1 'Abdallāh b. Alī was put to death on al-Mansūr's orders by being confined in a house whose foundations were made of blocks of salt. The salt was dissolved by water, causing the house to collapse on top of him. This happened in AH 147 (764/5): Ṭabarī, Williams, i. 188.

2 Followers of 'Alī: see AM 6152, n. 1. Their name does not mean 'zealots'. Cf. L. I. Conrad, *ByzF* 15 (1990), 40 ff.

3 Before they had been moved from Chalcedon to Constantinople, presumably at the time of the Persian invasion, the relics of St Euphemia were famous for exuding blood. See Janin, *Grands centres*, 33.

4 AD 796.

5 Next to the Hippodrome. See R. Naumann and H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken* (Berlin, 1966).

6 See Introduction, p. lix. The translation of the relics of St Euphemia from Lemnos is described in a nearly contemporary opuscule by Constantine bishop of Tios, ed. H. Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcédoine* = Subs. hag. 41 (1965), 84–106. Cf. our remarks in *JTS* 17 (1966), 485–8.

7 AD 766.

8 He had been chief presbyter of the church of the Holy Apostles, *skeuophylax* of Chalkoprateia, *ekdikos* (*defensor*) of St Sophia, and supervisor of monasteries: Fischer, *Catal.* 290. Cf. Nik. *Chron.* 119. 18. Nik. 83. 30–1 mistakenly implies that he was ordained in August, indiction 4.

9 *Recte* that of Valens.

10 In 626.

11 Presumably to make water pipes.

12 Nik. adds that they were issued with supplies from public funds.

13 Several of his seals are preserved. See Winkelmann, *Rangstruktur*, 83.

14 The original text must have read *Μάνην, τὸν τῆς μανίας* (instead of *κακίας*) *ἐπώνυμον*, as confirmed by Anast. and indicated by dB.

15 This *thema*, split off from that of Opsikion, is here mentioned for the first time.

[AM 6259, AD 766/7]

Constantine, 27th year
Abdelas, 13th year
Stephen, bishop of Rome (3 years), 1st year[1]
Niketas, 2nd year

||In this year, on 6 October, indiction 6,[2] the false patriarch Constantine was brought from the island of Prinkipos and the tyrant Constantine had him scourged to the point that he was unable to walk. He ordered him to be carried in a cart and to go and sit in the *solea*[3] of the Great Church. He was accompanied by an *a secretis* who held a volume of papyrus[4] wherein were written the charges against him. When all the people of the City had been gathered there by imperial order and were looking on, the document was read out so everyone could hear it. And at every item the *a secretis* hit him in the face, while the patriarch Niketas was sitting in the *synthronon* and witnessing the scene. After this they brought him up on the ambo and set him up straight: Niketas took the document, sent bishops to remove Constantine's pallium,[5] and anathematized him. And after calling him Dark-face, they expelled him from the church facing backwards.

The next day, when chariot races were to be run, they shaved his face, plucked his beard, the hair of his head, and of his eyebrows and, after putting on him a short sleeveless garment of silk, seated him backwards on a saddled ass and made him hold its tail; and so they brought him into the Hippodrome by way of the Diippion, while all

the people and the demes cursed him and spat on him. The ass was led by his nephew Constantine whose nose had been cut off. When he had come to the benches of the demes,[6] they came down, spat on him, and kept throwing dust on him. Having brought him to the *stama*, they threw him off his ass and trampled on his neck; and after seating him opposite the benches of the demes, they made him
442 listen to derisory words until the end of the races. On the 15th of the same month the emperor sent his patricians to him with this message: 'What do you say concerning our faith and the synod we have held?' His mind made vain, he replied: 'You believe rightly and you have held the synod rightly', thinking that he would thereby win the emperor's mercy once again. But they immediately replied: 'This is just what we wanted to hear from your foul mouth. Henceforth depart into the darkness and under anathema.' Having thus received the verdict, he was beheaded at the Kynegion. His head, tied by the ears, was hung for three days at the Milion so the people could see it; as for his body, they tied a cord to one foot and, after dragging it along the Mesē, threw it among the bodies of criminals in the quarter of Pelagios.||[a] Three days later they likewise threw his head in the same place. Oh, the senselessness, the cruelty, and mercilessness of the wild beast! Did not the wretch feel any respect for the holy font? For two of his children by his third wife[7] did the patriarch take in his arms after baptism. At all times, however, he was ferocious and savage in his manner.

From this time onwards he behaved with increased fury towards the holy churches. He sent his men to remove the celebrated stylite Peter[8] from his rock and, since the latter did not yield to his doctrines, had him tied by the feet and ordered him, too, to be dragged alive along the Mesē and thrown in the ditch of Pelagios. Others he tied up in sacks which he weighted with stones and commanded to be cast in the sea, and he went on blinding, amputating noses, scourging, and inventing every kind of torment for the pious. In the City he perpetrated these things by himself and through those who shared his views, namely Antony, patrician and domestic of the Schools,[9] the *magistros* Peter,[10] and the men of the *tagmata* who had been instructed by him, while in the provincial *themata* he did so through the aforementioned *strategoi*. He himself delighted in music and banquets and educated his courtiers by means of foul language and dancing. And if anyone on falling down or being in pain let out the usual Christian exclamation, 'Mother of God, help me!' or was convicted of attending night vigils or frequenting churches or living in piety without constantly using oaths, he was punished as
443 an enemy of the emperor and was called an 'unmentionable'.[11] As

for monasteries built to the glory of God and as a refuge to those seeking salvation, he turned them into common barracks for the soldiers who shared his opinions. Thus he converted into a soldiers' dwelling the foremost *koinobion* of Byzantium, that of Dalmatos, while those named after Kallistratos, Dios, and Maximinus as well as other holy habitations of monks and virgins he completely demolished.[12] Such men who had been prominent in government service or in office and had taken up the monastic life, especially those close to him who had been initiated into his unspeakable indecencies, he condemned to death, taking thought of the shame that would accrue to him from their confessions. For this reason, after he had befriended Strategios, the ⟨brother⟩ of Podopagouros, who was of attractive appearance (for he liked to have such intimates for the sake of his lewdness), but becoming aware that this man was repelled by his illicit homosexuality and was confessing it to the blessed Stephen (the hermit of St Auxentios) and receiving salutary treatment, he branded him as a traitor and killed him along with the hermit as has been said above.

||He also at this time made commodities cheap in the City. For, like a new Midas,[13] he stored away the gold and denuded the peasants who, because of the exaction of taxes, were forced to sell God's bounty at a low price.||[b]

||In the same year the false patriarch Niketas scraped off the images in the small *secretum* of the Patriarchate, which were of mosaic, and those in the vault of the big *secretum*, which were in paint, he removed and plastered the faces of the other images.||[c][14] He did the same in the Abramiaion.[15]

[a] Cf. Nik. 84. [b] Cf. Nik. 85. 12–21. [c] Cf. Nik. 86. 2–8.

1 Stephen IV (768–72).

2 AD 767.

3 Here spelled σολαία, elsewhere σωλαία, a fenced passage leading from the ambo to the chancel screen. See Reiske's note to *Cer.* ii. 102–3; Ebersolt, *Sainte-Sophie*, 9.

4 τόμον χάρτου.

5 Which suggests that he had not been deposed from his episcopal office.

6 ἐν τοῖς δήμοις.

7 Constantine's third wife was called Eudokia, by whom he had five sons and at least one daughter (Anthousa). The identity of the two children mentioned here is uncertain because we do not know the dates of birth of the two eldest sons, Christopher and Nikephoros, mentioned in AM 6260. In *AnBoll* 100 (1982), 407 f., we suggested that Theoph. refers here to Anthousa and her twin brother, who may have been either Christopher or Nikephoros.

8 Possibly the same as Peter of Blachernai, mentioned in *Syn. CP* (see AM

6253, n. 6) and *V. Steph. iun.* 1165C–D, but without any indication that he was a stylite. The confusion regarding the alleged victims of iconoclastic persecution is worthy of notice. Cf. M.-F. Auzépy, 'De Philarète, de sa famille et de certains monastères de Constantinople', in M. Kaplan, ed., *Le Saint et son sanctuaire* (Paris, 1993), 130 ff.

[9] First mention of this important military command. See Bury, *Adm. System*, 50.

[10] His seals in Zacos–Veglery, i/2, nos. 2304–5. See also AM 6282.

[11] ἀμνημόνευτος, an epithet applied by Constantine especially to monks, more correctly to be rendered as 'undeserving of commemoration' (μνημονεύω = mention in prayer). Cf. Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 13 and n. 2.

[12] Nik. *Antirrh.* III, *PG* 100: 493D, names the monasteries of Florus and Kallistratos; cf. *Refutatio et eversio*, cod. Paris. gr. 1250, fo. 195. On the monastery of Maximinus see Janin, *Églises*, 323. Its situation is unknown. In *V. Steph. iun.* 1180 the monastery of Dios is represented as functioning normally at the time of the saint's death (765).

[13] For the comparison with Midas, which occurs both in Nik.'s *Breviarium* and his *Antirrh.* III, *PG* 100: 513D, see Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 159–61. In the *Breviarium* Nik. adds that wheat sold at 60 *modii* to the *solidus* and barley at 70 *modii*; in the *Antirrh.* that some farmers were forced to sell all their holdings for 1 *solidus*, whilst others hanged themselves from trees.

[14] Nik. adds that Niketas carried out structural repairs to Hagia Sophia in indiction 7 (768/9), in the course of which he scraped off images of Christ and the saints. The big and small *secreta* correspond to the rooms at the south-west corner of the church at gallery level, where evidence of iconoclastic activity can still be seen. Cf. Mango, *Brazen House*, 53; R. Cormack and E. J. W. Hawkins, *DOP* 31 (1977), 200f., 205 ff.

[15] Presumably the monastery of St Abramios, which was probably different from that of the Abramites. The discussion by Janin, *Églises*, 4–6, is rather confused.

[AM 6260, AD 767/8]

Constantine, 28th year
Abdelas, 14th year
Stephen, 2nd year
Niketas, 3rd year

||In this year the thrice-married emperor crowned his wife Eudokia as his third Augusta in the Tribunal of the Nineteen Couches on 1 April of the 7th indiction, a Saturday;[1] and the two sons he had by
444 her, Christopher and Nikephoros, he appointed Caesars in the same Tribunal on the next day, which was 2 April and Easter Sunday. The prayer was recited by the patriarch and the emperor himself invested them with their mantles and their Caesars' crowns. He likewise

placed a golden mantle and a crown upon their youngest brother Niketas[2] whom he appointed *nobilissimus*. The emperors then processed as far as the Great Church scattering largess in the form of newly-minted *tremisses, semisses*,[3] and *nomismata*.||[a]

[a] Cf. Nik. 87.

[1] AD 769.

[2] The youngest brother was actually Anthimos, born in 768/9, that is that same year: Nik. 86. 1–2. Cf. C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, *BZ* 65 (1972), 391. The ceremony of 2 Apr. 769 is described in *Cer.* I. cc. 43–4, as shown by C. Diehl, *Études byzantines* (Paris, 1905), 296–302.

[3] These must have been ceremonial issues. Fractional gold is extremely rare after Leo III. Only one specimen is known of Constantine V alone and one of Constantine and Leo IV: Grierson, *Catal. DO* iii/1. 22.

[AM 6261, AD 768/9]

Constantine, 29th year
Abdelas, 15th year
Stephen, 3rd year
Niketas, 4th year

In this year an exchange of prisoners took place in Syria, a man for a man and a woman for a woman and a child likewise for a child. Abdelas ordered that the men's beards should be shaved[1] and that they should wear hats one and a half cubits high. All summer Abdelas besieged Kamachon[2] with 80,000 men, but he did not achieve any success and returned in shame.

||On 1 November of the 8th indiction[3] Irene made her entrance from Athens. She came to the Imperial City from Hiereia, escorted by many *dromones* and *chelandia* decorated with silken cloths, and was met by the prominent men of the City and their wives who led the way before her. On the 3rd of the same month of November the patriarch went to the church of the Pharos in the palace[4] and the betrothal of the emperor Leo to the same Irene was celebrated. On 17 December Irene was crowned empress in the hall of the Augusteus.[5] She proceeded to the chapel of St Stephen in the Daphne and received the marital crown along with Constantine's son Leo.||[a]

[a] Cf. Nik. 88.

[1] Literally 'their beards'. Since this cannot apply to women and children, it would appear that male Christian captives are meant.

[2] The siege of Kamachon is described by Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 73 f., who dates it AG 1078 (766/7). Same date in Balādhuri, Brooks, 87 f.; Tabarī, Williams, i. 205 (without any details). The Arab commander was not the Caliph, but his brother, al-'Abbās b. Muhammad.

[3] AD 769.

[4] This is the earliest mention of the chapel of Our Lady of the Pharos, which was to become the principal palatine chapel. Cf. R. J. H. Jenkins and C. Mango, *DOP* 9/10 (1956), 134 ff.

[5] The ceremony is described in *Cer.* I, c. 41.

[AM 6262, AD 769/70]

Constantine, 30th year
Abdelas, 16th year
Adrian, bishop of Rome (27 years), 1st year[1]
Niketas, 5th year

In this year Banakas[2] invaded the Roman country and made many cap-
445 tives. The Romans overran the Fourth Armenia and devastated it. Salech[3] died and the inhabitants of Germanikeia were transferred to Palestine.[4]

In the same year Lachanodrakon emulated his preceptor by gathering at Ephesos all the monks and nuns who were in the Thrakesian *thema*. He led them out to a plain called Tzoukanisterin[5] and said to them: 'Whoever wishes to obey the emperor as well as us, let him put on a white garment and take a wife forthwith. Those who do not do so will be blinded and banished to Cyprus.'[6] No sooner said than done, so that many proved to be martyrs on that day, while many others broke ranks and were damned; these the Dragon befriended.

In the same 9th indiction, on 14 January[7] a son was born to the emperor Leo and to Irene and was named Constantine[8] while his grandfather Constantine was still alive.

[1] In fact, Adrian I ruled from 1 Feb. 772 to 25 Dec. 795.

[2] Presumably 'Abd al-Wahhāb, nephew of al-Mansūr. He led the summer expedition in AH 151 (768/9): Tabarī, Williams, i. 216. He did so again the next year, but did not enter Byzantine territory: ibid. 218. The expedition of AH 153 (770), which resulted in the capture of Laodikeia Combusta, was led by Ma'yūf b. Yahyā al-Hadjūrī: ibid. 220.

[3] Sālih b. 'Alī, who died in 768 or 769.

[4] Mich. Syr. ii. 526, AG 1080, reports that the inhabitants of Germanikeia (Mar'aš) on suspicion of being Roman spies were removed to Ramlah.

[5] The polo-ground, like the better-known one in the Palace of Constantinople.

[6] The banishment of monks to Cyprus is mentioned in the Georgian *V. Romani*, trans. P. Peeters, *AnBoll* 30 (1911), 419. On the misdeeds of Lachanodrakon see *V. Steph. iun.* 1165A–B.

[7] AD 771.

[8] i.e. at his baptism. Seeing that Constantine V lived on for another four years, the indication that he was still alive at this time is puzzling.

[AM 6263, AD 770/71]

Constantine, 31st year
Abdelas, 17th year
Adrian, 2nd year
Niketas, 6th year

In this year Banakas invaded the Roman country and, after moving down from Isauria, laid siege to the fort Syke.[1] When the emperor had heard of this, he wrote to Michael, *strategos* of the Anatolics, Manes, *strategos* of the Bucellarii, and Bardas,[2] *strategos* of the Armeniacs. These men arrived and occupied the Arabs' exit, which was a very difficult mountain pass. Meanwhile the fleet of the Kibyraiots under their *strategos* the *spatharios* Petronas cast anchor in the harbour of the fort. On seeing this and losing all hope, Banakas encouraged and roused his men. He marched up to the cavalry *themata* and, with a great shout, routed them. He killed many of them and, after devastating all the surrounding country, returned home with much booty.[3]

In the same year Michael Lachanodrakon, *strategos* of the Thrakesians, sent out his notary Leo surnamed Kouloukes and Leo Koutzodaktylos, a former monk, and sold off all the male and female 446
monasteries, all their holy vessels, books,[4] and animals, and all their other possessions and paid their value to the emperor. Whatever books he found containing stories of monks and fathers of the desert he burnt. And whenever it appeared that anyone had a saint's relic as a phylactery, this, too, was consigned to the fire, while its possessor was punished for impiety. Many monks he killed by scourging, some by the sword, and a numberless multitude he blinded. In the case of some he smeared their chins with liquid wax and set fire to them so that their faces and heads were burnt, while others he subjected to many torments and then exiled. All in all, he did not leave in the whole *thema* that was under his authority a single man wearing the monastic habit. When the wicked emperor had heard of this, he wrote him a letter of thanks, saying: 'I have found in you a man after my own heart who carries out all my wishes.'[a] The others, too, emulated him and committed similar deeds.

[a] Cf. I Kgs. (Sam.) 2: 35, 13: 14. Ps.-Dion. 91, 100, applies the same text to ʿAbdallah and Musa b. Musʿab, governor of Mosul.

[1] Now Softa Kalesi, 15 km. east of Anemourion: Ramsay, *Geogr.* 381; *TIB* 5/1: 421–3.

[2] So in Anast. 294. 25; Bardanes in the Greek MSS.

[3] There is no clear reference to this engagement in the Arabic sources. It can hardly refer to the campaign of AH 153 (770) when Maʿyūf b. Yahyā 'surprised' a fortress and then went on to capture Laodikeia Combusta (Tabarī, Williams, i. 220), the latter being nowhere near Syke.

[4] dB suggests emending *βιβλία* to *βῆλα*, 'curtains'.

[AM 6264, AD 771/2]

Constantine, 32nd year
Abdelas, 18th year
Adrian, 3rd year
Niketas, 7th year

In this year Abdelas sent Moualabitos to Africa at the head of a numerous army.[1] Alfadal Badinar[2] invaded the Roman country and took 500 prisoners, but the inhabitants of Mopsuestia encountered them in battle and killed 1,000 Arabs. Abdelas went to Jerusalem for his fast[3] and ordered that Christians and Jews should be marked on their hands.[4] Many Christians fled to the Roman country by sea. Sergius Kourikos was apprehended outside Syke and Lacherbaphos, who was the representative of the local community, in Cyprus.

[1] The reference is to Yazīd b. Hātim of the al-Muhallab family, who was sent to Africa in AH 154 (770/1) to suppress a Berber revolt: Tabarī, Williams, i. 221; Ibn al-Athīr, ibid. 244. Cf. also Mich. Syr. ii. 526.

[2] Presumably al-Fadl b. Dīnār. This incident is not recorded elsewhere. Furthermore, Mopsuestia was certainly in Muslim hands at the time, although part of its population may have been Christian. Cf. *TIB* 5/1: 353.

[3] Cf. Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 108; Tabarī, Williams, i. 221, AH 154 (770/1).

[4] Cf. Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 104–5, 123–4.

[AM 6265, AD 772/3]

Constantine, 33rd year
Abdelas, 19th year
Adrian, 4th year
Niketas, 8th year

In this year, in the month of May, indiction 12,[1] Constantine dispatched a fleet of 2,000 *chelandia* against Bulgaria. He himself

embarked in the red *chelandia*[2] and set out with the intention of entering the river Danube, leaving the *strategoi* of the cavalry *themata* outside the mountain passes in the hope that they might penetrate into Bulgaria while the Bulgarians were occupied with him. When, however, he had gone as far as Varna, he took fright and was considering a retreat. The Bulgarians, too, were frightened when they saw these things and sent a boyar and a Tzigatos[3] to ask for peace. On beholding them, the emperor was overjoyed and made peace. They swore to one another that neither would the Bulgarians go forth against the Roman country nor would the emperor contrive to penetrate into Bulgaria, and they mutually drew up written instruments to that effect. The emperor returned to the City after leaving garrisons from all the *themata* in the forts he had built.[4] 447

In the month of October of the 11th indiction[5] the emperor received a dispatch from his secret friends in Bulgaria to the effect that the lord of Bulgaria was sending an army of 12,000 and a number of boyars in order to capture Berzitia[6] and transfer its inhabitants to Bulgaria. So as not to make it known that he was setting out against Bulgaria (seeing that emissaries of the lord of Bulgaria had come to him and were still in the City), he pretended to be undertaking an expedition against the Arabs and sent the standards and the imperial retinue across the Bosporus. When he had dismissed the emissaries and been informed by his spies of their departure, he raised his army and set out in all haste. He gathered the soldiers of the *themata* and the Thrakesians and joined the Optimati to the *tagmata* to a total of 80,000. He marched to a place called Lithosoria[7] and, without sounding the bugles, fell upon the Bulgarians, whom he routed in a great victory. He returned with much booty and many captives and celebrated a triumph in the City, which he entered with due ceremony. He called this war a 'noble war' inasmuch as he had met with no resistance and there had been no slaughter or shedding of Christian blood.

[1] AD 774, but see below, Oct. indiction 11 and AM 6266, n. 2. The date is discussed, amongst others, by G. Ostrogorsky, *BNJ* 7 (1930) 50; Zlatarski, i/1. 300 n. 3.

[2] Cf. *DAI* 51. 9, 49, 63. Until the reign of Leo VI there was no *βασιλικὸν δρομώνιον*, only a *ῥούσιον ἀγράριον*. The imperial barge was painted red or black.

[3] Meaning unclear. Bury, *ERE* ii. 474 n. 3, connects it with Caucasian *djigit* = 'warrior'. No such title occurs, however, in the Protobulgarian inscriptions: Zlatarski, i/1. 299 n. 2; Beševliev, *Protobulg. Inschr.* 47, who considers it equivalent to *spatharios*.

[4] The construction is unclear (*ταξάτους ἀφεὶς ἐκ πάντων τῶν θεμάτων καὶ*

εἰς τὰ κάστρα ἅπερ ἔκτισεν). We have translated omitting the καί as did Anast. (*taxatis derelictis ex omnibus thematibus in castris, quae condidit*).

[5] 12th in MS d (Paris. gr. 1710), but that would correspond to Oct. 773, whereas one would expect 774 if the initial date of May 774 is correct.

[6] The Βερζῆται were a Slavonic tribe living in Macedonia according to Zlatarski, i/1. 302; in Thessaly according to Vasmer, *Slaven*, 85 f. Cf. below, AM 6291.

[7] Unidentified: Zlatarski, i/1. 304 n. 7; C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, *BZ* 65 (1972), 386.

[AM 6266, AD 773/4]

Constantine, 34th year
Abdelas, 20th year
Adrian, 5th year
Niketas, 9th year

In this year 280 heads[1] were brought from Africa and paraded in Syria.

The emperor, who had already broken the peace with the Bulgars, once again fitted out a great fleet.[2] He embarked in it 12,000 cavalry
448 and sent along all the naval *strategoi*. He himself took fright and remained with the cavalry. When they had reached Mesembria, a strong wind blew. Nearly all the ships were smashed and many men perished. So he returned empty-handed. Now Telerigos, the lord of Bulgaria, having ascertained that the emperor was being informed of his plans by his own friends, wrote to him saying: 'It is my intention to escape and come to you. Send me a promise of personal immunity and the names of your friends here that I may put my trust in them and that they may help me.' Naively, the emperor wrote those things to him and the latter, on being informed, killed the lot.[3] When Constantine had heard of this, he plucked for a long time his grey hairs.

[1] Presumably of executed Berber rebels. Their defeat by Yazīd b. Hātim occurred in 772 (Ibn al-Athīr *apud* Tabarī, Williams, i. 244), which suggests that the exhibition of the heads took place earlier than indicated here.

[2] The sequence of events is problematic. If the naval expedition of AM 6265 is correctly dated to May 774, we should now be in 775, yet the latter year corresponds to AM 6267. Hence we either have here a doublet of the expedition of 6265 or the latter should be redated to May 773 (ind. 11). It is at this point that the correct correspondence between AM and indiction is re-established.

[3] ἐκούρασε πάντας, rendered by Anast. as *per medium omnes recidit*. For the meaning 'to kill' cf. *V. Ioann. Gotth.* 191C: δεκαεπτὰ δὲ δούλους ὁ Χαγάνος ἐκούρασεν ἀναιτίους, and 193B: κουρασθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὁρισθέντων,

with the comment of I. Ševčenko, 'Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period', in *Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World* (London, 1982), ch. V, n. 14, who translates 'torture, kill by torture'. Cf. κουράζω = *defatigare* (as in modern Greek): Du Cange, *Gloss.* s.v.

[AM 6267, AD 774/5]

Constantine, 35th year
Abdelas, 21st year
Adrian, 6th year
Niketas, 10th year

In this year, in the month of August of the 13th indiction,[1] the emperor Constantine set out against the Bulgarians. God, however, struck him down: he became sorely afflicted with carbuncles on his legs and was, on account of the extreme inflammation, seized by a violent fever of a kind unknown to physicians. He returned to Arkadioupolis, borne on the shoulders of his subjects in a litter. Having come to Selymbria, he took ship and, on 14 September of the 14th indiction, when he had reached the Round Castle,[2] he miserably died on board his *chelandion* as he was crying out, 'I have been delivered to the unquenchable fire while still alive!'; and he demanded that hymns be sung to the holy Virgin, the Mother of God,[3] whose implacable enemy he had been. He had reigned as sole emperor after his father's death 34 years, 2 months, and 26 days.[4] Thus he ended his life, polluted as he was with much Christian blood, with the invocation of demons to whom he sacrificed, with the persecution of the holy churches and of the true and immaculate faith, furthermore with the slaying of monks and the profanation of monasteries: in all manner of evil he had reached a pinnacle no less than Diocletian and the ancient tyrants. In the same month Abdelas, the ruler of the Arabs, also died.[5] Thus the two wild beasts who had 449
for a long time simultaneously devoured the human race died by God's providence, and heir respective sons, Leo and Madi, acceded to power.

In the same year, too, Theodotos, king of the Lombards, came to the Imperial City and sought refuge with the emperor.[6]

[1] AD 775.

[2] Also called Kyklobion, near the Hebdomon.

[3] Kedr. ii. 18 (likewise Ps.-Symeon in cod. Paris. gr. 1712: see R. Browning, *Byz* 35 (1965), 409) puts in Constantine's mouth the following extra tirade, which leads to a sequel: ' "Farewell, great church of St Sophia! Farewell, church of the all-holy Theotokos at Blachernai! Farewell, church

of the Theotokos at Chalkoprateia! Farewell, church of the holy Apostles! Farewell, City and Senate! Farewell, my son the emperor! Farewell, you too, Theophanes ⟨who hold?⟩ my great secret!" After the ⟨period of⟩ mourning had passed, the emperor [Leo IV] said to Theophanes: "What is my father's great secret, which you alone know?" He replied: "Perhaps your father changed his mind, and that is why he spoke to me, that I should reveal what we have done in secret. For we buried in a certain place 500 *centenaria* [of gold] on account of your brothers, the Caesars and *nobilissimi*." Leo sent [an emissary] and took all of it, leaving nothing for them.' For this passage and a further addition in Kedr. (below, AM 6272), see W. Treadgold, *JÖB* 34 (1984), 69–76, who argues that they are derived from a lost Life of Theophanes the *cubicularius*.

[4] From 18 June 741.

[5] Actually the following month, on 21 Oct. 775: Tabarī, Williams, i. 237; Elias Nis. 86 (AH 158). According to Mich. Syr. ii. 527, he died 25 days after Constantine, the latter's death being wrongly placed on 19 Sept.

[6] The person in question was Adelgis, son of Desiderius (756–74), the last Lombard king of Pavia. He was given the name Theodotos and the title of patrician at Constantinople. Cf. AM 6281 and Speck, *Konstantin VI*, 96 ff.

AM 6268 [AD 775/6]

Year of the divine Incarnation 768
Leo, emperor of the Romans (5 years), 1st year
Madi, leader of the Arabs (9 years) 1st year
Adrian, bishop of Rome (27 years), 7th year
Niketas, bishop of Constantinople (14 years), 11th year

In this year Madi sent Abasbali[1] at the head of a great force against the Roman country. With the help of smoke he opened the cave called Kasin[2] and, after capturing the men who were in it, returned home.

The emperor Leo started to lay his hands on the moneys that had been left to him by his father and won favour with the people and the notables.[3] For a short time he appeared to be pious and a friend of the holy Mother of God and of the monks; for which reason he appointed from among monks metropolitans of the foremost sees. He raised numerous contingents in each *thema* and increased the *tagmata*. As a result, all the commanders of the *themata* set out and entered Constantinople with a great throng of men to request that his son Constantine should be made emperor. He, on his part, replied according to imperial custom: 'My son is an only child and I am afraid of doing so lest I suffer the fate of all men and, while he is an infant, you put him to death and appoint another.' They testified under oath assuring him that they would not be ruled by anyone other than his son if God wanted him to die. From Palm Sunday

until Holy Thursday the people importuned him and gathered in the Hippodrome to make this request, and on Holy Friday he ordered them to take the oath. So all the people, namely those of the *themata*, the members of the Senate, the City *tagmata*, and all the citizens and artisans, swore on the holy and life-giving Cross not to accept an emperor other than Leo and Constantine and their descendants, and they set down their oath in signed documents.

The next day, which was Holy Saturday, the emperor went to the Tribunal of the Nineteen Couches and appointed his brother 450
Eudokimos *nobilissimus*; for Anthimos had been appointed in his father's lifetime. The emperor, together with the two Caesars, and three *nobilissimi* and the young Constantine, processed to the Great Church and, after changing the altar-cloth according to imperial custom,[4] he mounted the ambo with his son and the patriarch. All the people entered the church and deposited their written declarations on the holy table. The emperor addressed them as follows: 'Behold, brethren, I am fulfilling your request and granting you my son as emperor. Behold, you are receiving him from the Church and from Christ's hand.' They cried out in a loud voice, saying: 'Be our surety, O Son of God, that we are receiving the lord Constantine as our emperor from Thy hand that we may guard him and die for his sake!'

The next day which was Easter Sunday, ⟨24 April⟩, indiction 14,[5] the emperor went to the Hippodrome at daybreak together with the patriarch. A portable altar[6] having been brought, the patriarch recited the prayer in the presence of all the people and the emperor crowned his son. Then the two emperors processed to the Great Church together with the two Caesars and the three *nobilissimi*. After the emperors had gone forth, the empress Irene also processed, escorted by the sceptres,[7] by way of the Scholai and ascended the staircase of the Chalke to the gallery of the church without appearing in the colonnaded Mesē.[8]

In the month of May of the same indiction the emperor's brother the Caesar Nikephoros was denounced to the emperor for plotting against him together with certain *spatharii*, *stratores*, and other men in imperial service. The emperor convened a *silentium* at the Magnaura and referred to the people the reports concerning him. They cried out with one voice that all of them[9] should be removed from their midst, forgetting (perjurors that they always were) the oath they had sworn to their father, namely that they would not suffer after his death that his children should be injured. The emperor had the conspirators scourged and tonsured and banished them to 451
Cherson and the Klimata[10] under secure guard.

[1] Presumably 'Abbās b. 'Alī (*recte* Al-'Abbās b. Muhammad, brother of al-Mansūr). According to Tabarī, he advanced as far as Ancyra and took an unnamed city along with 'the grottoes': Tabarī, Williams, ii. 59, AH 159 (775/6); Brooks, 'Abbasids', 735. Cf. Agapios, 287, 2nd year of Al-Mahdī

[2] In Cappadocia, possibly near Sasima, according to *TIB* 2: 273.

[3] Read *τοὺς ἐν τέλει* instead of *τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει*, as conjectured by dB and confirmed by *Vita Irenes*, p. 7, c. 2.

[4] The altar-cloth (*ἐνδυτή*) was traditionally changed on Holy Saturday. See *Cer.*, p. 34 and Reiske's note, ii. 141.

[5] The 24th, which dB added from Anast., is incorrect, since Easter day of 776 fell on the 14th.

[6] *ἀντιμίσσιον* (*antemensa*), on which see Reiske's note, Cer. ii. 164; i. M. Izzo, *The Antimension in the Liturgical and Canonical Tradition of the Byzantine and Latin Churches* (Rome, 1975); *ODB*, s.v.

[7] Cf. *Cer.* 575 and Reiske's note, ii. 667–8, who believes they were cruciform.

[8] i.e. she followed a raised passage that led directly to the east end of the south gallery of Hagia Sophia. See our remarks in *The Brazen House*, 87 ff.

[9] We take *ἀμφοτέρους* in the sense of 'all of them' rather than 'both'.

[10] See above, p. 436 n. 16.

[AM 6269, AD 776/7]

Leo, 2nd year
Madi, 2nd year
Adrian, 8th year
Niketas, 12th year

In this year Thoumamas, son of Baka,[1] invaded the Roman country and returned after taking captives.

Telerigos, lord of the Bulgarians, sought refuge with the emperor, who made him patrician and joined him in marriage to a cousin of his wife Irene. After he had been baptized, the emperor took him up from the holy font and bestowed upon him much honour and affection.[2]

[1] *Recte* Thumāma b. Al-Walīd b. al Qa'qā' al 'Absī: Tabarī, Williams, ii. 73, AH 160 (776/7); Brooks, 'Abbasids', 735.

[2] See Zlatarski, i/1. 310–11. His seal, with the title of patrician, his name spelled *Τελερυγ* in Zacos-Veglery, i/3, no. 3188.

[AM 6270, AD 777/8]

Leo, 3rd year
Madi, 3rd year

Adrian, 9th year
Niketas, 13th year

In this year Thoumamas established himself at Dabekon and raised a rebellion.[1]

The emperor Leo mobilized the Roman army: 100,000 men invaded Syria under the command of Michael Lachanodrakon of the Thrakesians, the Armenian Artabasdos[2] of the Anatolics, Tatzates[3] of the Bucellarii, Karisterotzes[4] of the Armeniacs, and Gregory, son of Mousoulakios,[5] of the Opsikians; and they surrounded Germanikeia. Isbaali,[6] Madi's uncle, was there, and they took all his camels and were about to take Germanikeia itself, had not Isbaali prevailed upon Lachanodrakon by means of gifts to draw away from the fortified town; he went forth to devastate the countryside and, after capturing the heretical Syrian Jacobites, returned to the fort. Thoumamas sent an army and a number of emirs from Dabekon and made war on the Romans. It is said that five emirs and 2,000 Arabs[7] fell. They withdrew on a Friday, having come on a Sunday.[8]

The emperor distributed rewards[9] at Sophianai. He sat on a throne together with his son and the *strategoi* were given a triumph for their victory. He conveyed the Syrian heretics to Thrace and settled them there.[10] 452

[1] No rebellion on his part is attested or likely. One may suspect that the word *ἐστασίασεν* is either corrupt or due to a misunderstanding.

[2] Artavazd Mamikonian. Cf. A. Adontz, *Byz* 9 (1934), 242f.

[3] Armenian Tačat, a member of the Andzevatsi family.

[4] *Recte* Baristerotzes (Varaz-Tirots).

[5] Diminutive of the Armenian name Mušel.

[6] 'Īsā b. 'Alī. According to Tabarī, he was keeping watch at Germanikeia.

[7] 6,000 in Anast.

[8] For these events see Tabarī, Williams, ii. 82 f., AH 161 (777/8); Brooks, 'Abbasids', 735; Balādhuri, Brooks, 89f.; Lewond, 140f., c. 37.

[9] *ποιήσας μαϊουμᾶν*. The Maiouma was originally a Syrian feast that was repeatedly banned for its indecency (*CTh* xv. 16. 2). See C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis* (New Haven, 1938), 470–1, inscription no. 279; L. Robert, *RÉG* 49 (1936), 9–14. Lydus, *De mensibus*, ed. Wünsch, 132, associates it with Rome. For the sense of 'bonus' see *Cer.* 451. 10, 17; Scr. inc. 337. 2 with I. Rochow, *Klio* 69 (1987), 568 ff. According to Leo gramm. 191, it was customary to receive spoils of war at Sophianai.

[10] Cf. Mich. Syr. iii. 2.

[AM 6271, AD 778/9]

Leo, 4th year
Madi, 4th year

Adrian, 10th year
Niketas, 14th year

In this year Madi, the leader of the Arabs, waxed angry and sent Asan[1] with a great force of Maurophoroi, Syrians, and Mesopotamians and they advanced as far as Dorylaion. The emperor ordered the *strategoi* not to fight an open war, but to make the forts secure by stationing garrisons of soldiers in them. He appointed high-ranking officers at each fort and instructed them to take each 3,000 chosen men and to follow the Arabs so as to prevent them from spreading out on pillaging raids, while burning in advance the horses' pasture and whatever other supplies were to be found. After the Arabs had remained fifteen days at Dorylaion, they ran short of necessities and their horses went hungry and many of them perished. Turning back, they besieged Amorion for one day, but finding it fortified and well-armed, they withdrew without achieving any success.[2]

[1] Hasan b. Qahtaba.

[2] Cf. the account of Tabarī, Williams, ii. 90 AH 162 (778/9); Brooks, 'Abbasids', 735–6; Balādhuri, Brooks, 85, 90; Elias Nis. 87. Lewond, 141–2, c. 38, mentions Al-'Abbās as commander and has him blockade Amorion for three months.

[AM 6272, AD 779/80]

Leo, 5th year
Madi, 5th year
Adrian, 11th year
Paul, bishop of Constantinople (5 years), 1st year

‖ In this year Madi, the leader of the Arabs, came to Dabekon with a great armed force and sent his son Aaron against the Roman country, while he himself returned to the Holy City.‖[a] He sent out Mouchesias surnamed the Zealot[1] and gave him authority to convert the slaves of Christians and to ruin the holy churches. This man came as far as Emesa and announced that he would not oblige anyone except former infidels to become Muslim, anticipating the Jews and Christians to make themselves known.[2] Then straight away he began torturing them in a godless manner, worse than Lysias and Agrikolaos[3] of olden time, and many of them he destroyed. By the grace of Christ our God his fury was vanquished by some women who were, furthermore, newly baptized,[4] namely the wives of the archdeacon of Emesa and of the son of Esaias. These endured many torments, but did not yield to impiety; for each of

them received a thousand lashes and was subjected to many other tortures and so obtained from Christ the crown of victory. The man in question went as far as Damascus and ruined many churches paying no heed to the promise that had been given to Christians by the Arabs. 453

On 6 February of the 3rd indiction,[5] the Sunday of Tyrophagy week,[6] died the Slav eunuch Niketas, the patriarch of Constantinople. On the second Sunday of Lent[7] the venerable Paul who was a lector, a Cypriot by origin,[8] a man who excelled both in culture and in action, was under much duress ordained patriarch of Constantinople, after he had strenuously excused himself on account of the prevailing heresy.

In the mid-week of Lent[9] James, who was *protospatharios* and *papias*, Strategios and Theophanes, who were *cubicularii* and *parakoimomenoi*, Leo and Thomas, who were likewise *cubicularii*, were arrested along with other pious men for worshipping holy icons. Baring at that moment his hidden wickedness, Leo, the persecutor's son, had them scourged and tonsured and, after parading them in chains through the Mesē, confined them in the Praetorium. Whereupon the said Theophanes died, thus becoming a confessor and winning the crown of martyrdom. All the others after his death became exemplary monks.

Aaron, after invading the Armeniac *thema*, besieged all summer the fort Semalouos[10] and in the month of September he took it by capitulation. He had previously sent Thoumamas to Asia with 50,000 men. A small raiding party of his was met by Michael Lachanodrakon, who gave battle and killed the brother of Thoumamas.

On 8 September of the 4th indiction Constantine's son Leo died in the following manner. Being inordinately addicted to precious stones, he became enamoured of the crown of the Great Church,[11] which he took and wore on his head. His head developed carbuncles and, seized by a violent fever, he died after a reign of 5 years less 6 days.

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. iii. 1; Elias Nis. 87 (AH 163 = 779/80); Tabarī, Williams, ii. 92 ff.

[1] According to P. Peeters, *AnBoll* 58 (1940), 104–9, he is to be identified with Hasan b. Qahtaba, the epithet Mouchesias (Muchthesias in Anast.) being derived from Syr. Methtašigān ('bathed' or 'washed') and at-tannīn ('the serpent', Hasan's nickname) misunderstood as tanānā = ζηλωτής. There is no Syriac source for this incident.

[2] Cf. H. Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie* (Paris, 1907), no. 84: 'En l'an 1091 le Commandeur des croyants Mahdi vint et pénétra jusqu'au Djihan [the Pyramos], puis il revint et ordonna que les églises fussent détruites et que les gens de la tribu de Tannoukh devinssent musulmans.'

[3] Mythical persecutors of the time of Diocletian (or Trajan or Licinius) who appear in various Passions of martyrs. See Index to *Syn. CP*; *PLRE* i. 523, Lysias.

[4] *νουβίτισσαι* (an hapax), a retroversion via Syriac or Arabic of *νεοφώτιστοι*, according to Peeters, loc. cit.

[5] AD 780.

[6] The week preceding Lent.

[7] 20 Feb.; 23 Feb. in Fischer, *Catal.* 290.

[8] A native of Salamis according to *V. Taras.* 397. 19; *Syn. Vetus*, c. 150. 13.

[9] Kedr. ii. 19–20, gives a different version: 'In the mid-week of Lent he [Leo IV] found under [literally 'in'] the pillow of his wife Irene two icons. Having beheld them and made an investigation, he discovered that the *papias* of the palace and some others of the *primicerii* had brought them. He subjected them to many tortures and punishments. As for his wife Irene, he rebuked her severely and set her at naught, saying, 'Was this what you swore to my father the Emperor upon the fearsome and pure mysteries of our faith?' She affirmed that she had not seen them [the icons]. He spurned her and had no more marital relations with her.' Similarly Ps.-Symeon in Paris. gr. 1712: see R. Browning, *Byz* 35 (1965), 409, and AM 6267, n. 3.

[10] Turkish Cemele, between Caesarea and Ancyra, 16 km. NNW of Kirşehir. See F. Hild and M. Restle, *JÖB* 23 (1974), 263–70; *TIB* 2: 276 f. For the campaign see Tabarī, Williams, ii. 96 f.: Hārūn besieged Samālū for 38 days; Balādhuri, Brooks, 86 f.

[11] Cf. *DAI* 13. 61–6 and Comment., p. 66. 'The crown . . . called that of Maurice' in *V. Irenes*, p. 9, c. 3; the crown of Herakleios in Kedr. ii. 20. For the crown of Maurice, which was hung over the altar table of Hagia Sophia, see AM 6093.

454 **AM 6273 [AD 780/1]**

Year of the divine Incarnation 773
Constantine, emperor of the Romans, together with his mother (10 years), 1st year
Madi, leader of the Arabs (9 years), 6th year
Adrian, bishop of Rome (27 years), 12th year
Paul, bishop of Constantinople (5 years), 2nd year

In this year, on 8 September of the 4th indiction, the most pious Irene together with her son Constantine were miraculously[1] entrusted by God with the Empire so that in this matter also God might be glorified through a widow and her orphan son as He was about to overthrow the boundless impiety directed against Himself and His servants and the oppression of all the churches by God's adversary Constantine; just as aforetime He had overthrown the Devil by the weak hands of fishermen and illiterate folk. Forty days

after her succession, her son being 10 years old,[2] certain dignitaries held counsel and decided to bring out the former Caesar Nikephoros[3] and make him emperor. The plot was, however, exposed. Gregory, the logothete of the Course,[4] Bardas, former *strategos* of the Armeniacs,[5] Constantine, the son of Vikarios, who was *spatharios* and domestic of the excubitors, Theophylaktos, son of Rangabe,[6] who was *drungarius* of the Dodecannese, were apprehended along with many others. Irene had them scourged and tonsured and banished them to different places. As for her brothers-in-law, the Caesars and *nobilissimi*, she made them take holy orders and administer communion to the people on the feast of Christ's Nativity; on which day she went in public imperial procession together with her son and offered to the church the crown that had been removed by her husband, which she had further adorned with pearls. She appointed the patrician Elpidios *strategos* of Sicily[7] inasmuch as he had previously governed those parts and sent him out in the month of February. On 15 April Elpidios was denounced for being of the Caesars' party, so she dispatched the *spatharios* Theophilos with instructions to arrest him speedily and bring him back. When this man had gone there, the Sicilians did not surrender Elpidios. Thereupon Irene had his wife and sons scourged and tonsured and imprisoned them in the Praetorium. 455

In the month of June she sent all the Asiatic *themata* to guard the mountain passes and watch the Arab invasion under the command of the *sakellarios* John who was a eunuch of her household. Now Madi had sent Kebir[8] at the head of a great force and an encounter took place at a spot called Melon.[9] Battle having been joined, the Arabs were defeated with many losses and withdrew in shame.

From that time on the pious began to speak freely. God's word spread about, those who sought salvation were able to renounce the world without hindrance, God's praises rose up to heaven, the monasteries recovered, and all good things were manifested. During this year a man who was digging by the Long Walls of Thrace found a coffin and, after cleaning it and removing its lid, he discovered a corpse inside and, engraved on the coffin, an inscription conceived as follows: 'Christ will be born of the Virgin Mary and I believe in Him. O sun, you will see me again in the reign of Constantine and Irene.'[10]

[1] Rather than 'against all expectation' (*παραδόξως*). Cf. D. Misiou, *Βυζαντινά*, 10 (1980), 171 ff.

[2] His birth in indiction 9 (770/1) is recorded in *Kleinchronik* 2. 8.

[3] Third son of Constantine V. The designation *ἀπὸ καισάρων* suggests he had been stripped of his title.

[4] His seal, bearing the titles of *a secretis* and logothete of the Course, in Zacos–Veglery, i/2, no. 1947.

[5] Mentioned in AM 6263 as Bardanes.

[6] A Slavonic name, meaning 'big hands' (rǫkavŭ) according to H. Grégoire, *Byz* 9 (1934), 793–4. That etymology is, however, doubted by H. Ditten in *Studien 8. u. 9. Jh.*, 109 f. Theophylaktos was the father of Michael I.

[7] His seal in Likhačev, *Molivdovuly*, 56.

[8] 'Abd al-Kabīr. Cf. Elias Nis. 87 (AH 164). According to Tabarī, Williams, ii. 98, 'Abd al-Kabīr advanced through the pass of Adata and met a Byzantine force commanded by Michael [Lachanodrakon] and the Armenian Tāzād (cf. AM 6270), which he was afraid to fight.

[9] Situation unknown.

[10] Cf. Mich. Syr. iii. 10–11 and our remarks in *ZRVI* 8/1 (1963), 201–07. Note that the initial words of the inscription, *Χριστὸς μέλλει γεννᾶσθαι*, recall the Early Christian epigraphic formula *XMΓ*, as pointed out by A. Frolow, *BSl* 26 (1965), 399. The inscription, which found a wide echo in later writings and art, was certainly fabricated for political reasons.

[AM 6274, AD 781/2]

Constantine and Irene, 2nd year
Madi, 7th year
Adrian, 13th year
Paul, 3rd year

In this year Irene sent the *sakellarios* Konstaes and the *primicerius* Mamalos to Karoulos, king of the Franks, with a view to betrothing his daughter, called Erythro,[1] to her son, the emperor Constantine. An agreement having been reached and oaths exchanged, they left the eunuch Elissaios, who was a notary, in order to teach Erythro Greek letters and language and educate her in the customs of the Roman Empire.[2]

Irene fitted out a big fleet with a picked force taken from the *themata* and a sufficient number of officers. She appointed the patrician Theodore, a eunuch and an energetic man, as commander and sent him to Sicily against Elpidios. After much fighting Theodore's men were victorious. On seeing this and taking fright, Elpidios took all the moneys he had as well as the *dux* Nikephoros and crossed to Africa, where he defected to the Arabs after receiving a promise of immunity. They received him and kept him as if he were emperor of
456 the Romans, having conferred an empty coronation on him and invested him with the red buskins and a crown.[3]

While the Roman army was busy with these matters, Madi's son

Aaron sallied forth with an enormous armed force composed of Maurophoroi and men from all of Syria, Mesopotamia, and the desert and advanced as far as Chrysopolis[4] after leaving Bounousos[5] to besiege Nakoleia and guard his rear. He also sent Bourniche[6] to Asia with a force of 30,000. The latter gave battle to Lachanodrakon and the Thrakesian *thema* at a place called Darenos[7] and, the Arabs being 30,000 strong, killed 15,000. The empress for her part sent the *domesticus* Antony at the head of the *tagmata*; he occupied Bane[8] and blockaded the Arabs. But Tatzatios, *strategos* of the Bucellarii, defected to the Arabs because of his hatred towards the eunuch Staurakios, the patrician and logothete of the Course, who at that time was at the head of everything and administered all matters. On his advice the Arabs asked for peace. When Staurakios, the *magistros* Peter, and the *domesticus* Antony went forth on this mission, they did not take care to receive explicit promises and take the children of the Arab leaders as hostages. Instead, they went out heedlessly and were seized by them and put in chains. So both sides were obliged to make peace. The Augusta and Aaron exchanged many gifts and agreed that at stated times ⟨tribute⟩ should be paid to the Arabs.[9] After peace had been concluded they departed, abandoning also the fort of Nakoleia.[10] Tatzates took away his wife and all his possessions.

[1] Rotrud. The embassy set out before 25 May 781. See, amongst others, Dölger, *Reg.* 339; W. Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz* (Darmstadt, 1958), 65 ff.

[2] Note the distinction between the official designation of the Empire, on the one hand, and its language, on the other (*τῶν Γραικῶν γράμματα καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν*), Latin being usually called *ῥωμαϊκὴ γλῶσσα*. Greek instruction of the clerks at Charlemagne's court was entrusted to the Lombard Paul the Deacon. See e.g. P. Riché, *Education et culture dans l'Occident barbare* (Paris, 1962), 465.

[3] For the defection of Elpidios cf. Mich. Syr. iii. 9, who has him commit adultery with the empress Irene; and for his later role at the Arab court 15–16; *Chr. 1234*, ii. 1–2, AG 1104. Tabarī, Williams, ii. 213, mentions him as taking part in an expedition against Byzantium in AH 178 (794/5).

[4] The advance of the Arabs to Chalcedon is recorded in *Kleichronik*, 2. 10.

[5] Rabī' b. Yūnus, on whom see *EI*[1], s.v. For the campaign of 782 see Tabarī, Williams, ii. 213 with Brooks, 'Abbasids', 737–9; L. Tritle, *Byz* 47 (1977), 279–300, who explains the role of Tatzatios with the help of Lewond, c. 39; Treadgold, *Revival*, 67–9.

[6] Presumably al-Barmakī, the name of a prominent family, on which see *EI*[1], s.v. 'al-Baramika'; Bournikê in Mich. Syr. iii. 2.

[7] Darioukome according to Treadgold, *Revival*, 68. Mich. Syr., loc. cit., states that Bournike killed 10,000 Romans.

[8] Modern Sapanca, *λίμνη Βανῆς* in Zon. iii. 287. 2, *Βαάνη λίμνη* in Anna Comnena, ii. 205. 20. Mich. Syr. iii. 2, makes it clear that the Arabs were trapped near the Sangarios, 'entre la montagne d'un côté et les eaux de l'autre'.

[9] For the amount of the tribute (70,000 or 90,000 dinars per year), see Tabarī, loc. cit.

[10] Which the Arabs had failed to take. A miraculous deliverance of Nakoleia from an Arab siege is related by Pantoleon the Deacon, *Miracula S. Michaelis,* found in many MSS, e.g. Paris. gr. 1196, fos. 22^{v}–23. It goes like this: At one time the Hagarenes were besieging Nakoleia with engines of war. Informed by a captive that the city was protected by St Michael, they discharged a huge stone into the fort (*kastron*), aiming at the church, which occupies a high position. Immediately the heads of the men who had hurled the stone, of the emir and his notables were twisted backwards. Recognizing their mistake, they loaded many camels with wax and oil, precious garments, and the decorated bridles of their horses, and sent these goods to the church, asking for forgiveness. Thereupon their heads were restored to their normal position. They vowed never to attack that *kastron* again and have kept their promise until now.

[AM 6275, AD 782/3]

Constantine and Irene, 3rd year
Madi, 8th year
Adrian, 14th year
Paul, 4th year

In this year Irene, after making peace with the Arabs and gaining a breathing space, sent Staurakios, the patrician and logothete of the swift Course, at the head of a numerous force against the Sklavinian tribes. He advanced to Thessalonica and Hellas, subdued all of them and made them pay tribute to the Empire. He even penetrated into
457 the Peloponnese[1] and brought back many captives and much booty to the Roman Empire.

[1] Cf. Mich. Syr. iii. 13, who is under the illusion that the Peloponnese was subject to the Arabs, and the comment of Bon, *Peloponnèse,* 42.

[AM 6276, AD 783/4]

Constantine and Irene, 4th year
Madi, 9th year
Adrian, 15th year
Paul, 5th year

In this year, in the month of January of the 7th indiction,[1] the said Staurakios returned from the Slavonian regions and celebrated his victory during the hippodrome games. In the month of May of the same 7th indiction the empress Irene together with her son and a numerous force went forth to Thrace, taking along organs and musical instruments. She advanced to Beroia,[2] which she ordered to be rebuilt and called it Eirenoupolis. She also went as far as Philippoupolis with complete impunity and returned in peace after rebuilding Anchialos.

In the same year Madi, son of Mouamed, the leader of the Arabs, died and his son Moses acceded to power.[3]

On 31 August of the same 7th indiction Paul, the venerable and most holy patriarch, fell ill and left his throne. He went to the monastery of Florus and took the monastic habit without informing the imperial government. When the empress had learnt of this, sorrowful as she was, she went to see him together with her son and cried in reproof, 'Why have you done this?' He replied with many tears, 'Would that I had not sat at all on the throne of priesthood while God's Church was suffering oppression, separated as she was from the other catholic thrones and subject to anathema.' She summoned the patricians and the chief men of the Senate and sent them to hear his words. He said to them, 'Unless an ecumenical council takes place and the error that is in your midst is corrected, you will not find salvation.' They said to him, 'Why is it then that you subscribed at your ordination to not worshipping icons?' He replied, 'For this very reason I am weeping and have taken refuge in repentance, praying to God that He should not punish me as a priest who has remained silent until now and has not preached the truth from fear of your fury.' At this juncture he died in peace to the great sorrow of 458
the body politic, for the man was venerable, charitable beyond measure, and worthy of all respect. Both the public and the imperial government had great confidence in him. So from that time onwards the question of the holy icons began to be openly discussed and disputed by everyone.[4]

[1] AD 784.

[2] Stara Zagora.

[3] Actually, Mahdī died on 11 Aug. 785 (= ind. 8) and was succeeded by Mūsā al-Hādī, who died in Sept. 786.

[4] The resignation and death of Paul are reported in similar terms, but without his demand for a council, in the imperial *sacra,* Mansi, xii. 1003D–1006A. Cf. also *V. Taras.,* 397–8 (where Paul is made to designate Tarasios as his successor) and Nikephoros, *Apolog. min., PG* 100: 837C f. More briefly in *V. Ioann. Gotth.* 191A.

[AM 6277, AD 784/5]

Constantine and Irene, 5th year
Moses, leader of the Arabs (1 year), 1st year
Adrian, 16th year
Tarasios, bishop of Constantinople (21 years), 1st year

In this year the empress Irene gathered all the people at the Magnaura and said to them, 'You know, O brethren, what the patriarch Paul has done. If he had been alive, we would not have acquiesced in his abandoning the episcopal throne even though he had taken the monastic habit. Since, however, he has departed from this life according to God's pleasure, let us take thought to find a man who is able to tend us like a shepherd and to fortify the Church with his words of instruction.' They all said unanimously that there was none other than Tarasios the *a secretis*.[1] She said to them, 'We, too, cast our vote for him, but he is being disobedient. Let him explain why he is not accepting the decision of our Majesty and of all the people.' So he offered his excuses to the people in the following words:

||'Our faithful emperors who guard our stainless Christian faith and are zealous in promoting the glory of God, taking care as they do of all things that please Him and are beneficial to us, especially those concerning the Church, have now, too, shown a diligent solicitude in taking thought of the appointment of a bishop in this their Imperial City. Wherefore, they have taken me to their pious mind and commanded me to declare openly their decision. Since, however, I have pronounced myself unworthy of this and have not given my consent inasmuch as I was unable to carry or to bear the yoke of the burden, they have commanded that I should be brought in front of you, since you, too, have acquiesced in this their purpose. So now,
459 O God-fearing men who constantly carry Him in your hearts and bear the name of Christ our true God—I mean the name of Christians, hearken to a short speech of apology on the part of my exiguous humility. For my part—as I have explained to our pious emperors who are orthodox in all respects and am further explaining in your presence—I am seized by fear to consent to this election and stand in dread before the face of God[a] to hasten to it unprepared and without careful consideration lest I be liable to a terrible condemnation. For if the holy apostle Paul who had heard God's voice, who had been educated in heaven and had beheld paradise, who had harkened to secret words and carried the name of God before nations and kings, said in writing to the Corinthians, "lest in preaching to others I prove myself unfit",[b] how can I who live in the world, who am numbered among laymen and enrolled in the imperial service,

rush to the magnitude of the priesthood without examination and due circumspection? Such an undertaking would be fearsome compared to my exiguity; such a course would be indeed audacious. The cause of my fear and my refusal is the following. I behold and I see that the Church which is founded upon the rock, namely Christ our God,[c] is now divided and torn asunder; that we at times speak in one manner while our fellow-believers, the Christians of the East, speak differently and the westerners agree with them, whereas we are estranged from them all and are every day anathematized by them. A terrible thing is an anathema; it drives one far from God, it pushes one away from the kingdom of heaven and leads to the outer darkness.[d] The Church in its rule and law does not recognize dissension or dispute, but just as it is wont to confess one baptism and one faith, so does it also confess a single consensus on all ecclesiastical matters. Nothing is so acceptable and agreeable to God as our being united and becoming one catholic Church, as, indeed, we confess in the symbol of our pure faith. Wherefore we ask, O brethren (and so, I believe, you do also since I know that you have the fear of God), that an ecumenical council be convened by our most pious and orthodox emperors so that we, who belong to the one God, should be 460
made one; that we, who belong to the Trinity, should be united and be of one mind and of equal honour; that we, the one body of Christ who is our head, should be fitted and joined together; that we, who belong to the Holy Spirit, should stand by one another and not one against the other; that we, who belong to Truth, should believe and say the same things; so that there should not be a dispute and division among us, but that the peace of God that surpasses all understanding should guard all of us. And if our emperors, the protectors of orthodoxy, deign to approve of my request, I, too, give my consent to fulfil their command and I accept your election; but if not, I find it impossible to do so, lest I be subjected to anathema and appear condemned on the day of our Lord, the Judge of Righteousness, when neither emperor nor priest, neither dignitaries nor a crowd of men will be able to deliver me. Whatever your pleasure happens to be, O brethren, give an answer to my apology or, rather, to my request.'

Everyone listened gladly to these words and agreed that a synod should be held.[2] Once again Tarasios addressed the people saying: 'The emperor Leo destroyed the icons and when the synod took place it found them destroyed. And since they have been destroyed by the hand of an emperor, the matter is again under investigation, namely that they dared, according to their whims, to abolish an ancient custom that had been handed down in the Church. But God's truth is not bound, as the apostle saith.'[e]||[f]

On 25 December of the same 8th indiction[3] our holy father Tarasios was ordained patriarch of Constantinople. He sent to Rome his synodic letters and a declaration of his faith and was recognized by Pope Adrian.[4] The empress, too, sent word to the same pope asking him to dispatch letters and emissaries to be present at the synod.[5] He sent Peter, the *oikonomos* of his church,[6] and Peter, abbot of St Sabas,[7] honourable men adorned with every virtue. The empress and the patriarch also sent word to Antioch and Alexandria,
461 for the peace with the Arabs had not yet been broken.[8] From Antioch they brought that great man John, famous in word and deed, a holy man who had been *synkellos* of the patriarch of Antioch;[9] and from Alexandria Thomas, a zealous and most pious man who later distinguished himself as archbishop of Thessalonica, the great city of Illyricum.[10]

[a] Cf. 1 Kgs. (1 Sam.) 18: 15, 18: 29; Hab. 2: 20, etc. [b] 1 Cor. 9: 27. [c] Cf. 1 Cor. 10: 4. [d] Mt. 8: 12, 22: 13, 25: 30. [e] 2 Tim. 2: 9. [f] Nearly identical text in Mansi, xii. 986D–990B. Differently in *V. Taras.*, 400–1.

[1] *Protoasekretis* in *V. Irenes*, p. 12. 2., *V. Taras.* 397. 2, 398. 28, and other sources.

[2] Mansi, xii. 990A, adds at this point: τινὲς δὲ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἀφρόνων ἀνεβάλλοντο (*differebant*).

[3] AD 784.

[4] But not without criticism of his uncanonical ordination.

[5] Irene's letter is in Mansi, xii. 984E–986C (Latin only). It is dated IV Kal. Sept. ind. VII (read VIII), hence before the ordination of Tarasios.

[6] St Peter's.

[7] The 'Greek' monastery on the Aventine, on which see e.g. J.-M. Sansterre, *Les Moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne* (Brussels, 1983) i. 22 ff.

[8] It lasted from 782 until 785. Misdated to 781–4 in Dölger, *Reg.* 340. The letter addressed to the Oriental patriarchs in Mansi, xii. 1119D–1127A.

[9] On whom see Melioranskij, *Georgij*, 97 ff. He read out at the Council of 787 the well-known account of the origins of iconoclasm.

[10] He died in 807. See O. Tafrali, *Thessalonique des origines au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1919), 273.

[AM 6278, AD 785/6]

Constantine and Irene, 6th year
Aaron, leader of the Arabs (23 years), 1st year
Adrian, 17th year
Tarasios, 2nd year

In this year Moses, the leader of the Arabs, died and power was assumed by his brother Aaron,[1] who inflicted many ills on the Christians.

In the same year the emperors sent invitations to all the bishops subject to them, the letters and men who had been sent from Rome by Pope Adrian having arrived, as we have said, as well as those of the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria. On 7 August of the 9th indiction[2] they took their seats in the church of the Holy Apostles in the Imperial City and began reading out Holy Scripture and discussing with one another, while the emperors watched the proceedings from the gallery. Now the host of the *scholarii* and excubitors and of the other *tagmata*, at the instigation of their own officers (clinging as they did to the doctrine of their evil teacher), bared their swords and attacked them threatening to kill the archbishop as well as the orthodox bishops and abbots. When the empress attempted to restrain them through the men of her household who were present, they were not swayed, but added further insults. As the patriarch rose and entered the *bema* together with the orthodox bishops and monks, the bishops who shared the wicked views of the soldiers went out to them shouting 'We have won!' By God's grace those 462
inhuman madmen did not hurt anyone. The synod having been dissolved, everyone returned home.[3]

[1] Hārūn al-Rašid, Sept. 786–Mar. 809. Mich. Syr. iii. 3 places his accession in July AG 1097.

[2] Actually, on 1 Aug. 786: Mansi, xii. 999D. In the Acts of 787 dates are given according to the Roman calendar, which Theoph. appears to have misunderstood. Hence the further mistakes in AM 6280 (nn. 3 and 4).

[3] For a fuller account of the abortive meeting in the church of the Holy Apostles see Mansi, xii. 990C–991B. Discussed by Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 18 f.

[AM 6279, AD 786/7]

Constantine and Irene, 7th year
Aaron, 2nd year
Adrian, 18th year
Tarasios, 3rd year

In this year, in the month of September at the beginning of the ⟨10th⟩ indiction,[1] the empress sent Staurakios, the patrician and logothete, to Thrace to meet the Asiatic *themata* that were there at the time. He persuaded them to assist her in expelling from the City the impious host whom the iniquitous Constantine had enrolled and

educated. She pretended to be undertaking an expedition to the eastern parts as if the Arabs had invaded;[2] and so all the imperial equipment and the tent[3] were sent out to Malagina.[4] The men of the provincial *themata* then entered the City and held it. Thereupon she sent word to the *tagmata* saying, 'Deliver to me your arms for I have no need of you.' They, made senseless by God, surrendered them. She then placed their families in boats and exiled them from the City, bidding each man go back to his native land. After forming her own army with officers who were obedient to her, in the month of May she once again sent messages to all parts inviting the bishops to present themselves at the city of Nicaea in Bithynia with a view to holding the synod there. All through the summer everyone gathered at Nicaea.[5] As for the representatives from Rome and the East, she had not dismissed them, but had detained them.[6]

On 9 September of the 11th indiction,[7] a Sunday, a considerable eclipse of the sun took place at the 5th hour of the day while holy liturgy was being performed.

[1] AD 786.

[2] There was an Arab summer campaign in AH 170 (3 July 786–21 June 787): Tabarī, Williams, ii. 186.

[3] ἡ κόρτη, on which cf. *Cer.* 489–90; Theoph. Cont. 236.

[4] The first major camp (ἄπληκτον) of the Byzantine army on the road to the eastern frontier. The situation of Malagina has been much debated. See most recently C. Foss, *AnatSt* 40 (1990), 161 ff., who places it on the left bank of the Sangarios, between modern Mekece and Pamukova, due east of Nicaea. On the list of camps see G. Huxley, *GRBS* 16 (1975), 87–93.

[5] For these events cf. Mansi, xii. 991C; *V. Ioann. Gotth.* 191B (*scholarii* with their wives and children numbered *c.*6,000).

[6] Actually, the papal legates had reached Sicily on their homeward journey when they were recalled: Pope Hadrian I, *Ep. ad Carolum Magnum*, *MGH*, *Epist.* v. 56. 26.

[7] AD 787. The eclipse took place on Sunday 16 Sept.: Grumel, 463.

[AM 6280, AD 787/8]

Constantine and Irene, 8th year
Aaron, 3rd year
Adrian, 19th year
Tarasios, 4th year

In this year Tarasios, the most holy patriarch of Constantinople, went to Nicaea and there was held the Seventh holy and ecumenical Synod consisting of 350 bishops.[1] And so the catholic Church

regained her ancient adornment. The synod introduced no new doctrine, but maintained unshaken the doctrines of the holy and blessed Fathers; it rejected the new heresy and anathematized the three false 463
patriarchs, namely Anastasios, Constantine, and Niketas and everyone who shared their views. The first meeting and session of the bishops took place in the episcopal church of Nicaea, that of St Sophia,[2] on 11 October of the 11th indiction.[3] In the month of November[4] everyone entered the Imperial City. After the emperors and the bishops had taken their seats in the Magnaura, the decree was read out and signed by the emperor and his mother. When they had thus confirmed the true religion and the ancient doctrines of the holy Fathers, they rewarded the priests and dismissed them. And so God's Church found peace, even though the Enemy does not cease from sowing his tares among his own workmen; but God's Church when she is under attack always proves victorious.

[1] The figure 350 (τν′) is dB's emendation of τῶν of the MSS (Anast. gives no figure). The correct number is 365. For the episcopal list see J. Darrouzès, *REB* 33 (1975), 5–76.

[2] On which see A.-M. Schneider, *Die römischen u. byzant. Denkmäler von Iznik-Nicaea* (Berlin, 1943) 10 ff.

[3] Actually, 24 Sept. (πρὸ ὀκτὼ καλανδῶν Ὀκτωβρίων: Mansi xii. 991E).

[4] The meeting in the Magnaura took place on 23 Oct., πρὸ δέκα καλανδῶν Νοεμβρίων: Mansi, xiii. 413B. For an account of the Council see G. Dumeige, *Nicée II* (Paris, 1978), 101 ff.

[AM 6281, AD 788/9]

Constantine and Irene, 9th year
Aaron, 4th year
Adrian, 20th year
Tarasios, 5th year

In this year an Arab raiding party went forth against the Roman country in the month of September and penetrated into the Anatolic *thema*, to a place called Kopidnadon.[1] The Roman *strategoi* joined forces and gave battle to them. They were defeated and many were killed, including not a few of the exiled *scholarii*. Diogenes, the able turmach of the Anatolics,[2] also fell as well as the officers of Opsikion.

The empress Irene broke her contract with the Franks and sent out the *protospatharios* Theophanes, who brought a maiden from the Armeniac parts, Maria of Amnia.[3] She married her to her son, the emperor Constantine, who was unwilling and very distressed

because of his connection with the daughter of Karoulos, king of the Franks, to whom he had been previously betrothed. His wedding was celebrated in the month of November, indiction 12.[4]

464 Philetos, *strategos* of Thrace, went off to the Strymon and encamped without due precaution. The Bulgarians suddenly fell on him, killing him and many others.

Irene sent John, the *sakellarios* and logothete of the military chest, to Longobardia along with Theodotos,[5] the former king of Greater Longobardia, to take measures, if possible, against Karoulos and detach from him some of his supporters. They went off together with Theodore, patrician and *strategos* of Sicily.[6] Battle having been joined, the same John was captured by the Franks and put to a terrible death.[7]

[1] The same as Podandos, from a mistaken reading *Κώ(μη) Ποδανδός*, according to H. Grégoire, *Byz* 7 (1932), 287. Cf. *TIB* 2: 74. Tabarī, Williams, ii. 188, mentions briefly a summer expedition in AH 172 (788/9) without any details.

[2] Identified as the prototype of the epic hero Digenes Akrites by H. Grégoire, *Byz* 6 (1931), 498–9. Cf. Treadgold, *Revival*, 401 n. 110.

[3] Amnia is described as being in the district of Gangra in Paphlagonia: *V. Philareti*, 135. 31. Cf. our remarks in *DOP* 18 (1964), 333; D. Feissel, *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 58 (1982), 375 ff. Maria is said to have been chosen in a bride-show or beauty contest, this being the first recorded case of the practice. For its next occurrence see AM 6300. Cf. Treadgold, *Byz* 49 (1979), 395–413.

[4] AD 788. [5] See above, AM 6267.

[6] His seals in Zacos–Veglery, i/2, nos. 2450, 2452.

[7] For the Byzantine defeat in Italy see Treadgold, *Revival*, 92.

[AM 6282, AD 789/90]

Constantine and Irene, 10th year
Aaron, 5th year
Adrian, 21st year
Tarasios, 6th year

In this year the Devil, grudging the emperors' piety, inspired certain evil men to set the mother against her son and the son against his mother. They persuaded her that they had been informed through prophecies[1] to the effect that 'It is ordained by God that your son should not obtain the Empire, for it is yours, given to you by God.' Deceived, like the woman she was, and being also ambitious, she was satisfied that things were indeed so, and did not perceive that those men had offered the above pretext because they wanted to

administer the affairs of State. Now the emperor had reached the age of 20; he was vigorous and very able and saw that he had no authority whatsoever. He was distressed to see that Staurakios, the patrician and logothete, had everything in his power and that everyone went up to him, while nobody dared consort with the emperor. After taking counsel with the men of his entourage, who were few, as well as with the *magistros* Peter,[2] the patrician Theodore Kamoulianos, and the patrician Damian, he determined to arrest Staurakios and banish him to Sicily, whereupon he would assume the Empire together with his mother.

On 9 February of the 13th indiction[3] there occurred a terrible earthquake so that no one[4] dared sleep indoors, but everyone dwelt in tents that they had set up in orchards and open courts. The empress, for her part, went out to St Mamas together with her son. When Staurakios had been informed of this opportunity, he roused 465 the Augusta against her son. So she arrested the emperor's men, had them all flogged and tonsured, together with his preceptor,[5] the *protospatharios* John surnamed Pikridios, and exiled them to the southern parts, even as far as Sicily. The *magistros* Peter she subjected to dishonour and confined him to his house, and she did the same to the patrician Theodore Kamoulianos.[6] As for the patrician Damian, she had him scourged and tonsured and banished him to the fort of Apollonias.[7] She also flogged her son and, after addressing many reproaches to him, kept him confined for several days. She started to impose the following oath on the army, 'As long as you are alive we shall not suffer your son to rule.' Everyone swore those words and no one at all dared to object.

An Arab fleet sailed to Cyprus. Forewarned of this, the empress, too, assembled all the Roman ships and sent them against the Arabs. When they had come to Myra, all the *strategoi* rounded cape Chelidonion[8] and entered the gulf of Ataleia. The Arabs, for their part, set out from Cyprus and, the wind having dropped, they were carried about the sea. When they had come within sight of land, the *strategoi* saw them and drew up ready for battle. Now Theophilos, *strategos* of the Kibyraiots, a vigorous and very able man, boldly advanced in front of the others and, on joining battle, was captured by the Arabs. They took him to Aaron who saw him and urged him to become a traitor in return for transient liberalities. When he did not accept this and did not yield to further constraint, he was punished by the sword and so proved an excellent martyr.[9]

[1] Or, perhaps, 'by men who foresaw the future': so *V. Irenes*, p. 16 (*ἐκ προγνωστικῶν ἀνδρῶν*).

[2] A dedicated follower of Constantine V (AM 6259, n. 10), he took part in an embassy to Hārūn al-Rašīd in 781: Dölger, *Reg.* 340; Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien*, 115.

[3] AD 790.

[4] The reading of *V. Irenes*, p. 17, *μὴ τολμᾶν τινα*, is preferable to Theoph.'s *μὴ τολμᾶν τινας*.

[5] *βάγυλος* from Lat. *baiulus*. The same term is applied under AM 5936 to the eunuch Antiochos (not in Mal. 361, who is Theophanes' source). Joh. Ant., frg. 218d, *FHG* v. 36 = *Exc. de ins.* 148. 29, names *Στέφανος ὁ βαΐουλος Θεοδοσίου* (the son of Maurice). Hence the word had entered the Greek language by the early 7th cent. According to D. A. Bullough, *EHR* 77 (1962), 628f., *baiulus* (originally 'porter' or 'labourer') took on the special sense of 'tutor', especially of a young prince, in Merovingian Gaul. John Pikridios founded a monastery on the north side of the Golden Horn: *Patria*, 265, where he is called a *koitonites* = *cubicularius*.

[6] Kedr. ii. 24, in summarizing this passage, adds that the *magistros* [Peter], Theodore Kamoulianos, and others were banished *ἐν Καϊστορίᾳ*. Whatever this may mean, it cannot refer to confinement *in quaestorio*, that is at Constantinople, as argued by G. Ostrogorsky, *DOP* 13 (1959) 56 n. 34, the verb *ἐξώρισεν* implying removal from the capital.

[7] Presumably Apollonia ad Rhyndacum.

[8] To the east of Myra. See C. Fellows, *Discoveries in Lycia* (London, 1841), 212; Ruge, *RE* iii (1899), 2227.

[9] Cf. *Syn. CP* 434 (30 Jan.); *Menologium Basilianum*, *PG* 117: 285–8, which add that Theophilos was accompanied by three other *strategoi*, who deserted him during the battle, and that he was beheaded after four years in prison. His gold ring and seal in Zacos–Veglery, i/2, nos. 1658, 2523.

AM 6283 [AD 790/1]

Year of the divine Incarnation 783
Constantine, emperor of the Romans, (7 years), 1st year
Aaron, leader of the Arabs (23 years), 6th year
Adrian, bishop of Rome (27 years), 22nd year
Tarasios, bishop of Constantinople (21 years), 7th year

In this year, in the month of September, indiction 14,[1] the men who were administering the oath came to the *thema* of the Armeniacs.
466 The latter did not consent to swear, 'We shall not be ruled by your son as long as you are alive', [saying] 'We shall not even place the name of Irene before that of Constantine, but shall keep Constantine and Irene as we have accepted at the beginning.'[2] The empress sent a second emissary to arrest them,[3] namely Alexios surnamed Mousoulem, the *spatharios* and *drungarios* of the Watch.[4] But they held him and appointed him their commander, while they impris-

oned the patrician Nikephoros, their own *strategos*, and acclaimed Constantine as sole emperor. When the men of the other *themata* had heard of this, they expelled their *strategoi* and they, too, proclaimed Constantine sole emperor. Oh, the wicked Devil's cunning! See how he hastens to destroy the human race by means of many machinations! For the same men who fifteen years earlier had sworn that terrible oath and made signed declarations which they deposited in the holy sanctuary,[5] then swore to Irene that they would not be ruled by her son as long as she was alive. Once again, forgetting that, they acclaimed Constantine emperor, not understanding, wretches that they were, that they should not have taken contrary oaths; for it is inevitable that perjury should result from contrary oaths, and perjury is a denial of God.

In the month of October of the 14th indiction the men of the *themata* gathered at Atroa[6] and unanimously asked for the emperor Constantine who was then in his twentieth year. Being afraid of the impetus of the army, Irene let him go. They confirmed him as emperor and rejected his mother. Straight away the emperor sent Michael Lachanodrakon and his preceptor, the *protospatharios* John, and they made the Armeniacs swear that they would not accept his mother Irene as their emperor;[7] and he confirmed Alexios as their *strategos*. When the emperor returned to the City in the month of December, he had Staurakios flogged and tonsured and exiled him to the *thema* of the Armeniacs that the latter might be satisfied. He also exiled the eunuch Aëtios, the *protospatharios*, who was Irene's 467
confidant, and all the other eunuchs of her household. As for her, he placed her in all security[8] in the palace of Eleutherios,[9] which she had built and where she had hidden a great deal of money. In that same month there was a fire: the hall of the Patriarchate called Thomaites,[10] the Quaestorium,[11] and many other buildings as far as the Milion were burnt.

In the month of April Constantine made an expedition against the Bulgarians and advanced to the fort Probaton[12] by the stream of St George. He encountered Kardamos, the lord of Bulgaria, and, following a small engagement in the evening, the Romans, losing their courage, fled in the night and returned ingloriously. The Bulgarians, too, were frightened and withdrew.

[1] AD 790.

[2] Sense requires us to read: *οἱ δὲ οὐ κατεδέξαντο ὀμόσαι, ὅτι "οὐ βασιλευόμεθα ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σου,"—"οὐδὲ προτάσσομεν ⟨λέγοντες vel sim.⟩ τὸ ὄνομα Εἰρήνης"*, etc. Note the *inquiunt* in Anast. 309. 29.

[3] Or 'to persuade them' if one accepts Combefis's conjecture *πεῖσαι* for *πιάσαι*, supported by Anast.'s *ad inflectendum eos*.

[4] This dignity is here mentioned for the first time: Bury, *Adm. System*, 60–1. On the Watch (*vigla*) see Haldon, *Praetorians*, 236 ff. On Alexios Mousoulem (or Mousele from Armenian Muš̌el), see Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien*, 155 f.

[5] See above, AM 6268.

[6] A plain near the Bithynian Olympos. See V. Laurent, *La Vie merveilleuse de S. Pierre d'Atroa* = Subs. hag. 29 (1956), 38–9, who, following B. Menthon, places it west of Prousa. The arguments for so doing are less than convincing. Cf. our comments in *HUS* 7 (1983), 394 n. 7.

[7] Note masc. gender: *εἰς βασιλέα*. Cf. F. Dölger, *BZ* 36 (1936), 129 ff.

[8] *Μετὰ τῆς ἀπαθείας αὐτῆς* = under a pledge of being left unmolested. Mistranslated by Anast. as *cum suavitate sua et affluentia*.

[9] This palace, in which Theophanes himself was later to be imprisoned, was situated in the area of modern Aksaray: Janin, *CP*, 131; Berger, *Patria*, 588–90.

[10] To the south of Hagia Sophia. Built by patriarch Thomas I (607–10). See Mango, *Brazen House*, 52–3.

[11] Also mentioned in *Patria*, 256. Cf. Janin, *CP*, 173; Berger, *Patria*, 261–2.

[12] Bulgarian Provadija, now Sinanköy, 21 km. NNW of Adrianople: *TIB* 6: 415 f.

[AM 6284, AD 791/2]

Constantine, 2nd year
Aaron, 7th year
Adrian, 23rd year
Tarasios, 8th year

In this year, in the month of September, the emperor made an expedition against the Arabs. Setting out from Amorion, he made for Tarsos in Cilicia, but when he had come to the Waterless Towers,[1] he turned back empty-handed in the month of October, indiction 15.[2]

On 15 January, after receiving entreaties from his mother and many persons in authority, the emperor once again pronounced her empress and she was acclaimed along with him as in the beginning, 'Long live Constantine and Irene!' Everyone acquiesced in this, but the *thema* of the Armeniacs resisted and rebelled.[3] They asked for Alexios, who a little earlier had been their *strategos*, and whom the emperor had at that time summoned under a verbal pledge, honoured with the rank of patrician, and kept in his presence. Because of the quest for him and certain rumours that were reported of him, namely that he would become emperor, he had him flogged and tonsured and confined him in the Praetorium.

In the month of July he made an expedition against the Bulgarians and built up the fort of Markellai;[4] and on 20 July Kardamos, the lord of Bulgaria, went forth with all his forces and stationed himself on the fortifications.[5] Breathing hotly and persuaded by false prophets that victory would be his, the emperor joined battle without plan or order and was severely beaten. He fled back to the City having lost many men, not only ordinary soldiers, but also persons invested 468
with authority, among them the *magistros* Michael Lachanodrakon,[6] the patrician Bardas,[7] the *protospatharios* Stephen Chameas, the former *strategoi* Niketas and Theognostos, and many other men in imperial service as well as the false prophet, the astrologer Pankratios who had prophesied that he would win. The Bulgarians took the whole train,[8] namely money, horses, and the emperor's tent with all his equipment.[9] When the *tagmata* had assembled in the City, they decided to bring the former Caesar Nikephoros out of retirement and make him emperor. Informed of this, Constantine ordered that all the sons of his grandfather Constantine should be brought to St Mamas: he blinded Nikephoros and cut off the tongues of Christopher, Niketas, Anthimos, and Eudokimos. Along with them he blinded the aforementioned patrician Alexios, having been persuaded by the pleading of his mother and of Staurakios (the said patrician) that if he did not blind him they would elect him emperor. The punishment of those men took place in the month of August, on a Saturday, indiction 15, at the 9th hour. But not for long did God's judgement leave this unjust deed unavenged: for after a lapse of five years, in the same month and also on a Saturday the same Constantine was blinded by his own mother.

[1] *Ἄνυδροι Πύργοι*, perhaps the same as the town of Pyrgoi, a short distance west of Laranda (Karaman). See *TIB* 4: 218. Tarsos had been garrisoned by Hārūn in 787/8: see J. F. Haldon and H. Kennedy, *ZRVI* 19 (1980), 108.

[2] AD 791. [3] Cf. Mich. Syr. iii. 9.

[4] Markellai had existed earlier (Nik. 73. 17), so that *ἔκτισε* must refer to a restoration. It probably corresponds to Krumova Krepost, 7 km. WSW of Karnobat. Ruins described by K. Škorpil in *Aboba-Pliska*, *IRAIK* 10 (1905), 513–14, 564. See *TIB* 6: 348 f.

[5] Presumably the border fortifications, on which see AM 6303, n. 23.

[6] His seal with the titles of patrician, *protospatharios* and *magister* in Zacos–Veglery, i/3, no. 3145.

[7] Perhaps the former *strategos* of the Armeniacs.

[8] *τὸ τοῦλδον*, sometimes used synonymously with *ἀποσκευή*, designated the train of horses and mules which transported the army's equipment. See A. Dain, *AIPHOS* 10 (1950), 161–9; G. Dagron and H. Mihăescu, *Le Traité sur la guérilla de l'empereur Nicéphore Phocas* (Paris, 1986), 187.

[9] St Ioannikios fought in this battle, after which he deserted from the army. See our comments in *HUS* 7 (1983), 398 ff.

[AM 6285, AD 792/3]

Constantine, 3rd year
Aaron, 8th year
Adrian, 24th year
Tarasios, 9th year

In this year the Armeniacs, having heard that the patrician Alexios had been blinded, imprisoned their *strategos*, the patrician Theodore Kamoulianos.[1] On being informed of this, the emperor dispatched the *protospatharios* Constantine Artaser and Chrysocheres, *strategos* of the Bucellarii, with soldiers taken from the remaining *themata* in order to apprehend them. The latter gave battle, captured
469 both commanders and blinded them, and many were slain on both sides in the month of November of the 1st indiction.[2]

On 25 December, in the 2nd hour, as a result of a nocturnal thunderstorm, part of the imperial workshop of the embroiderers in gold thread situated at the Chrysiōn[3] caught fire.

After holy Easter the emperor, at the head of all the other *themata*, made an expedition against the Armeniacs. On 26 May of the 1st indiction,[4] which was Pentecost Sunday, he engaged them in battle and, thanks to the deceit of the Armenians who were with them and who betrayed them, he captured them and put to death their turmarch, the *spatharios* Andronikos, the turmarch Theophilos, and Gregory, bishop of Sinope.[5] The rest he subjected to fines and confiscation. A thousand men from their camp he put in chains and brought into the City through the Blachernai gate on 24 June, a Monday. He had their faces tattooed in ink with the words, 'Armeniac plotter'. He then dispersed them in Sicily and the other islands. As for the Armenians who betrayed them, since they received no reward from the emperor, they surrendered to the Arabs the fort of Kamachon.[6]

[1] He must have replaced Alexios Mousoulem. [2] AD 792.
[3] *μέρος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἐργοδοσίου τῶν χρυσοκλαβαρίων κατὰ τὸν Χρυσίωνα*, presumably the same as the *Χρυσόκλαβον* of *Patria*, 145. 5, which was attached to the Great Palace. Cf. Berger, *Patria*, 216; Leo Diac. 146 f., who implies that the superintendent *βασιλικῆς ἱστουργίας* had access to the palace. The Chrysiōn is mentioned in *Cer.* 583. 5 as being outside the palace, but probably not far from it. The *ergodosia* built by Irene (*Patria*, 269. 14) were by the palace of Eleutherios, hence in a different part of the city.

[4] AD 793.
[5] His seal in Zacos–Veglery, i/2, no. 1948A.
[6] Balādhuri, Brooks, 88, records that the Arabs occupied Kamachon on 29 July 793.

[AM 6286, AD 793/4]

Constantine, 4th year
Aaron, 9th year
Adrian, 25th year
Tarasios, 10th year

In this year, in the month of October of the 2nd indiction,[1] the Arabs took the fort of Thebasa[2] by capitulation; for which reason they let its commanders depart home.

[1] AD 793.
[2] In Lykaonia, roughly between Ikonion and Tyana. See *TIB* 4: 232–4. Its capture by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-Malik is recorded by Mich. Syr. iii. 8–9, AG 1104.

[AM 6287, AD 794/5]

Constantine, 5th year
Aaron, 10th year
Adrian, 26th year
Tarasios, 11th year

In this year the emperor, who had conceived an aversion towards his wife Maria through the machinations of his mother (for she was yearning for power and wanted him to be universally condemned), forced her to become a nun and, after obtaining her consent, had her tonsured in January of the 3rd indication.[1]

In April he made an expedition against the Arabs. On 8 May he engaged an Arab raiding party at a place called Anousan;[2] he defeated them and drove them as far as the river. He then went to Ephesos and, after praying in the church of the Evangelist, remitted the customs dues of the fair (which amounted to 100 lbs. of gold) in order to 470
win the favour of the holy apostle, the evangelist John.[3] In August the emperor crowned the *cubicularia* Theodote[4] as Augusta and betrothed himself to her illegally.

[1] AD 795. [2] Or Anousa. Situation unknown.
[3] C. Foss, *Ephesos after Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1979), 110, understands

this passage to mean that the emperor 'donated the whole revenue of the fair to Saint John', whereas Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes*, 107–8, thinks it refers to a reduction of the tax in favour of the church of St John. The difficulty lies in the verb *ἐκούφισεν* (also under AM 6293 and *κουφισμοί*, AM 6302), which can mean either 'to lighten' or 'to cancel' (see LSJ, s.v.). It is clear, on the other hand, that the sum of 100 lbs. applies to the *kommerkion* (tax), which, if levied at 10%, indicates a total revenue of 1,000 lbs. of gold, a sum that appears incredible.

[4] She was a cousin of Theodore Studite. See J. Pargoire, *VizVrem* 9 (1902), 37; J.-C. Cheynet and B. Flusin, *REB* 48 (1990), 195 n. 21.

[AM 6288, AD 795/6]

Constantine, 6th year
Aaron, 11th year
Adrian, 27th year
Tarasios, 12th year

In this year, in the month of September of the 4th indication,[1] the emperor celebrated his wedding to Theodote at the palace of St Mamas for forty days.

In April of the same 4th indiction,[2] on a Saturday night, there was a terrible earthquake in the island of Crete. In Constantinople, too, there was a formidable earthquake on 4 May.

Now Kardamos, the lord of Bulgaria, declared to the emperor, 'Pay me tribute or else I will come as far as the Golden Gate and devastate Thrace.' The emperor sent him some horse excrement wrapped in a kerchief and said, 'Such tribute as befits you I have sent you. You are an old man and I do not want you to take the trouble of coming all the way here. Instead, I will go to Markellai and do you come out. Then let God decide.' The emperor, after sending orders to the Asiatic *themata*, gathered his army and advanced as far as Versinikia,[3] while Kardamos went as far as the wooded area of Avroleva,[4] but lost courage and remained in the forest. The emperor encouraged his men and marched to the treeless part of Avroleva and defied Kardamos for seventeen days. The latter, however, did not dare give battle and fled back home.

In the same year the Arabs came as far as Amorion, but did not achieve any success and withdrew after taking captives in the surrounding country.[5]

In the same year Platon, abbot of Sakkoudion,[6] broke communion with the patriarch Tarasios because the latter had admitted the emperor to communion and had allowed his catechist to tonsure his wife Maria and father Joseph, abbot of the Kathara monastery,[7] to

marry him to Theodote. On being informed of this, the emperor sent Bardanios, patrician and domestic of the Schools, and John *comes* of Opsikion,[8] and had Platon brought to the City and confined in a cell 471
at the church of the Archangel in the palace.[9] The other monks, including Platon's nephews,[10] were flogged and exiled to Thessalonica. These were supported by the emperor's mother because they opposed him and put him to shame.

[1] AD 795.

[2] AD 796. Cf. *Kleinchronik*, 2.15, p. 49 (a 'universal earthquake').

[3] To the north of Adrianople, exact situation unknown. See *TIB* 6: 205.

[4] Anna Comnena, ii. 203–4, mentions a locality *Ἀβριλεβώ*, which was close to *Σκουτάριον*, the latter being 18 stadia from Adrianople. See Zlatarski, i/1. 318–19 n. 27; *TIB* 6: 159 f.

[5] Tabarī, Williams, ii. 220, refers to a summer campaign in 796, led by Muʿāwiya b. Zufar b. ʿĀsim. Cf. *TIB* 4: 123.

[6] The monastery of Sakkoudion, founded by Platon and his nephew, Theodore the Studite, appears to have been situated in the area called Katabolos, between Kios (Gemlik) and Elegmoi (Kurşunlu). See Janin, *Grands centres*, 177–81.

[7] Or the monastery of the Katharoi. Founded by the *cubicularius* Narses in the reign of Justin II, probably near Pylai in Bithynia. See E. Honigmann, *Byz* 14 (1939), 617–19, 631–2; Janin, *Grands centres*, 158–60. Joseph was *oikonomos* of Hagia Sophia. He was excommunicated by Tarasios in 797, but rehabilitated in 806. See Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 83 ff.; D. Stiernon, *REB* 28 (1970), 117 f. He died between 821 and 826.

[8] Because Sakkoudion was situated in his province.

[9] Cf. AM 6003. This church, one of the earliest in the palace, is, strangely enough, not mentioned in *Cer.* The notice in Janin, *Églises*, 344, no. 15, is incomplete. According to *V. Theod. Stud.* I, 253D, Platon was confined to the monastery of St Sergius; according to Theodore Studite, *Laud. Platonis*, *PG* 99: 832B, in 'the miserable monastery of the palace [called] *Ἐχέκολλα*', probably the same as St Sergius, there being no other monastery attached to the palace.

[10] Theodore and his younger brother Joseph. On their first exile see C. Van de Vorst, *AnBoll* 32 (1913) 37–8; J.-C. Cheynet and B. Flusin, *REB* 48 (1990), 193–211. They reached Thessalonica on 25 Mar. 797.

[AM 6289, AD 796/7]

Constantine, 7th year
Aaron, 12th year
Leo, bishop of Rome (8 years), 1st year[1]
Tarasios, 13th year

In this year, in the month of September, the emperor went forth with his mother to take the hot baths at Prousa. On 7 October of the 5th indiction[2] a son was born to the emperor and was named Leo. On being informed of this, the emperor left his mother at the hot baths with all the imperial retinue and the commanders and returned in all haste to the City. Profiting from this occasion, his mother addressed the commanders of the *tagmata* and beguiled them by means of gifts and promises with a view to deposing her son and becoming sole ruler herself; some of them she coaxed personally, others through the men of her household, and she drew everyone to her side and was waiting to find the proper moment.

In Rome, following the death of Pope Adrian,[3] Leo, a most honourable and highly respectable man, was ordained in his stead.

In March the emperor went on campaign against the Arabs accompanied by the patrician Staurakios and other friends of his mother as well as 20,000 lightly armed men picked from all the *themata*. The supporters of Staurakios, being aware of the ardour of the army and of the emperor, were afraid lest he prove victorious in war and they fail in their plot against him. So they bribed the scouts and caused them to lie that the Saracens had departed.[4] The emperor, for his part, was much saddened and returned to the City empty-handed. On 1 May his son Leo died and he wept bitterly over him.

On 17 July, indiction 5,[5] a Thursday, when the emperor, after a racing contest, crossed to St Mamas, [the officers] of the *tagmata* (whom his mother had won over) went after him so as to catch him.
472 But he learnt of this, embarked on his *chelandion*, and crossed to Pylai intending to seek refuge in the *thema* of the Anatolics. He was accompanied, without his knowledge, by his mother's friends. His wife also journeyed as far as Tritōn.[6] His mother's friends who accompanied him took counsel and said among themselves, 'If an army is gathered by him, it will no longer be possible to subdue him. We shall not escape his notice and he will destroy us.' His mother, for her part, assembled in the palace of Eleutherios the officers of the *tagmata* whom she had won over and then entered the imperial palace. When she had learnt that the army was collecting round the emperor, she was greatly frightened and considered sending a delegation of bishops to him to receive a promise of safety and then sit quietly in a corner. She also wrote secretly to her friends who were with him, 'Unless you find some way of handing him over, I intend to disclose to the emperor your agreements with me.' Frightened, they besieged him with their pleas[7] and, after putting him on board the *chelandion*, reached the City on Saturday morning, 15 August,[8] and confined him to the Porphyra,[9] where he had been born. About

the 9th hour they blinded him in a cruel and grievous manner with a view to making him die[10] at the behest of his mother and her advisers. The sun was darkened for seventeen days and did not emit its rays so that ships lost course and drifted about.[11] Everyone acknowledged that the sun withheld its rays because the emperor had been blinded. In this manner his mother Irene acceded to power.

||In the same year, too, the relatives of the blessed Pope Adrian in Rome roused up the people and rebelled against Pope Leo, whom they arrested and blinded.[12] They did not manage, however, to extinguish his sight altogether because those who were blinding him were merciful and took pity on him. He sought refuge with Karoulos, king of the Franks, who took bitter vengeance on his enemies[13] and restored him to his throne, Rome falling from that time onwards under the authority of the Franks.||[a] Repaying his debt to Karoulos, 473
Leo crowned him emperor of the Romans in the church of the holy apostle Peter after anointing him with oil from head to foot and investing him with imperial robes and a crown on 25 December, indiction 9.[14]

[a] Cf. Mich. Syr. iii. 17 f. with almost word-for-word correspondence: 'A cette époque, il eut à Rome une grande sédition. Ils se coalisèrent contre leur patriarche Adrianus [*sic*] et lui crevèrent les yeux, mais [pas] complètement: parce que celui qui fut chargé de les lui crever usa de miséricorde; alors il se retira chez les Francs, car à cette époque Rome était sous la domination des Francs.'

[1] Evidently a mistake. The total length of Leo's reign is given as 16 years under AM 6304 (that being his 16th year), but he is in his 17th year in AM 6305! In fact, Leo III ruled from 27 Dec. 795 to 12 June 816.

[2] AD 796. [3] On 25 Dec. 795, hence in AM 6288.

[4] Tabarī, Williams, ii. 221, reports two Arab raids this year, one as far as Ancyra. Cf. AM 6290, n. 1.

[5] AD 797. 17 July actually fell on a Monday.

[6] Probably corresponding to modern Armutlu at the mouth of the gulf of Gemlik. See our remarks in *DOP* 22 (1968), 173 n. 14; L. Robert, *JSav* 1979: 282 ff.

[7] The wording is unclear (*ἐκράτησαν αὐτὸν εἰς παράκλησιν*), rendered by Anast. as *tenuerunt eum ad preces*.

[8] Note that *Αὐγούστου* is dB's correction of *αὐτοῦ* (that is July) of the MSS. 15 Aug. was a Tuesday. Probably Saturday the 19th is meant. Cf. P. Grierson, *DOP* 16 (1962), 54 f. Constantine's blinding in August (not July) is confirmed by *Kleinchronik*, 2. 17, p. 49.

[9] On this building (mentioned here for the first time), in which imperial princes were born, see Ebersolt, *Grand Palais*, 148–9; G. Dagron, *TM* 12 (1994), 105 ff.

[10] It is unclear whether he died soon thereafter or lived on into the early years of the next century. The only evidence for the latter alternative is a

rather dubious story to the effect that, soon after his accession (802), Nikephoros befriended the unfortunate Constantine, not out of compassion, but to make him reveal the location of a treasure that had been hidden under a marble revetment in the palace. See Kedr. ii. 31 (fullest version); Leo gramm. 202; Zon. iii. 304. Another story (Geo Mon. cont. 809) alleges that Constantine lived for a time (we are not told how long) in a mansion called *ta Isidorou*, which was then turned into a nunnery by his widow. For the problem see E. W. Brooks, *BZ* 9 (1900), 654–7, who establishes that Constantine had certainly died by 805.

[11] There was a total eclipse on 20 Feb. 798 and another on 16 Aug. The latter would have been on the first anniversary of the emperor's blinding.

[12] In fact, on 25 Apr. 799. See esp. *Lib. Pont.* ii. 4. The *primicerius* Pascal, the main mover of the plot, was Pope Adrian's nephew. Theoph. is correct in stating that the attempt to blind Leo was not completely successful. See Duchesne's comment ad loc., p. 36 n. 23.

[13] Either owing to a small lacuna in the text or because of careless abbreviation, there is an awkward change of subject: ὁ δὲ [Leo] *προσφυγὼν τῷ ῥηγὶ τῶν Φράγγων Καρούλῳ, ἠμύνατο* [Charles] *τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ πικρῶς καὶ πάλιν ἀπεκατέστησεν αὐτόν*, etc.

[14] This is a cast forward. See below, AM 6293. Theoph. is confused in saying that Charlemagne was anointed by the pope. That ritual act was carried out over his eldest son, Charles. See *Lib. Pont.* ii. 7. 27 and Duchesne's note, p. 38 n. 34. Unction was not a part of the Byzantine coronation ceremony.

[AM 6290, AD 797/8]

Irene, for the second time empress of the Romans (5 years), 1st year
Aaron, 13th year
Leo, 2nd year
Tarasios, 14th year

In this year Irene, after seizing power, immediately sent Dorotheos, abbot of Chrysopolis, and Constantine, *chartophylax* of the Great Church, to Abimelech, who was devastating the regions of Cappadocia and Galatia,[1] asking him for peace, but peace was not made.

In the month of October some troublemakers persuaded the sons of God's enemy Constantine, who were confined to the palace of Therapeia,[2] to seek refuge in the Great Church on the pretext of asking a guarantee of their future safety so as, by means of this excuse, to proclaim one of them emperor. When a great crowd had collected in the church, the patrician Aëtios, the eunuch, went in and, while no one was paying attention to them, brought them out by means of a promise and banished them to Athens. Now the two patricians, Staurakios and Aëtios, both bosom friends of the empress, fell out

with each other to the extent of showing their enmity in public. Both aimed at securing the Empire for their own relatives after her death.

[1] According to Tabarī, Williams, ii. 221, 'Abd al-Malik b. Sālih reached Ancyra in AH 181 (5 Mar. 797–21 Feb. 798): Brooks, 'Abbasids', 741; *TIB* 2: 230.

[2] On the European shore of the Bosporus (modern Tarabya): Janin, *CP*, 481.

[AM 6291, AD 798/9]

Irene, 2nd year
Aaron, 14th year
Leo, 3rd year
Tarasios, 15th year

In this year Abimelech made an expedition against the Roman country. Sending out a raiding party of lightly armed men, he advanced as far as Malagina.[1] He fell on the stables of Staurakios and, after taking the horses and the imperial herd,[2] returned unharmed. Others went as far as Lydia and took many captives.[3] Another Arab party sallied forth and fell on Paul, patrician and *comes* of Opsikion, who was with his whole *thema* and the Optimati, and made a great slaughter of them. After taking their camp equipment, that party also withdrew.

In the month of March of the 7th indiction[4] Akameros, chieftain of the Sklavinians of Velzetia,[5] prompted by the Helladics, planned 474
to bring Constantine's sons out of confinement and appoint one of them emperor. On being informed of this, the empress Irene sent to the patrician Constantine Serantapechos his son Theophylaktos, who was a *spatharios* and her own nephew, and he blinded all of them and stamped out their plot against her.[6]

On the Monday of holy Easter the empress processed from the church of the Holy Apostles,[7] riding in a golden chariot drawn by four white horses and held[8] by four patricians, namely Bardanes, *strategos* of the Thrakesians, Sisinnios, *strategos* of Thrace,[9] Niketas, domestic of the Schools, and Constantine Boilas,[10] and she distributed largess in abundance. In the month of May the empress fell ill to the point of death and the rivalry between the eunuchs was intensified. Aëtios won over Niketas, the patrician and domestic of the Schools, and they strenuously opposed Staurakios, even suggesting to the empress that he was aiming at the throne. In her anger she belaboured him severely in the palace of Hiereia saying that he was

an instigator of unrest and sedition and was preparing his own hasty destruction. He, for his part, offered apologies to her and took measures to protect himself, furious as he was at the aforesaid patricians Aëtios and Niketas.

[1] It was on this occasion that the monks of Sakkoudion had to flee to Constantinople: *V. Theod. Stud.* I, 257D f.; *Vita* II, 144D.

[2] *τὴν βασιλικὴν προμοσέλλαν*. Cf. *Cer.* 461 and Reiske's note, ii. 500.

[3] Tabarī, Williams, ii. 222, AH 182 (798/9), records an expedition of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-Malik to Ephesos: Brooks, 'Abbasids', 741.

[4] AD 799.

[5] His name must have been Akamir. The *Mir. Dem.*, i. 175, in enumerating various Slavonic tribes, distinguishes the *Βελεγεζῆται* from the *Βερζῆται*. Cf. Lemerle's commentary, ii. 90. It is not clear which of the two are meant here. They probably lived near the bay of Volos: see *TIB* 1: 41, 133.

[6] The meaning is less than clear. It has been suggested that Sarantapechos was *strategos* of Hellas. If so, was he one of the conspirators and would Irene have sent his own son to blind him? Cf. Winkelmann, *Rangstruktur*, 94.

[7] The protocol for that procession is set down in *Cer.* 49 ff., 80 ff. Normally the emperor rode a richly caparisoned horse, not a chariot.

[8] On ceremonial occasions it was customary for attendants to hold the finials of the chariot posts. Cf. *Cer.* 416. 16: *δύο κόμητες σχολῶν κρατοῦσι τὰ μήλα τῆς καρούχας*, with Reiske's note, ii. 430 f. Alternatively, the four patricians might have held the bridles of the four horses.

[9] Sisinnios Triphyllios, brother of Niketas, repeatedly mentioned below.

[10] A name of Bulgarian origin. St Ioannikios is described as being a member of the same family, although his father was a farmer: *V. Ioannic.* by Sabas, 338A. Cf. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien*, 150 f., 181 f.; S. Vryonis, *DOP* 11 (1957), 273 ff.; H. Ditten in *Studien 8. u. 9. Jh.*, 100 ff.

[AM 6292, AD 799/800]

Irene, 3rd year
Aaron, 15th year
Leo, 4th year
Tarasios, 16th year

In this year, in the month of February, indiction 8,[1] the aforesaid Staurakios was busy preparing a usurpation and a rebellion in the Imperial City by bribing with money and gifts the resident *scholarii* and excubitors, including their officers. For her part, the pious Irene called a *silentium* in Justinian's Hall[2] and forbade all men in government service to approach Staurakios. In this way some slight order was introduced into the situation, while the aforesaid Aëtios

and Niketas and a few others strove against Staurakios. The latter, being struck in his heart, emitted from his mouth a bloody froth that came from the organs around his chest and lungs. On seeing this, the 475
physicians pronounced it to be fatal, but the other senseless flatterers, not only physicians, but also some false monks and magicians affirmed to him under oath until the very day of his death (which occurred in June of the same 8th indiction, on a Tuesday) that he would live and become emperor. Relying on them, he instigated a revolt against Aëtios in the provinces of Cappadocia,[3] but did not live to hear the news since word of it came two days after his death. The rebels were arrested and suffered exile and punishment.

[1] AD 800. [2] See AM 6186.

[3] *ἐν ταῖς Καππαδοκίαις*, perhaps with reference to the old division of Cappadocia into three provinces, which persisted in ecclesiastical organization.

[AM 6293, AD 800/01]

Irene, 4th year
Aaron, 16th year
Leo, 5th year
Tarasios, 17th year

In this year, on 25 December, indiction 9, Karoulos, king of the Franks, was crowned by Pope Leo.[1] He intended to make a naval expedition against Sicily, but changed his mind and decided instead to marry Irene.[2] To this end he sent ambassadors the following year, indiction 10.[3]

In March of the 9th indiction the pious Irene remitted the civic taxes for the inhabitants of Byzantium and cancelled the so-called *komerkia* of Abydos and Hieron.[4] She was greatly thanked for these and many other liberalities.

[1] Charlemagne's coronation, which is dated correctly, has already been mentioned with a little more detail under AM 6289.

[2] The historicity of this statement has been accepted by most historians, although its interpretation has been endlessly debated. See e.g. Ohnsorge, *Okzident*, 64 ff.; Speck, *Konstantin VI*, 327 ff. Charlemagne was widowed in the summer of 800.

[3] AD 801/2.

[4] We have translated *ἐκούφισεν* as 'cancelled' rather than 'reduced' (for the ambiguity cf. AM 6287) in the light of Theod. Stud. *ep.* 7, who presents, admittedly in highly rhetorical terms, a picture of much wider fiscal

exemptions than does Theoph. Theodore speaks of dues collected not only on sea-borne traffic, but also on roads and at narrow passes, of exactions imposed on fishermen, hunters, and a long list of artisans and petty traders. Cf. Bury, *ERE*, 3; N. Oikonomides in V. Kravari *et al.*, eds. *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*, ii (Paris, 1991), 242. The custom-houses of Abydos and Hieron, the latter on the upper Bosporus, controlled maritime traffic reaching Constantinople. For the reimposition of the tax by Nikephoros I see below, AM 6302.

[AM 6294, AD 801/2]

Irene, 5th year
Aaron, 17th year
Leo, 6th year
Tarasios, 18th year

In this year the patrician Aëtios, being rid of Staurakios and feeling secure, strove to confer the Empire on his brother[1] whom he appointed *monostrategos* of Thrace and Macedonia,[2] while he himself was in control of the Asiatic *themata*, namely the Anatolics and Opsikion. Being filled with pride, he humiliated dignitaries in positions of authority and took no account of them. They, for their part, being much aggrieved at him, planned a revolt against the empress and put it into effect. There also arrived the emissaries sent by Karoulos and Pope Leo[3] to the most pious Irene asking her to marry Karoulos and so unite the eastern and western parts. She would have consented had she not been checked by the oft-mentioned Aëtios who ruled by her side and was usurping power on behalf of his brother.

[1] Called Leo (see below, p. 655).

[2] The *thema* of Macedonia is mentioned here for the first time. Cf. Oikonomides, *Listes*, 349.

[3] The dispatch of this embassy in 802 is confirmed by the Frankish annals. It was headed by bishop Jesse of Amiens and Count Helmgaud. See Ohnsorge, *Okzident*, 75.

476 ## [AM 6295, AD 802/3]

Nikephoros, emperor of the Romans (9 years), 1st year
Aaron, 18th year
Leo, 7th year
Tarasios, 19th year

In this year, on 31 October of the 11th indiction,[1] at the 4th hour of the night as Monday was about to dawn, Nikephoros,[2] the patrician and logothete of the *genikon*, rebelled against the most pious Irene (God, in His inscrutable judgement having permitted this because of the multitude of our sins). He was aided by Niketas, patrician and domestic of the Schools, and the latter's brother, the patrician Sisinnios—the two Triphyllioi, deceitful perjurers that they were. These were also joined by the patrician Leo Serantapechos,[3] the patrician Gregory (son of Mousoulakios), the patrician Theoktistos (the quaestor), and the patrician Peter,[4] who had also suborned some officers of the *tagmata*. Arriving at the so-called Chalke (gate), they quickly tricked the guards by convincing them that they had been sent by the empress to proclaim the same Nikephoros emperor because the patrician Aëtios was forcing her to proclaim his own brother Leo. The guards gave credence to this egregious lie and joined in proclaiming the usurper emperor. Thus the patricians entered the Great Palace and from there they sent throughout the City some insignificant people and slaves to make the proclamation before midnight. They also placed a guard round the palace of Eleutherios, where the empress happened to be. At day-break they sent for her and confined her in the Great Palace. Thereupon they processed to the Great Church to crown the wretch. All the populace of the City gathered together and everyone was displeased by what was happening and cursed both him who was crowning[5] and him who was being crowned and those who approved of these actions. Men who lived a pious and reasonable life wondered at God's judgement, namely how He had permitted a woman who had suffered like a martyr on behalf of the true faith to be ousted by a swineherd and that her closest friends should have joined him out of cupidity, I 477
mean Leo of Sinope (who was patrician and *sakellarios*),[6] and the accursed Triphyllioi, and the above-mentioned patricians who had been enriched by her many liberalities, who had often dined at her table, and had assured her through flattery and under terrible oaths that they considered her goodwill more essential than anything else in the world. Others, as if in ecstasy, felt that what was happening was not real and thought they were dreaming. Others again, who were capable of making reasonable forecasts, lauded the prosperity that had gone by and bewailed the misery that was about to occur on account of the usurpation, especially those who had had some previous experience of the usurper's evil disposition. A general gloom and inconsolable sadness gripped everyone—not to prolong my account by giving in detail the ugly description of that miserable day. Even the weather, contrary to nature, suddenly became on that

day gloomy and lightless, filled with implacable cold in the autumnal season, clearly signifying the man's future surliness and unbearable oppression, especially towards those who had chosen him.

The next day, taking along some of the patricians, he went up to the imprisoned empress, simulating, as was he wont, a spurious benignity through which, indeed, he had deceived nearly everyone. He offered his excuses to her, namely that he had been elevated against his will to the throne for which he had no desire, and he cursed the men who had raised him up while plotting against her (just as Judas had betrayed the Lord after dining with Him); indeed, he testified that they had imitated Judas in all respects. Showing also his black buskins, he affirmed that he liked to wear them contrary to imperial custom. Deceitfully he urged her under oath to have no misgivings about her every bodily comfort, such as a mistress might expect from her servant, and not to consider her fall a misfortune. He also urged her not to conceal from him any of the imperial treasures and condemned the vice of avarice which he himself was unable to contain: for he was terribly afflicted with it, all-devourer that he was, and placed all his hopes in gold. For her part, the wise and God-
478 loving Irene, though she ought to have been overwhelmed by the misfortune of her sudden change (especially since she was a woman), said with a brave and prudent mind to him, who but yesterday had been a perjured slave and today was an evil, rebellious, and impudent usurper:

'For my part, my good man, I consider God [my helper and avenger][7] who raised me when aforetime I had been left an orphan and elevated me, unworthy though I was, to the imperial throne. The cause of my downfall I attribute to myself and to my sins and I cry out, "In all things and in every manner may the name of the Lord by praised—the only King of kings and Lord of lords." The manner of your elevation I also ascribe to the Lord, without whom, I am convinced, nothing can happen. You are not unaware of the rumours against you—true ones, as the consummation of the events has proved—that have often been referred to me concerning the dignity with which you are now invested. Had I been carried away by them,[8] I could have put you to death without hindrance. But, partly because I trusted your oaths, partly in order to spare you, I disregarded many of my well-wishers, in this case, too, referring my affairs to God, through whom kings reign and the mighty rule the earth.[a] So now, too, inasmuch as you are pious and have been appointed by Him, I do obeisance to you as to an emperor and I beseech you to spare my weakness and to allow me the mansion of Eleutherios that I have built to console me of my incomparable misfortune.'

He replied: 'If you wish this to happen, swear to me by all the heavenly powers not to conceal any part of the imperial treasures, and I will fulfil your request and do everything for your comfort and repose.' She swore to him upon the holy and life-giving cross, saying: 'I will not conceal anything from you, down to the last penny'—which, indeed, she did. He, however, having gained what he desired, straight away exiled her to the island of Prinkipos, to the monastery which she had built,[9] and this while the ambassadors of Karoulos were still in the City and observed what was happening.

So when this universal devourer had seized power, he was unable even for a short time to hide by means of dissimulation his innate wickedness and avarice; nay, pretending to be about to eradicate injustice, he set up that evil and unjust tribunal at the Magnaura. The usurper's purpose, as was proved by the events, was not to give 479
the poor their due, but by this means to dishonour and subjugate all persons in authority and to gain personal control of everything, which, indeed, he did.[10] Being aware that all men were annoyed at him and fearing that, mindful of the liberalities of the pious Irene, they should invite her again to assume power, in the month of November, while a severe winter was upon the land, the merciless man, instead of pitying her, banished her to the island of Lesbos and ordered that she be securely guarded and receive no visitors whatever.[11]

On 30 April Niketas Triphyllios died, reportedly poisoned by Nikephoros.

On 4 May, a Thursday, Nikephoros went to a suburban estate at Chalcedon and, after mounting an extremely gentle and tame horse, was, by God's providence, thrown off and bruised his right foot.

On 19 July, a Wednesday, at the first hour, Bardanes surnamed Tourkos, the patrician and *strategos* of the Anatolics,[12] was proclaimed emperor by the Asiatic *themata*. He strenuously declined the office, but was unable to frustrate his men. Coming as far as Chrysopolis, he toured about for eight days, but was not welcomed by the inhabitants of the City and withdrew to Malagina. Filled with the fear of God and reflecting that a massacre of Christians should not occur on his account, he sent word to Nikephoros and received a signed promise written in the latter's hand, wherein the most holy patriarch Tarasios and all the patricians had also set down their signatures, to the effect that he would remain unharmed and unpunished together with all his companions. On 8 September he secretly escaped at midnight to Kios in Bithynia and went to the monastery of Herakleios.[13] Finding the emperor's *chelandion* that had been dispatched for this purpose, he was tonsured and donned monastic garb.

Boarding the boat, he proceeded to the island called Prote, where he had built a monastery, thinking that the impostor Nikephoros would honour the awesome promise he had given him and not harm
480 him in any respect.[14] The latter, however, denuded him in the first place of his fortune and, seizing on an excuse, oppressed all the officers and landowners of the *themata* as well as some of the Imperial City, whilst he left the army without pay. Who would be able to give an adequate account of the deeds committed by him in those days by God's dispensation on account of our sins?

On 9 August of the 11th indiction[15] the empress Irene died in banishment on the island of Lesbos and her body was transferred to the island of Prinkipos to the monastery which she had built.[16]

[a] Prov. 8: 15–16.

[1] AD 802.

[2] He is said to have been of Christian Arab descent: Tabarī, Williams, ii. 260; Mich. Syr. iii. 15; *Chr. 813*, 196.

[3] Of the same family as Constantine Sarantapechos (AM 6291), hence related to the empress.

[4] *Syn. CP* 791. 35 ff. contains a highly unlikely account of a Peter the patrician, who lived in the reign of Irene, was promoted domestic of the Schools, was miraculously delivered from Bulgaria [in 811], and lived on incognito as an exemplary monk for another 42 years. Cf. Introduction, p. lx.

[5] The patriarch Tarasios.

[6] Surnamed Klokas according to Kedr. ii. 29. A correspondent of Theodore the Studite (*epp.* 86, 293, 400, 478, 521, written between 815 and 826). Also mentioned in *V. Ioannic.* by Peter, 425C. Cf. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien*, 157.

[7] The words *συλλήπτορα καὶ ἐκδικιτήν* absent from the text of Theoph., may be restored from *V. Irenes*, 24. Leo gramm. 201. 15 has *θεὸν εὐεργέτην ἡγοῦμαι.*

[8] A biblical reminiscence (*εἰ συναπήχθην*): cf. Gal. 2: 13; 2 Pet. 3: 17.

[9] See Introduction, p. xlv.

[10] The tribunal of the Magnaura appears to have been concerned mostly with fiscal matters. N. Oikonomides, *ZRVI* 26 (1987), 18, sees it in the context of the establishment of a system of proportional taxation, which did not benefit the poor greatly whilst weighing heavily on the rich.

[11] Mich. Syr. iii. 12 f. alleges that Irene and Aëtios tried to have Nikephoros killed by some monks. When the attempt failed, Irene was exiled to Athens (*sic*), but Nikephoros did no harm to Aëtios, who had done him a service earlier. There may be some element of truth in this story, as already surmised by Bury, *ERE*, 7. It is certainly worthy of note that Theoph., too, reports no measures taken by Nikephoros against Aëtios, potentially a dangerous rival.

[12] According to Theoph. Cont. 6, Nikephoros had appointed him sole commander of five Asiatic *themata*. His seals with the titles of *strategos* of the Thrak[esians] and of the Anatolics in Zacos–Veglery, i/2, nos. 1750A–B. Bardanes, probably an Armenian, was closely related to the future emperor Leo V. See our remarks in *HUS* 7 (1983), 400 n. 17.

[13] On which see Janin, *Grands centres*, 152–3.

[14] This is a somewhat slanted account of the revolt of Bardanes, which is also related by Theoph. Cont. 8–10, Georg. Mon. 772, Genesios, 6–8, and other sources. The revolt was ostensibly in support of the exiled Irene: *Syn. Vetus*, c. 153. See Bury, *ERE*, 10–13; Treadgold, *Revival*, 131–2; S. Mavromati-Koutsogiannopoulou, *Βυζαντινά*, 10 (1980), 203–15; J. Gouillard, *TM* 10 (1987), 5.

[15] AD 803. Same date in *Kleinchronik*, 2. 19, p. 49.

[16] According to *V. I nes*, 27, she was buried in a 'new sarcophagus' in the chapel of St Nicholas, on the left side of the monastery church, the latter being dedicated to the Theotokos. These indications should be added to the notice of the monastery in Janin, *Grands centres*, 68–9. Irene's sarcophagus, made of Proconnesian marble, may have been later transported to the church of the Holy Apostles, where it is mentioned in the list of imperial tombs: *Cer.* 645. 16.

[AM 6296, AD 803/4]

Nikephoros, 2nd year
Aaron, 19th year
Leo, 8th year
Tarasios, 20th year

In this year, in the month of December of the 12th indiction,[1] Nikephoros crowned his son Staurakios emperor in the ambo of the Great Church, the most holy patriarch Tarasios officiating, although Staurakios was in all respects unsuitable for this office—in appearance, vigour, and temperament. Nikephoros, who had never respected truth in any matter, sent certain Lykaonians or rather werewolves[2] who shared his opinions and persuasions to Prote. He bade them disembark on the island at night and blind the aforementioned Bardanios and, after the deed, as if he was unaware of it, to seek refuge in a church. When this had been done, the patriarch, the Senate, and all God-fearing people were greatly distressed. As for the unrighteous emperor Nikephoros, who always acted for show and never according to God, he swore to the dignitaries that he had known nothing about it, and seemingly sought to slay the Lykaonians,[3] pretending to be taking vengeance on them. For he had, in addition to his other iniquities, also this peculiar trait of character, by means of which he had deceived many men even before

he had become emperor. To those, however, who clearly saw the trick he appeared ridiculous in that this man whose foul face was constantly clouded by impudence on this occasion remained for seven days confined to the imperial chamber,[4] whimpering deceitfully. Indeed, he had a natural faculty for a woman's tears, such as many low persons and *faux bonhommes* possess. He did not, how-
481 ever, deceive the majority of people.

In the month of August he made an expedition against the Arabs, whom he encountered at Krasos in Phrygia[5] and was defeated in battle. He lost many men and was himself on the point of being captured, had not some of the bravest officers managed with difficulty to deliver him from danger.[6]

[1] AD 803, perhaps on Christmas Day.

[2] A pun (*Λυκάονάς τινας, ἤ λυκανθρώπους*). The identity of these Lykaonians is not made clear, and Theoph. Cont. 10. 4 is equally vague (*καί τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς Λυκαονίας*). In the 9th cent. Lykaonia formed a turmarchy under the *strategos* of the Anatolics: Oikonomides, *Listes*, 55, 149. Cf. W. Treadgold, *GRBS* 21 (1980), 272, 283. The Lykaonians mentioned here were presumably soldiers of the turmarch, but their presence at Constantinople is not explained. Further down (p. 671) Theoph. speaks of heretical Athinganoi being prevalent in Lykaonia.

[3] We accept the reading of cod. δ, namely *ὅρκοις τοὺς ἐν τέλει ⟨ἔπειθε μηδὲν εἰδέναι, τοὺς δὲ⟩ Λυκάονας*, etc., which dB relegates to the apparatus.

[4] dB adds *⟨ἐπὶ⟩ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κοιτῶνος*, but the addition is unnecessary.

[5] Cf. above, AM 6233.

[6] For the encounter, in the course of which Nikephoros is said to have been wounded three times and 40,700 Byzantines slain, see Tabarī, Williams, ii. 266. Cf. Brooks, 'Abbasids', 744; M. Canard, *Byz* 32 (1962), 355.

[AM 6297, AD 804/5]

Nikephoros, 3rd year
Aaron, 20th year
Leo, 9th year
Tarasios, 21st year

In this year, because of an insurrection in Persia,[1] the leader of the Arabs went thither to quell it. Taking this opportunity, Nikephoros rebuilt Ancyra in Galatia, Thebasa, and Andrasos.[2] He also sent a raiding party into Syria which returned without achieving any success, indeed after losing many men.[3]

[1] An overstatement. Hārūn was obliged to proceed to Rayy in Persia to deal with the injustice of 'Alī b. 'Isā, whom he had himself appointed governor of Khurāsān. See Tabarī, Williams, ii. 267 ff.

[2] Cf. Mich. Syr. iii. 16. See M. Canard, loc. cit.; for Ancyra, C. Foss, *DOP* 31 (1977), 77. The situation of Andrasos (in Cappadocia) is unknown: *TIB* 2: 141.

[3] The expedition was to Cilicia, not Syria. The Byzantines devastated the areas of Mopsuestia and Anazarbos and made captives at Tarsos: Mich. Syr. iii. 16, misdated AG 1115. Tabarī, Williams, ii. 273 f., places this expedition in AH 190 (28 Nov. 805–16 Nov. 806).

[AM 6298, AD 805/6]

Nikephoros, 4th year
Aaron, 21st year
Leo, 10th year
Nikephoros, bishop of Constantinople (9 years),[1] 1st year

In this year, on 25 February of the 14th Indiction,[2] Tarasios, the most holy patriarch of Constantinople, died a glorious death. His remains were conveyed to the straits of the Black Sea on Wednesday of the first week of Lent and buried in the monastery he had built.[3] On 12 April, which was Easter Sunday, the most holy Nikephoros, a former *a secretis*, was ordained patriarch by the votes of all the people, the clergy, and the emperors as well. Platon and Theodore, abbots of the monastery of Studios, did not approve of the ordination of Nikephoros; indeed, having planned a schism, they showed strong opposition on the seemingly plausible excuse that a layman ought not to be immediately promoted to a bishopric. The emperor Nikephoros wished to expel them from the City, but was restrained by certain persons who advised him that the patriarch's ordination would not be commended if it were accompanied by the expulsion of the aforesaid men and the dissolution of so great a monastery, seeing that about 700 monks were placed in Theodore's obedience. Besides, what had been done was not alien to the Church nor was it a recent invention, since many other laymen had become bishops and ministered unto God in a manner worthy of their dignity.[4]

In the same year Aaron, the leader of the Arabs, invaded the 482
Roman country with a great force composed of Maurophoroi, Syrians, Palestinians, and Libyans, in all 300,000. Having come to Tyana, he built a house of his blasphemy.[5] He captured after a siege the fort of Herakles,[6] which was very strong, as well as Thebasa, Malakopea,[7] Sideropalos,[8] and Andrasos. He sent a raiding contingent of 60,000 which penetrated as far as Ancyra and withdrew after

reconnoitring it. Seized by fright and perplexity, the emperor Nikephoros set out also in a state of despair, exhibiting the courage that comes from misfortune. After winning many trophies, he sent to Aaron the metropolitan of Synada,[9] Peter, abbot of Goulaion,[10] and Gregory, *oikonomos* of Amastris, to ask for peace. After lengthy negotiations they concluded peace on the terms that a tribute of 30,000 *nomismata* would be paid to the Arabs each year and a capitation tax of 3 *nomismata* on behalf of the emperor and another 3 on behalf of his son.[11] On accepting these terms, Aaron was pleased and overjoyed, more than he would have been had he received ten thousand talents, because he had subjugated the Roman Empire. They also stipulated that the captured forts should not be rebuilt.[12] When the Arabs had withdrawn, however, Nikephoros immediately rebuilt and fortified the same forts. On being informed of this, Aaron sent out a force and, once again, took Thebasa.[13] He also dispatched a fleet to Cyprus, destroyed the churches there, deported the Cypriots, and, by causing much devastation, violated the peace treaty.[14]

[1] The length of his tenure must have been added after Mar. 815.

[2] AD 806. All the Greek MSS give the 25th, which dB has altered to the 18th on the strength of Anast. (*duodecimo kalendas Martias*). The 25th is confirmed by *Syn. CP* 487 and *Typicon*, i. 240. *V. Taras.*, 421. 19 gives the 25th (which corresponds to Wednesday of the first week of Lent) as the date of his funeral.

[3] On the European side of the Bosporus. See Janin, *Églises*, 481–2.

[4] On these events see Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 65 ff.

[5] i.e. a mosque. The figure of 300,000 is probably exaggerated. Tabarī, Williams, ii. 274, speaks of an army of 135,000 regular soldiers, not counting volunteers, etc.

[6] See Canard, *Byz* 32 (1962), 356 ff. The fort in question is Herakleia Kibotos, which fell in August (so Tabarī). See *TIB* 2: 188 f.

[7] Modern Derinkuyu (formerly Melegübü): *TIB* 2: 227.

[8] Situation unknown: *TIB* 2: 277.

[9] Michael, attested as bishop between 787 and 815, died in 826. See J. Pargoire, *ÉO* 4 (1900–1), 347–50.

[10] Situation unknown, possibly in Bithynia: Janin, *Grands centres*, 141–2. Peter must be the unnamed Goulaiates, mentioned by Theod. Stud. *ep.* 222. 9 as a partisan of the *oikonomos* Joseph (AD 816).

[11] 50,000 dinars, 4 being for the emperor and 2 for his son according to Tabarī, Williams, ii. 275.

[12] Only Herakleia according to Tabarī, Williams, ii. 276.

[13] There is no confirmation of this in the Arabic sources. Cf. Treadgold, *Revival*, 408 n. 193.

[14] Tabarī, ibid., reports the deportation of 16,000 Cypriots to Raqqa.

[AM 6299, AD 806/7]

Nikephoros, 5th year
Aaron, 22nd year
Leo, 11th year
Nikephoros, 2nd year

In this year Nikephoros made an expedition against the Bulgarians. When he had come to Adrianople, he became aware that a revolt against him was being planned by imperial officials and by the *tagmata* and so he returned empty-handed, having achieved nothing except vengeance on his fellow-countrymen, many of whom he punished by scourging, exile, and confiscation. He also sent the *spatharios* Bardanios surnamed Anemas to round up all the refugees and aliens[1] and convey them[2] to Thrace, thinking that he would obtain from them a considerable amount of gold by way of annual taxes— 483
this man who did everything for the gold he loved and not for Christ.

[1] *πάντα προσήλυτον καὶ πάροικον*. Judging by the context, the term *paroikos* is used here in its biblical sense, not that of *colonus* or dependent peasant as under AM 6302.

[2] The verb *ἐπέρασεν* indicates that the immigrants were brought from Asia Minor. They may have included the prisoners exchanged with the Arabs in 805: Tabarī, Williams, ii. 271.

[AM 6300, AD 807/8]

Nikephoros, 6th year
Aaron, 23rd year
Leo, 12th year
Nikephoros, 3rd year

In this year, in the month of September of the first indiction,[1] Aaron, the leader of the Arabs, sent Choumeid[2] at the head of a fleet against Rhodes. This man sailed straight to Rhodes and, on arriving there, carried out much devastation, but the fort that is there remained uncaptured. On his return journey he was manifestly worsted by the holy wonder-worker Nicholas. For when he had come to Myra and attempted to break his sacred tomb, he smashed instead another one that stood near by.[3] Thereupon a great disturbance of sea waves, thunder, and lightning fell upon the fleet so that several ships were broken up and the impious Choumeid himself acknowledged the saint's power and unexpectedly escaped the danger.

On 20 December, after making an extensive selection of maidens

from all the domains subject to him with a view to marrying his son Staurakios, Nikephoros chose the Athenian Theophano, a kinswoman of the blessed Irene, although she was betrothed to another man and had lain with him many times.[4] Acting in this respect with the same unlawful impudence as in all others, he separated her from her man and wed her to the wretched Staurakios. He also selected along with her another two maidens who were more beautiful than her and openly violated them during the very days of the wedding, while everyone ridiculed the detestable man.

In the month of February many officials planned a revolt against him and conferred their choice on the quaestor and patrician Arsaber,[5] a pious and cultivated man. But when the resourceful Nikephoros had been informed of this, he had him scourged and tonsured and having made him a monk, exiled him to Bithynia, whilst the others he punished with lashes, banishment, and confiscation, not only secular dignitaries, but also holy bishops and monks and
484 the clergy of the Great Church, including the *synkellos*,[6] the *sakellarios*, and the *chartophylax*, men of high repute and worthy of respect.

[1] AD 807.

[2] Humaid b. Ma'yūf, governor of the coast of Syria, who had carried out the raid on Cyprus. The attack on Rhodes is not mentioned in the Arabic sources. Cf. Treadgold, *Revival*, 148.

[3] On the church of St Nicholas, still extant, though heavily rebuilt in the 19th cent., see U. Peschlow in J. Borchardt, *Myra: Eine lykische Metropole* (Berlin, 1975), 303 ff. The miracle related here must have helped to promote the growing cult of the saint. Cf. N. P. Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Turin, 1983), 20 ff.

[4] On the custom of imperial bride-shows see AM 6281, n. 3. We cannot follow L. Rydén, *Eranos*, 83 (1985) 175–91, who considers them a literary fiction. Tabarī, Williams, ii. 275 f., alleges that Staurakios was betrothed to a maiden of Herakleia, captured by Hārūn and ransomed by Nikephoros, who wrote a letter to the Caliph requesting her return. An echo of the same story in Mich. Syr. iii. 16: Hārūn built above Raqqa a city named Herakleia on account of a woman of the family of Herakleios he had captured. For the ruins of Hiraqla see Q. Tweir in *Syrie colloque*, 179–85.

[5] Perhaps the father of Theodosia, wife of Leo V. Cf. Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 132 n. 5.

[6] Cf. Introduction, p. lviii.

[AM 6301, AD 808/9]

Nikephoros, 7th year
Mouamed, leader of the Arabs (4 years), 1st year[1]

Leo, 13th year
Nikephoros, 4th year

In this year Aaron, the leader of the Arabs, died in inner Persia, called Chorasan, in the month of March, indiction 2.[2] His son Mouamed, who was incompetent in all respects, succeeded to power, but his brother Abdelas[3] as well as his father's army revolted against him in that same country of Chorasan and caused an internecine war among their nation. For this reason the inhabitants of Syria, Egypt, and Libya were divided into different principalities and destroyed the common weal as well as one another, confounded as they were by slaughter, rapine, and various misdeeds among themselves and against their Christian subjects. For this reason also the churches in the holy city of Christ our God were made desolate as well as the monasteries of the two great *lavras*, namely that of Sts Chariton and Kyriakos[4] and that of St Sabas, and the other *koinobia*, namely those of St Euthymios[5] and St Theodosios.[6] The slaughter resulting from this anarchy, directed at each other and against us, lasted five years.[7]

Theodore, abbot of Studios, and his brother Joseph, the archbishop of Thessalonica, along with the recluse Platon and their other monks withdrew from communion with Nikephoros, the most holy patriarch, on account of the *oikonomos* Joseph who had unlawfully married Constantine and Theodote. Seizing this opportunity, the emperor Nikephoros assembled many bishops and abbots and ordered that a synod be held against them. By this means they were expelled from their monastery and from the City and were banished in the month of January of the second indiction.[8]

In the same year, while the army of the Strymon was receiving its pay, the Bulgarians fell upon it and seized 1,100 lbs. of gold.[9] 485
They slaughtered many men together with their *strategos* and officers. Many garrison commanders of the other *themata* were present and all of them perished there. The Bulgarians took the whole camp train and withdrew. Before Easter of the same year, Kroummos, the leader of the Bulgarians, drew up his forces against Serdica,[10] which he took by a deceitful capitulation and slaughtered 6,000 Roman soldiers, not counting the multitude of civilians. Nikephoros pretended to be going on campaign against him on Tuesday of the Saviour's Passion week,[11] but did not achieve anything worthy of mention. When the officers who had escaped the massacre requested from him a promise of immunity,[12] he refused to give it and so forced them to desert to the enemy, among them the *spatharios* Eumathios,[13] an expert in engines. To add to his great

dishonour, Nikephoros tried to convince the Imperial City by means of sworn *sacrae* that he had celebrated the feast of Easter in the court[14] of Kroummos. Wishing to rebuild captured Serdica, but fearing the opposition of the host, he suggested to the *strategoi* and officers that they should persuade the rank and file to petition the emperor for the rebuilding. The soldiers, however, understood that the intrigue had been mounted by the emperor's ill-doing and rebelled against him and their own officers at the 6th hour. They set upon their officers' tents and tore them down and, advancing to the imperial [tent], cast many insults and curses upon him, swearing that they could no longer suffer his infinite avarice and mischievous character. Terrified by the sudden mutiny, he stood up from table and at first, through the patricians Nikephoros and Peter, tried to calm the army by means of oaths and plausible arguments. Desisting somewhat, the wretches abandoned their course of action and withdrew to a hill crying, 'Lord, have mercy!' as if it were an earthquake or a drought. Always ready for evil deeds, the emperor deceived most of the officers during the night by means of secret gifts and the next morning he appeared himself among the soldiers and spoke to them, assuring them under terrible oaths that they would enjoy all kinds
486 of plenty and that he would be equally solicitous towards their children.[15] Straight away he made for the Imperial City, having directed the patrician and *promoskrinios*[16] Theodosios, surnamed Salibaras, to identify the rebels by mutual admission. While the army was on its way back, he pretended to be about to pay them, but instead punished most of them at St Mamas by lashes, tonsure, and exile, and the rest he conveyed to Chrysopolis having transgressed his terrible oaths. On account of their misfortune they called the Bosporus[17] the 'river of fire'.[18]

[1] Known as Al-Amīn (Mar. 809–Sept. 813).
[2] 24 Mar. 809 at Tūs.
[3] Known as Al-Ma'mūn (812–33).
[4] Also called Souka or the Old Lavra, near Tekoa: Vailhé, 'Monastères', I. 524–5; Chitty, *Desert*, 14 f.
[5] Between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea: Vailhé, op. cit. I. 533–4; Chitty, *Desert*, 84 ff.
[6] Deir Dosi, between Bethlehem and St Sabas: Vailhé, III. 286–9; E. Weigand, *BZ* 23 (1914), 167–216.
[7] i.e. down to 814.
[8] On the synod of 809 see Grumel, *Reg.* 377–81; Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 92 f.; P. Henry, *JTS* NS 20 (1969), 495–522.
[9] Treadgold, *Revival*, 157, calculates that this sum corresponded to the pay of about 12,000 men.
[10] Theoph. fails to explain that Nikephoros had fortified and garrisoned Serdica.

[11] 3 Apr.
[12] Meaning that they had neglected their duties at the capture of Serdica.
[13] So dB following Anast.; Euthymios in the Greek MSS.
[14] αὐλή, as always of Bulgarian encampments. It has been supposed that Pliska was meant here, but see below, p. 676 n. 17.
[15] So understood by Anast. (*ac super aequali erga natos eorum affectu*). Another possible translation would be 'and that he loved them as much as his children'.
[16] *Primoscrinio* or *primiscrinio* in Anast. The office of *primiscrinius* does not appear in Middle Byzantine lists.
[17] Πέραμα, more exactly the crossing from Galata to Constantinople at the mouth of the Golden Horn.
[18] For all of its omissions, the above account of events in Bulgaria is clearly due to an eyewitness. The informant may have been Theodosios Salibaras, who appears in that capacity under AM 6303.

[AM 6302, AD 809/10]

Nikephoros, 8th year
Mouamed, 2nd year
Leo, 14th year
Nikephoros, 5th year

In this year Nikephoros, following the godless punishments [he had meted out] and intent on humiliating the army altogether, removed Christians from all the *themata*[1] and ordered them to proceed to the Sklavinias[2] after selling their estates.[3] This state of affairs was no less grievous than captivity: many in their folly uttered blasphemies and prayed to be invaded by the enemy, others wept by their ancestral tombs and extolled the happiness of the dead; some even hanged themselves to be delivered from such a sorry pass. Since their possessions were difficult to transport, they were in no position to take them along and so witnessed the loss of properties acquired by parental toil. Everyone was in complete distress, the poor because of the above circumstances and those that will be recounted later on, while the richer sympathized with the poor whom they were unable to help and awaited heavier misfortunes. These measures were started in the month of September and completed by holy Easter. In addition, he ordered a second vexation, namely that poor people should be enrolled in the army and should be fitted out by the inhabitants of their commune, also paying to the Treasury 18½ *nomismata* per man plus his taxes in joint liability.[4] His third evil invention was that everyone was to be assessed[5] and everyone's taxes were to be raised, with an additional payment of 2 *keratia* per

man for the paperwork.[6] The fourth measure he ordered was that all remissions should be cancelled.[7] The fifth was that the *paroikoi*[8] of charitable foundations, of the Orphanage,[9] of hostels, homes for the
487 aged, churches, and imperial monasteries[10] should be charged the hearth tax[11] counting from the first year of his usurpation, and that their more important estates should be transferred to the imperial demesne, whilst the rates due on them should be added to such estates and *paroikoi* as were left to the charitable foundations, with the result that many of them had their tax doubled whereas their dwellings and rural holdings were reduced. The sixth measure was that the *strategoi* should keep an eye on all who recovered quickly from poverty and exact money from them as if they had found treasure trove.[12] The seventh was that everyone who in the previous twenty years had discovered any kind of jar or vessel should likewise be deprived of their money.[13] The eighth was that poor people who had received a divided inheritance from their fathers and grandfathers should be taxed by the Treasury for the same period of twenty years;[14] and that those who had bought household slaves outside Abydos and especially in the Dodecanese[15] should pay an impost of 2 *nomismata* per head. The ninth was that the shipowners who lived on the sea coast, especially that of Asia Minor, and who had never practised agriculture should be forced to buy some of the estates he had seized with a view to being assigned an assessment by him.[16] His tenth measure was to convene the foremost shipowners of Constantinople and give each a loan of 12 lbs. of gold at a rate of interest of 4 *keratia* to the *nomisma*[17] on top of the usual custom dues to which they were liable.

I have made a succinct and brief record of these actions—and they are but a small part—in order to indicate this man's inventiveness in all manner of greed. It would be impossible to describe the misfortunes he inflicted in the Imperial City on dignitaries, on the middling folk, and the poor: in the case of some he inquired how they lived at home and suborned malicious servants to denounce their masters; and at first he would pretend to doubt their statements, but later would accept the false accusations. In the same manner he used lowly persons against persons of note and would confer honours on those who made clever denunciations. Many occupiers of houses he completely ruined from the first to the third generation in the hope that they would quickly lose their title, which he would inherit.[18] The following incident is worthy of note as an amusing example. There was at the Forum a candle merchant[19] who lived in plenty
488 thanks to his own exertions. The universal devourer summoned him and said, 'Place your hand upon my head and swear to me how much

gold you have.' The latter at first declined, pretending to be unworthy [of such attention], but was forced by him to do so and admitted that he possessed 100 lbs. The emperor ordered on the spot that the sum be produced and said, 'What need have you of so much worry? Be my guest for lunch, take 10 lbs.[20] and go home satisfied with what you have.'

[1] Mostly or exclusively those of Asia Minor. 'Christians' is equivalent to 'Romans'.

[2] i.e. the territories previously occupied by Slavonic tribes, mainly in Macedonia and Greece. A specific instance of the resettlement of Sparta with 'a mixed population, namely Kapheroi [converts to Christianity?], Thrakesians, Armenians, and others from different places' is given in the Chronicle of Monemvasia, ed. P. Lemerle, *RÉB* 21 (1963), 10 (cf. also p. 20).

[3] On the ten 'vexations' of Nikephoros, comparable to the plagues of Egypt, see Bury, *ERE*, 213–18; G. I. Brătianu, *Études byzantines d'hist. économique et sociale* (Paris, 1938), 195–211; Aik. Christophilopoulou in *Εἰς μνήμην Κ. Ἀμάντου* (Athens, 1960), 413–31.

[4] On the second vexation see Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 117–18; Lemerle, *Agr. History*, 62–3. Both believe that the 18⅓ *nomismata* represent the cost of the soldiers' equipment. Strictly speaking, however, the text describes it as an additional payment: *προσέταξε στρατεύεσθαι πτωχοὺς καὶ ἐξοπλίζεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ὁμοχόρων, παρέχοντας* [that is the *πτωχοί*, unless one emends *παρέχοντας* to *παρεχόντων*, as suggested by dB] *καὶ* [in addition] *ἀνὰ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἡμίσους νομισμάτων τῷ δημοσίῳ*, etc. The principle of joint liability for the payment of taxes was laid down in the Rural Code.

[5] *ἐποπτεύεσθαι πάντας*, with reference to the *ἐπόπται* (inspectors) of the Treasury. This indicates a new census. Cf. Treadgold, *Revival*, 150, who thinks it may have been initiated in the new indictional cycle, that is from 1 Sept. 807.

[6] *χαρτιατικῶν ἕνεκα ἀνὰ κερατίων β'*, a flat charge of 1/12 of a *nomisma* to defray administrative expenses.

[7] This is ambiguous (*τοὺς κουφισμοὺς πάντας ἀναβιβάζεσθαι*), depending on whether one understands *κουφισμός* as a total remission or a reduction. In either case the tax was to be raised to its old amount. The exemptions were those granted by Irene: above, AM 6293.

[8] Here in the sense of *coloni*, a usage already attested in the 6th cent. See Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 55–6; M. Kaplan, *Les Hommes et la terre à Byzance* (Paris, 1992), 264 ff.

[9] At Constantinople, presumably the one attached to the church of Sts Peter and Paul, on which see Janin, *Églises*, 399–400. It must have been endowed with considerable estates in the provinces.

[10] Hence, strictly speaking, not all monasteries, but only 'imperial' ones (probably those that were placed under imperial patronage). *DAI* 52, with reference to the requisition of cavalry-horses in the Peloponnese (in 921), distinguishes between imperial, patriarchal, and episcopal monasteries.

[11] This is the earliest mention of the *kapnikon*, probably a tax levied on households. See *ODB*, 'Hearth tax' and 'kapnikon'; Kaplan, op. cit. 547 f.

[12] This does not necessarily mean that treasure trove was to be surrendered to the State in its entirety, although such seems to have been the practice until it was reformed by Leo VI, *Nov.* 51. According to Justinianic law treasure trove was divided between the discoverer and the owner of the land if they happened to be different persons. Cf. C. Morrisson, *TM* 8 (1981), 321–43.

[13] For ἐξαργυρίζεσθαι cf. Theod. Stud. *ep.* 7. 47: οὐκέτι ἠπειρῶται ἐξαργυρίζονται ἀδίκως, 'no longer are land-dwellers plundered unjustly'.

[14] The construction is extremely awkward owing to compression (τοὺς ἐκ πάππων ἢ πατέρων κληρονομήσαντας διαιρεθέντας, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων κ' ἐξαναδιδόναι τῷ δημοσίῳ, τοὺς πένητας). Anast.'s version (*divisa substantia pauperes facti fuerant*) appears to point in the right direction. Christophilopoulou, op. cit. 422 f., believes that the measure concerned shared inheritances, whose individual portions fell below 50 *solidi*, the latter being the accepted threshhold of 'poverty'.

[15] Meaning, presumably, the Aegean islands in general. Such slaves could have been imported via the coast of Asia Minor without passing through the custom house of Abydos.

[16] The clause ὡς ἂν ἐκτιμηθῶσι is ambiguous and has usually been understood to mean 'at his own valuation', referring to the confiscated estates. So already Anast. (*utcumque appretiarentur ab ipso*) and, e.g., G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1968), 191. Some scholars have also rendered *naukleroi* as 'sailors' or 'marines', meaning those of the imperial navy, even though in the next sentence they are clearly shipowners. We do not believe this measure had anything to do with 'sailors' properties'.

[17] i.e. at a rate of 16.67%. As Bury, *ERE*, 217 n. 1, observes, this does not mean that shipowners were obliged to take a loan; rather, that if they needed a loan, they could borrow only a fixed sum from the State at a particularly high rate of interest. When usury was made legal again by Leo VI (*Nov.* 83) the rate was fixed at 4.17%.

[18] This must refer to leases limited to three generations. Such an arrangement was common in emphyteutic leases of agricultural property (see Kaplan, op. cit. 164 ff.), but here we seem to be dealing with housing at Constantinople. It is not clear why the emperor should have inherited the premises unless the houses in question belonged to the crown.

[19] If we are not mistaken, *cerullarii* are first attested at Constantinople in the 7th cent.: *Mir. Artem.* 27. The anecdote related here shows that they could make considerable profits.

[20] '100 *nomismata*' in most of the Greek MSS, which dB accepts. Anast., however, has *libras decem* = 720 *nomismata*, and so does the Oxford MS (λίτρας ι΄): N. G. Wilson, *DOP* 26 (1972), 360.

[AM 6303, AD 810/11]

Nikephoros, 9th year
Mouamed, 3rd year
Leo, 15th year
Nikephoros, 6th year

In this year Nikephoros extended his designs against the Christians[1] by way of an ungodly control over the purchase of all kinds of animals, cattle and produce, the unjust confiscations and fines imposed upon prominent persons, and the exaction of interest on ships (he who issued laws against usury!)[2] and a thousand other evil inventions. To describe all of them in detail would appear tedious to those who seek to learn events in a succinct form.

On 1 October, a Tuesday, a man of lowly station dressed as a monk seized a sword belonging to someone in military service and ran into the palace seeking to kill Nikephoros. Two of those who were standing round rushed on him, but were grievously wounded by him. When he had been arrested and tortured severely, he pretended to be a demoniac and did not denounce anybody. The emperor had him confined in stocks together with other madmen. Many regarded this as a presage of great evil to come both to rulers and to subjects, as had happened in the case of the impious Nestorios.[3]

The emperor was an ardent friend of the Manichees (now called Paulicians) and of his close neighbours,[4] the Athinganoi of Phrygia and Lykaonia, and delighted in their prophecies and rites. Indeed, he called them in when the patrician Bardanios rebelled against him and subjugated him by means of their magic. For he tied an ox by the horns to an iron stake in some sort of hollow and as the animal was bent to the ground, bellowing and writhing, he had it slaughtered and then ground the clothing of Bardanios in a mill with a contrary motion and performed certain incantations. As a result, he won a victory which God allowed because of the multitude of our sins. Those heretics were given leave during his reign to enjoy the rights of citizenship without fear so that many of the more frivolous kind became corrupted by their illicit doctrines. At the Hexakionion,[5] too, there was a false hermit called Nicholas who, together with his companions, blasphemed against the true religion and the holy icons 489
and was defended by Nikephoros to the distress of the patriarch and of all those who lived according to God. Indeed, he was vexed when the patriarch on many occasions brought charges against those men, for he greatly encouraged mutual hostility and railed at every Christian who loved his neighbour, being as he was a subverter of

the divine ordinances. He was also eager for good or bad cause to institute proceedings against all Christians at the penal tribunal of the Magnaura so that nobody should be free to censure his impious deeds. He commanded military officers to treat bishops and clergymen like slaves, to lodge high-handedly in episcopal residences and monasteries and abuse their goods. He censured those who from olden times had dedicated to God gold or silver vessels and argued that the sacred objects of churches should be made common, as Judas had done in the case of the Lord's ointment.[a] He blamed all the emperors before him for having been incompetent and entirely denied Providence by saying that no one was more powerful than the ruler provided the latter was determined to exercise his authority skilfully. But he was confounded in his imaginations,[b] he whom God was to slay.

In February of the same 4th indiction, on the first Saturday of Lent[6] the Saracens surprised at Euchaita the *strategos* of the Armeniacs, Leo, with the pay of his *thema* which they captured along with a great number of soldiers.[7] The amount was 13 talents, that is 1,300 lbs. Not even then did Nikephoros accept reproof by desisting from his greed. Uncorrected by so many presages, the new Ahab, who was more insatiable than Phalaris or Midas, took up arms against the Bulgarians along with his son Staurakios. On * May,[8] as he was departing from the Imperial City, he ordered the patrician Niketas, the logothete of the *genikon*,[9] to raise the taxes of churches and monasteries and to exact eight years' arrears[10] from the households of dignitaries. At this there was much lamentation. One of his faithful servants, I mean the patrician Theodosios Salibaras, complained to him, saying, 'Everyone is clamouring against us, O lord, and, in a time of temptation, will take pleasure in our downfall.' But he replied, 'If God has hardened my heart as He
490 hardened Pharaoh's,[c] what good can come to my subjects? Do not, O Theodosios, expect from Nikephoros anything other than what you see.' The Lord is my witness that I, the author, heard these very words from the mouth of Theodosios.[11] So, having gathered his troops, not only from Thrace, but also from the Asiatic *themata* as well as many poor men armed at their own expense with slings and sticks (who were cursing him as did the soldiers), he advanced against the Bulgarians. Frightened by this multitude which had come to Markellai, Kroummos asked for peace. The emperor, however, by his own evil designs and the recommendation of his like-minded advisers, refused. After making many detours through impassable country the rash coward recklessly entered Bulgaria on 20 July[12] (the disastrous rising of the dog-star), frequently repeating

these words, 'Who will go and deceive Ahab?[d] He is drawn against his will, be it by God or the Adversary.' Before he had entered Bulgaria, his favourite servant Byzantios fled to Kroummos from Markellai having seized the imperial robes and 100 lbs. of gold. His flight was regarded by many people as an ill omen for Nikephoros. For three days after the first encounters the emperor appeared to be successful,[13] but did not ascribe[14] his victory to God who grants success; instead, he proclaimed the good fortune and judgement of Staurakios alone and made threats against the officers who had opposed the invasion. He ordered that senseless animals,[15] infants, and persons of all ages should be slain without mercy and left the corpses of his fellow countrymen unburied, mindful only of the collection of spoils. He also placed locks and seals on the treasury of Kroummos and secured it as if it was his own: any Christians who laid hands on the spoils had their ears or other parts of the body amputated.[16] He set fire to the so-called 'court' of Kroummos,[17] while the latter was greatly humbled and declared, 'Behold, you have won. Take, therefore, anything you desire and depart in peace.' But the enemy of peace would not approve of peace; whereupon, the other became vexed and gave instructions to secure the entrances and exits of his country with wooden barriers. On becoming aware of this, Nikephoros was immediately dumbfounded and went about not knowing what to do. To his companions he foretold disaster,[18] saying, 'Even if we grow wings, let no one imagine he will escape his doom.' These moves occupied two days, Thursday and Friday. In the 491
night of Saturday the tumult of armed contingents could be heard all round Nikephoros and his companions and unnerved everyone. Before day-break the barbarians fell on the tent of Nikephoros and those of his commanders and slew him miserably. Among the victims were the patrician Aëtios,[19] the patrician Peter,[20] the patrician Sisinnios Triphylles, the patrician Theodosios Salibaras (who had caused much sorrow and distress to the blessed Irene), the patrician prefect,[21] the patrician Romanus, who was *strategos* of the Anatolics, and many *protospatharioi* and *spatharioi*, the commanders of the *tagmata*, including the domestic of the excubitors and the *drungarios* of the Imperial Watch, the *strategos* of Thrace, many officers of the *themata*, and an infinite number of soldiers so that the flower of Christendom was destroyed. All the arms were lost as were the imperial utensils. May not Christians experience another time the ugly events of that day for which no lamentation is adequate. These things happened on 26 July of the 4th indiction.

Kroummos cut off the head of Nikephoros and for several days hung it on a pole so as to exhibit it to the tribes that came before him

and to dishonour us. After that, he bared the skull, reveted it on the outside with silver and, in his pride, made the chieftains of the Sklavinians drink from it. When so many widows and orphans were left on that day, in the midst of such uncontrollable weeping, the slaying of Nikephoros appeared to many persons as a consolation. None of the survivors could describe exactly the manner of his murder:[22] some even affirm that Christians stoned him when he had fallen. As for his effeminate servants (with whom he went to bed), some perished in the fire of the ditch,[23] others, along with him, by the sword. At no time did Christians have the misfortune of experiencing a rule more grievous than his. He surpassed all his predecessors by his greed, his licentiousness, his barbaric cruelty: to describe
492 everything in detail would be for us a laborious task and make a story that future generations will not believe. As the proverb says, the cloth can be judged by its hem.

The emperor's son, Staurakios, received a fatal blow to the right of his spine and, barely escaping alive from the battle, reached Adrianople, sorely tormented by his wound. The patrician Stephen, who was domestic of the Schools, in the presence of the *magistros* Theoktistos,[24] proclaimed Staurakios emperor[25] and the latter spoke to the remnants of the army blaming his own father, at which they were greatly pleased. The *curopalates* Michael, who escaped unharmed, received many entreaties from his friends that he should be proclaimed emperor, but did not consent because of his oath to Nikephoros and Staurakios. As for the *magistros* Theoktistos, he was in favour of Michael's becoming emperor. Now Staurakios suffered a heavy haemorrhage through his urine; his thighs and limbs were paralysed and he was brought to Byzantium in a litter. The patriarch Nikephoros, who was very friendly with him, advised him to propitiate God and to indemnify those who had been wronged by his father; but the true heir of his father's character replied that he was unable to return more than 3 talents,[26] which was but a small part of that man's extortions. Even with respect to that sum he showed himself dilatory, hoping as he did to survive. Being endowed with his father's implacable character, he kept heaping insults on the *magistros* Theoktistos, the domestic Stephen, and the *curopalates* Michael and was completely alienated from his own sister Prokopia for plotting against him[27] at the instigation of the Augusta Theophano; for the unhappy woman, who was childless, was hoping to obtain the Empire straight away in the manner of the blessed Irene. Seeing himself to be in an incurable condition, Staurakios sought to secure the empire for his wife in preference to causing confusion among Christians on top of their previous mis-

fortunes. Alarmed by this, the patriarch Nikephoros, the *magistros* Theoktistos, the domestic Stephen, and the *curopalates* Michael towards the end of September of the 5th indiction[28] exchanged their mutual hostility for friendship. On the evening of 1 October Staurakios called in the domestic Stephen and asked him how he 493
could remove his brother-in-law Michael from his house so as to blind him. When Stephen had replied it was impossible at that hour because of the force Michael had with him and the secure position of his house,[29] Staurakios begged him that their conversation should not be revealed to anyone. Having convinced him by means of persuasive words to allay his fears, Stephen assembled all through the night the remaining contingents of the *tagmata* together with their officers in the covered Hippodrome[30] in order to proclaim Michael emperor. When at dawn the whole Senate had come into the palace, they did proclaim him emperor as will be stated later. The patriarch Nikephoros demanded from Michael a statement written in his own hand concerning the true faith, promising to keep his hands unsullied by Christian blood and not to smite[31] clergymen, monks, or any other member of the ecclesiastical establishment.

[a] Jn. 12: 3–5. [b] Cf. Rom. 1: 21. [c] Exod. 7: 3, 22, etc. [d] 3 (1) Kgs. 22: 20.

1 Meaning Romans as above, p. 667.

2 These laws are not preserved. The interest on ships refers to the 10th 'vexation'.

3 Referring to an incident during the episcopate of Nestorios when certain barbarian slaves, armed with swords, took refuge in Hagia Sophia, killed a clergyman and wounded another. That was seen as a bad omen: Sokr. vii.33.

4 Nikephoros is said to have been born in Cappadocia or Pisidia. On the Athinganoi, a Judaizing sect, see J. Starr, *HTR* 29 (1936), 93–106; I. Rochow in *Studien z. u. 9. Jh.*, 163–78.

5 Also spelled Exokionion, on the seventh hill, outside the Constantinian walls. The name survives in the Turkish Altı Mermer. See Janin, *CP*, 351f. (not altogether accurate); Berger, *Patria*, 352 ff. and above, AM 6020.

6 Actually, Saturday of the first week of Lent fell on 1 Mar. 811.

7 Cf. Treadgold, *Revival*, 168–9 and n. 226, who concludes from this passage that Euchaita, rather than Amaseia, was at the time the headquarters of the Armeniac *thema*. Leo (the future emperor) was punished and exiled for his negligence: Theoph. Cont. 11–12; Scr. inc. 336. For the situation of Euchaita see C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, *BZ* 65 (1972), 379f.

8 The numeral is missing. Note that the Oxford MS has 'June' (perhaps correctly), whereas Anast. has *Iulio mense*.

9 Perhaps the same as the addressee of Theod. Stud. *ep.* 27. Cf. D. Papachryssanthou, *TM* 3 (1968), 322 f.

[10] i.e. from the time of his accession.

[11] See Introduction, p. lix. Treadgold, *Revival*, 411 n. 229, is, of course, right in remarking that the words here attributed to Nikephoros are bogus, but that does not detract from the fact that the 'author' claims to have spoken to Salibaras in June/July. The identification of the emperor with Pharaoh picks up the biblical imagery of the ten vexations.

[12] Treadgold, *Revival*, 171 and 411 n. 231, wishes to emend 20 July to 11 July because *Chr. 811*, lines 33, 51 states twice that Nikephoros spent 15 days in Bulgaria, and the final disaster is firmly dated to 26 July. The difference may be more apparent than real because Theoph. places the entry into Bulgaria after the 'many detours' (presumably diversionary moves across the border). Following the entry, he speaks of three days of success and two days (Thursday and Friday) of indecision. Hence 20 July may be kept.

[13] According to *Chr. 811*, lines 14–16, he destroyed two Bulgar forces, the first of 12,000, the second of 50,000. The legend of the monk Nicholas, *Syn. CP* 343. 30, speaks of a single force of 15,000.

[14] In dispatches?

[15] So also *Chr. 811*, 41 ff.

[16] According to *Chr. 811*, 21 ff., the captured treasure was distributed among the soldiers.

[17] So also *Chr. 811*, 29, which adds that the houses and circuit wall were of timber. It is commonly assumed that the 'court' was at Pliska, but it remains to be explained how Nikephoros could have reached Pliska (a distance of over 100 km. from Markellai over the Balkan mountains) in so short a time. It may be recalled that in 809 (p. 665 above) Nikephoros invaded Bulgaria on Tuesday of Passion week and reached Krum's 'court' by Easter Sunday, that is in five days.

[18] Following Anast. (*praenuntiabat*) and Kedr. ii. 42. 6 (*προέλεγεν*) instead of the MSS' *ἔλεγεν*.

[19] Irene's former minister. Cf. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien*, 58.

[20] On his unlikely survival see above, p. 658 n. 4.

[21] Presumably the prefect of Constantinople.

[22] So also *Chr. 811*, 90–2.

[23] This expression (*τῷ τῆς σούδας πυρί*) is elucidated by *Chr. 811*, 67 ff. The fleeing Byzantines, on reaching the wooden palisade that had been erected by the Bulgarians, climbed over it and fell into the ditch outside. In some places they set fire to the palisade. The burning timbers collapsed into the ditch, killing the men who were falling into it. Seeing that the ditch was outside the fence, it must have been part of a defensive system directed against the Byzantines, like the partially preserved Erkesija or Great Fence, on which see Bury, *ERE* 361–2, and *EHR* 25 (1910), 276–87, where he argues that it was built immediately after 814. Cf. also K. Škorpil, *BSl* 2 (1930), 197 ff.; 3 (1931), 11 ff.; *TIB* 6: 261 f.

[24] His seal in Zacos–Veglery, i/2, no. 2498. Perhaps the same as the patrician and quaestor of AM 6295.

[25] Probably on 28 July: Bury, *ERE*, 16 n. 2.

[26] 300 lbs. of gold.

[27] She was said to have poisoned him: Mich. Syr. iii. 26, 70, quoting Dionysios of Tel-Mahrē, who had obtained the information from a native of Constantinople.

[28] This and the following events belong, strictly speaking, to AM 6304.

[29] Michael resided in the mansion of Mangana: Theoph. Cont. 12.

[30] Not the main Hippodrome, but a courtyard attached to the Great Palace by the Skyla gate. See Guilland, *Études*, i. 165 ff.

[31] *Μὴ τύπτεσθαι: ne percuterentur*, Anast. Dölger, *Reg.* 384, wishes to emend *τύπτεσθαι* to *τυποῦσθαι*, meaning 'subjected to imperial decrees'.

AM 6304 [AD 811/12]

Year of the divine Incarnation 804
Michael, emperor of the Romans (2 years), 1st year
Mouamed, leader of the Arabs (4 years), 4th year
Leo, bishop of Rome (16 years), 16th year
Nikephoros, bishop of Constantinople (9 years), 7th year

In this year, on 2 October of the 5th indiction,[1] a Thursday, at the first hour, the most pious *curopalates* Michael was proclaimed emperor of the Romans in the Hippodrome by the entire Senate and the *tagmata*. Having heard of his proclamation, Staurakios immediately cut off his hair and put on monastic garb through the offices of his relative, the monk Symeon, all the time calling for the patriarch. The latter came to the palace together with the emperor Michael and Staurakios' sister and fervently begged Staurakios not to be grieved by the turn of events, which was due not to a plot, but to despair concerning his life. Still raging with his father's wickedness, Staurakios did not acquiesce and said to him, 'You will not find him a better friend than me.'[2] At the 4th hour of that day Michael was crowned by the patriarch Nikephoros in the ambo of the Great Church, whereupon there was general rejoicing. He donated 50 lbs. of gold to the patriarch and 25 to the clergy. Being magnanimous and liberal, he indemnified all those who had been injured by the greed of Nikephoros and restored the Senate and the army by means of gifts. 494

On the 12th of the same month Prokopia was crowned Augusta in the hall of the Augusteus and honoured the Senate with many gifts. The emperor donated 5 talents of gold to the widows of the thematic soldiers killed in Bulgaria. He also enriched Theophano, the wife of Staurakios, who had become a nun as well as her relatives who had lived wretchedly under Nikephoros. Amongst others, he ceded to her an imposing mansion, called *ta Hebraika*,[3] to be made into a monastery: that is where Staurakios was buried. He also enriched all the patricians and senators, bishops, priests and monks, service men

and the poor, both in the Imperial City and in the *themata*, so that in a few days the infinite avarice of Nikephoros (on account of which he met an evil end) was wiped out. Being, in addition to his many other excellent qualities, pious and highly orthodox, he was distressed by those who severed themselves from the holy Church for any cause whatever, reasonable or unreasonable, and did not cease begging on their behalf the most holy patriarch and those able to contribute to the general peace. Wherefore he strove that Theodore, abbot of Studios, Platon, and Joseph, archbishop of Thessalonica (Theodore's brother), who had been subjected to bitter confinement, and the other prominent members of their monastery should be united to the Church, and this he achieved.[4] He also sent an embassy to Karoulos, king of the Franks, to treat of peace and a marriage contract for his son Theophylaktos.[5] Likewise the most holy patriarch Nikephoros sent a synodic letter to Leo, the most holy Pope of Rome; for previously he had been prevented from so doing by Nikephoros.[6]

On 25 December of the 5th indiction, a Thursday, Michael, the most serene emperor, crowned his son Theophylaktos emperor by the hand of the patriarch Nikephoros in the ambo of the Great Church. He offered a sumptuous adornment for the holy sanctuary, namely golden vessels set with stones and a set of four curtains[7] of ancient manufacture, splendidly embroidered in gold and purple and decorated with wonderful sacred images. He also donated 25 lbs. of gold to the patriarch and 100 lbs. to the venerable clergy, so adorning the holy feast and his son's proclamation. Moved by an excess of
495 divine zeal, the most pious emperor, at the instigation of the most holy patriarch Nikephoros and other pious persons, decreed the death penalty against the Manichees (that is the Paulicians of today) and the Athinganoi who live in Phrygia and Lykaonia, but was turned back from this course by certain perverse counsellors[8] who used the pretext of repentance, although those who have fallen into that error are incapable of repenting. The counsellors argued in their ignorance that priests ought not to condemn the impious to death,[9] being in this respect in complete contradiction to Holy Scripture. For if Peter, the chief apostle, put Ananias and Sapphira to death for nothing more than a lie;[a] if the great Paul cries out saying, 'They which commit such things are worthy of death;'[b] and this with reference to bodily sin only; does it not follow that those who deliver from the sword persons that are filled with every manner of spiritual and bodily impurity and are worshippers of demons stand in contradiction to the apostles? Even so, the pious emperor Michael executed not a few of those heretics.

Staurakios developed ulcers on his back on account of his fatal wound so that no one could bear to approach him because of the foul stench. He died on 11 January of the 5th indiction after a nominal reign of 2 months and 6 days.[10]

On 14 May, a Friday, there was a great eclipse of the sun lasting three and a half hours, from the 8th to the 11th hour.[11]

On 7 June Michael set out against the Bulgarians and was accompanied by Prokopia as far as Tzouroulon.[12] The Bulgarian leader Kroummos had taken Debeltos[13] by siege and transplanted its population, which had defected to him together with their bishop. Following this, because of the great perversity of the emperor's evil counsellors, the army and, in particular, the contingents of Opsikion and the Thrakesians, raised a sedition and uttered insults. Michael calmed them with gifts and admonitions and so reduced them to silence. Having been informed that the troops had rebelled for fear of 496
war and had been disorderly on garrison duty, the Bulgarians extended their power over Thrace and Macedonia. At that time the Christians abandoned Anchialos and Beroia and fled, although no one was pursuing them; the same at Nikaia,[14] the castle of Probaton, and a number of other forts as also at Philippoupolis and Philippi.[15] Seizing this opportunity, the immigrants who lived at the Strymon also fled and returned to their homes.[16] That was a sign of divine wrath reproving the madness of Nikephoros: as a result, his ostensible achievements, on which he prided himself, quickly collapsed. Now those who had neglected to censure the evil doctrines prevalent among many men, namely the widespread heresies of God's enemies, the Paulicians, Athinganoi, iconoclasts, and Tetraditai[17] (I refrain from mentioning adultery and fornication, licentiousness and perjury, brotherly hatred, avarice, and other transgressions) began moving their tongues against the holy icons and the monastic habit and to laud the abominable and thrice-miserable Constantine because (as those wretches impiously affirmed) he had won victories over the Bulgarians thanks to his piety. Such of them as were in the Imperial City took up arms to subvert the orthodox faith even after an ecumenical council. Blinded in their spirit, they desired that blind men should reign without God's assent, namely the sons of God's enemy Constantine, then kept under guard on the island of Panormos,[18] whom they intended to abduct in the night and bring before the army. But the Lord put them to shame and roused the most pious Michael to avenge the truth. Without dissimulation he addressed to the army some reasonable words about the faith and then returned to the Imperial City and, by a clever stratagem, frightened the majority of the conspirators by means of a few blows and

exiled Constantine's blind sons to Aphousia.[19] He cut off the tongue of one of those vagabond pseudo-hermits, the fellow-magician of Nicholas of Hexakionion, who had scraped and dishonoured an icon of the all-holy Theotokos, and who now died a spiritual as well as a bodily death. As for the latter's fellow-thinker Nicholas who had
497 announced his repentance, he had him confess his misdeeds in public and placed him in a monastery with instructions that he should not lead an independent regimen. At a *silentium* held in the Magnaura he addressed the people and set out the pious doctrines of his godly mind. The Athinganoi he subjected to confiscation and banishment at the hands of Leo, *strategos* of the Anatolics.[20]

In the month of August of the 5th indiction Thebith[21] made an expedition against the Christians. Leo, *strategos* of the Anatolics, met him in battle and gained a victory after killing 2,000 and capturing horses and weapons. Mouamed, Aaron's eldest son, who was the ruler of the Arab nation, gave battle to his brother Abdelas in inner Persia and was defeated. He fled to Baghdad which he held. Damascus was occupied by a usurper, Egypt and Africa were divided between two rulers, and another devastated Palestine like a robber.[22]

[a] Acts 5: 1–10. [b] Rom. 1: 32.

[1] AD 811. Anast. is wrong in giving 5 Oct.

[2] So Anast.: *amicum meliorem me non habebis*. The Greek MSS have *φίλον αὐτοῦ κρείττονα οὐχ εὑρήσεις*, which does not yield a satisfactory sense: *αὐτοῦ* should be corrected either to *ἐμοῦ* or to *αὐτόν*. Cf. Bury, *ERE*, 20 n. 2.

[3] Situation unknown. See Bury, *ERE*, 21 n. 3; Janin, *Églises*, 470–1. The monastery was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. The tomb in which were buried Staurakios and his wife Theophano is mentioned in *Cer.* 647.

[4] Actually, the Studites were allowed to return from exile shortly before the death of Nikephoros I: Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 96–7.

[5] Dölger, *Reg.* 385. Cf. id., *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Ettal, 1953), 306 ff.; Treadgold, *Revival*, 178 f. The Latin sources, which give further details about the embassy, are silent about a marriage proposal.

[6] Grumel, *Reg.* 382. The letter is in *PG* 100: 169–200.

[7] *τετράβηλα*, presumably to be hung on the four sides of the ciborium. Cf. T. F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, Pa., 1971), 167.

[8] The Studites. Cf. Grumel, *Reg.* 383–4; Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 99.

[9] Theod. Stud. *epp.* 94, 455. See also *V. Nikeph.* 158 f. and Peter the Sicilian in *TM* 4 (1970), 65.

[10] 2 months and 8 days in Theoph. Cont. 11.

[11] Cf. Mich. Syr. iii. 26.

[12] For a *curator* of Tzouroulon who died in 813 see I. Ševčenko, *Byz* 35 (1965), 564–74.

[13] Ancient Deultum near the bay of Burgas. See *TIB* 6: 234 f.

[14] More correctly Nike, today Havsa, 26 km. south-east of Adrianople. See *TIB* 6: 374 f.

[15] A list of the places taken by Krum appears in the inscription of Hambarli. See H. Grégoire, *Byz* 9 (1934), 745 ff.; Beševliev, *Protobulg. Inschr.*, no. 2, pp. 124 ff. I. Karayannopulos in *Byzantium: Tribute to A. N. Stratos* (Athens, 1986), i. 101–9, argues that the mention of Philippi here is due to scribal error.

[16] These must have been the new settlers transferred by Nikephoros.

[17] On the Tetraditai (Quartodecimans) see our remarks in *The Homilies of Photius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 279–82.

[18] One of the Princes' Islands (Antigoni, Burgaz adası). See Janin, *Grands centres*, 63–5.

[19] Now Avşa adası, a small island south of Prokonnesos and west of the Kyzikos peninsula: ibid. 200–1.

[20] He had been recalled from banishment and promoted by Michael I: Theoph. Cont. 12; Scr. inc. 336.

[21] Thābit b. Nasr: Brooks, 'Abbasids', 747; Canard, *Byz* 32 (1962), 362.

[22] Hostilities between the two brothers broke out in Mar. 811. Al-Amīn's forces were defeated near Rayy in July and again in 812. The Caliph sought refuge in Baghdad, which was invested in Aug. 812 and held out until Sept. 813. Theoph. does not appear to have been informed of its fall. The devastation of Palestine was carried out by one 'Amr: see Mich Syr. iii. 21, AG 1123, who also refers (p. 23) to troubles in Egypt and Africa.

AM 6305 [AD 812/13]

Year of the divine Incarnation 805
Michael, 2nd year
Leo, 17th year
Nikephoros 8th year[1]

In this year Kroummos, the leader of the Bulgarians, sent Dargameros[2] on a new[3] mission of peace to the emperor Michael, seeking the terms that had been agreed at the time of Theodosios of Adramytion and the patriarch Germanus with Kormesios, the then lord of Bulgaria.[4] The terms in question established the boundary at Meleones in Thrace;[5] [a tribute] of vestments and [dyed] red hides to the value of 30 lbs. of gold; furthermore, that refugees from either side should be returned to their respective homes even if they had plotted against their own rulers, and that those who traded in both countries should be certified by means of diplomas and seals:[6] (anyone not having seals would lose) his assets which would be confiscated by the Treasury. He also wrote accusations against the emperor, namely, 'If you do not hasten to make peace, I will, through

your fault, array myself against Mesembria.' When the emperor had received this message, he did not accept peace at the instigation of his evil counsellors, who affirmed under a false pretext of piety, but
498 rather out of ignorance and to the destruction of the common good, that refugees should not be surrendered;[7] in confirmation of which they quoted the Lord's saying in the Gospel, 'Him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out.'[a]

In the middle of October Kroummos arrayed himself against Mesembria with an equipment of machines and siege engines in which he had become expert through the fault of Nikephoros, the destroyer of the Christians. For there was an Arab,[8] highly skilled in engineering, who had accepted baptism and whom Nikephoros enrolled in imperial service and established at Adrianople, but offered him no suitable assistance or reward; on the contrary, he diminished his pay and, when the latter complained, had him severely beaten. Thereupon, the Arab in his despair defected to the Bulgarians and taught them the whole art of making engines. So Kroummos took up his position; and since, out of stupidity, no one offered him any resistance all through that month, he occupied Mesembria.

On 1 November the emperor, reduced to such straits, invited the patriarch to confer about peace; also present were the metropolitans of Nicaea[9] and Kyzikos and the evil counsellors, ⟨including Theodore, abbot of Studios⟩. The patriarch, the metropolitans, and the emperor favoured peace, whereas the evil counsellors along with Theodore, abbot of Studios, rejected peace, saying, 'One ought not to embrace peace if that means subverting a divine commandment: for the Lord has declared, "Him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out" '—not knowing what they were saying nor that concerning which they were making affirmations. In the first place, whereas no one from the other side was seeking refuge with us, we would be betraying those within 'the court'[10] whom we could have saved by making peace. In the second place, even if a few did escape to us, it was more necessary to purchase the safety of the greater number (who were our fellow countrymen) than to be in possession of some unknown and insignificant [individuals]:[11] for God is pleased when the greater rather than the lesser number are saved and it is surely a sign of complete madness to sustain a great loss for a small gain. Furthermore, he who does not provide for those of his own house has denied his faith, according to Paul,[b] and is considered worse than an
499 infidel. And what about, 'I was peaceable with them that hated peace'?[c] Are they perchance wiser than both Paul and David? And who is today wiser than the thrice-blessed Germanus,[12] except the

evil counsellors in their soul-destroying vanity who stood in the way of peace?

These things, as already indicated, occurred on 1 November. On the 4th of the same month was seen a comet in the shape of two luminous crescents, now united, now separated so as to assume different forms and take on the likeness of a headless man. And on the following day we received the disastrous news of the capture of Mesembria, which frightened everyone by the prospect of greater ills. For they found it filled with all manner of goods that are necessary for human habitation and took possession of it along with Debeltos, wherein they found 36 brass siphons and a considerable quantity of the liquid fire that is projected from them[13] as well as an abundance of gold and silver.

In the same year many of the Christians of Palestine, monks and laymen, and from all of Syria arrived in Cyprus, fleeing the excessive misdeeds of the Arabs. For, as a result of the general anarchy that prevailed in Syria, Egypt, Africa, and their[14] entire dominion, murders, rapes, adulteries, and all manner of licentious acts that are abhorred by God were committed in villages and towns by that accursed nation. In the holy city of Christ our God the venerable places of the holy Resurrection, of Golgotha, and the rest were profaned.[15] Likewise the famous *lavras* in the desert, that of St Chariton and that of St Sabas, and the other monasteries and churches were made desolate.[16] Some Christians were killed like martyrs, while others proceeded to Cyprus and thence to Byzantium and were given kindly hospitality by the pious emperor Michael and the most holy patriarch Nikephoros. The emperor made a gift of an important monastery[17] to those who had come to the City, while to those who had remained in Cyprus, both monks and laymen, he sent a talent[18] of gold and provided for them in every way. The emperor Michael was kindly and gentle towards everyone, but in the administration of affairs he was incompetent and subservient to the *magistros* 500
Theoktistos and to other dignitaries.

In the month of February two Christian refugees from Bulgaria announced to the emperor that Kroummos was making haste to ambush those who were in Thrace.[19] On the 15th of the month the emperor marched out of the City and, by God's providence, Kroummos withdrew empty-handed after losing many of his men. The emperor proceeded to Adrianople and, having taken appropriate measures there, returned joyfully. He then went up to the monastery of St Tarasios, the patriarch, and, after celebrating a memorial service[20] together with the Augusta Prokopia, reveted his holy tomb with silver sheeting weighing 95 lbs.[21]

After the fall of Mesembria the emperor renounced the prospect of peace with Kroummos. He made a levy from all the *themata*[22] and ordered that they should cross to Thrace before spring. As a result, everyone was annoyed, especially the Cappadocians and the Armeniacs. In May the emperor set out with the *tagmata* and, once again, the Augusta Prokopia accompanied him as far as *ta Akedouktou* near Herakleia.[23] This provoked the army to curse and mock Michael. On 4 May there was an eclipse of the sun in the 14th degree of the Bull according to the astronomical tables,[24] at sunrise, and great fear fell on the people. The emperor with the generals and the army made a tour of Thrace, neither proceeding against Mesembria nor undertaking any other necessary action with a view to the discomfiture of the enemy. Instead, he gave credence to the vain words of his unwarlike counsellors who affirmed that the enemy would not dare attack him while he remained on home ground. The presence of such a throng of our fellow-countrymen who lacked necessary supplies and ruined the local inhabitants by rapine and invasion was more grievous than a barbarian attack. At the beginning of June Kroummos, the leader of the Bulgarians, fearful of the great numbers of the Christian army, set out at the head of his own troops. When he had encamped at Versinikia,[25] about thirty miles from the imperial army, the patrician Leo, *strategos* of the
501 Anatolics, and the patrician John Aplakes, *strategos* of Macedonia, were very eager to give battle, but were prevented from so doing by the emperor on account of his evil counsellors.

In the City, while the people and the patriarch were performing a litany in the church of the Holy Apostles, some impious members of the foul heresy of the God-hated Constantine prised up the door of the imperial mausoleum {no one was paying any attention because the throng was so thick} and made it open suddenly with some kind of noise as if by a divine miracle. They then rushed in and fell before the deceiver's tomb,[26] calling on him and not on God, crying out, 'Arise and help the State that is perishing!' They spread the rumour that Constantine had arisen on his horse and was setting out to fight the Bulgarians—he who dwells in Hell in the company of demons! The City prefect arrested those men and at first they lied, pretending that the doors of the mausoleum had opened automatically by God's will. But when they had been brought before the prefect's tribunal and failed to produce witnesses, they admitted the stratagem of the wrenching before any torture had been applied to them. The prefect had them suitably 'wrenched' and condemned them to be paraded in public and to cry aloud the reason for their punishment. Thus had the Devil, inventor of evil, trained the soldiers to lay blame not on their own sins, but on the orthodox faith that has been handed down by our fathers and on the monastic rule, the school of godly philosophy. Most of those who uttered such blasphemies were Christians only in semblance, but in truth were Paulicians who, unable to make manifest their own loathsome doctrines, seduced the ignorant by this device, extolling the Jewish-minded Constantine as a prophet and a victor and embracing his impiety so as to subvert the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

On 22 June, after the Christians and the Bulgarians had arrayed themselves not far from Adrianople, the Christians were grievously worsted in battle and the enemy won, so much so that most of the Christians had not even waited for the first clash before they took to headlong flight.[27] Astonished, Kroummos thought that what was happening was some kind of ambush and for a while he restrained his men from pursuit. But when he had seen the Christians fleeing without restraint, he pursued them and killed a great multitude. He also seized the camp train and despoiled it. As for the emperor, he 502
was making his homeward escape, cursing the army and its commanders and swearing he would abdicate the Empire. He communicated his intention to the patrician Leo, the *strategos* of the Anatolics, inasmuch as the latter was pious, extremely courageous, and fit in every respect to assume the kingship.[28] But when Leo had refused, he left him in command of the *themata* and himself arrived in the Imperial City on 24 June, intent on abdicating his rule and appointing another, but prevented from so doing by his wife and his ministers. The most holy patriarch Nikephoros agreed to this course because if another were appointed under such circumstances, the emperor and his children would be spared. When the *strategoi* and the army had learnt that the emperor had fled to the City, they despaired of being ruled by him any longer and, having taken counsel among themselves, implored ⟨the patrician⟩ Leo, *strategos* of the Anatolics, to help the common cause and protect the Christian state. For a time the latter strenuously objected, bearing in mind the difficulty of the occasion and the enemy's irresistible attack and wishing to preserve his correct stance, untouched by treachery, towards the emperors. When, however, he had seen the enemy hastening against the City, he wrote to the patriarch Nikephoros an assurance of his own orthodoxy and asked for his prayers and consent with a view to assuming the power.[29] On reaching the Tribunal outside the City[30] with the *strategoi* and the army, he was proclaimed most legitimately emperor of the Romans. In the middle of the day he entered Constantinopole through the Charsian gate[31] and arrived in the palace. On being informed of his proclamation,

Michael, together with Prokopia and their children, sought refuge in the chapel of the Pharos, where they cut off their hair and donned monastic garb on 11 July of the 6th indiction, a Monday. The following day Leo was crowned by the patriarch Nikephoros in the ambo of the Great Church and ordered the City to be placed in a
503 state of defence. He himself toured the walls by day and night, encouraging everyone and bidding them be hopeful that God would soon work a miracle through the intercessions of the all-pure Theotokos and all the saints and not allow us to be altogether shamed because of the multitude of our sins.

Puffed up by his victory, Kroummos, the new Sennacherib, left his brother with his own force to besiege Adrianople and, six days after Leo's assumption of the imperial office, arrived at the Imperial City with might and horses and made a tour outside the walls, from Blachernai to the Golden Gate, exhibiting his forces. After performing his foul demonic sacrifices in the coastal meadow of the Golden Gate, he requested the emperor to affix his spear in the Golden Gate itself. When the latter had refused, he returned to his tent. Having admired the walls of the City and the emperor's well-ordered array and giving up hope of the siege he had contemplated, he had recourse to negotiation and made some tentative proposals for peace. Grasping this opportunity, the emperor tried to ambush him, but was prevented from accomplishing this plan by the multitude of our sins inasmuch as the executants of the deed, through their incompetence, merely wounded Kroummos and did not inflict on him a fatal blow.[32] Incensed at this, the wretch sent a raiding party to St Mamas and burnt the palace that is there. He loaded on carts the bronze lion of the hippodrome,[33] the bear and the dragon of the fountain, as well as choice marbles and returned home after besieging and taking Adrianople.[34]

[a] Jn. 6: 37. [b] 1 Tim. 5: 8. [c] Ps. 119 (120): 7.

[1] Note the absence of the Caliph from this, the last rubric. For Pope Leo see AM 6289, n. 1.

[2] i.e. Dragomir, a Slavonic name.

[3] See above, p. 672 for his earlier overtures.

[4] These indications appear to be contradictory, seeing that Kormesios was contemporary with Constantine V, whereas the Khan at the time of Theodosios III was Tervel. See Bury, *ERE*, 338 n. 5, who attempts to resolve the difficulty by supposing that Krum invoked a treaty made under Constantine V, which, in turn, ratified an earlier one of 716. Beševliev, *Protobulg. Periode*, 249 f., supposes that Kormesios was joint ruler with Tervel.

[5] Exact situation unknown. Several villages called Jabălkovo (Turkish Elmalı) may claim descent from Meleones (Apple Orchards). See *TIB* 6: 353.

[6] Cf. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes*, 166 f.

[7] This suggests that refugees from Bulgaria were not a negligible element. On their settlement by Michael I see Skylitzes, 12.

[8] It is not clear whether he was the same as Eumathios mentioned under AM 6301.

[9] Peter, who was removed from office in 815. Theod. Stud. wrote him after his deposition (*ep.* 313).

[10] i.e. held in the Bulgarian encampment.

[11] Meaning unclear (ἢ ἐπ' ἀδήλοις καὶ ἀφανέσι πλουτεῖν, rendered by Anast. as *quam super incertis et invisibilibus locupletari*). Bury, *ERE*, 349 n. 1, thinks this refers to the payment of 30 lbs.' worth of tribute, but why would that have been an 'unknown' quantity? Besides, the adj. ἀφανής was usually applied to persons of lowly origin, in this case refugees from Bulgaria. On the deliberations see also Theoph. Cont. 12–13, who specifies that Theoktistos and the Senate balked at the exchange of refugees and so advised against peace.

[12] In whose days the original treaty had been concluded.

[13] See above, p. 493.

[14] i.e. the Arabs'.

[15] *V. Mich. Sync.* 56 ff., a disingenuous source, speaks of a heavy fine imposed by the Arabs on the churches of Jerusalem.

[16] It has been argued that this account of the damage inflicted on the Palestinian monasteries was exaggerated: S. H. Griffith, *Byz* 56 (1986), 117 ff. Cf. M.-F. Auzépy, *TM* 12 (1994), 192, who points out that Theod. Stud. *epp.* 277, 278 considered it worth while in 818 to alert the abbots of the Old and the New Lavras about the resumption of iconoclasm.

[17] Probably that of the Chora. See J. Gouillard, *Rev. des ét. sud-est européennes*, 7 (1969), 73–6; Auzépy, op. cit. 211.

[18] 100 lbs.

[19] λοχῆσαι. . . τοὺς ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ, presumably units of the Byzantine army rather than the population at large.

[20] The feast day of Tarasios fell on 25 Feb.

[21] Another example of a tomb reveted with silver is that of Maria, daughter of the emperor Theophilos: Theoph. Cont. 108. 19.

[22] The composition of this levy is given in more detail in Scr. inc. 336.

[23] Between Selymbria and Herakleia, at which point the road must have branched off to Adrianople. See Bury, *ERE*, 101 n. 5.

[24] If that is the meaning of the expression κατὰ τὸν ὡροσκόπον.

[25] Near Adrianople, exact situation unknown. See *TIB* 6: 205.

[26] Constantine V was buried in Justinian's mausoleum in a sarcophagus of verd-antique. It was ejected and his remains were burnt by Michael III. See P. Grierson, *DOP* 16 (1962), 53–4.

[27] A fuller account of the battle of Versinikia, in which Aplakes was killed, is given by Scr. inc. 337–9. See also Theoph. Cont. 13–15 and Bury, *ERE*, 350–2.

[28] See Introduction, p. lvi.

[29] For the circumstances of Michael's abdication see Bury, *ERE*, 27 ff.

[30] At the Hebdomon.

[31] Present-day Adrianople gate. According to Theoph. Cont. 18. 18, however, Leo made his entrance by the Golden Gate and was greeted by the Senate at the monastery of Studios, which would have been impossible had he entered by the gate of Charisios.

[32] For a more detailed account of the ambush, which took place near the gate of Blachernai, see Scr. inc. 342–4; Bury, *ERE*, 354 f.

[33] i.e. the race course attached to the palace of St Mamas. Scr. inc. 344 speaks of the breaking of columns and the removal of lead as well as statues from the hippodrome. He also records the burning of churches and other buildings on the northern side of the Golden Horn.

[34] Theoph. does not mention the devastation wrought by the retreating Bulgarian army along the coast of the Propontis, from Athyras to Panion, then inland to Apros and Adrianople. The latter seems to have fallen towards the end of August and the people sheltering within its walls, said to have numbered 40,000, were deported beyond the Danube. For these events see Treadgold, *Revival*, 202 f.

Glossary

agens in rebus an agent of the emperor, often a messenger; *LRE* 578–82; *ODB* 36–7

apokrisiarios representative of a bishop dealing with higher authorities; *ODB* 136

a secretis imperial secretary; *LRE* 574, 605; *ODB* 204

augustalis/augustalios title of the prefect of Egypt; *ODB* 232

Augusteus/Augustaion, enclosed open space in Constantinople, south of the Hagia Sophia; *ODB* 232. Also a hall in the imperial palace.

autokrator the official Greek translation of the Latin *imperator*, emperor; *ODB* 235

bajulus tutor or guardian; *ODB* 245–6 (though mainly concerned with the later development of the term)

bema a raised platform, especially at the east end of a church; *ODB* 281

Blues, the. Together with the Greens, one of the two major circus factions of the empire; *ODB* 773–4

brachialion a defensive outwork; AM 6165 n. 2

Campus a plain lying just outside the imperial Hebdomon palace, used for the assembling of troops, and where several emperors were proclaimed; *ODB* 907 and AM 5930 n. 3

candidatus a member of the corps of imperial bodyguards; *LRE* 613; *ODB* 1100

carat/keration a unit of currency, one twenty-fourth of a *solidus*; *ODB* 1123–4

castaldus (gastaldus) a Lombard term for governor; AM 6169 n. 6

cataphract armoured cavalryman on an armoured horse; *ODB* 1114

centenarion pl. **centenaria** a unit of weight (100 lbs.), often applied to gold coins; *ODB* 1121

Chalke the main entrance hallway of the Great Palace of Constantinople; *ODB* 405–6

chartophylax ecclesiastical official dealing with archival and secretarial matters; *ODB* 415–16

chartulary a general term for low-ranking officials in various government bureaux; *ODB* 416

chelandion pl. **chelandia** a transport ship; *ODB* 417

chiliarch commander of a thousand men, a loose term

chlamys a long cloak associated with court ceremonial (in the sixth century); *ODB* 424

ciborium a domed or pyramidical structure on four or six columns, constructed over a tomb or church altar; *ODB* 462

citatorium a summons; AM 6207 n. 3

City prefect, *praefectus urbi* the official in charge of the imperial capital; *LRE* 692
comes pl. **comites** a Count, a term given to various imperial officials; *LRE* 104–5; *ODB* 484–5
comes Aegypti the senior military official in Egypt; *LRE* 776
comes Africae the senior military official in the province of Africa; *LRE* 610
comes commerciorum the official in charge of regulating trade; *LRE* 826; *ODB* 1141
comes excubitorum the official in charge of the excubitors (see below)
comes foederatorum the official in charge of the 'federate' (allied) forces; *LRE*, 665
comes et praeses Isauriae title of the governor of the province of Isauria; *LRE* 609
comes (sacrarum) largitionum the Count of the Sacred Largess, a high-ranking official in charge of finances; *LRE* 427–38; *ODB* 486
comes Orientis the Count of the East; *LRE* 373–4
comes rei militaris a military Count; *LRE* 105
congiarium pl. **congiaria** a distribution of money by the emperor to the people
consul ordinarius ordinary consul (as opposed to an honorary consul, who bought the office); *LRE* 533; *ODB* 525–6
corrector the title of the governors of certain provinces; *LRE* 525
cubicularius a palace eunuch who served 'the sacred bedchamber' of the emperor; *LRE* 566–70; *ODB* 1154
curator a term usually designating the administrator of an imperial estate; *LRE* 426; *ODB* 1155–6
curopalates a palace official in charge of construction and order in the palace; later a high honorific title; *ODB* 1157 and AM 6151 n. 21
demarch the leader of a circus faction; *ODB* 602–3
deme Greek term for a circus faction
denarius pl. **denarii** a Roman unit of currency
diaitarius pl. **diaitarii** a valet or steward (from *diaita*, a dining-room)
Diippion the name given to the gates (*carceres*) of the Hippodrome of Constantinople and the space immediately in front of them
domestic of the Schools the commander of the corps of *scholae* (on which see below); *ODB* 647–8
domesticus the personal assistant of a magistrate; *LRE* 602–3; *ODB* 646
dromon pl. **dromones** a warship; *ODB* 662
drungarius officer commanding a *drungus*, subordinate to a turmarch (from the seventh century); *ODB* 663
dux pl. **duces** a Duke or military commander attached to a particular province; *LRE* 609–10; *ODB* 659
ekdikos a legal agent of a Church (*defensor ecclesiae*); *ODB* 1742
epiphanestatos most noble, Greek equivalent of the Latin term **nobilissimus** a very high-ranking dignity
eulogia pl. **eulogiai** a blessing, a term applied to consecrated gifts; *ODB* 745

excubitor a member of an élite corps of imperial guardsmen; *LRE* 658–9; *ODB* 646, AM 6054 n. 7
follis a copper coin of 40 *nummi* (of little worth); *ODB* 794
genikon logothesion the treasury concerned with the collection of general taxes; *ODB* 829–30
genikon logothete of the, the head of the foregoing; *ODB* 829–30, AM 6203 n. 8
Golden Gate a monumental gate at the south end of the land walls of Constantinople; *ODB* 858–9
Greens, the Together with the Blues, one of the two major circus factions of the empire; *ODB* 773–4
Hebdomon a suburb of Constantinople, lying to the west of the city on the Sea of Marmara; *ODB* 907
hexagram a silver coin introduced in the seventh century; *ODB* 927
illustris pl. **illustres** the highest title of senators; *LRE* 528–30; *ODB* 986–7
illustrissimus an emphatic version of *illustris*
kathisma the emperor's box in the hippodrome; *ODB* 1116 (5)
kleisoura a mountain pass; *ODB* 1132
kleisourarch a commander of a mountain pass; *ODB* 1132
kochlias the spiral staircase linking the imperial palace and the kathisma; *ODB* 934
koinobion pl. **koinobia** a monastery inhabited by monks or nuns following a communal way of life; *ODB* 1136
kom(m)erkion customs dues
kommerkiarios the fiscal official in charge of regulating trade on the frontier; *ODB* 1141
laurata, imagines laureatae crowned with laurel, used especially of imperial images
lavra a type of monastery; *ODB* 1190
lector a reader of the scriptures in church; *ODB* 84
logothete a head of one of the imperial departments, often responsible for finances; *ODB* 1247
logothete of the Course (logothetes tou dromou) the official responsible for (among other things) imperial ceremonial and foreign affairs; *ODB* 1247–8
logothete of the Treasury (genikos logothetes) official in charge of *genikon*; *ODB* 829
magister militum master of soldiery, high-ranking military official; *LRE* 608–10; *ODB* 1266–7
magister militum per Armeniam the master of soldiery stationed on the north-eastern frontier; *LRE* 271
magister militum per Orientem the master of soldiery stationed on the eastern frontier
magister militum per Thracias the master of soldiery stationed in the Balkans
magister militum praesentalis a master of soldiery stationed in the capital; *LRE* 124–5

magister militum vacans titular holder of the post of *magister militum*; *LRE* 535
magister officiorum the master of offices, the head of the central civil administration of the Empire; *LRE* 368–9; *ODB* 1267
magister utriusque militiae master of both soldieries (that is infantry and cavalry), an earlier version of the *magister militum*
magistrianus pl. **magistriani** member on the staff of the *magister officiorum* often entrusted with imperial messages
magistros a high-ranking dignity; *ODB* 1267
Magnaura a ceremonial hall on the periphery of the Great Palace at Constantinople; *ODB* 1267–8
medimnus pl. **medimni** a unit of measurement of grain or land, the equivalent of the *modius*; *ODB* 1388
Melkite a supporter of the Council of Chalcedon in Syria and Egypt; *ODB* 1332
milliaresion, miliaresion a silver coin worth one-twelfth of a *solidus*; *ODB* 1373
modius pl. **modii** a unit of measurement of grain or land; *ODB* 1388
monostrategos a general commanding several *themata*; *ODB* 1964
nobilissimus, nobelissimos in Greek, most noble, a very high ranking dignity reserved for members of the imperial family; *ODB* 1489–90
nomisma pl. **nomismata** coins, usually referring to late Roman gold coins (*solidi*); *ODB* 1490
numerus a unit of soldiers; *LRE* 659 and AM 6051 n. 13
oikonomos a cleric charged with the management of a see or religious foundation; *ODB* 1517
optimati an élite corps of *foederati* (allied forces), which gave its name to a *thema* of north-western Asia Minor; *ODB* 1529
optio a military quartermaster; *LRE* 626–7
palatine associated with the imperial palace
papias a eunuch in charge of the gates and buildings of the palace; *ODB* 1580
parakoimomenos pl. **parakoimomenoi** the eunuch who guarded the imperial bedchamber; *ODB* 1584
paroikos a dependent peasant; *ODB* 1589–90
patriarch the incumbent of one of the five major sees of the Empire (Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem); *LRE* 883–94; *ODB* 1599–1600
patrician a high-ranking dignity; *LRE* 528, 534; *ODB* 1600
phylarch a commander of auxiliaries (often Arab) allied to the Empire; *LRE* 611; *ODB* 1672
praepositus (sacri cubiculi), the grand chamberlain of the palace; *LRE* 567–70; *ODB* 1709
praetor an official responsible for law and order; *LRE* 537–9; *ODB* 1710
praetorian prefect the highest regional civil functionary; *LRE* 370–2; *ODB* 1710–11
primicerius a term designating the senior member of any group of functionaries; *ODB* 1719–20

promoskrinios corruption of *primiscrinius* the chief of a governmental bureau; *LRE* 587
protectores sing. **protector** senior soldiers; *LRE* 636–40; *ODB* 1743, AM 6051 n. 12
protoasekretis head of the college of *a secretis*; *ODB* 1742
protospatharios the first *spatharios* a dignity in the imperial hierarchy; *ODB* 1748
protostrator head of the imperial *stratores*; *ODB* 1748–9
quaestor sacri palatii high-ranking imperial official concerned with legal matters. *LRE* 387; *ODB* 1765–6
referendarius an imperial secretary; *LRE* 575; *ODB* 1778 (1)
res privata the private property of the emperor; *LRE* 411–27
sacra an imperial letter
sakellarios an imperial fiscal official, often a eunuch; *LRE* 567–8; *ODB* 1828–9
scholae (palatinae), sing. **schola** the corps of guards of the imperial palace; *LRE* 647–8; *ODB* 1851–2, AM 6051 n. 12
scholarius a member of the *scholae*
scholasticus a title frequently applied to lawyers. *ODB* 1852
scrinium pl. **scrinia** the bureaux of the imperial administration; *LRE* 412
secretum a bureau or department; *ODB* 1866
semissis a small gold coin, worth half of a *solidus*; LRE 439, 443; ODB 1868
silentiarius a court attendant charged with keeping order and silence in the palace; *LRE* 571–2; *ODB* 1896
silentium an extraordinary meeting of emperor and senate to consider major issues of state; *LRE* 333, 338; *ODB* 1896
skevophylax a cleric charged with looking after the sacred valuables of a church; *ODB* 1909–10
skribon pl. **skribones** a select officer of the imperial guard, often used for special missions; *LRE* 658–9
solea the passage between the ambo and the bema; *ODB* 1923
solidus pl. **solidi** a gold coin known in Greek as the nomisma
spatharios a bodyguard of the emperor, later an honorific title; *LRE* 567–8; *ODB* 1935–6
Sphendone the curved south-western end of the Hippodrome of Constantinople; *ODB* 1936–7
stade a classical unit of measurement of distance, about ⅛ of a mile; *ODB* 1373
stama (in hippodrome) a 'stopping-place' in front of the imperial box in the Hippodrome, perhaps a corruption of *skamma*; AM 6099 n. 2
strategos the traditional Greek word for a general, later commander of a *thema*; *ODB* 1964
strator pl. **stratores** an imperial groom (with wider responsibilites); *LRE* 373; *ODB* 1967
subadiuva deputy assistant of the *magister officiorum*; *LRE* 369
suffragium pl. **suffragia** the recommendation of people to offices; *LRE* 391–6

synaxis an assembly, or service in church; *ODB* 1992
synkellos pl. **synkelloi** the adviser of a patriarch; *ODB* 1993–4
synthronon the bench or benches reserved for the clergy in the apse of a church; *ODB* 1996
tagma pl. **tagmata** a unit of soldiers (esp. a mobile unit), the Greek equivalent of a *numerus*; *ODB* 2007, AM 6094 n. 22
talent an antiquated unit of currency
thema pl. **themata** a military division and administrative unit, governed by a *strategos*; *ODB* 2034–5
tremissis one third of a *solidus*; *ODB* 2113
tricennalia the celebrations held to mark the thirtieth anniversary of an emperor's elevation to the throne
troparion pl. **troparia** the earliest form of the Byzantine hymn; *ODB* 2124
turmarch a military commander in charge of a *tourma*; *ODB* 2100–1
vestitor pl. **vestitores** courtiers of modest rank connected with the imperial wardrobe; *ODB* 2164
vicar (Latin vicarius) the deputy of the praetorian prefect; *LRE* 373–5; *ODB* 2164
vicennalia the celebrations held to mark the twentieth anniversary of an emperor's elevation to the throne
vir illustris a man possessing the highest dignity of the Empire; *LRE* 528–30
xenodochos the director of a *xenodocheion*, a guest-house for travellers, the poor, and the sick; *ODB* 2208

General Index

There is a separate index for Constantinople, which excludes any suburbs beyond the walls. For buildings (e.g. monasteries or churches) readers should check first under the place where the building was located, then under the name of the building as well as under 'Monastery' or 'Church'. Theophanes' sources mentioned in the notes have only been indexed where they are discussed in detail. The abbreviation n. following the page number indicates that the item is mentioned in the notes of that page (rather than in Theophanes' text), and may also be mentioned in the chronological rubric. The abbreviation r. indicates that the individual is present on that page only in the chronological rubric. Persian rulers are described as kings rather than emperors, in order to distinguish them from Roman emperors. Patriarchs and metropolitans are referred to as bishops (bp.) for the sake of brevity; Alexandria is abbreviated as Alex., Antioch as Ant., Constantinople as CP, Jerusalem as Jer., while the bishop of Rome is referred to as the pope. The abbreviations OT and NT after a person's name refer to the Old and New Testaments respectively. Note also the following abbreviations: w. (wife), d. (daughter), m. (mother), f. (father), s. (son), h. (husband), br. (brother), sis. (sister), n. (nephew), *mag. mil.* (*magister militum*), PP (praetorian prefect), *PU* (City prefect/*praefectus urbi*), *mag. off.* (*magister officiorum*), *CSL* (*comes sacrarum largitionum*). Non-Roman names have in general been indexed in their original (rather than Greek) form unless their identification is uncertain. With regard to the order in which names are indexed, single names precede double. Hence, for instance, John of Litarba and John, bp. of CP, precede John Immonides.

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