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COMMENTARIO INSTRUXIT
CYRILLUS MANGO

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EDIDIT IHOR ŠEVČENKO

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NIKEPHOROS
PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE
SHORT HISTORY

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

by

CYRIL MANGO

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PREFACE

The idea of producing this edition stems from two courses on the historical work of Patriarch Nikephoros I gave at the University of Oxford in 1975/6 and 1979/80. For teaching purposes I made then an English translation of the *Breviarium*. It occurred to me that its usefulness would be enhanced if it were to accompany a re-edition of the Greek text that would combine the versions of the Vatican and London manuscripts. Indeed, most historians are content to consult the former in C. de Boor's excellent edition of 1880; not many go to the trouble of examining at the same time L. Orosz' publication of the latter (part edition, part collation), which happens, furthermore, to be somewhat difficult of access. As might have been expected, my collation of the two manuscripts did not produce any great surprises. The process of relying on both, and not on the Vaticanus alone, has yielded, however, for the portion they have in common a somewhat more satisfactory text than de Boor's.

If it has taken me longer than I had anticipated to complete what appeared at first sight a fairly straightforward task, that is due, among other reasons, to the Commentary, which the editors of the Series Washingtoniensis deemed indispensable. In view of the fact that the *Breviarium* is one of the two most important Greek texts for our knowledge of Byzantine history of the seventh and eighth centuries, the information it contains has been the subject of endless discussion. An exhaustive commentary would, therefore, have become extremely bulky. After some hesitation I adopted the expedient of a succinct commentary to match the succinctness of the *Breviarium* itself. Readers and critics please take note. Given sufficient time I could have multiplied tenfold my bibliographic references and discussed at length a number of speculative theories that have been advanced about this or that passage or aspect of the work. I thought it would be more useful to restrict my comments to essentials, having in view the needs of historians rather than those of philologists. As for the latter, the time has not yet come to study in detail the patriarch's handling of the Greek language and his knowledge of the classics. To do so properly we would need to have an edition of his principal and as yet unpublished work, the *Refutatio et eversio* (as P. J. Alexander has christened it) and a better text of his other theological writings than is available in Migne's Patrology.

I should like to thank Professor Ihor Ševčenko, who has gone through the entire text and made a number of felicitous emendations; Dr. Jeffrey Featherstone for

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communicating to me the text of the *Refutatio et eversio*, which he edited in part in his Harvard Ph.D. thesis; Miss Claudia Rapp for a preliminary description of the Vaticanus; Professor P. Speck for allowing me to read prior to publication his *Das geteilte Dossier* (HÖRKIAA BYZANTINA 9); Dr. Frances Kianka for her meticulous editing; and, as usual, my wife for her support and help with the intractable computer.

July 1988

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A.G.: Anno Graecorum (Seleucid era)
Agapios: Agapius of Menbidj, *Kitāb al-ʿUnvān*, ed. A. Vasiliev, PO 7–8
A.H.: Anno Hegirae
Alexander, *Nicephorus*: P. J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* (Oxford, 1958)
A.M.: Anno mundi
Anastasius: Anastasius Biliothecarius, *Historia tripertita*, ed. C. de Boor in vol. II of his ed. of Theophanes
AnBoll: *Analecta Bollandiana*
Artamonov, *Istorija*: M. I. Artamonov, *Istorija Khazar* (Leningrad, 1962)
BCH: *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
Beševliev, *Protobulg. Periode*: V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode der bulgarischen Geschichte* (Amsterdam, 1980)
BMGS: *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BNJ: *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*
BSI: *Byzantinoslavica*
Bury, *Admin. System*: J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (London, 1911)
Bury, *LRE*: J. B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene* (London, 1889)
Butler, *Conquest*: A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*² (Oxford, 1978)
ByzF: *Byzantinische Forschungen*
BZ: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
Cameron, *Circus*: A. Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford, 1976)
Cer.: Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J. J. Reiske, I (Bonn, 1829)
Chr. 724: *Chronicon ad AD 724 pertinens*, trans. J.-B. Chabot, *Chronica minora*, II, CSCO, Scr. syri 4 (1904)
Chr. 846: *Chronicon ad AD 846 pertinens*, trans. J.-B. Chabot, *ibid.*
Chr. 1234: *Chronicon anonymum ad AD 1234 pertinens*, trans. J.-B. Chabot, CSCO, Scr. syri 56 (1937)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Chr. Altinate: Origo civitatum Italiae: Chronicon Altinate*, ed. R. Cessi, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* (Rome, 1933), 102 ff.
- Chr. Pasch.:* *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf, I (Bonn, 1832)
- Chr. Seert:* *Chronique de Séert*, ed. A. Scher and R. Griveau, PO 13
- Christensen, *Iran*: E. A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*² (Copenhagen, 1944)
- CRAI: Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*
- CSCO: Corpus scriptorum Christianorum orientaliū*
- DAI: Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins (Washington, D.C., 1967)
- DHGE: Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*
- Doctr. Iacobi: Doctrina Iacobi nuper baptizati*, ed. N. Bonwetsch, Abh. Kön. Ges. d. Wiss. Gött., Phil.-hist. Kl., NF XII/3 (1910)
- Donner, *Conquests*: F. McG. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton, 1981)
- DOP: Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
- ΕΕΒΣ: Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
- EHR: English Historical Review*
- Elias Nisib.: *Eliae metropolitanae Nisibeni opus chronologicum*, trans. E. W. Brooks, *CSCO, Scr. syri* 23 (1910)
- EO: Echos d'Orient*
- Georg. Mon.: *Georgii Monachi Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1904)
- GRBS: Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
- Grumel, *Chronologie*: V. Grumel, *La Chronologie. Traité d'études byzantines*, I (Paris, 1958)
- Haldon, *Praetorians*: J. F. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians*, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΑ 3 (Bonn, 1984)
- Hunger, *Hochsprachliche Lit.*: H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1978)
- Ioann. Ant.: Ioannes Antiochenus
- IRAIK: Izvestija Russkogo Arkheologičeskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole*
- Janin, *CP*: R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*² (Paris, 1964)
- Janin, *Eglises*: R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*, I/3. *Les églises et les monastères* (de Constantinople)² (Paris, 1969)
- Janin, *Grands centres*: R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris, 1975)
- JDAI: Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
- JHS: Journal of Hellenic Studies*
- JÖB: Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- John of Nikiu, Charles: *The Chronicle of John . . . Bishop of Nikiu*, trans. R. H. Charles (London, 1916)
- John of Nikiu, Zotenberg: *Chronique de Jean évêque de Nikiou*, trans. H. Zotenberg, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 24 (Paris, 1883)
- JTS*: *Journal of Theological Studies*
- Kaegi, *Unrest*: W. E. Kaegi, Jr., *Byzantine Military Unrest, 471–843* (Amsterdam, 1981)
- Kedr.: Georgius Cedrenus, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838–39)
- Khuzistan Chr.*: *Chronicon anonymum*, trans. I. Guidi, *Chronica minora*, I, CSCO, Scr. syri 2 (1903)
- Kulakovskij: J. U. Kulakovskij, *Istorija Vizantii*, 3 vols. (Kiev, 1913–15; repr. London, 1973)
- Leo gramm.: *Leonis grammatici Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1842)
- Lilie: R.-J. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber*, Misc. byz. Monac. 22 (Munich, 1976)
- Lombard, *Constantin V*: A. Lombard, *Constantin V, empereur des Romains* (Paris, 1902)
- Mansi: J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*
- Mich. Syr.: *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. and trans. J.-B. Chabot, 4 vols. (Paris, 1899–1924)
- Mir. S. Artemii*: *Miracula S. Artemii*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra* (St. Petersburg, 1909)
- Mir. S. Demetrii*: P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des Miracles de S. Démétrius*, I (Paris, 1979)
- Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*: Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*², 2 vols. (Berlin, 1958)
- Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*: W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977)
- Nik.: Nikephoros
- Oikonomides, *Listes*: N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris, 1972)
- Orosz, *London MS*: L. Orosz, *The London Manuscript of Nikephoros' 'Breviarium,' Magyar-Görög Tanulmányok* 28 (Budapest, 1948)
- Parastaseis*: *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*, ed. Th. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, I (Leipzig, 1901), 19–73
- Patria*: *Patria Konstantinoupoleos*, *ibid.*, II (Leipzig, 1907)
- PG: J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia graeca*
- Pisides: A. Pertusi, ed., *Giorgio di Pisidia. Poemi*, I, *Studia patristica et byzantina* 7 (Ettal, 1959)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- PLRE*: A. H. M. Jones et al., *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, I–II (Cambridge, 1971, 1980)
- PO*: *Patrologia Orientalis*
- Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr.*: W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London, 1890)
- RE*: Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
- REB*: *Revue des études byzantines*
- RSBS*: *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi*
- Sebeos: *Histoire d'Héraclius par l'évêque Sebéos*, trans. F. Macler (Paris, 1904)
- Severus of Eschmounein: Severus of Eschmounein, *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, ed. and trans. E. Evetts, *PO* 1
- Simok.: *Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1887)
- Speck, *Artabasdos*: P. Speck, *Artabasdos, der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren*, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΙΑ BYZANTINA 2 (Bonn, 1981)
- Speck, *Dossier*: P. Speck, *Das geteilte Dossier*, ΠΟΙΚΙΛΙΑ BYZANTINA 9 (Bonn, 1988)
- Strategios Georg.: *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614*, ed. and trans. G. Garitte, *CSCO* 203, *Scr. iber.* 12 (1960)
- Stratos: A. N. Stratos, *Τὸ Βυζάντιον στὸν ζ' αἰῶνα*, 6 vols. (Athens, 1965–77)
- Suda*: *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler (Leipzig, 1928–38)
- Synax. CP*: *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. H. Delehaye, *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Nov.* (Brussels, 1902)
- Synk.: Georgius Syncellus, *Ecloga chronographica*, ed. A. A. Mosshammer (Leipzig, 1984)
- TAPA*: *Transactions of the American Philological Association*
- Theod. Synk.: Theodorus Syncellus, ed. L. Sternbach, *Analecta Avarica*, *Rozprawy Akad. Umiejetności, Wydz. Filol., ser. II, t. 15* (Cracow, 1900), 298–320
- Theoph.: *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883)
- TM*: Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation Byzantines. *Travaux et Mémoires*
- V. Anast. Persae*: *Vita S. Anastasii Persae*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, IV (St. Petersburg, 1897), 126–48
- Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*: J. L. van Dieten, *Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI.* (Amsterdam, 1972)
- VizVrem*: *Vizantijskij Vremennik*
- V. Theod. Syk.*: *Vie de Théodore de Sykéōn*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, *Subsidia hagiographica* 48 (Brussels, 1970)

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Zacos-Veglery: G. Zacos-A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, I (Basel, 1956)

Zlatarski, *Istorija*: V. Zlatarski, *Istorija na Bŭlgarskata dŭrŭava prez vekove*, I/1 (Sofia, 1970)

ZDMG: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

ZRVI: *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta*

INTRODUCTION

THE AUTHOR

The life of Nikephoros has been surveyed by several scholars, most fully by P. J. Alexander.¹ For the present purpose it will be sufficient to recall its main landmarks.

Nikephoros was born at Constantinople in or about 758 in the reign of the iconoclastic emperor Constantine V (741–775). His father, Theodore, belonged to a prominent family and held the post of imperial secretary (*asekretis*); being, however, of an iconophile persuasion, he was denounced to the authorities and exiled to Pontos, probably some time in the 760s. Recalled to the palace, he did not abandon his religious convictions and was once again banished, this time to Nicaea, where he died six years later.

Nikephoros received a normal education (*enkyklios paideia*) and followed his father's footsteps by joining the civil service, also in the capacity of imperial secretary. He probably did so in the reign of Leo IV (775–780), who was nominally, though not aggressively, an iconoclast. He served as the subordinate of the first secretary Tarasios, who, in 784, was elevated to the patriarchal throne. At the Second Nicene Council (787) Nikephoros made a brief appearance to read aloud a Greek translation of the pope's letter addressed to the reigning emperors Constantine VI and Eirene. For some years thereafter Nikephoros seems to have remained at his post. His subsequent retirement to a life of quietude somewhere in the Asiatic suburbs of the capital is not dated exactly, but may have been occasioned by the assumption of supreme power by Eirene and the blinding of Constantine VI in 797. Probably after the overthrow of Eirene in 802 Nikephoros was brought back to Constantinople and made the administrator of the biggest poorhouse (unnamed).

In February 806 Patriarch Tarasios died. In naming his successor Emperor Nikephoros I consulted many prominent churchmen, but found no unanimity of opinion. He decided to confer the appointment on his namesake Nikephoros, though

¹*Nicephorus.*

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the latter was as yet a layman. Rushed at a few days' interval through the grades of monk, deacon, and presbyter, Nikephoros was ordained patriarch on Easter Sunday, 12 April 806.

In the exercise of his functions Nikephoros appears to have been docile to his emperor, who was killed in Bulgaria five years later. He lent his support to the appointment of the next emperor, Michael I (1 Oct. 811), and when Michael was overthrown after the defeat at Versinicia, Nikephoros approved the elevation of Leo V, from whom he requested but did not obtain a formal affirmation of orthodoxy.

When the worst of the Bulgarian threat had been averted by the sudden death of the Khan Krum (14 April 814), the new emperor appointed a committee to inquire afresh into the justification of banning religious images. In December Leo asked Nikephoros to yield to popular demand by removing icons; Nikephoros refused. An open clash between emperor and patriarch took place on Christmas day, and early the following year Nikephoros was forced to abdicate. He was succeeded by Theodotos, son of the patrician Michael Melissenos, and, after Easter 815, the iconoclastic doctrine was reaffirmed by a council held in St. Sophia.

Nikephoros retired to the monastery τὰ Ἀγαθοῦ, north of Chrysopolis, which he may have built himself. Soon thereafter he was moved by the emperor's order to the more distant monastery of St. Theodore, another of his foundations. He had a chance of resuming patriarchal office under Michael II on condition of keeping silent about the issue of images, but refused. He died in 828.

HISTORICAL WORKS

The major part of Nikephoros' literary output is devoted to theological controversy and was composed between 814 and some time after 820. Among his theological works two contain a certain amount of historical information designed to demonstrate that the period of iconoclasm and, in particular, the reign of Constantine V was a time, not of success and prosperity, but of calamity: these are the *Third Antirrheticus* (PG 100, 493Dff.) and the as yet unpublished *Refutatio et eversio*.² The relevant passages found in them are discussed below, pp. 9–11.

In addition, Nikephoros is credited with two historical works, namely:

- 1) the *Ἱστορία σύντομος* or *Breviarium*, edited here; and
- 2) the *Χρονογραφικὸν σύντομον*, of which a few words ought to be said.

²Analyzed *ibid.*, 242–62. For a transcription of the complete text I am greatly indebted to Dr. J. Featherstone.

HISTORICAL WORKS

This is no more than a set of chronological tables and consists in de Boor's standard edition of the following elements:

- a) An Old Testament chronology from Adam to the Babylonian captivity.
- b) The kings of Persia from Cyrus to Alexander's conquest.
- c) The Ptolemies down to Cleopatra.
- d) The emperors of Rome from Julius Caesar to Michael II.
- e) Roman empresses, starting with Theodora and Helena, wives of Constantius Chlorus.
- f) The kings of the ten tribes of Israel in Samaria.
- g) The high priests of the Jews from Aaron to the sack of Jerusalem by the Romans.
- h) The bishops of Constantinople from the apostle Andrew³ to the iconoclast Theodotos.
- i) The popes of Rome.
- j) The bishops of Jerusalem.
- k) The bishops of Alexandria.
- l) The bishops of Antioch.
- m) A list of the canonical, dubious, and apocryphal books of the Old and New Testaments with the number of verses in each.

It should be noted that de Boor failed to take account of the Slavonic versions⁴ and of the four oldest Greek manuscripts, which are:

- 1) British Library, *Add. 19390* of the early tenth century, which also contains the *Breviarium*. It is limited to items a–d and h, and, as regards the *Χρον. σύντομον*, appears to have been copied from an original dating soon after 821. For further details see below, pp. 23–24.
- 2) Oxford, Christ Church, *Wake 5*, of the late ninth century, which contains

³It should be noted that in the *Lond. Add. 19390* the list starts with Metrophanes, omitting the 22 mythical bishops from Andrew to Probus.

⁴Namely, (1) The *Letopiseč vskore*, preserved in many variant versions. Ed. from Novgorod Kormčaja by N. V. Stepanov, *Izv. Otd. Russk. Jaz. i Slov. Akad. Nauk 17/2* (1912), 250–93; *17/3* (1912), 256–320 (Slavonic and Greek texts in parallel columns, pp. 293 ff.). Items a–d down to the murder of Michael III (867). For the Greek text Stepanov has added variants from two Moscow MSS, viz. Synodal Library (now Historical Museum) *Vladimir 318* and *439*. Cf. E. K. Piotrovskaja, *Trudy Otd. Drevnerussk. Lit.* 29 (1974), 170–77; eadem, *VizVrem* 36 (1974), 147–53. (2) A list of Roman emperors from Augustus to 920 in Svjatoslav's *Izbornik* of 1073, after the colophon, on fols. 264^r–266^v. Ed. E. K. Piotrovskaja in *Izbornik Svjatoslava 1073 goda* (Moscow, 1977), 317–31. (3) The *Istorikii za Boga v'krat'ce*, dated 893/4 and ascribed to Constantine of Preslav. It is a list from Adam to Leo VI, but the last two reigns, those of Basil I and Leo VI, given in rounded numbers (i.e., without indication of months and days), appear to have been added. Ed. V. N. Zlatarski, *Spisanie BAN 27* (1923), 132–82. Cf. B. S. Angelov, *Byzantinobulgarica* 2 (1966), 83–105.

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part of the Chronicle of Synkellos (from Julius Caesar to the end)⁵ and the Chronicle of Theophanes.⁶ Items a–e, h–m only. The list of Roman emperors ends with the accession of Basil I (867), for whom no length of reign is given, and the list of empresses likewise with Basil's wife Eudokia. The bishops' lists are given in the order: Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch. The Constantinople list ends with Ignatios (847–858), with no indication of years, but the same applies to his predecessors.

3) Former Dresden, *Da 12*, now reunited with its parent, Moscow, *Hist. Museum 231* (Vladimir), written for Arethas in 932.⁷ Items a–d only. The series of emperors ends with the accession of Constantine VII (913). Some additional comments have been incorporated into the text.

4) Jerusalem, *Patriarch. cod. 24* (several hands of the 10th century).⁸ Items a–d (to Leo VI) and h (to Antony II Kauleas, 893–901).

It is questionable whether the concept of authorship can be applied to an almanac like the *Χρον. σύντομον*. Its archetype does appear to have been put together before Nikephoros' death, and he may have had a hand in its compilation; alternatively, it may have been found among his papers. Not all manuscripts attribute it to him: in the London and Dresden copies it appears anonymously. Furthermore, it is difficult to determine which items the archetype may have contained.

Another consideration that ought to be borne in mind is that the *Χρον. σύντομον* is but one of several similar compilations that seem to have circulated at about the same time. A set of chronological tables certainly underlies the Chronicle of Synkellos (not later than 811) and another set the Chronicle of Theophanes (completed by 814). A third set (including also the kings of Persia and the Arab caliphs) exists in *Vat. gr. 2210* (10th century).⁹ It appears to have been put together out of disparate material toward the middle of the ninth century and, strangely enough, presents the bishops in the order: Rome (down to Paschal I, 817–824), Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople (down to Methodios, 843–847).

The *Χρον. σύντομον* deserves to be reedited on the basis of a fuller manuscript tradition than was utilized by de Boor, but that can only be profitably done in the context of the other cognate compilations we have mentioned.

⁵ See Synk., pp. xii–xiii.

⁶ For a description of the MS, see N. G. Wilson, *DOP* 26 (1972), 357–58.

⁷ See L. G. Westerink, *Byzantion* 42 (1972), 197, 199, 204.

⁸ A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ βιβλιοθήκη*, I (St. Petersburg, 1891), 89–96. Wrongly dated ca. 900 by K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, I (Boston, 1934), No. 1, pls. 1–2. See also V. Benešević, *BNJ* 5 (1927), 109–10 (early 10th century); N. Oikonomides, *Listes*, 239–43 (11th century).

⁹ Ed. A. Schoene, *Eusebii Chron. liber prior*, I (Berlin, 1875), App. IV, 81–83. Lake, op. cit., IX (1938), No. 331 and pl. 604 with a date of “ante AD 886 (?)”

THE NATURE OF THE *BREVIARIUM*

THE NATURE OF THE *BREVIARIUM*¹⁰

As transmitted in the Vatican MS (V), the *Breviarium* is a condensed historical account of the Byzantine Empire from Phokas (602) to the marriage of Leo IV to Eirene (769). The reign of Phokas is, however, dismissed in one sentence, and the narrative really starts with the revolt against him in Africa. It then proceeds to October 641, leaves out entirely the reign of Constans II (641–668), then carries on from the accession of Constantine IV (668) to the end. The London MS (L) also starts in 602 but breaks off in 713.

L was not known to de Boor, and when it first came to the attention of interested scholars the view was expressed, in spite of the attribution to Nikephoros in the title, that it was the work of an earlier author, or rather of two earlier authors (the first allegedly to fol. 30^r, corresponding to the marriage of Herakleios to Martina, the second from 30^v to the end), which Nikephoros later copied.¹¹ On closer study, this theory proved to be untenable, and L came to be regarded as the descendant of a first draft, of which V represents a reworking. This appears to be the simplest solution of what is admittedly a very complicated puzzle (see below, pp. 25–29).

The existence of two redactions by the same author represents a rare case in Byzantine historiography¹² and leads to some interesting observations. Setting aside a number of minor omissions and additions (some of them being of a scribal nature), the differences between L and V are purely stylistic and do not concern the substance of the narrative. Furthermore, it is apparent that the first eleven paragraphs of L (in our numeration) were subjected to a thorough revision, but from paragraph 12 to the end of L only small changes were made. Another historian, in going over his first draft, might have wished to make substantive alterations by correcting any errors he may have committed or introducing evidence he had overlooked. Not so Nikephoros: his concern was merely with the literary presentation of his work.

It has been claimed¹³ that the termination of L with the overthrow of Philippikos

¹⁰For a partial discussion of what follows see my "The *Breviarium* of the Patriarch Nikephoros," *Byzance: Hommage à A. N. Stratos* (Athens, 1986), II, 539–52. Previous bibliography in Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, 458–59; Hunger, *Hochsprachliche Lit.*, I, 346–47.

¹¹A. Burckhardt, *BZ* 5 (1896), 465–77.

¹²The view of C. de Boor concerning two author's versions of the Chronicle of George the Monk, one represented by *Coislin 305*, the other by all the other MSS (in his ed. of same, I, pp. lxxviii ff.) has been disproved by M.-A. Monégier du Sorbier, *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite de la Chronique de Georges le Moine*, Thesis, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (Paris, 1985), 483 ff.

¹³This was first stated by Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, 468 because of the scribe's pious formula at the end of L and the fact that fol. 55^v of the same MS has been left blank. Often repeated, e.g., by E. Honigmann, *Nouvelle Clio* 4 (1952), 290 note 1; Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, 457, 532; C. Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (Madison, Wisc., 1972), 16. I shall not discuss here the highly complex problem of the

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Bardanes (713) was deliberate, but on closer examination that turns out not to be the case. L breaks off, if one may say so, in the middle of a paragraph. Of course, the division of the text into paragraphs by modern editors is somewhat arbitrary, and one may wish to start a new paragraph with the words τῇ ἐπαύριον, just after the end of L. That, however, does not alter the fact that the flow of the narrative is continuous over the point of the break, as it is also in the parallel text of Theophanes, which is based on the same source.

It may be that the ending of L is due to accidental mutilation of its model, but it is equally possible that Nikephoros, for whatever reason, stopped at that point and laid his work aside. The scribe's pious formula at the end of L, Χριστῷ τελειώσαντι δόξα καὶ χάρις, does not appear to me to favor one alternative over the other. In the absence of any clear evidence, let us assume that the first draft extended only to A.D. 713. On picking it up again Nikephoros felt dissatisfied with its literary form and proceeded to rewrite the first eleven paragraphs, the biggest change he made being in Shahīn's speech (c. 6), which was expanded into a kind of mini-oration in the manner of Thucydides. He even felt compelled to "improve" some proper names.¹⁴ On reaching c. 12, he either became tired of such extensive revision or found his draft nearly acceptable as it stood, and so made only minor changes to his earlier text. He then carried the narrative forward to 769. A close reading of the added section (A.D. 713–769) shows, however, clear signs of progressive weariness. As we shall see, what Nikephoros did, to all intents and purposes, was to paraphrase into ancient Greek a small number of chronicle sources written in "vulgar" Greek. In the first part of his History he went to some trouble to camouflage the "chronicle element" and even suppressed (to our great regret) nearly all dates.¹⁵ In the final part, on the other hand, individual chronicle entries are barely disguised.¹⁶ This circumstance suggests that the History is unfinished as it stands and that it was not necessarily intended to stop in 769, a date that cannot

so-called *Epitome*, the first version of which (also ascribed by some scholars to Traianos Patrikos) is thought to have extended to the reign of Justinian II. See D. Serruys, *BZ* 16 (1907), 1–51. The *Epitome* in its redactions A (= Theodosius Melitenus), B1 (represented by *Paris. gr.* 854, negligently edited by J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota graeca e codd. mss. Bibl. Reg. Paris.*, II [Oxford, 1839], 243 ff.), and B2 (namely, the Va tradition of George the Monk and π, the common source of *Paris. gr.* 1712 and *Kedrenus*) does not appear to me to throw much light on the source of Nikephoros.

¹⁴He changed Δομνητιόλος to Δομεντιόλος, Βουνοῦσος to Βουόσος (c. 1), Βιζουλῖνος to either Βουτηλῖνος or Βιτουλῖνος (c. 4). I am not sure whether the change of Φάβιος to the incorrect Φλαύιος (c. 11) is deliberate or scribal.

¹⁵Down to A.D. 641 the only chronological indications are: arrival of the True Cross at Constantinople (c. 18); death of Patriarch Sergios (c. 26); length of reign of Herakleios (c. 27); length of reign of Constantine III (c. 29); ordination of Patriarch Paul II (c. 32).

¹⁶Cc. 78, 79, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88.

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be regarded as particularly significant. The fact, however, that Photios (*Bibl.*, cod. 66) read it in the same form as that represented by V proves that we possess the final text.

Here a small problem presents itself. Granted that L is manifestly not the author's autograph, why is it that a first and, indeed, incomplete draft of the History was copied into a manuscript of fine quality? Of course, we do not know the answer. It may be that Nikephoros himself gave a copy of his first version to a friend (say for the purpose of criticism), or it may have been found among his papers after his death. In either case we can be reasonably certain that the scribe of L was unaware of the existence of the V text.

Although in L the *Breviarium* is entitled *Χρονογραφικόν*—a neutral and imprecise term—there can be no doubt that Nikephoros intended to write a “history” in the technical sense of that word. This is shown not only by the title in V (confirmed by Photios), but also by the author's style and his deliberate use of a vocabulary derived, directly or indirectly, from ancient historiography.¹⁷ And if he did so, the chances are that there existed no “history” of the events after 602, that is, until Nikephoros took up his pen. It has already been observed¹⁸ that his purpose was probably to provide a continuation of Theophylact Simokatta, who stopped in 602: this is corroborated by the fact that in V the *Breviarium* follows Theophylact's text¹⁹ and Photios, too, read them in the same order (*Bibl.*, codd. 65, 66). Yet the *Breviarium*, apart from its self-confessed brevity, fails to meet one essential requirement of the genre in not being based on autopsy. In 769, his terminal date, Nikephoros was about eleven years old. He could not have had personal knowledge of any of the events he describes, and it is highly unlikely that he had recourse to living witnesses. The significance of his *démarche* should be sought in the context of the Byzantine “renaissance.” Alongside the revival of grammar, epistolography, and other antique literary forms, Nikephoros sought to produce a “history” that would bridge the gap of nearly two centuries that separated his time from the Roman world of the early seventh century. As far as we know, he was the only one to have done so: indeed, no other “history” was produced until the reign of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

¹⁷ As far as we have been able to ascertain, his borrowings are lexical and do not comprise whole phrases. Among his affectations we may note the use of *ὡς* (prep.), not always confined to cases where the object is a person (also frequent in Simok.); *ἡθη* = “abodes of men” (as, e.g., in Herodotus); *δνομα* = “by name” (as in Xenophon, etc.), which V² studiously altered to *δνόματι*. On the rhythmic structure of Nikephoros' prose see W. Hörandner, *Der Prosarhythmus in der rhetorischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Vienna, 1981), 131.

¹⁸ Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 157–58.

¹⁹ Even if the two parts of V were written in different scriptoria. See below, pp. 19–20.

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There is no decisive evidence to determine the date when Nikephoros composed the *Breviarium*. He may have done so in the earlier part of his career when he was in imperial service (say ca. 780–797) or during his first retirement from the capital (ca. 797–802) or while he was *ptochotrophos* (ca. 802–806) or after he had been expelled from patriarchal office (815–828). It is not likely that he would have had the leisure for such pursuits while serving as patriarch.

A number of hypothetical dates have, however, been advanced on the basis of internal indications. Bury thought that the *Breviarium* was earlier than 796 (when the Avars were subjugated by Charlemagne) because in c. 34 Nikephoros refers to Pannonia as being still under Avar rule (τῆ νῦν ὑπὸ Ἀβάροις κειμένη).²⁰ Alexander suggested that it was earlier than 787, “as the author shows no knowledge of the official restoration of image-worship.”²¹ Ohnsorge²² and Speck²³ saw a contemporary reference in the words of the people of Constantinople addressed to Empress Martina: “Nor can you, O Lady, receive barbarian or other foreign emissaries who come to the palace or hold converse with them. May God forbid that the Roman State should come to such a pass!” (c. 28). If, as these scholars believe, the passage in question is directed against Empress Eirene, a date in 790 or later would necessarily follow. As far as I know, K. N. Uspenskij stands alone in assuming a date after 800,²⁴ but he did not justify his opinion.

How much weight we may wish to attribute to any of the above arguments will depend on two considerations:

1) In view of the fact that Nikephoros wrote his History not at first hand but on the basis of earlier sources that are unavailable to us, it would be helpful to know which of his statements are personal and which are derived from his sources. To this question there is, alas, no answer. Thus, when Nikephoros says that Pannonia is “today” under Avar rule, he is either copying his source or expressing contemporary reality (assuming he had knowledge of it). I would suspect the former, but cannot prove it. The same applies to the passage about Martina: the natural assumption would be that Nikephoros found it in his source, in which case it is not directed against Eirene. Another remark that deserves to be considered concludes

²⁰ *LRE*, II, 450 note 1.

²¹ *Nicephorus*, 162.

²² *Saeculum* 14 (1963), 225–26; repr. in *Konstantinopel und der Okzident* (Darmstadt, 1966), 57–58.

²³ *Kaiser Konstantin VI* (Munich, 1978), II, 638 note 233; *Artabados, der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren* (Bonn, 1981), 110 ff.

²⁴ To be more precise, in the second decade of the 9th century: *VizVrem* 3 (1950), 421.

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the account of the civil war between Constantine V and Artabasdos (c. 65): "What terrible things are wont to happen in such conditions . . . is, indeed, known to many from experience." If this is a personal aside, it may well be thought to refer to the revolt of Thomas the Slav (821–823), the only internecine war that Nikephoros himself experienced. But again we cannot be certain that it is a personal observation.

2) A related question concerns the amount of bias (*Tendenz*), hidden or overt, that may be detected in the *Breviarium*. Being, as we are, keenly sensitive to political motivation, we should be on our guard in ascribing a similar attitude to a medieval author. We should also bear in mind that the style and literary conventions of historiography which Nikephoros adopted forced on him an appearance of detachment if not complete impartiality. Certainly, he is anti-iconoclastic, though less stridently so than Theophanes. But then there is reason to believe that his source was also anti-iconoclastic.²⁵ Is the relative moderation of his anti-iconoclasm due to the fact that he is writing "history" or to some other reason? Here and there Nikephoros expresses censure, for example, of Emperor Herakleios on the grounds of the latter's incestuous marriage with Martina. The censure was probably present in Nikephoros' source, but was he trying to make a point by repeating it? Was he perchance thinking of the irregular marriage of Constantine VI? It has been claimed that Nikephoros shows a strong sense of loyalty to the imperial government (of whatever complexion) and that he deliberately omits events that wounded his patriotism.²⁶ That, too, is a subjective interpretation. The omissions, in particular, can be explained on other grounds, and Nikephoros' silence about the disastrous reign of Constans II is due either to the fact that he knew nothing about it or to accidental loss in the archetype, not to his unwillingness to relate events he found distasteful (see below, pp. 14–15).

We should inquire next whether any chronological deduction may be drawn from a comparison of the *Breviarium* with the two polemical works of Nikephoros, which, as we have said, contain historical information on the reign of Constantine V, namely, *Antirrheticus* III (composed after 815 or in 818–820 according to Alexander)²⁷ and the *Refutatio et eversio* (after 820). There can be no doubt that there is a significant overlap among all three and that the polemical works provide a number of details that are absent in the *Breviarium*, as the following examples show:

1) Monasteries converted to profane use, turned into stables or sold for cash, among them those of Floros and Kallistratos. The piles of refuse (?) left from that period can still be seen today (ὡν τὰ περιπτώματα καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν διήρκεσαν ἐπιχρονίσαντα): *Antirrh.* III, 493D; cf. *Refut.*, *Cod. Paris. gr. 1250*,

²⁵ Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 159–62.

²⁶ E. E. Lipšic, *VizVrem* 3 (1950), esp. 97 ff.

²⁷ *Nicephorus*, 188.

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fol. 195^r. Not in the *Breviarium*, but corresponds loosely to Theoph., 443.1 ff., who mentions the monasteries of Dalmatos, Kallistratos, Dios, and Maximinos, not that of Floros.

2) The plague (*Brev.*, c. 67): *Antirrh.* III, 496B–D adds the information that Constantine V, out of fear for his own safety, departed to the suburbs of Nicomedia and even farther away, and kept informed by letter of the number of victims; that three or five corpses would be piled on the same bier; that the gravediggers would sometimes die in the exercise of their task; that the names and number of future victims would be supernaturally announced. These details are also lacking in Theoph., 422.29 ff., who is fuller than the *Breviarium*. Only a brief reference in the *Refut.*

3) Earthquakes: *Antirrh.* III, 496D–497A; cf. *Refut.*, fol. 195^v. Collapse of fine houses, especially on high ground; their ruins may still be seen at Constantinople. Not in *Brev.* or Theoph.

4) Falling stars (*Brev.*, c. 71; brief mention in Theoph., 435.5): *Antirrh.* III, 497A adds that this happened in winter, χειμῶνος ὥρα (March in Theoph.). Cf. *Refut.*, fol. 196^r in terms similar to *Brev.*: καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀπαντας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἐπεπήγεσαν, χώρου ἀπορρηγνυμένους βραγδαίως κατὰ γῆς φέρεσθαι.

5) Famine (not in *Brev.*), no less severe than any recorded in olden times or the one that is prevailing today: λιμῶν γὰρ ἦν ὁ δεινότατος . . . οὔτε τοῦ νῦν ἐντεῦθεν ἐναρξαμένου, οὔτε τῶν πάλαι μνημονουμένων . . . ἐλαττούμενος: *Antirrh.* III, 500B.

6) Raid into Armenia (Melitene), *Brev.*, c. 70; Theoph., 427.14 ff. *Antirrh.* III, 508D–509A adds that Constantine took advantage of a civil war among the Arabs and that he captured forts by the surrender of the local inhabitants, who were Armenians and Christian Syrians. When the Arabs heard of this, they sent against him a force of five thousand men, but he fled with his whole army.

7) Severe winter: fairly short reference in *Refut.*, fols. 195^v–196^r in terms similar to *Brev.*, c. 74.

8) Spurious abundance of foodstuffs (*Brev.*, c. 85; Theoph., 443.18): *Antirrh.* III, 513C–516A has the same comparison as the *Brev.* and Theoph. of Constantine V to Midas, and adds that some farmers were forced to sell their entire holdings for one gold piece; others hanged themselves from trees, “as I have seen myself” (εἶδω ἑγώ γε).

Some of the above items (1, 3, 8 in part) may be based on personal recollection. Elsewhere, in speaking of Constantine’s beastly life, his infirmities, nightmares, cruelty, etc., he invokes the testimony of the emperor’s servants, some of

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whom were still alive (*Antirr.* III, 504D). Items 2, 4, 6, 7 and (in part) 8 are, however, clearly based on written evidence, which, being fuller than the *Brev.* (except 7) was, in all probability, the latter's source. In fact, in the *Antirr.*, 496A Nikephoros explicitly refers to historical writings of eyewitnesses (τῶν τότε παρόντων τινές, εὐκαίρως καὶ εἰς δέον χρώμενοι, ἱστορίᾳ παραδοῦναι ἄξιον ᾗθήθησαν with reference to the various catastrophes and, in particular, the plague) and, further down (508B), states that he had also read Constantine's boastful dispatches regarding his Bulgarian victories (καθὰ γε ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνηυλισμένους κατὰ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἀναλεξαμένοις ἔγνωσται). One may conclude from the above that after he had gone into banishment in 815 Nikephoros had access to one of the historical sources utilized (and abbreviated) in the *Brev.* and, possibly, to the *Brev.* itself. That he went over this material in ca. 820 does not, however, preclude the possibility that the *Brev.* had been composed considerably earlier.

One further consideration to which I recently called attention²⁹ concerns Nikephoros' unexpectedly sympathetic attitude toward Patriarch Pyrrhos (638–641). It should be remembered that Pyrrhos was a heretic, who had been duly condemned by the Sixth Ecumenical Council. How he was viewed in Orthodox circles is made clear by Theoph., 330–31: Pyrrhos, together with Martina, poisoned Emperor Constantine III; he was expelled from his see by the Senate because of his impiety; he proceeded to Africa, where he was confuted by St. Maximos, then dishonestly assured Pope Theodore of his orthodoxy, but when he had reached Ravenna, returned, like a dog to his vomit, etc. Indeed, the collapse of the Roman Empire and the successes of the Arabs were the direct consequence of the Monothelete heresy, of which Pyrrhos was a prominent champion. When we turn to the *Brev.* we are told a very different story: Pyrrhos is represented as a loyal friend of Herakleios (c. 26); he does not poison Constantine III, toward whom, on the contrary, he behaves very correctly; he is forced out of office by the worst elements of the city rabble, including Jews and other κακόδοξοι; after embracing the sacred objects of his cathedral, he lays his pallium on the altar table and departs peacefully; is given shelter by a pious woman, then sails away to Carthage, where he holds a discussion with Maximos and other monks concerning the two wills of Christ (c. 31).

Doubtless, Nikephoros drew the above details from the source he was following, a source that was favorable to Pyrrhos. The question is why he reproduced it without any change or comment. I cannot believe that he had himself any Monothelete sympathies—indeed, the whole issue had long been dead. The only possible explanation is that Nikephoros did not realize that Pyrrhos was a heretic. Such a

²⁹ "The *Breviarium*" (as in note 10 above), 544–45.

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lapse may be understandable if, at the time of writing, he was a young layman, not too well versed in ecclesiastical history; it would be much more difficult to account for in an aging prelate who had written several tomes about Orthodox doctrine.

In the light of the last argument I would tentatively conclude that the *Brev.* is an *oeuvre de jeunesse*, datable, perhaps, to the 780s.

It remains to note a final point that has some bearing on chronology. The *Brev.* and Theophanes, while they draw on the same source(s) for the period 668–769, are entirely independent of one another. This is rather odd: the two authors were not only exact contemporaries, they also belonged to the same ecclesiastical party. George Synkellos, to whom Theophanes owed the bulk of his documentation, held high office under Patriarch Tarasios and must have been personally known to Nikephoros. It may well be asked, if the *Brev.* was written in the 780s, why Theophanes was unaware of it. By the same token, if the *Brev.* was written in ca. 820, why did Nikephoros not consult the Chronicle of Theophanes (completed by 815), from which he could have drawn a wealth of pertinent information? The answer, I suspect, is that both works were kept out of circulation for a fairly long time, perhaps until after the defeat of Iconoclasm in 843, and that communication between men of letters was not as close as we may suppose.

SOURCES OF THE *BREVIARIUM*

The *Breviarium* falls into two parts, the first from 602 to 641, the second from 668 to 769. It is virtually certain that each of them is based on a different source or sets of sources.

Part I

In the light of the detailed comparison made in our Commentary between Nikephoros and other extant Greek historical texts, the following conclusions may be drawn:

- a) The only source that can be identified with reasonable certitude is John of Antioch for c. 1.
- b) There is no significant convergence with the Paschal Chronicle.
- c) Points of contact with Theophanes are very slight (see cc. 1, 10, 32).
- d) The theory, advanced by Orosz,³⁰ that Nikephoros made use of certain lost

³⁰The London MS, 11–12.

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poems by George of Pisidia and has preserved *disiecta membra* of iambic verse has little to recommend it.³¹ Phrases such as *καὶ ἱππικῶ ἀγῶνος ἐπιτελουμένου* or *ἐν μέσοις τοῖς δημόταις* or *Νικῆτα τοῦ πατρικίου* may scan, but show no trace of poetic diction or imagery such as we find in George's fragments that are imbedded in Theophanes.

The probable dependence of Nikephoros on a single paragraph ascribed to John of Antioch raises problems that appear at present incapable of solution. It is generally accepted that the genuine fragments of John of Antioch are those contained in the *Excerpta* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus,³² namely, one series of extracts imbedded in the *Exc. de virtutibus et vitiis*,³³ another, and more important, in the *Exc. de insidiis*,³⁴ plus one truncated fragment in the *Exc. de legationibus*.³⁵ Down to the end of the reign of Anastasios (518) these extracts are in classical Greek. In the *Exc. de virtutibus* there are no entries later than Anastasios except for the final one (c. 75), which may be rendered: "Phokas had a girlfriend, Kallinike, a former prostitute. The same Phokas was bloodthirsty (*αἱμοπότης*)."³⁶ As far as one can judge from so small a sample, the language is here colloquial. After c. 75 is written the note:

*τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ
περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας*

In the *Exc. de insidiis* we find a similar situation. The longer extracts in classical Greek end with the reign of Anastasios (c. 103). The reign of Justinian is represented by a single laconic entry (c. 104) and that of Justin II by another (c. 105). There follow three fairly circumstantial entries about Maurice (cc. 106–8) and two about Phokas (cc. 109–10), all of them in colloquial Greek. It is the last (c. 110) that concerns us here.

From the above facts it appears reasonably certain that the MS which Constantine's excerptors had before them consisted of two disparate parts: a main section in classical Greek down to A.D. 518 and a continuation in "vulgar" Greek. Whether John of Antioch was the author of the first or the second or merely the compiler who put the two together is not altogether clear; nor is it easy to explain the near absence of material for the period extending from Anastasios to Maurice, which would certainly have yielded many suitable instances of virtue and vice as

³¹ See A. Pertusi, *Giorgio di Pisidia, Poemi*, I (Ettal, 1959), 22.

³² For bibliography see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, 315; Hunger, *Hochsprachliche Lit.*, I, 326–28. Add A. Markopoulos, "Ἡ Χρονογραφία τοῦ Ψευδοσυμεῶν καὶ οἱ πηγές της," *Diss.* (Ioannina, 1978), 66 ff. We are not here concerned with the so-called *Excerpta Salmasiana*, which extend to A.D. 455. The latter are edited by Cramer, *Anecdota graeca Paris.*, II, 383–401.

³³ Ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, I (Berlin, 1906), 164–206.

³⁴ Ed. C. de Boor (Berlin, 1905), 58–150.

³⁵ Ed. C. de Boor (Berlin, 1903), 6.

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well as many conspiracies. The final note in the *Exc. de virtutibus* has been taken to indicate that John of Antioch ended in 610, but even that is not certain, for it may equally well mean that the reign of Phokas constituted the limit of the extracts drawn from John on the specific topic of virtues and vices.

Confining ourselves to the continuation of John of Antioch down to 610, at least two possibilities may be envisaged: (a) it was the original composition of an author who was writing soon after 610; (b) it was excerpted from another work, namely, a chronicle in "vulgar" Greek, which need not have ended in 610. If we accept the first alternative, we shall have to suppose that Nikephoros had at least two sources for the period 602–641: John of Antioch for his c. 1 and another for 610–641. If we accept the second, he could have had only one source. Whichever turns out to be the correct answer, the source(s) in question broke off in October 641. This is suggested by the fact that the events after the death of Herakleios are related in considerable detail, leaving a number of loose threads. The reference to the disputation between Pyrrhos and Maximos (July 645) could be explained, say, on the assumption that it was mentioned in a later note appended to the MS of the source.

Everything goes to show that the source of Part I was a Constantinopolitan chronicle. This is indicated by the disconnected character of the entries, some of them being rather trivial in content, by the prominence given to events in the capital, and the lack of exact information about distant developments, such as military campaigns. If this is granted and if the chronicle source was written soon after 641 (by a Monothelete sympathizer, as we have seen), it would follow that its entries were probably in correct sequence. The historical implications of this remark cannot be discussed here in detail in view of the extreme complexity of the chronology of the reign of Herakleios, but it is proper to draw attention to them. It will suffice to consider briefly cc. 8–11.

8. Famine and plague at Constantinople: these appear to refer to 618 or 619.
9. Baptism of Huns: no recorded date.
10. Avar surprise: if the sequence is correct, the date advanced by N. H. Baynes, viz. June 617, would have to be abandoned.
11. Herakleios marries Martina. The accepted date is 613/4. Could this have happened as late as 623, that is, after the Avar surprise as dated by *Chr. Pasch.*?

The Gap of 27 Years

Part I breaks off *in medias res*. Heraklonas and Martina are still in power, Valentinos is still encamped at Chalcedon. Paul is ordained patriarch of Constantinople in October 641. Then, without any transition, the text goes on with Κωνσταντῖνος οὖν . . . , "Constantine, therefore (*or* indeed), was treacherously mur-

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dered by his own servants," i.e., in 668. The presence of the adverb *οὐν* led Lillie³⁶ and Speck³⁷ to suppose that one folio had dropped out at that point. Personally, I would not have placed so much emphasis on the *οὐν*, which need not imply a logical connection with the preceding narrative and which Nikephoros himself sometimes uses in contexts where another author would have preferred *δέ* (e.g., 13.35, 30.3). The question remains, however, why Nikephoros, even if he knew nothing about the reign of Constantine (i.e., Constans II), did not at the very least inform us that Heraklonas and Martina were deposed and that Constantine was given supreme power, as does Theophanes, A.M. 6133.

The hypothesis of a lost folio removes one difficulty while at the same time creating another. In two pages Nikephoros could well have rounded off the story of Martina and Heraklonas, placed Constans on the throne, and even told us a little about the reign of the latter. Yet the gap is common to both V and L and so must go back to their common archetype, which we call ω (see below, pp. 25 ff.). *Ex hypothesi* ω must have corresponded to the unrevised version of the *Breviarium*. When Nikephoros set about revising his text the folio was already missing (otherwise something of its content would have been included in V), so we have to suppose that he showed no awareness of the gap! That would be as big a paradox as the one we are trying to account for.

Unfortunately, neither Theophanes nor George the Monk is of any help in this matter. Practically everything Theophanes records in the reign of Constans is drawn from his Oriental (Syriac) source and George is dependent on Theophanes. We can hardly avoid the conclusion that there was almost no "Byzantine" historical material for that period.

Part II

From 668 to the end, the *Breviarium* and Theoph. run in parallel channels and are quite clearly derived from the same sources. To be more precise, there is very little in Nikephoros that is not also in Theoph., whereas the latter includes a considerable body of other material, some of it of Near Eastern origin. The sources our two authors had in common may have been no more than two. The earlier one, it may be argued, was written in the first quarter of the eighth century. Indications of near contemporaneity with the events described can be detected in cc. 35 (settlement of the Bulgars), 42 (return of Justinian II), 45 (downfall of Justinian II), 48 (fall of Philippikos), 54 (siege of Constantinople), and 56 (birth of Constantine V). Possibly

³⁶ *BSI* 45 (1984), 31 note 22.

³⁷ *Dossier*, 205.

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this source extended to c. 58 (coronation of Constantine V), that is, to A.D. 720, after which date there occurs in both Theoph. and Nikephoros a hiatus as regards Constantinopolitan information. The source was certainly a chronicle composed in the capital, and it appears to have been favorable to Leo III. Theoph. preserves it more fully than does Nikephoros both as regards factual content and language, and where our two texts differ among themselves preference can usually be given to Theoph. The one notable exception is c. 57 (plot of Artemios to regain the throne), for which a tentative explanation is offered in the Commentary. As a working hypothesis we may, therefore, be allowed to postulate a "Chronicon ad a. 720 pertinens."

A second source, likewise a Constantinopolitan chronicle, appears to have been composed toward the end of the reign of Constantine V, and may have ended where Nikephoros ends, viz. in 769. The last event recorded by him (the coronation of Eirene) is related in considerable detail by Theoph. (A.M. 6261), after which there occurs in Theoph. no Constantinopolitan material for a space of four years, that is, down to the Bulgarian expedition of 773 (A.M. 6265). This second chronicle source appears to have been iconophile (above, note 25). Once again, Theoph. reproduces it more faithfully than does Nikephoros, although in some cases Nikephoros records certain events that are not in Theoph., and these have been noted in the Commentary.

The foregoing hypothesis is, I believe, the most economical. It is, of course, possible to postulate a greater number of sources and to argue, for example, that where Nikephoros tells us something that is lacking in Theoph. he must have had access to another document and not, as I have assumed, that Theoph. simply left out certain entries or facts. In view of the dearth of historical writing in the eighth century a multiplicity of lost sources is, to my mind, unlikely in itself and should not be advanced without sufficient reason.

Traianos Patrikios

Among the sources that have been mentioned in learned literature as underlying the *Brev.* figures the enigmatic patrician Trajan. As we shall have occasion to note, E. Honigmann has even suggested (wrongly) that the text of L was the work of that author.

All we know about Trajan can be said in a few words. According to the *Suda*,³⁸ he lived at the time of Justinian II, wrote a *χρονικὸν σύντομον, πάνθ θανμάσιον*, and was "very Christian and most orthodox." Theoph., too, with reference to the Gothic wars of Theodosios I, says, "Trajan the patrician in his History

³⁸S. v. *Τραιανός*, ed. Adler, IV, 582.

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says that the Scythians are called Goths in their native language" (66.2). A Trajan, elsewhere mentioned by Theoph. (62.10), was, indeed, a prominent general, who was killed at the battle of Adrianople (378) and was known as a zealous Catholic.³⁹ De Boor is certainly right in suggesting that the designation "very Christian and most orthodox" would apply better to an author of the fourth century than to one of ca. A.D. 700.⁴⁰ Did the compiler of the *Suda* confuse the general Trajan with another Trajan, who flourished under Justinian II and also wrote a historical work (so de Boor), or was there only one Trajan, viz. the earlier one?

However that may be, a *χρονικὸν σύντομον* could have been either a bare list of names and years (like the *χρονογραφικὸν σύντομον* attributed to Nikephoros) or a narrative chronicle. If the former, it does not concern us in this context. If it was a proper chronicle, the chances are that it would have covered a fairly long span of time prior to the reign of Justinian II. Yet we have seen that neither Nikephoros nor Theoph. had knowledge of any Byzantine material for the period 641–668. From this we would have to draw the further conclusion that Trajan's hypothetical chronicle started no earlier than 668 and ended less than half a century later. Such a possibility cannot be excluded; indeed, the name of Trajan may be attached to our postulated Chronicle of 720, but little is to be gained by so doing.

The Megas Chronographos

Another source that has been postulated for the *Brev.* is the "Great Chronographer," represented by fifteen extracts, added by an eleventh-century hand to the unique MS of *Chr. Pasch.*, *cod. Vat. gr. 1941*.⁴¹ These extracts concern various disasters, both natural and political, ranging in date from the reign of Zeno to that of Constantine V. Of the fifteen, three (Nos. 2, 3, and 10) have no known source; one (No. 13) is paralleled by *Brev.*, c. 71; the rest are shared by Theoph. and other chronicles. We must, therefore, consider No. 13, which reads as follows: Ἐπὶ τῆς γενέσεως Λέοντος τοῦ υἱοῦ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Κοπρωνύμου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ χώρου ἐδόκουν οἱ ἀστέρες πάντες μετακινεῖσθαι καὶ καταφέρεσθαι δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτός· οἱ δὲ περίγειοι γινόμενοι ἀθρόον διελύοντο. φασι δὲ πολλοὶ ὅτι διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐξάϊσιον διεδείκνυτο θέαμα.

As I have pointed out elsewhere,⁴² it seems evident to me that this extract is not the source of *Brev.*, c. 71, but is derived from the latter. The same conclusion may be drawn by comparing a number of parallel passages in Theoph. and the

³⁹ *PLRE*, I, Trajanus 2.

⁴⁰ *Hermes* 17 (1882), 489–92.

⁴¹ Ed. P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, I (Vienna, 1975), 37 ff. (who breaks it down into 18 fragments); L. M. Whitby, *BMGs* 8 (1982–83), 17–20.

⁴² "The *Breviarium*" (as in note 10), 547–48.

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Megas Chronographos: it is Theoph. who preserves the more original text. From this it follows that the *Megas Chronographos* was a compilation no earlier than the mid-ninth century and should be ruled out of consideration as one of the sources of Nikephoros.

DIFFUSION AND INFLUENCE OF THE *BREVIARIUM*

Unlike the Chronicle of Theoph., which exerted an enormous influence on later historiography in both East and West, the impact of the *Breviarium* was more limited and exercised not so much directly as through the Chronicle of George the Monk (after 871)⁴³ who, in addition to utilizing Theoph. and other sources, made numerous borrowings from the *Brev.* (identified in de Boor's edition of George, 665 ff.). It may be noted that George (780.13 ff.) also quotes a lost work by Nikephoros dealing with the origin, impiety, and grievous death of Emperor Leo V (813–820). Judging by the violent tone of the passage (which appears to extend to 792.5), its rhetorical amplification, and the introduction of theological arguments, this must have been a polemical pamphlet: it was certainly not a work of history.⁴⁴

Toward the middle of the ninth century the *Brev.* was read by Photios, who expresses a highly favorable judgment regarding its style: its only shortcoming, he says, lies in its extreme concision (*Bibl.*, cod. 66). It seems, indeed, that the *Brev.* was appreciated more for its literary qualities than as a work of reference. An alphabetical glossary of about 150 notable words found in it was copied into *cod. Barocc. 50* (10th century),⁴⁵ considered by some scholars to be of south Italian origin.⁴⁶ The author of this word list was not a good hellenist: he explains ἀμφιλαφῆ by ἀμφοτέρωθε δάση, ἐσκεναγάγουν by ἐδαροφόρουν, εὐζώνους by ἀνδρείους, etc., and even finds it necessary to gloss ἄστν (πόλιν), ἄστῶν (πολιτῶν), and ὑπερθεν (ἐπάνωθεν).

⁴³So A. Markopoulos, *Σύμμεικτα* 6 (1985), 223–31. It is not clear to me, however, why George, if he was writing after 871, should have laid so much stress in his Preface (de Boor, 3.27) on the revolt of Thomas the Slav, an event that had happened fifty years earlier.

⁴⁴Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 179–80 suggests that this work may have been a homily, but it is unlikely that Nikephoros had occasion to do any preaching after his deposition.

⁴⁵Fols. 293^{r-v}, 295^r, 298^v, 299^r, 303^v, 305^v, 307^r, 311^r, 312^{r-v}, 313^v, 314^v, 315^r, 316^{r-v}, 317^{r-v}, 318^{r-v}, interspersed with words from the Psalter and τῆς γραμματικῆς. Negligently edited by Cramer, *Anecdota graeca Oxon.*, II (Oxford, 1835), 427 ff. See de Boor's corrections and comments in his edition of Nikephoros, pp. xvii ff.

⁴⁶In particular J. Irigoin, *JÖB* 18 (1969), 37–55 and note 49. Disputed by N. G. Wilson, *Scholars of Byzantium* (London, 1983), 211; idem, *GRBS* 23 (1982), 369–71.

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As we have said, the *Brev.* provided some material for the *Megas Chronographos*. Seven extracts from it were included in the *Suda* (s.v. Ἀρτέμιος, βρύχιος, ἐνώτια, Ἡράκλειος, Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ Ῥινόμητος, πυρεῖον, Φιλιππικός), of which four are of a historical and three of a lexical character. There is no direct evidence that it was pilfered for the *Excerpta* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

In the twelfth century the *Breviarium* in its L recension was used by Zonaras. This can be demonstrated, for example, with regard to the funeral of Empress Eudokia (c. 3), where Zonaras (Bonn ed., III, 205) reproduces L's distinctive κόρη τις . . . βάρβαρος, and by his reference to Herakleios' son Fabius (so in L; Flavius in V), whom he mistakenly identifies with Heraklonas. Cf. our Commentary *ad* 11.8. In the thirteenth century an extract concerning the Holy Cross, corresponding to 18.9–21, was copied into *cod. Sabait. 366* (a miscellany).⁴⁷

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*Vat. gr. 977*⁴⁸

Tenth century; parchment; 209 folios (excluding *feuilles de garde*); 225 × 295 mm. Consists of two separate MSS of roughly the same date bound together. First part (fols. 1–184): rulings similar to Lake I 2e or Leroy 20 A 1, with prickings. Inscribed surface 125 × 220 mm; 30 lines per page. Medium brown ink. Second part (fols. 185–209): rulings similar to Lake I 16a or Leroy 11 C 1bn; no prickings. Inscribed surface 155 × 235 mm; 35 lines per page. Medium to dark brown ink. Binding with arms of Pope Paul V (1605–21).

Contents:

Feuilles de garde: I–II paper, with two separate tables of contents in Latin. III–IV and I'–II' (at the back), parchment taken from a Sienese account book.

1) History of Theophylaktos Simokatta (fols. 1–2^v, Dialogue between Philosophy and History; 2^v–10^v, Title and table of contents; 11 ff. text). On fol. 184^v a scholion in the same hand derived from a lost work by a St. Isaac explaining why the eldest son of Emperor Maurice was called Theodosios. Ed. P. Maas, *BZ* 21 (1912), 29 n.1.

2) Fol. 185 to the end: *Breviarium* of Nikephoros. The original scribe left

⁴⁷A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, II (St. Petersburg, 1894), 482–83.

⁴⁸For bibliography see P. Canart and V. Peri, *Studi e Testi* 261 (1970), 519. Add T. Olajos, *Revue d'histoire des textes* 9 (1979), 261–66 and esp. P. Schreiner, *JÖB* 37 (1987), 1–29.

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many gaps which have been filled by a later hand (V²). The latter also added corrections either above the line or over erasures in the text, very rarely in the margin.

A note on fol. 93^v (reproduced in de Boor's edition of *Theophylaktos*, p. VI) records that in 1417/8 the MS was given by Arsenios bishop of Samos to John *chorepiskopos* of Kos.

In a recent study devoted to the *Vaticanus*,⁴⁹ P. Schreiner has established or suggested the following points:

- a) The *Theophylaktos* part of the MS can be dated to the early tenth century.
- b) The *Nikephoros* part is roughly of the same period.
- c) The marginalia in the *Theophylaktos* part (hands C and D) were in all probability added with a view to identifying suitable passages for the *Excerpta* of Constantine VII.
- d) The presence of a few marginalia by hand D in the *Nikephoros* part indicates that both parts were united when the excerptors set to work, that is, by the middle of the tenth century.

The Corrector (V²)

The total number of corrections and supplements made by a person other than the main scribe is, if I am not mistaken, 117 and, although in some cases it is not certain that they are by the same hand, most of them may be attributed to V². The best specimen of his writing (an inclined minuscule) may be seen in the outer margin of fol. 204^v, where he has added several words that had been omitted in the text.

As noted above, the main scribe left a considerable number of small lacunae. De Boor, in his lengthy discussion of the MS (*Praefatio*, pp. v ff.), is probably right in arguing that these were due not to a damaged archetype but to the scribe's inability to read abbreviations. This conclusion is indicated by the following considerations:

- 1) A high percentage of lacunae filled by V² occur in the endings of words.
- 2) More than half (38 out of 55) of the evident corrections made by V² also concern endings.
- 3) Twice the word *λίτραι*, which is normally abbreviated, has been left out (20.18, 30.5), although it is written out in full at 76.24.
- 4) The main scribe himself avoids abbreviations except in the most usual *nomina sacra*.

If that is granted, two further conclusions appear to follow: (1) the model of V was also in minuscule; and (2) V² must be nearly contemporary with V, since it is not likely that the lacunae would have been left unfilled for any length of time.

De Boor's further contention that all of V²'s corrections were made by him *ex*

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ingenio suo and should, therefore, be treated as conjectures is invalidated by L. In some cases, it is true, V² seems to have been guided by his own judgment, for example, in needlessly changing *ὄνομα* to *ὀνόματι* nine times or altering the correct *ἦγεν* to *ἦγαγεν* at 19.3. In many more cases, however, there can be no doubt that he had before him a MS of the L tradition as proved by the following examples:

- 1.11 *τοὺς υἱεῖς* V: V² adds the redundant *ἑαυτῶν*, which is supported by L.
 13.12 V and Georg. Mon. have the correct *τὰ τῆς Ἀσιάτιδος μοίρας: τάς* V²L.
 15.14 *ἡσυχάζειν* V: *ἔφ' ἡσυχάζειν* L: *ἔφ'* written above the line V².
 20.2 V has the perfectly unexceptionable *εὐθύς: εὐθέως* V²L.
 20.17 *ἐμπορεύεσθαι* V²L, the former altered from *ἐκπορεύεσθαι*—by no means an obvious correction.
 26.15 *ἐπητιᾶτο* correctly in V: *ἐπαιτιᾶτο* V²L.
 28.6 *διελογίζετο* V: *διελέγετο* V²L.
 35.18 *τῇ νῦν ὑπὸ Ἀβάροις κειμένη* edd.: *τῆς . . . κειμένης* L: *τῆς . . . κειμένης* from *τῆς . . . κοιμένοις* V².
 36.19 *περαιωθέντες δὲ τὸν Ἴστρον* edd.: *περαιωθέντ[ων] δὲ το[ῦ] Ἴστρ[ου]*, the endings being written in by V²: *περαιωθέντων τὸν Ἴστρον* L.

V²'s marginal addition at 66.27–29, *πλείσταις δὲ πληγαῖς . . . κατεδικάσθησαν*, is also deserving of note. De Boor's contention (Praefatio, p. xi) that the supplement was invented by V² is surely unconvincing, the more so as Theoph., 420.22 has the nearly equivalent *πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους συμμαχήσαντας Ἀρταυάσδω τῶν προυχόντων ἀνεῖλεν, ἀναριθμήτους δὲ ἐτύφλωσεν, καὶ ἄλλους ἐχειροκόπησε καὶ ἐποδοκόπησεν*. But where did V² obtain it from? If he collated V against *one* other MS only, we would have to conclude that L did not terminate in A.D. 713. The other possibility is that he collated V against *two* other MSS, namely, the model of V and the model of L.

Marginalia

Setting aside textual corrections, the marginalia are in two hands. The first, by the main scribe, are in a mixture of uncial and minuscule and consist largely of headings. Their distribution is very uneven, as shown by the following table:

Against	1.1	<i>Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Φωκᾶ ἀναδειξέως</i>
	1.20	<i>Περὶ Κρίσπου</i>
	1.35	<i>Περὶ Φωτίου</i>
	1.43	<i>Ἀναίρεσις Φωκᾶ</i>
	1.48	<i>Περὶ Δομεντιόλου</i>
	2.7	<i>Ἀναγόρευσις Ἡρακλείου</i>

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- 2.58 *Περὶ Φιλιππικοῦ*
 8.3 *Σημ(εἰώσαι) ὅτι ἕως Ἡρακλείου ἢ Αἴγυπτος τῇ μεγαλο-
 πόλει ἐπεσιτίζεν*
 9.1 *Σημ(εἰώσαι) τὰ περὶ Οὐννων*
 10.1 *Σημ(εἰώσαι) τὰ περὶ Ἀβάρων*
 37.5 *The numeral Ὡ referring to the 6th General Council*
 46.2 *Περὶ τῆς Ὡ συνόδου*
 46.6 *Ση(μειώσαι) περὶ τοῦ θείου Γερμανοῦ*
 48.14 *Ση(μειώσαι) τύφλωσις Φιλιππικοῦ*
 48.18 *Ἀρτέμιος ὁ καὶ Ἀναστάσιος*
 50.23 *Ση(μειώσαι) with reference to the elevation of Theodosios*
 51.3 *Θεοδοσίου*
 51.16 *Περὶ Γερμανοῦ*
 52.13 *Παραίτησις Θεοδοσίου βασιλέως*
 52.19 *Λέων ὁ Ἰσαυρος*
 53.1 *Σαρακηνοὶ τὴν Πέργαμον*
 56.1 *Περὶ Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Αὐγούστου τε with reference to the
 birth of Constantine V and the departure of the Arab armament
 from Constantinople on 15 August 718*
 57.1 *Περὶ Ἀρτεμίου*
 58.1 *Περὶ Γερμάνου (sic) καὶ Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως*
 59.1 *Περὶ Θήρας καὶ Θηρασίας*
 60.4 *Περὶ καθαιρέσεως τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων*
 62.3 *Περὶ Γερμανοῦ*
 63.2 *Περὶ Χαζάρου*
 64.1 *Λέοντος ὑδέριος θάνατος*
 64.4 *Περὶ Ἀρταβάζου*
 80.4 *Σημ(εἰώσαι) οἷα κατὰ τῶν μοναχῶν ἔδρα ὁ ἄθεος Κων-
 σταντίνος*
 83.22 *Σημ(εἰώσαι) τὰ κατὰ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως*
 83.26–28 *Ση(μειώσαι)*

In addition, there are a number of marginalia in a different hand (Schreiner's hand D), written in minuscule and confined to the reign of Herakleios:

- 14.5 *μονομαχία Ἡρακλείου βα(σιλέως)*
 15.9 *Χοσρόου διὰ λιμοῦ θάνατος καὶ ἀνάρρησις βα(σιλέως)
 Σειρόου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ*
 16.1 *Σειρόου τελευτή καὶ Καβόου ἀναγόρευσις· θάνατος τε
 τούτου καὶ Ὀρμίσδα ἀναγόρευσις*
 17.9 *ἀναίρεσις υἱοῦ Ὀρμίσδα βασιλέως Περσῶν καὶ προ-
 βολή παρὰ Ἡρακλείου Σαρβάρου ἐπὶ τὸ βασιλεύειν
 Περσῶν*

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- 18.7 ὅτι διάγοντ(ι) Ἡρακλείῳ ἐν Περσίδι παῖδες ἐγεν-
νήθ(ησαν) αὐτῷ ἐξ ὧν ἐτελεύτησαν ἐκεῖσε ἄρ(ρεν)ες
μὲν β' καὶ θήλειαι δὲ δύο. This adds an item of information
to what is in the text. See below, Commentary, *ad* 18.4.

British Library, *Add. 19390*³⁰

Commonly described as being of the late ninth century but more probably of the first half of the tenth; parchment; 55 folios; 145 × 205 mm. Rulings similar to Lake I2c or Leroy 20 C 1. Writing mostly above ruled lines. Inscribed surface 76 × 145 mm, 27 lines per page. One scribe. Light brown ink. Minuscule with occasional uncial letters, especially N, but also Γ, Η, and Κ. Illuminated initials in bright blue, red, and yellow on fols. 1, 17, 23, and 24. Smaller initial letters colored blue and/or yellow. Spelling rather erratic. Corrections by main scribe and by another hand (L²) in a darker brown ink. Last two folios stained and full of worm holes. 19th-century binding.

Not a complete MS, but less than one fifth of the original codex, which, according to a note on fol. 55^v (+εἰσι τ(ῆς) βίβλου ταύτ(ης) φύλλ(α) σπε') contained 285 folios. The quires are numbered λ' (barely visible) on fol. 1, λα' on fol. 9 (in a more recent hand), and, in an old hand, λγ' on fol. 25, λδ' on fol. 33, λε' on fol. 41, λς' on fol. 49. Twenty-nine quires corresponding to 230 folios are, therefore, missing at the beginning.

On fol. 54^v a few Hebrew letters are written in the margin.

On the last page, in addition to various scribblings, is a large "monocondyle" mark of ownership, which may be read as +Βίβλος μουῆς τῆς Θ(εοτό)κου.

Contents:

1) Fol. 1: (Pseudo-) John Damascene, *De dormientibus in fide* (PG 95, 248 ff.). Marginal scholia in a later (11th/12th century) hand, among them the following one (fol. 9): Ἀπὸ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ παρῆλθον πολλοὶ βασιλεῖς, καὶ πάλιν μανθάνομεν ὅτι ὁ εἰκονομάχος Θεόφιλος ἤξιώθη ἐλέους. ἀλλὰ καὶ τινα εἶχεν ὁ Τραϊανὸς προτερήματα ὡς καὶ ὁ εἰκονομάχος Θεόφιλος.

2) Fol 17: Χρονογραφικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος, being part of the *Χρον. σύντομον* ascribed to Nikephoros, ed. de Boor, 81–101.16. List of Roman emperors ending with Theophilus, whose length of reign, ἔτη ιβ', is in the same light brown ink as the original scribe's but in a different hand. A thirteenth-century hand (black ink) has added μῆνας γ' ἡμέρας κ' and continued the list of

³⁰ *Catalogue of Additions in the Years 1848–1853* (London, 1868), 228; *Palaeographical Society* (Original Series), I, 231.

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emperors down to the capture of Constantinople by the Latins. A few scholia in brown ink by the same hand that has added *ὁ λεγόμενος Κασιτηρᾶς* on fol. 23^v and marginal additions in black ink by the same hand that completed the list of emperors on fol. 22^v.

Fol. 23: *Ἔτη πατριαρχῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* = de Boor, 114.10–120.4, inc. *Μητροφάνης ἔτη ι'* down to *Θεόδοτος ἔτη ε' μῆνας θ'* (the *θ'* reinforced in brown ink) *αἰρετικός* (this word not by the main scribe). A later hand has added *ὁ λεγόμενος Κασιτηρᾶς* next to the name *Θεόδοτος* and continued the list of patriarchs, in most cases leaving the length of their tenure blank, down to Polyeuktos (956–970), *Πολύευκτος ἔτη* blank *ὅτε καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κύρ Ῥωμανοῦ ἦν πρὸς τέλος*. Since Romanos II died in 963, the addition to the patriarchal list would appear to have been close to that date.

While it cannot be argued that L itself is of the early ninth century, there is every reason to believe that the original from which the *Χρονογραφικόν* was copied dated from shortly after 821 and that the scribe of L made no attempt to bring it up to date.

3) Fol. 24 to end: *Breviarium* of Nikephoros.

L was purchased, as noted on the flyleaf, from C. Simonides on 12 March 1853. This refers to the notorious adventurer and forger Constantine Simonides (?1820–67), who sold eight other MSS to the British Museum (genuine, but mostly imperfect). The fact that L is merely a fragment raises the possibility of its remainder being still in existence. Simonides himself claimed that the MSS he supplied to the British Museum as well as to other institutions (the latter being mostly forgeries) came from Mount Athos,⁵¹ which may well have been so, although he is said to have also visited the libraries of Jerusalem, Mount Sinai, and other centers.

⁵¹This is stated in a pamphlet by one Charles Stewart (probably composed by Simonides himself) entitled *A Biographical Memoir of Constantine Simonides, Dr. Ph. of Stageira* (London, 1859), 36 ff. as proof of the genuineness of all his MSS. The Bodleian Library copy I have consulted (No. 25796.e.b) is particularly informative because it has been copiously annotated by Sir Frederic Madden, who was at the time Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum. Simonides remained about two years on Mount Athos (1839–40) under the aegis of his maternal uncle Benediktos, described as abbot of the Rossikon monastery, although, according to G. Smyrnakes, *Τὸ Ἄγιον Ὄρος* (Athens, 1903), 663–64, the last Greek abbot of that establishment was called Gerasimos and remained in office from 1832 to 1875. Benediktos (Stewart, op. cit., 4) is said to have acquired many MSS, “the greater portion of which he took from the monastery of Esphygmenos (sic).” From Athos Simonides proceeded to Constantinople, Odessa, Athens, Thessaly, the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor(?), Athos again, Constantinople, Athos for the third time (1851 for a whole year), the Aegean islands, Egypt, and England. His chances of purloining MSS were thus very numerous. On his career see A. Lykurgos, *Enthüllungen über den Simonides-Dindorfschen Uranios* (Leipzig, 1856), who also states (pp. 56, 59) that Simonides’ MSS came from Mount Athos; the unsigned article (by D. Chaviaras) in S. I. Voutyras, *Λεξικὸν ἱστορίας καὶ γεωγραφίας*, VII (Constantinople, 1889), 580–83; A. R. Rangabes in *Πανδώρα* 1 (1850–51), 551–55, 595–602; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *BZ* 14 (1905), 268–69; and Ch. A. Kalliga, *Τὸ πατρικὸ σπίτι τοῦ Κ. Σιμωνίδη* in *Ἐπώνυμα ἀρχοντικά τῶν χρόνων τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας*, *Ἐθνικὸ*

TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT

In view of the impenetrable veil of mendacity that surrounds Simonides' career, the Athonite origin of L cannot be taken for granted. A search for its missing portion cannot, furthermore, be undertaken on the basis of the existing catalogues of the monasteries of Mount Athos, which are insufficiently detailed.

TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT

Two attempts have hitherto been made to construct a stemma of the textual tradition of the *Breviarium*, the first by Orosz, the second by Speck. Orosz accepted the hypothesis that L was the descendant of the author's first draft and V that of a completed and stylistically improved second draft. He went on to argue, among others, the following points:

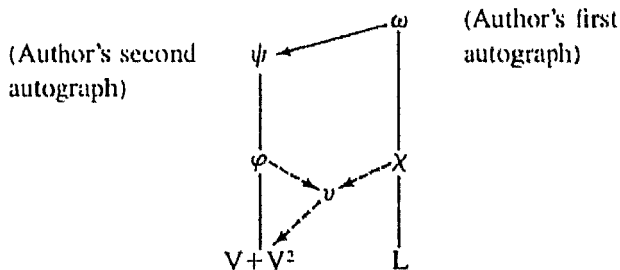
1) The frequent agreement of V² with L proves, contrary to de Boor's view, that V² was guided by MS tradition, namely, by a MS that shared characteristics of both the L and the V branches.

2) In several cases L and V agree in error. It being unlikely that both branches were independently corrupt in the same places, the corruptions must have arisen in one branch (probably that of L) and then affected the other.

3) Where the *Breviarium* and Theoph. share a common source, Theoph. is more often than not closer to L, but occasionally closer to V.

4) Likewise, the borrowings from Nikephoros in George the Monk are sometimes closer to L and at other times closer to V.

These propositions led Orosz to a contaminated stemma. To avoid confusion we shall change his symbols as follows:

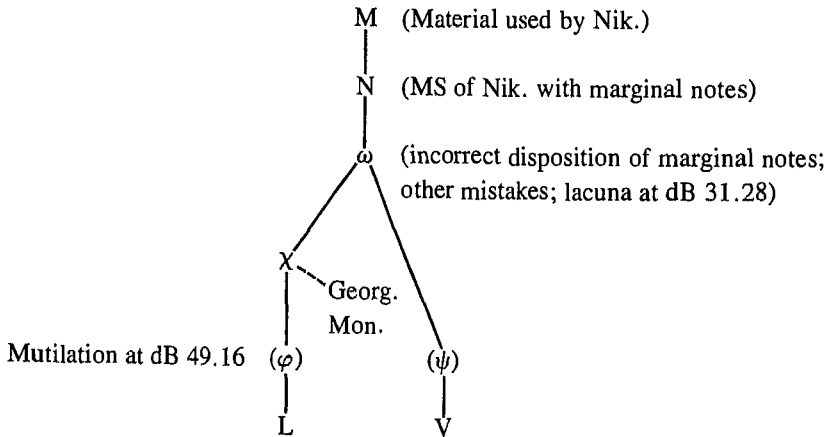


Μετσόβιο Πολυτεχνείο, Σπουδαστήριο 'Ιστορίας της 'Αρχιτεκτονικής (Athens, 1986), 247-54. Note that the 3 folios of the Shepherd of Hermas, sold by Simonides to the University Library of Leipzig, were taken from cod. 96 of the Gregoriou monastery, as shown by S. P. Lambros, *A Collation of the Athos Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas* (Cambridge, 1888), 5-6.

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That is a possible reconstruction if one is willing to ascribe to contamination the presence of some twenty-five common errors in both branches of the tradition. Incidentally, I am not convinced (but that is a minor point) of the alleged agreement of Theoph. with V against L, it being limited to the spelling of a few proper names, two cases of omission (which could have occurred in the process of copying L from χ), and a few other, equally indecisive examples.

Speck's reconstruction⁵² stems from his analysis of c. 28. He believes that the sentence order has been disturbed, that is, that *ἐξαίρετον . . . προχειρισθέντι* was meant to follow *καὶ κατήρχοντο ἀνευφημοῦντες τοὺς βασιλεῖς*. He explains the disturbance by the supposition that Nikephoros in his autograph made two marginal additions, one being *ἐξαίρετον . . . προχειρισθέντι* and the other *οὐδὲ γὰρ βαρβάρων . . . ἐλθεῖν πολιτείαν*, with appropriate reference signs, and that the intended order was confused by a copyist. The "disturbed" sequence occurs, however, in both L and V. That means, according to Speck, that the archetype (ω) could not have been produced under Nikephoros' direction: it was made after his death. Hence the following stemma:



The main difficulty to be explained on the above theory concerns the beginning of L—let us call it L1 (= our cc. 1–11) and designate the rest of L by L2—which differs so markedly from that of V. Speck suggests that when a second copy of ω was made (presumably χ) the first few folios of ω had been accidentally lost. The distraught copyist consulted the patriarch's Nachlass and, finding N (or does he mean M?), supplied the beginning from that MS. An unlikely solution, but not an impossible one.

⁵²Dossier, 195 ff.

TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT

Two main objections can be made to Speck's stemma. First, its point of departure is questionable. The existing sentence order in c. 28, though perhaps less clear than Speck's rearranged order, is by no means impossible, and several generations of scholars have accepted it without demur. Furthermore, Nikephoros was not so much composing an original text as paraphrasing a source, perhaps sentence by sentence: the sequence may well be that of his source. Second, according to Speck's stemma, the divergences between L and V (setting aside L1) should all be of a scribal or accidental nature (misreading, inattention, or damage). But they are not all of that nature: a fair number are what one would call redactional, for example, the following:

- 15.25 ἄπερ αὐτῷ κατάφορα γένοιτο L: εἴπερ αὐτῷ κατάφορα γένοιτο V
- 17.11 ἐζήτει L: ἐξαιτεῖ V
- 18.12 ἐπέγνωσαν L: ἐπεγίνωσκον V
- 22.5 φυλάξει L: ἐφύλαξαν V
- 23.19 γάρ L: δέ V
- 26.2 ἐπειδὴ δὲ Πύρρω προσέκειτο Ἡράκλειος L: ἐπειδὴπερ προσέκειτο Ἡράκλειος Πύρρω V
- 26.15 ἀλλ' ἄλλους ταῦτα ἐπαιτιάτο L: ἄλλους τε ταῦτα ἐπητιᾶτο V (ἐπαιτιάτο V²)
- 26.16 περὶ τούτων L: ὑπὲρ τούτων V
- 34.8 ἀντιπαρατάσσεται L: ἀντιπαρατάττεται V
- 34.27 πρὸς τὰ Σαρακηνῶν ἦθη γενόμενος L: πρὸς τὰ τῶν Σαρ. γεν. ἦθη V
- 35.4 λεγομένη L: καλουμένη V
- 36.11 κατασχεθεῖς L: συσχεθεῖς V
- 37.13 ἀποτίθεται L: κατατίθεται V
- 38.2 ἐξκαίδέκατον (sic) L: ἑκκαίδέκατον V
- 38.7 κατὰ τῶν Σκλαβίνων ἐθνῶν ὄρμησεν L: κ. τ. Σκλαβηνῶν εὐθέως ὄρμησε V
- 38.16 ἐκστρατεύσας L: ἐκστρατεύει . . . καί V
- 44.13 θαρσαλαιώτεροι L: θαρραλωτέροι V
- 44.15 πρὸς βραχὺ ἀπειπόντες L: τῶν πρὸς μάχην ἀπειπόντες V
- 45.7 Στέφανον τὸν πατρίκιον L: Σ. δέ τινα πατρίκιον V.

Whoever made these and other changes in tense, word order, vocabulary, in introducing Attic forms, and even changing the sense was not simply a scribe: he was either Nikephoros himself or another learned redactor.

If we are to suggest a different stemma without recourse to arbitrary or far-fetched suppositions, we have to be guided by two considerations that affect the direct tradition.

- 1) The presence of common errors already noted by Orosz (pp. 13–14). Set-

INTRODUCTION

ting aside misspellings and one vulgarism (42.75 ἀπό Χαζαρίαν), I have counted eighteen obvious errors, six more that are arguable, plus two redundant words that have been bracketed by editors. The obvious errors are:

- 12.29 ἄμα καὶ στολὴν βασιλικὴν VL: στολῆ βασιλικῆ edd.
 12.31 τοῖς . . . ἄρχουσι VL: τοὺς . . . ἄρχοντας edd.
 12.32 παρ' ἐκείνω VL: παρ' ἐκείνου edd.
 13.7 Εὐτρόπιον VL: Εὐτροπίου edd. Admittedly, this mistake could have been easily overlooked.
 13.11 ἐκάτερος VL: ἐκάτεροι edd.
 13.24 ἀναφανέντος VL: ἀναφανέντες edd.
 13.33 εἰς μέσους VL: εἰς μέσον edd.
 28.11 καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν VL: κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν edd.
 29.6 διωθουμένην VL: διωθουμένη edd.
 35.29 ὑπὸ . . . λεγόμενον VL: ἀπὸ . . . λεγομένης edd.
 35.31–32 Corrupt passage in VL
 36.23 VL read τῶν ἐγγιζόντων πανωκημένων (sic), followed in V by Σκλαβηῶν ἐθνῶν, the latter two words being omitted in L. Editors print [ἐγγιζόντων] παρωκημένων Σ. ἐθνῶν and note that Theoph. has παρακειμένων. Whatever may be the origin of the corruption of παρωκημένων to πανωκημένων, it is a near synonym of ἐγγιζόντων.
 38.11 στρατεύει ἄχρι καὶ ἕως τριάκοντα χιλιάδας (χηλιάδας V) λαόν VL: ἄχρι καὶ εἰς edd. It appears that ἕως was meant to be an alternative reading.
 39.10 τοῖς VL: τοὺς edd.
 40.23 σκεδαννύμενοι VL: σκεδαννυμένους edd.
 40.38 Θεοδόσιον VL: Θεόδοτον edd.
 45.77 αὐτοὺς VL: αὐτός edd.
 47.6 αὐτῶν VL: αὐτοῖς edd.

The six cases where I have maintained traditional corrections whereas another editor might have preferred to follow the MSS are:

- 12.56 σκεψάμενος VL: σκηψάμενος edd. Cf. 2.30.
 18.5 κατεγγυῆσαι VL: κατεγγυήσας edd.
 18.6 ἀναιρεῖτο VL: ἀνήρητο edd.
 36.16 συντόμως VL: συντόνως edd.
 40.19 πραίτωρος VL: πραιτωρίου edd., admittedly, not an entirely satisfactory emendation.
 45.61 ἐπιπεσόντων V, ἐπεισπεσόντων L: ἐπιπεσόντος edd.

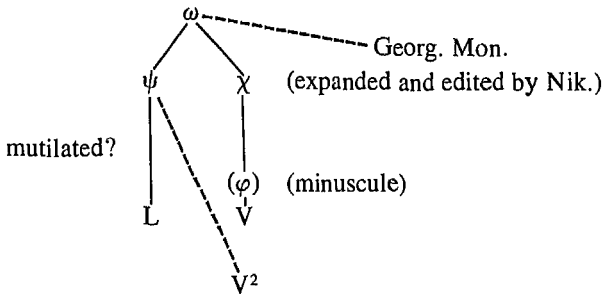
Finally, the redundant words shared by V and L are:

- 12.6 μέχρῃς
 30.9 τά

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

2) As we have seen, however, all of L was revised in V.

It follows that the errors were present in the common archetype and survived the revision. We are then left with at least two alternatives. The simpler one may be expressed by the following stemma:



According to this scheme, Nikephoros' personal draft incorporating the unedited beginning (L1) would have been copied in ω . It does not particularly matter whether it extended to 713 or 769. The archetype ω then gave rise to two further copies, and one of these (χ) was revised by Nikephoros. The weakness of this solution (I readily admit it) is that it makes Nikephoros appear as a singularly absent-minded redactor: he neglected to correct a series of obvious mistakes and did not even try to patch up the gap between cc. 32 and 33. The second alternative is that the redactor was a person other than Nikephoros. But would such a person have taken upon himself the task of improving the patriarch's prose and, in particular, of rewriting L1? Furthermore, if he was a man of some literary ability, why did he miss so many errors? The truth of the matter may have been more complex, but I see no way of attaining it with the evidence at our disposal.

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Editio princeps by D. Petavius, *S. Nicephori patriarchae Constantinopolitani Breviarium historicum* (Paris, 1616) from an apographon made from V and brought from Rome by Sirmond (*ibid.*, p. 9); repr. in Paris Corpus, vol. I (1648) and Venice Corpus (1729). New edition by I. Bekker in Bonn Corpus (1837) without recourse to MS, but improved through a number of felicitous emendations. Repr. Migne, PG 100 (1865), 876–994. Critical edition from V by C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1880).

Text of L edited from photographs by L. Orosz (Budapest, 1948) in full to c. 11 (as also by us), variants only to the end. The edition is on the whole very accurate, but many routine emendations have been made tacitly.

INTRODUCTION

Translations: Latin by Petavius; French by Moret, *Abrégé de l'Histoire byzantine de Saint Nicéphore, patriarche de Constantinople* (Paris, 1684); Russian by E. E. Lipšic, *VizVrem* 3 (1950), 349–87. For partial translations into other languages see Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, 457. Add I. S. Čičurov, *Vizantijskie istoričeskie sočinenija* (Moscow, 1980), 159–67 (extracts).

LIST OF SIGNS

MANUSCRIPTS

L = *cod. Londinensis, Add. 19390*

L¹ = manus prima

L² = manus secunda

V = *cod. Vaticanus graecus 977*

V¹ = manus prima

V² = manus secunda

Sab = *cod. Sabaiticus 366, fol. 22^v*

gloss. Barocc. = glossae quae in *cod. Barocc. 50* continentur (vide p. 18)

EDITIONS

B = coniecturae Bekkeri

dB = coniecturae Caroli de Boor

Or = correctiones Oroszii

P = coniecturae Petavii

vulg. = correctiones editionum tacite factae

* lacuna

[] secludenda. In apparatu autem critico uncis quadratis includuntur quae a V² in lacunis vel rasuris codicis addita sunt.

< > addenda

† locus corruptus

See also Abbreviations, pp. ix ff.

The apparatus as a rule is negative.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ
 ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ
 ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ
 ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΣΥΝΤΟΜΟΣ
 ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΜΑΥΡΙΚΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ

V185^r
dB3

1. Μετὰ τὴν Μαυρικίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναίρεσιν Φω-
 κᾶς, ἐπεὶ ταύτην διειργάσατο, τῆς βασιλείου ἀρχῆς ἐπιλαμ-
 βάνεται· οὐ δὴ ἄρξαντος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο κακώσεως Χριστιανοῖς
 ἤλασε τὰ πράγματα ὡς παρὰ πολλοῖς ἄδεσθαι ὅτι Πέρσαι
 5 μὲν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐκτὸς κατεπήμαινον, Φωκᾶς δὲ ἔν-
 δον χεῖρω τούτων ἔπραττε. ταῦτα οὐκ ἀνεκτὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγί-
 νετο· διὸ οἱ περὶ τὴν Λιβύην τηνικαῦτα ἡγεμονεύοντες, ἅτε
 τῷ μεγίστῳ διαστήματι τὸ θαρσεῖν ἔχοντες καὶ ἅμα παρὰ
 Μαυρικίου τὰ τῆς στρατηγίδος ἀρχῆς ἐγκεχειρισμένοι (δύο
 10 δὲ ἦσθην ἀδελφῶ, Ἡράκλειος καὶ Γρηγόριος), οὗτοι κοινῇ
 βουλευσάμενοι τοὺς υἱεῖς πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐκπέμπουσιν
 ἄστῳ, ἀλλήλοις συνθέμενοι ὡς τὸν προφθάσαντα τούτων τῆς
 βασιλείας, εἰ δύνατο, ἐπιλήψεσθαι. καὶ Ἡράκλειον μὲν τὸν
 Ἡρακλείου παῖδα πλείστῳ καθοπλίσαντες στόλῳ ἕκ (τε) τῶν
 15 ἄφρων καὶ Μαυρουσίων ἀνδρῶν πληρώσαντες πλοῖ ἐξέπεμ-
 πον, Νικήταν δὲ τὸν Γρηγορίου υἱὸν ἵππικῇ στρατιᾷ πολλῇ
 περιβαλόντες διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου ἀπέστειλλον. δεξιᾷ δὲ τύχῃ
 χρησάμενος Ἡράκλειος καὶ πνεύμασιν ἐπιφορωτάτοις ἀνα-
 χθεῖς φθάνει Νικήταν εὐπλοῖσας εἰς Βυζάντιον, καὶ ἦδη τῇ
 20 πόλει προσεσηκῶς ἐπέλαζε. Κρίσπος δὲ (τοῦ Φωκᾶ δὲ ἦν
 οὗτος γαμβρός, ὃς τηνικάδε τὸν τοῦ ὑπάρχου τῆς πόλεως θρό-
 νον διέπειν ἔλαχε, καὶ μεγάλα ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις δυνάμε-
 νος), ἐπεὶ ἀπηχθάνετο Φωκᾶ ὡς δὴ περιυβρισμένος ὑπ' ἐκεί-

dB4

I: 2 διειργάσ*το ex διειργάσατο V² una littera deleta in διείργαστο fort. ut mutetur || 11 post
 υἱεῖς V² add. ἐαυτῶν || 14 πλείστον . . . στόλον dB || τε addidi ex L || 19 εὐπλοῖσας V¹ ex εὐπλοῖας
 || 23 ὑπ' ἐκείνου vulg. ἐπ' ἐκ. V

SHORT HISTORY
(STARTING) AFTER THE REIGN OF MAURICE
BY
OUR FATHER WHO IS AMONG THE SAINTS,
NIKEPHOROS, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE

1. After the murder of Emperor Maurice, Phokas, who had committed this (deed), seized the imperial office. When he had assumed power the situation of the Christians came to such a pitch of misfortune that it was commonly said that, while the Persians were injuring the Roman State from without, Phokas was doing worse (damage) within. Wherefore, the men who at that time were governing Libya, emboldened as they were by being so far away—they were two brothers, Herakleios and Gregorios, who had jointly been appointed to their military command by Maurice—made common counsel and sent forth their sons to the city of Byzantium on the understanding that the one who arrived first would take possession of the imperial office if he was able to do so. And after equipping a great fleet, manned by Africans and Moors, they sent off (at its head) Herakleios, the son of Herakleios; as for Niketas, the son of Gregorios, they invested him with (the command of) a numerous force of cavalry and dispatched him by land. By good chance, Herakleios was carried by favorable winds and, overtaking Niketas, sailed easily to Byzantium, where he reached shore in front of the city. Now Krispos¹ (this man, who enjoyed great power in the palace, was Phokas' son-in-law and at the time happened to occupy the post of city prefect), because he hated Phokas, by whom he had been insulted on account of the removal of his own image

¹ *Recte* Priskos.

25 νου τυγχάνων τῆς οἰκείας εἰκόνας καθαιρέσεως ἔνεκεν, ἦν
 ποτε οἱ τῶν ἀντιθέτων χρωμάτων δημόται τῇ τοῦ Φωκᾶ συμ-
 παρέγραψαν εἰκόνη, δόλω αὐτὸν μετήρχετο, καὶ πονεῖν μὲν
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πλαττόμενος ἔπειθε καὶ Ἡράκλειον ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ
 30 ἑαυτοῦ ἦκειν ἀπισχυρίζετο, συνήργει δὲ ὁμως Ἡρακλείῳ καὶ
 τῷ ὄντι τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ μάλιστα ἔπραττεν. οἱ οὖν περὶ
 Φωκᾶν θεασάμενοι καὶ ὅσον πολιτικὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐστασιαζόν
 (ἤδη γὰρ οἱ τοῦ πρασίου χρώματος δημόται τοῖς περὶ τὴν Και-
 σαρίου τὸ πῦρ ὑψήπτου καὶ τὸν ἔπηλυν βασιλέα ἀνευφή-
 35 ἑφ' ἑαυτοῖς γίνονται. Φώτιος δὲ τις τοῦνομα, ὃς παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰς
 τὴν σύζυγον ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ποτε | καθυβρίζετο, εἰς τὰ βασι-
 λεια σὺν πλήθει στρατιωτῶν ἐπιὼν Φωκᾶν αὐτίκα κατέσχε,
 καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐτὸν ἀπαμφιέσας ἐσθήτης, περιζώμα μέ-
 40 ἀποδεσμήσας καὶ πλοίῳ ἐμβαλὼν πρὸς Ἡράκλειον δεσμώ-
 τῃν ἀπήγαγεν. ὃν ἰδὼν Ἡράκλειος ἔφη “οὕτως, ἄθλιε, τὴν πο-
 λιτείαν διώκησας;” ὁ δὲ “σὺ μᾶλλον” εἶπε “κάλλιον διοικεῖν
 μέλλεις”. εὐθὺς οὖν αὐτοῦ τὸν διὰ ξίφους ἔτι πρὸς τῷ πλοίῳ
 45 ὄντος καταψηφίζεται θάνατον, ἔπειτα ἀκρωτηριάζεσθαι, χε-
 ροῖν τε δεξιᾶν ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ ὀμιαίου ἄρθρου ἐκκόπτεσθαι dB5
 καὶ τῶν αἰδῶν ἐκτέμνεσθαι καὶ κοινοῖς ἀναρτᾶσθαι, οὕτω
 τε τὸ σῶμα συρὲν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Βοῶς λεγομένην ἀγορὰν τῷ
 πυρὶ καταπίμπρασθαι, Δομεντιόλον τε τὸν Φωκᾶ ἀδελφὸν
 50 καὶ Βονόσσον καὶ Λεόντιον τὸν τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων τα-
 μίαν τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ Φωκᾶ συνδιαφέρειν κίνδυνον προσέταττε.
 καὶ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτως ἀπέβαινε.

2. Σέργιος δὲ αὐτίκα ὁ τῆς πόλεως πρόεδρος καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς
 ταύτης ὄμιλος σὺν πάσῃ εὐγνωμοσύνῃ Ἡράκλειον ἐντὸς εἰσ-
 δέχεται. καὶ αὐτὸς Κρίσπον εἰς τὴν βασιλείον ἀξίαν πρού-
 5 τρεπε· μηδὲ γὰρ τῆς βασιλείας ἔνεκεν αὐτὸς ἐλληλυθῆναι
 ἔφασκε, τίσασθαι μᾶλλον Φωκᾶν τῆς εἰς Μαυρίκιον καὶ τὰ
 Μαυρικίου τέκνα παρανομίας. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέχετο. τέλος ὑπὸ
 τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Ἡράκλειος βασιλεὺς
 ἀνακηρύσσεται καὶ τὸν βασιλείον παρὰ τοῦ προέδρου περι-

25 δημῶται V || 29 εἰς τὰ μάλιστα V²: τὰ om. V¹ || 30 ἐξ αὐτῶν dB: ἑαυτῶν V || 31 post γὰρ V² add.
 καὶ || δημῶται litt. β, χρώματος litt. α superscripta V || 36 ποτε V || 37 ἐπιὼν dB ἐπι τὸν V || 43
 μέλλ[εις] V || 44 ὄντος B ὄντι V || 46 τὸ αἰδεῖον dubitanter conii. dB || 49 τῶν τὸν V

(which on one occasion the partisans of the competing colors had put up alongside that of Phokas), behaved treacherously toward him; and, while he pretended to be striving on his behalf and alleged that Herakleios had come to destroy him, he yet cooperated with Herakleios and indeed helped him most actively. When, therefore, the men around Phokas saw how many citizens among them were rioting (for already the partisans of the green color were setting fire to the surroundings of (the house) of Kaisarios and were proclaiming the newcomer emperor) and perceived that Herakleios' soldiers, too, were pressing upon them with great force, they abandoned Phokas and went home. Now a man called Photios, whom Phokas had once disgraced by seducing his wife, entered the palace with a throng of soldiers and straightaway arrested Phokas, whom he stripped of the imperial robes and, after putting a black tunic on him and tying his arms behind his back, cast him in a boat and brought him prisoner to Herakleios. On seeing him Herakleios said: "Is it thus, O wretch, that you have governed the state?" He answered: "No doubt, you will govern it better." Immediately, while Phokas was still in the boat, Herakleios decreed that he be put to the sword and then that he be mutilated, namely, that his right arm should be amputated at the shoulder joint and his genitals be cut off and (these members) be affixed to poles, and that his body should be dragged in this condition to the so-called marketplace of the Bull and be consigned to the fire. He also ordered that Domentiolos, the brother of Phokas, Bonossos, and Leontios, the imperial treasurer, should undergo the same penalty as Phokas. These matters, then, happened in this manner.

2. Straightaway, Sergios, the bishop of the city, and the rest of its inhabitants received Herakleios within (the walls) with much gratitude. Now Herakleios urged Krispos to assume the imperial office, saying he had come not to take the empire, but to punish Phokas for his unlawful (murder) of Maurice and his children; but Krispos would not accept it. At length, Herakleios was proclaimed emperor by the senate and the people and was invested by the bishop with the imperial crown. And he appointed Krispos com-

- βάλλεται στέφανον· Κρίσπον δὲ στρατηγὸν ἀποστέλλει χειροτονήσας τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐκστρατευμάτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ φήμη διέθεεν ὡς Πέρσαι ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύουσιν, Ἡράκλειος ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἄρας παρὰ Κρίσπον κατὰ τὴν Καίσαρος πόλιν τηρικαῦτα τυγχάνοντα προσπορεύεται ὡς δὴ αὐτῷ [περὶ] τῶν κοινῶν ἔνεκεν βουλευσόμενος. καὶ ὅς μὲν νοσεῖν
- 15 προσεποιεῖτο καὶ τὸν βασιλέα συχνῶς παραγινόμενον ἐν σχήματι ἀρρώστου κατακλιόμενος ἀηδῶς καὶ μόλις ἐδέχτο· εἶτα ἠκούετο ὡς καὶ διελοιδορεῖτο αὐτῷ· Ἡράκλειος δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα συνήκε καὶ τὴν ὕβριν ὅμως ἤνεγκε καὶ ἤδη ἐκαιροφυλάκει. ἀλλ' ἔδοξε τέως γνησιώτερόν πως διαλέγεσθαι περὶ
- 20 τοῦ δεῖν πονεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων τῆς πολιτείας χάριν. ὁ δὲ οἶα ἐπιτωθάζων οὐκ ἐξὸν βασιλεῖ ἔφρασκε καταλιμπάνειν βασιλεία καὶ ταῖς πόρρω ἐπιχωριάζειν δυνάμεσιν. ἐν τούτοις τίκτεται παῖς τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἡράκλειος, ὃν δὴ καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον ἀνόμιασε. τότε δὴ παραγίνεται καὶ Νικήτας ὁ τὴν ἀξίαν πα
- 25 τρῆικιος πρὸς τὸ βασιλείον ἄστν. διὰ τοῦτο Ἡράκλειος εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐπάνεισι καὶ Νικήταν σὺν τιμῇ μεγίστη καὶ περιφανείᾳ ὡσπερ ἀδελφὸν γνήσιον καὶ ὁμότιμον δέχεται, καθὰ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἤδη συντεταγμένον ἐκ Λιβύης ἀπαίρουσι. καὶ Κρίσπος δὲ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἦκεν ὡς τῇ εἰσόδῳ Νικήτα συνησθη
- 30 σόμενος. σκήπτεται δὲ Ἡράκλειος τῷ θεῖῳ λουτρῷ τὸν υἱὸν καθαγνίζειν, υἰοθετεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Κρίσπου. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὰ βασιλεία. Ἡράκλειον δὴ ἀθροίσαντα τοὺς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἅπαντας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πληθὺν τοῦ ἄστεως ἅμα τῷ προέδρῳ Σεργίῳ εἰπεῖν λέγεται
- 35 πρὸς αὐτοὺς “ὁ βασιλέα ὑβρίζων τίνι προσκρούει;” τοὺς δὲ φάναι “τῷ θεῷ τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτὸν βασιλέα”. καὶ Κρίσπον προτρέπειν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸ δοκοῦν ὀρθῶς· τὸν δὲ οὐκ εἰδὸτα τὸ δραματούργημα λέξαι μηδὲ φιλανθρώπου τυχεῖν δίκης τὸν ἐπὶ τοιοῦτῳ ἀλόντα τολμήματι. καὶ τὸν βασιλέα
- 40 ἀναμνησκέειν αὐτὸν οἶα ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ κατεσχηματίσατο, καὶ ὡς τὸ τῆς βασιλείας κατεντελίξειν ἀξίωμα ἔσπετο, καὶ ὡς εἰς τὴν βασιλείον ἀρχὴν προύτρεπε. καὶ ἅμα λαβόντα τόμον κατὰ κόρρης τοῦτον παίειν, καὶ εἶτα λέγοντα “ὡς γαμβρόν οὐκ ἐποίησας, φίλον πῶς ἂν ποιήσεις;”

V186'
dB6

2: 14 περὶ secl. dB || 16 ἀειδῶς V || 23 Ἡράκλειος ex Ἡρακλείω corr. V¹ vel V² || 33 τοὺς V² τῆς V || 39 τοιοῦτω ex τοιοῦτω V¹ vel V²

mander of the expeditionary forces in Cappadocia and sent him (thither). Since, however, a rumor was afoot that the Persians were mounting an expedition against the Romans, Herakleios went forth from Byzantium to meet Krispos at Caesarea (where he happened to be at the time) so as to take counsel with him concerning public affairs. Krispos pretended to be ill and, lying down in the manner of an invalid, received the emperor, who paid frequent calls on him, with displeasure and unwillingly. It was also reported that he railed at him. Herakleios understood the plot, but he bore the insult and bade his time. He decided meanwhile to have a more sincere conversation on the necessity of mutual striving on behalf of the state. But the other man, as if in mockery, said it was not proper for an emperor to abandon his palace and to be tarrying among distant armies. At this juncture a son was born to Emperor Herakleios, whom he named Constantine. At the same time Niketas, who had the dignity of patrician, arrived at the imperial city. For this reason Herakleios returned to Byzantium and received Niketas with great honor and distinction as he would his own brother and equal as they had previously agreed when they were departing from Libya. Krispos, too, came to Byzantium so as to join in celebrating the arrival of Niketas. Now Herakleios pretended that he was about to purify his son in the sacred font and would have him adopted by Krispos. On this pretext Krispos entered the palace. After assembling all the members of the senate and the remaining people of the city together with their bishop Sergios, Herakleios is reported to have asked them: "When a man insults an emperor, whom does he offend?" They answered: "He offends God who has appointed the emperor." And he urged Krispos also to express his honest opinion. The latter, not understanding the play that was being acted, said that a man convicted of such a daring deed should not even have the benefit of a lenient sentence. Then the emperor reminded him of his feigned illness at Caesarea, and how he thought of degrading the imperial dignity, and how he (Herakleios) had offered him the empire. And picking up a book, he struck him on the head and then he said: "You have not made a (good) son-in-law. How will you make a friend?" And straightaway he directed that his head

45 εὐθὺς δὲ ἐπιτρέψαι εἰς κληρικῶν σχῆμα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπο-
 κείρασθαι, καὶ τὸν ἱεράρχην τὰ νενομισμένα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποκάρ-
 σει ἐπιφθέγξασθαι. ἐξελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν τοῖς μετὰ Κρίσπου
 στρατιώταις ἐπὶ λέξεως ᾧδε εἰπεῖν “ὁ παπᾶς Κρίσπος ὑπουρ-
 50 τῆς βασιλείας ὑπηρέτας”. προσθεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐξ ἔθους
 σιτηρέσιον, πρώτους τε καλεῖσθαι καὶ ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς
 τάγμασιν· αὐτοὺς τε ἀσμενέστατα δεξαμένους τὸν βασιλέα
 ἐπευφημῆσαι ἅμα τῇ ἄλλῃ πληθύνει. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κρίσπον
 εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον τῆς Χώρας περιεῖρχθαι σεμνεῖον, ὃς ζήσας
 55 ἐνιαυτὸν αὐτοῦ ἐτελεύτησεν. Ἡράκλειος δὲ Θεόδωρον τὸν
 ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφόν, τὴν μετὰ βασιλέα πρώτην ἀρχὴν κεκτημέ-
 νον (κουροπαλάτην δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ περὶ τὰ βασιλεία καλεῖν
 εἰώθασιν), ἔτι καὶ Φιλιππικὸν τὸν Μαυρικίου τοῦ βασιλέως
 γαμβρὸν ἐπ’ ἀδελφῇ γεγονότα, τηρικαῦτα δὲ εἰς κληρικῶν
 60 σχῆμα ἀποκεκαρμένον τὴν κόμην, ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὑπὸ Κρίσπου
 πρώην ἰθυνομένης ἀρχῆς ἐξέπεμπε. Φιλιππικὸς δὲ ἐπιβιούς
 χρόνον ὕστερον ἐτελεύτα, καὶ πρὸς τῷ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δωμηθέντι
 περικαλλεῖ ἄγαν καὶ σεβασμίῳ ἱερῷ τῷ κατὰ Χρυσόπολιν
 ὄντι ταφῇ παραδίδοται.

3. Ὀλίγου δὲ χρόνου διῆ|πεύσαντος νόσῳ ἐπιληψίας ἢ
 τοῦ βασιλέως γαμετῆ Εὐδοκία ληφθεῖσα ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐν ᾧ
 δὲ τὸ ταύτης σῶμα ἐξεκομίζετο, καὶ πολλῶν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς ἐπὶ
 τῇ θέρῃ συρρεόντων, συνέπεσε κόρην τινα ὑπερθεῖν τῶν ὑπε-
 5 ρῶν διακύνισαν (θεράπεινα δὲ ἦν αὕτη τῶν ἀστῶν τινος)
 ἀποπτῦσαι ὡς τὸν ἀέρα ἀφύλακτα καὶ τὸ περίττωμα κατὰ τῆς
 πολυτελοῦς ἐκείνης ἐσθήτος περιενεχθῆναι ἢ τὸ τῆς βασι-
 λίδος νεκρὸν περιέστελλεν· ἐφ’ ᾧ οἱ περὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν περι-
 οργεῖς γενόμενοι συλλαμβάνουσί τε αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν διὰ πυρὸς
 10 κατεδίκασαν θάνατον, ἐντάφιον οὐκ εὐαγές, βαρβαρικῶ νόμῳ
 χρησάμενοι, τῇ ἐκδημίᾳ τῆς βασιλίσσης ἀθέσμως συμπα-
 ραπέμφαντες οἱ ἀνόσιοι. περιεζήτουν δὲ οἷγε καὶ τὴν δέσποι-
 ναν τῆς οἰκέτιδος, ὡς καὶ αὕτη τὸν ἴσον διάθουτο κίνδυνον· ἢ
 δὲ δήπου αἰσθομένη τὸν ὄλεθρον διαπέφευγεν, οὔτι ὄραθεῖσα

45 δὲ del. B δὴ con. dB || 47 ἐπιφθέγξασθαι V¹ ex ὑπαφθέγξασθαι || 49 ὑμᾶς ex ἡμᾶς V || 50 τ[ῆ]ς
 V || 52 δεξαμένους V¹ ex δεξαμενος

should be shorn in the manner of a clergyman and that the bishop should recite the customary (prayers) over the act of tonsure. He then went out to meet the soldiers of Krispos and said to them these exact words: "The Reverend Krispos had you as his assistants until now, but today we (make you) the emperor's own servants." (He ordered) that they should receive the usual allowance and should have first place among the military contingents. They assented with great pleasure and acclaimed the emperor together with the rest of the crowd. After this, he confined Krispos in the monastery of the Chora, as it is called, where he died a year later. Now Herakleios sent out as commanders in the post previously held by Krispos his own brother Theodore, who held the second highest rank after that of emperor (which in the language of courtiers is habitually called *curopalates*), as well as Philippikos, the brother-in-law of Emperor Maurice, who at that time had his head shorn in the manner of a clergyman. Philippikos survived for a time, but then he died and was consigned to burial in the very beautiful and venerable church he had built at Chrysopolis.

3. A short time had gone by when the emperor's wife Eudokia was seized by the illness of epilepsy and died. And while her body was being carried out to burial and, as usual, a great many people gathered for the spectacle, it happened that a girl (she was the servant of one of the citizens) leaned out from an upper floor and spat unguardedly into the air. Her secretion landed on the splendid vestment in which the empress' corpse was enveloped. Whereupon, those taking part in the funeral became incensed: they apprehended the girl and condemned her to death by fire, thus, in the manner of barbarians, attaching to the demise of the empress an unholy burial rite, sacrilegious men that they were. They also searched all around for the mistress of the servant girl so as to inflict on her the same punishment. But she, doubtless sensing the danger, escaped and was never seen again. Such were the events surrounding

15 εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα πώποτε. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄμφι τὰ βασιλεία ᾧδέ πως ἔσχε.

4. Τὰ δ' αὖ ἐτέρωσε ὡς ἐτελεῖτο οὕτω συνέβαινε. ἐν τινι τῶν † ἐπιχωρίων † (χώρα δὲ ἤτις ποτέ ἐστίν, οὐδαμῆ ἐς τὸ νῦν παραδέδοται) ἦν τις (τῶν) ἐν ἐκείνῃ περιφανείᾳ κομώντων εὐπορία τε βίον λαμπρός, οὗ τὸ ἐπώνυμον Βουτηλίνος ἐτύγχανε, τὴν δὲ ἀξίαν ἦν κανδιδάτον Ἑρωμαίους κικλήσκειν ἔθος. τοῦτω γυνή τις χήρα ἐν γειτόνων διωκημένη χαλεπῶς ἔφερε τὸ γειτόνημα· ἀμφισβητήσεως γὰρ αὐτοῖς μεθορίων γῆς ἔνεκεν συμβαινούσης ὁ Βουτηλίνος τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐνεκέλευε μάχῃ ἐπιέναι τοῖς ὁμοροῦσι, καὶ οἷγε ῥοπάλοις ἕνα τῶν τῆς χήρας υἱῶν ἀναιρούσιν. αὕτη ἀνελομένη τοῦ ἡδῆ τεθνηκότος υἱοῦ ἡμαγμένον τὸ ἄμφιον ἐς Βυζάντιον ὡς Ἑράκλειον ἵκετο, καὶ ἐπεὶ προϊόντα εἶδε, εἰσδραμοῦσα τοῦ χαλινοῦ τοῦ ἵππου ἐφ' οὗ ἐπωχεῖτο ἐφάπτεται, καὶ ἅμα τὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔσθημα ἐπιδεικνύσα σὺν βοῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνεφθέγγετο "οὕτω γένοιτο τοῖς σοῖς τέκνοις, ᾧ βασιλεῦ, εἰ μὴ τὸ αἶμα τοῦτο, ὃ σοι δείκνυμι, αὐτίκα ἐνδίκως τιμωρήσειας". τῶν δ' οὖν περὶ τὸν βασιλέα δορυφόρων ἐπιόντες πλήττειν ἠπεύοντο· βασιλεὺς δὲ διεκώλυσε, καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ μηκέτι τολμᾶν προσιέναι παρηγγύησεν, ἐπεξιέναι δὲ τὰ τῆς δίκης ὀπηνίκα ἂν αὐτῷ δεδογμένα εἶη. ᾗχετο εὐθύς μὴ δίκης τυχὸν ὀλολύζον τὸ γύναιον. χρόνος δὲ διήρχετο, καὶ δὴ ὁ τὸν φόρον ἐπιτρέψας, δεδιῶς καὶ αὐθις τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀνηρημένου εἵνεκεν βασιλεῖ ἐπικαλεῖν, ταύτῃ τοι εἰς Βυζάντιον εἴσεισι καὶ δὴ ἐς τὸ δημοτικὸν ἕαντὸν ἐγκαταμίγνυσι. καὶ ἱππικῶν | 25 ἀγῶνος τελουμένου τοῦτον βασιλεὺς ἐν μέσοις δημόταις κατιδὼν τῷ ὑπάρχῳ ἐπιτρέπει τῆς πόλεως φρουρᾶ καθειργνύναι τὸν ὑποπτον. εἶτα τὸ γύναιον μεταπέμπεται καὶ τὰ τῆς μαιφονίας ἀσφαλέστερον ἀνηρεῖνα. κελεύει τοῖνυν τὸν Βουτηλίνον ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἴσῃν ὑποσχεῖν τῷ ἀνηρημένῳ 30 τὴν τιμωρίαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὡσαύτως κτείνεσθαι.

5. Ἑράκλειος δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Ἑράκλειον, ταῦτόν δὲ εἰπέειν Κωνσταντῖνον (διώνυμος γὰρ ὢν ἐτύγχανεν), παρὰ τοῦ ἱεράρ- dB9

4: 2 ἐπιχωρίων] ἐπαρχίων B τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίων (fort. recte) vel τῶν περιχωρίων con. dB || 3 τῶν addidi τῶν ἐκείνη con. dB || κωμώντων V || 4 Βιτουλίνος V || 6 ἐν ex ἐν . . . διωκειμένη V || 9 οἷγε B οἷδε V || 10 ἕων V corr. vulg. || 11 ἄμφιον gloss. Barocc. f. 293' ἀμφί**νον V || 12 ἦκετο V corr. B || προιέντα V. corr. vulg. || 24 δημοτικὸν V || 25 δημόταις V || 30 αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους con. dB αὐτῆς ἐκείνης V ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης B

3, 4, 5

the palace.

4. As to what happened elsewhere, here is an account of it. In a certain rural district² (which village this was has not been recorded anywhere) there lived a man called Boutelinos,³ who prided himself on his nobility and was conspicuous by his riches; his rank was that which the Romans are wont to call *candidatus*. A neighbor of his, who was a widow, was distressed by their propinquity. For there was a dispute between them concerning the boundaries of their lands, and Boutelinos ordered his slaves to make an armed attack on his neighbor; and these men clubbed to death one of the widow's sons. Taking up the bloodstained garment of her dead son, the woman came to Byzantium to see Herakleios; and catching sight of him in a procession, she rushed in and caught the bridle of his horse. Showing him her son's garment, she cried to him: "May the same fate, O emperor, befall your children if you don't immediately avenge in a just manner the blood I am showing you." Some of the imperial bodyguard came forward to strike her, but the emperor stopped them and ordered the woman not to dare come into his presence again, but to pursue the legal process at the time of his choosing. So the woman straightaway went off lamenting without having obtained justice. Some time passed and the perpetrator of the murder, fearing that the woman would again appeal to the emperor on account of the killed man, followed her to Byzantium and mingled among the members of the demes. When the hippodrome races were being held the emperor noticed him among the fans and directed the city prefect to imprison the suspect. He then summoned the woman and made a more thorough inquiry into the murder. He ordered that Boutelinos should suffer at the hands of his slaves the same penalty as the man who had been killed, and that his slaves likewise should kill one another.

5. Now Herakleios, after having his son, who was called both Herakleios and Constantine (for he had a double name), sanctified by the bishop in the

²Or perhaps "in a village of Thrace"; see Commentary.

³Classicized from L's Bizoulinos.

χου τῷ θεῷ λουτρῷ καθαγίσις ἀγκάλαις (ἐκ) τῆς ἱερᾶς κο-
 λυμβήθρας ἐδέξατο. αὐτίκα δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείου ἀξίας τὰ
 5 σύμβολα τὰλλά τε καὶ τὸ διάδημα περιθέμενος ἐταινίωσε
 καὶ βασιλέα ἀνεῖπε. τὴν θυγατέρα δὲ Γρηγορίαν τοῦνομα
 Νικήτα τοῦ τὴν ἀξίαν πατρικίου εἰς γαμετὴν κατηγγύησεν·
 οὐ δὴ καὶ ταύτη τῷ βασιλεῖ μειζόνως οἰκειωθέντος τὸν ἀν-
 10 δριάντα κεχρυσωμένον καθύπερθε κιώνων ἔφιππον κατὰ τὴν
 τοῦ Φόρου λεγομένην ἀγορὰν ἀνέστησεν. καὶ οὕτω μὲν ταῦτα
 ἐπράττετο.

6. Χοσρόης δὲ ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς στρατιὰν ὡς πλεί-
 στην ἀθροίσας ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐξέπεμψεν, ἡγεμόνα τῶν Περ-
 σικῶν Σάϊτον χειροτονήσας δυνάμεων. οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄλε-
 ξάνδρου ἐφορμισθεὶς ταύτην ἀνά κράτος εἶλε καὶ τὴν ὅλην
 5 Αἴγυπτον ἠνδραπόδιζε καὶ τὴν ἐφάν ἅπασαν μοῖραν κατε-
 δήον καὶ δοριαλώτους ὡς πλείστους ἤγε καὶ ἄλλους ἀνήρει,
 οὐδεμιᾶ φειδοὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς χρώμενος. ταῦτα τοῖνον οὕτω δια-
 θέμενος εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα πανστρατιᾷ κατὰ τὴν Χαλκηδόνος
 πόλιν ἦει καὶ περιεκάθητο ταύτην χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνόν, ἡξίου
 10 τε βασιλέα εἰς ὀμίλιαν οἱ λόγων ἰκέσθαι. καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς
 εἰσήκουε καὶ ὡς αὐτὸν διεπεραιούτο, βασιλικὴ δορυφορία τε
 καὶ πομπὴ χρώμενος. καὶ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν Σάϊτος ἐξανέστη τε τῆς
 καθέδρας καὶ πρὸς τοῦδαφος ἑαυτὸν ἀπορρίψας προσεκύνει·
 αὐτός τε ἐκ τοῦ ἀκατίου, ἐν ᾧ ἐπέπλει, τὸ χαῖρε αὐτῷ προσ-
 15 εφώνει καὶ δωρεαῖς ἡμείβετο. ὧδε πρὸς αὐτὸν Σάϊτος ἔλεξεν.
 “ἔδει μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοὺς Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν βασι-
 λέας μῆτε διίστασθαι ταῖς γνώμας μηδ’ ὅπωςτιοῦν ἀλλήλοις
 ἀντικαθίστασθαι, ἐς φιλίαν τε καὶ συμβάσεις ἰέναι ὡς προ-
 20 θυμότατα· (ὅπερ ἡδιστόν τε καὶ εὐχαρι ἀνθρώποις τοῖς πάλαι
 καὶ νῦν τυγχάνει ἅπασιν, ἅτε ζωῆς τε τῆς εὐκτέας καὶ εὐ-
 νομουμένης αἰτιώτατον·) καὶ τῷ περιόντι τῆς ἐξουσίας συμ-
 παραμένειν καὶ τὸ τῆς συμβάσεως μέγεθος. | καὶ γὰρ ἴσμεν
 ὡς ἦκιστα ταῖς ἐξουσίαις δὴ ταύταις ἐφάμιλλος πολιτεία
 φανείη ἂν πώποτε. οὐ γὰρ ὄσιον, παρὸν ἐπιφροσύνη καὶ

dB 10

VI 187'

5: 3 ἐκ add. dB cf. L || 5 ἐτενίωσε V ἐτενίωσεν gloss. Barocc. f. 298^v corr. vulg. || 7 Νικήτα τοῦ . . . πατρικίου P coll. 17.19 Νικήτα τῷ . . . πατρικίῳ V || 8 ταύτην V corr. vulg.

6: 4 ἐφορμισθεὶς conit. dB ἀφορμισθεὶς V ἀφορμηθεὶς B || post ταύτην V² add. τε || ἀνα-
 κριτῶς V corr. vulg. || 9 ἐπισυχνόν V || 10 οἱ vulg. οἱ sequente rasura duarum litterarum V || 15 ὧδε ex
 ὡδὲ V¹ || 16 τοὺς corr. ex τῆς vel τοῖς V² || 17 μηδ’] μηθ’ conit. dB || 20–21 εὐνομουμένης dB sec.
 gloss. Barocc. f. 298^v εὐνομούμενος: εὐγνωμουμένης V || 23 δεῖ V corr. P || 24 παρ’ ὧν V corr. vulg.

holy bath, received him in his arms out of the sacred font. And straightaway he invested him with the diadem and the other tokens of the imperial office, and so crowned him and declared him emperor. And he betrothed to him the daughter of the patrician Niketas, called Gregoria. Niketas became in this way so intimate with the emperor that the latter erected a gilded equestrian statue of him on top of some columns in the marketplace which is called the Forum. So much for these matters.

6. Now Chosroes, king of Persia, collected a numerous army and sent it against the Romans after appointing Saitos⁴ commander of the Persian forces. This man came up to Alexandria, which he took by main force, and he captured all of Egypt. He devastated the entire oriental part (of the empire), taking many prisoners and killing others without any pity. Having done these things, he proceeded with his whole army against the city of Chalcedon, which he invested for a long time, and requested that the emperor should come and parley with him. Indeed, the emperor assented and crossed over to meet him, surrounded by the imperial bodyguard and his retinue. Upon seeing him, Saitos rose from his seat and prostrated himself on the ground to do obeisance, while (the emperor) addressed to him a greeting from the boat he was sailing in and gave him gifts. Saitos spoke these words to him:

“It would have been desirable, O emperor, that the kings of the Romans and the Persians neither disagreed among themselves nor opposed each other in any way, but established friendship and concord with all willingness; for such a state of affairs has been most pleasant and enjoyable to men of old as it is to all of us now, inasmuch as it is conducive to a desirable and orderly life. This concord should be as profound as our empires are great; for we know that no other state will ever appear to rival these our empires. Indeed, it is not

⁴Shahīn: see Commentary.

25 εὐβουλία χρωμένους τὸ εὖνουν καὶ φίλιον εἰς ἀλλήλους κρα-
 τύνασθαι, ὄπλα κατ' ἀλλήλων αἶρεσθαι καὶ πημαίνειν οὐκ ἐν
 δίκη καὶ κακοῦν τὸ ὑπήκοον. ἐξ ὧν τί συμβαίνει; εἰ μὲν τὸ
 ὁμόγνωμον καὶ εἰρηρικὸν θήσεσθε, εὐδαίμονά τε ἑκάτερον
 30 ὑμῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ὑπάρξει, ζηλωτοῦς τε καὶ
 ἀξιαγάστους ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα βίον δείκνυσθαι· εἰς τε τὸ ἄμο-
 χθον καὶ εὐθυμον ὁ πόνος ὑμῖν καὶ ἡ φροντίς περιστήσεται. εἰ
 δ' αὖ γε ταυτί μεθιέμενοι καὶ ἡλίκον οἶον ἀγαθὸν τὴν εἰρήνην
 ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι ἔλοισθε, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅτι ὄνησιφόρον λο-
 γίσασθαι ὑμῖν οἶσον, δυσμένειαν δὲ τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸ
 35 ἔχθιστον ἀνθηρημένοι, πολέμων μὲν ὡς πλείστων, ὅπερ ἀπ-
 ηχῆς καὶ ἀπώμοτον, παραίτιοι γενήσεσθε, ἰδρώτάς τε καὶ
 πόνους ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς ἀνελέσθαι μεγίστους, πολλὰ δὲ σώματα
 προϊέμενοι δαπανήσετε χρημάτων τε ἀνάλωσιν ὡς πλείστην
 ποιήσεσθε· καὶ ἀπαξαπλῶς εἰς μέγα κακοῦ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου
 40 ὑμῖν πέρας ἦξει. οἷα δὴ καὶ νῦν ὄραν ὑμῖν πάρεστιν, ἀφ' ὧν
 ἔγωγε εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων εἰσβαλὼν γῆν, τὰ δεινότατα εἶδε καὶ
 πέπουθεν. ἐντεῦθεν οὖν λελεῖψεται τὰ τῶν πολιτειῶν οἰκτρό-
 τατα καὶ ἀθλιώτατα διακείσασθαι". ταῦτα διώμνυτο λέγων
 αὐτὸς καὶ ὡς ἐν σπουδῇ τίθεσθαι τὰς πολιτείας Ῥωμαίων τε
 45 καὶ Περσῶν εἰς τὸ τὰ συμβατήρια ἦκειν. ταῦτα ἐπιτελῆ ποι-
 ῆσειν ὅγε ἐπήγγελτο, καὶ, ὡς τῶν ὁμωμοσμένων τὰ πιστὰ
 δοίη, προσέφερεν, ὅτι γε δὴ ταῦτα καὶ Χοσρόη βουλομένῳ
 [αἰρετέα] εἶη. "εἰ τι οὖν μοι" φησὶ "πείθεσθαι ἔχοιτε, αὐτίκα
 δὴ μάλα τοὺς ὡς Χοσρόην πρεσβευσομένους τούτων ἕκατι
 50 ἅμα ἐμοὶ ἐκπέμποιτε. πεισθεῖη δ' ἂν μοι καὶ αὐτός, εἰ οἶδα,
 εἰς τοῦτο γνώμης καθιστάμενος σπείσεσθαι μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ
 τὴν εἰρήνην τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον βεβαίαν τε καὶ
 ἀκραυφνῆ καταστήσεσθαι".

dB 11

7. Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἡράκλειος, ἐπεὶ τοῦτ' οὖν ἐπέπυστο, τῷ
 προσηνεῖ καὶ θελκτηρίῳ τῶν λόγων συνηδόμενός τε καὶ κατα-
 κηλούμενος, ὑπέσχετο εἰς ἅπαντα πράσσειν ἐτοιμότατά τε
 καὶ σπουδαιότατα. καὶ οἷς ἐβουλεύετο τούτων πέρι συνέπρατ-

5 τόν τε μάλιστα καὶ συνήνουν ὁ ἱερομύστης τε καὶ οἱ ἐν τέλει.

28 ἑκατέρων V corr. vulg. || 31 ὑμῖν in mg. V || 33 ἐκ ποδῶν V || ἔλοισθε ex ἔλυσθε V¹ vel V² || 34 δέ] δὴ conit. dB || 45 ἐπὶ τέλει V corr. P || 48 αἰρετέ*α V secl. dB || [εἶη] V || πείθεσθε. ἔχοιτε. αὐτίκα V πείθεσθαι B || 51-53 σπείσεσθαι . . . καταστήσεσθαι scripsi σπείσεσθε . . . καταστήσεσθε dB ita interpuncti: ἐκπέμποιτε (ποισθεῖη . . . καθιστάμενος) σπείσεσθε . . . καταστήσεσθε

proper—given the possibility of strengthening our mutual good relations and friendship by exhibiting wisdom and prudence—that we should take up arms and unjustly injure each other to the detriment of our subjects. For what would be the consequence of that? If you choose concord and peace, each one of you will be the happiest of men and will appear as long as he lives to be worthy of envy and admiration: your toil will become painless and your cares will yield to joy. If, on the other hand, you let go of this course and choose to banish peace (a great boon though it may be), believing it to bring you no benefit, and take up mutual hostility and enmity instead, you will become responsible for many wars (a discordant and hateful action), with the natural result that you will undergo much sweat and toil, suffer many casualties, and expend an enormous amount of money: in a word, the effect of the war will be to bring you great distress. This you can see already from the terrible experiences and sufferings of the Roman land since my invasion of it. As a consequence, our states will be reduced to a wretched and miserable condition.”

In uttering these words he swore that he would do his utmost for the Roman and Persian states to come to an agreement. He undertook to accomplish these things and, by way of confirming his sworn statements, he added that they were also agreeable to Chosroes. “If, therefore, you believe me,” he said, “you will immediately dispatch in my company your ambassadors who will treat these matters with Chosroes. I am sure he will be persuaded by me, since he is also minded to make an accord with you and to establish for all time to come a sure and inviolate peace.”

7. When Emperor Herakleios heard these things, pleased and charmed as he was by the appealing gentleness of the speech, he promised to act most readily and strenuously in all respects. His views on these matters were supported and approved by the high priest⁵ and the dignitaries. The ambassadors

⁵I.e., the patriarch Sergios.

καὶ ὅτι τάχιστα οἱ διαπρῆσβευσόμενοι ἐξελέγοντο, Ὀλύμπιος μὲν ὁ τῆν τῶν ὑπάρχων τῶν πραιτωρίων διέπων ἀξίαν, Λεόντιος δὲ ὁ τῆς πόλεως ὑπαρχος, Ἀναστάσιός τε ὁ τῆν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ μεγίστου ἱεροῦ, ᾧ Σοφία ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἐπώνυμον, τῶν πραγμάτων πεπιστευμένος. τούτους παραλαβὼν |
 10 Σάϊτος καὶ ἄρας ἐκ Χαλκηδόνης ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνε καὶ πρὸς τὰ V188^r
 Περσικὰ ἦθη ἐχώρει καὶ ἕως μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπέβαινε γῆς, διὰ τιμῆς ἦγε καὶ θεραπείας ἤξιον, τῇ Περσικῇ δὲ ἐμβάλων πέδας τὰς ἐκ σιδήρων αὐτοῖς περιθέμενος δεσμώτας
 15 παρὰ Χοσρόην ἐκόμισε. Χοσρόης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὡς Σάϊτος Ἡράκλειον ὡς βασιλέα εἶδὲ τε καὶ τετίμηκεν, ἀλλ' οὐ δοριάλωτον ἐλὼν ὡς αὐτὸν ἤγαγεν (ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος ὠνειροπολεῖτο καὶ ἔκειτο), μεγάλα τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡγανάκτει καὶ τέλος εἰς ἀσκὸν αὐτῷ ἀπέδειρε τὴν δοράν, πικρὸν
 20 αὐτῷ καὶ βίαιον καταστήσας τὸν θάνατον. Ῥωμαίων δὲ τοὺς dB12
 πρῆσβευτὰς ἰδίᾳ διαστείλας ὡς ἕκαστον φρουραῖς ἀσφαλεστάταις ἀπέθετο καὶ ἐκάκου τὰ μέγιστα.

8. Ταῦτα οὐ μικρῶς ἠνία τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἐπετάραπτεν. ἐφ' οἷς καὶ λιμὸς τηνικαῦτα τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐπεφύη βαρύτατος· οὐ γὰρ ἡ Αἴγυπτος αὐτοῖς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπεσίτιζεν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐπελελοίπει σιτηρησίωιν. ἐν τούτοις
 5 καὶ νόσος λοιμώδης τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνσκήψασα θανάτῳ τὰ πλήθη τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ διέφθειρεν. ὦν ἀπάντων ἔνεκεν πολλὴ δυσθυμία καὶ ἀπορία τῷ κρατοῦντι περιεκέχυτο. καὶ οἷχεσθαι διὰ ταῦτα πρὸς Λιβύην βουλομένῳ ἦν. καὶ αὐτόθι χρήματα τέως πλείστα χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ λίθων τοὺς τιμιωτάτους προῦπεμπεν· ὦν οὐκ ὀλίγιστα καταίροντα κλύδωνι
 10 μεγίστῳ περιπεπτώκει καὶ τοῖς ποντικοῖς βρείθροις βρύχια γέγονε. ταῦτα τοίνυν τῶν πολιτῶν αἰσθόμενοι, ὡς δυνατὰ ἦν αὐτοῖς, διεκώλουν. ὁ γοῦν ἱεράρχης ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τούτου καλέσας ὄρκους ἐνταῦθα περιεδέσμευε ὡς ἥκιστα τῆς βασιλευούσης ἐξίστασθαι. οἷς εἶξας τὰς μὲν παρούσας τύχας ἀπωλοφύρετο, τὰς δὲ γνώμας τὰς αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοντῆς ἔστεργε.

9. Χρόνος δὲ τις παρήχεται, καὶ ὁ τῶν Οὐννων τοῦ ἔθνους κύριος τοῖς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἄρχουσι καὶ δορυφόροις ἅμα εἰς Βυ-

7: 9 ᾧ] ὁ V corr. vulg. || 15 Σάϊτος ex Σάϊτον V¹

8: 8-12 cf. Sudam s.v. Βρύχιος

7, 8, 9

were chosen with all speed, namely, Olympios, who held the office of praetorian prefect, Leontios, prefect of the city, and Anastasios, who was entrusted with the administration of the property of the Great Church, which bears the name of Sophia, the divine Logos.⁶ Taking these men along, Saitos set out from Chalcedon and retreated toward the abode of the Persians. As long as he was on Roman soil he treated (the ambassadors) honorably and took good care of them, but when he entered Persia he put iron fetters on them and brought them captive to Chosroes. When Chosroes learned that Saitos had seen Herakleios and had honored him like an emperor, instead of taking him prisoner and bringing him before him (for such was his hope and dream), he was greatly incensed and, finally, had Saitos flayed and made his skin into a bag—a painful and violent death. As for the Roman ambassadors, he separated them one from another and confined them to secure prisons where they underwent great hardship.

8. The emperor was greatly distressed and troubled by these things. In addition, a severe famine developed at that time in the state: for Egypt was no longer providing grain, as a result of which the imperial *annonae* gave out. Furthermore, a plague fell on the inhabitants of the City and a multitude died of it. On account of these circumstances the emperor was overwhelmed by despondency and despair, and decided accordingly to depart to Libya. He sent thither an advance shipment of a great quantity of money, gold and silver and precious stones; which, on its way, was overtaken by a violent storm and a good part of it sank in the waters of the sea. On becoming aware of these (moves,) some of the citizens tried to prevent them as best they could. The archpriest, too, invited Herakleios to the church and bound him there by an oath that he would not by any means abandon the Imperial City. He yielded to them and, against his will, acquiesced in their views while lamenting the misfortunes that were upon them.

9. After a lapse of time the chieftain of the Hunnic nation came to Byzantium in the company of his noblemen and bodyguard and requested the

⁶He was in other words *oikonomos* of St. Sophia.

ζάντιον εισηγει, μνεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ Χριστιανῶν βασιλέα ἐξήγει. ὁ δὲ ἀσμένως αὐτὸν ὑπεδέχετο, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες τοὺς
 5 Οὐννικούς ἄρχοντας καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων γαμετάς αἱ τούτων αὐτῶν
 τῷ θεῖῳ λουτρῷ ἔτεκνώσαντο σύζυγοι. οὕτω τε τὰ θεῖα μυη-
 θεῖσι δώροις βασιλικοῖς καὶ ἀξιώμασιν ἐφιλοτιμήσατο· τῇ
 γὰρ ἀξία τοῦ πατρικίου τὸν ἡγεμόνα τούτων τετίμηκε καὶ
 πρὸς τὰ Οὐννικά ἤθη φιλοφρόνως ἐξέπεμπε.

10. Μετὰ δὴ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀβάρων τοῦ ἔθνους ἡγεμῶν
 ἐπὶ συμβάσεσιν ὡς Ἡράκλειον ἐπικηρυκεύεται. ἐφ' ᾧ λίαν dB1
 ὑπεραγάμενος δώροις αὐτὸν ἡμείβετο καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔπεμπε
 ὡς αὐτὸν ἀγγελιαφόρους, Ἀθανάσιον τὸν πατρικίου, εἶτα μετ'
 5 αὐτὸν καὶ Κοσμᾶν τὴν ἀξίαν ἣν δὴ κναιίστορα καλοῦσι, τὰ
 τῆς βασιλέως | γνώμης αὐτῷ ἀπεροῦντας. ὁ Ἄβαρος δὲ τὰ V188
 πρὸς φιλίαν ὑποκρινόμενος αἰμύλα τε καὶ ἐπαγωγὰ πρὸς
 αὐτοὺς ἀποφθεγγόμενος ὑπήγετο, ὡς φίλος εἶη Ῥωμαίοις,
 καὶ ἦκεν ὡς βασιλέα ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς ἐπήγγελο. οἱ δὴ καὶ
 10 ἀναξεύξαντες τὰ τῆς εὐνοίας ἐκείνου ἔνδηλα βασιλεῖ ἐποί-
 ουν. οἷς ἄγαν ὑπερηδόμενος βουλευέται εἰς τὴν πόλιν Ἡρά-
 κλειαν, καθ' ἣν αὐτοῖς συγκείμενον, τῷ Ἀβάρῳ συμβαλεῖν.
 τὴν θυμελικὴν σκευὴν προὔπεμπε, καὶ ἱππικὴν ἀγωνίαν ἐπὶ
 τῇ δοχῇ αὐτοῦ τελείῃ εὐτρέπιζε, στολὴν τε αὐτῷ λαμπράν καὶ
 15 τοῖς συνομαρτοῦσιν ἐκόμιζεν. εἶτα κατὰ τὴν Σηλυμβρίαν
 πόλιν ἀφιγμένος ἠλλίκετο. τρισὶ δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ὁ χαγά-
 νος σὺν πλήθει πολλῶ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἡράκλειαν
 παρήει. ἀποδασμὸν δὲ τινα τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων, οἱ ἄλκιμοὶ τε
 καὶ μαχιμώτατοι ἐτύγχανον, ἀπολεξάμενος, κατὰ τὰ ὑπερ-
 20 κείμενα τῶν Μακρῶν λεγομένων Τειχῶν λοχμῶδη κατὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ ὄρων
 χωρήσειν τὰ λάσια, ὡς ἂν κατὰ νότου τοῦ βασιλέως γενό-
 μενοι, αὐτὸν τε μέσον καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποληψόμενοι,
 σχοῖεν εὐχείρωτον. τούτους Ἡράκλειος αἰσθόμενος καὶ οὐ
 25 μετρίως τῷ παραλόγῳ καταπλαγεῖς, τὸ ἄλουργὸν ἀπαμφιέν-
 νεται ἔσθημα· οἰκτρὸν δὲ τι καὶ πενιχρὸν, ὡς ἂν ἰδιώτης τοῖς
 ἐντευξομένοις φαίνοιτο, περιβαλόμενος ἔνδυμα τὸν τε στέ-

9: 4--5 τοὺς Οὐννικούς corr. ex τῆς Οὐννικῆς V² || 8 τούτων B τοῦτον V αὐτῶν L

10: 6 ἀπαιροῦντας V || 8 ὑπέγετο V corr. vulg. || 15 Σηλυμβρίαν V corr. vulg. || 16--17
 χαγάνος V || 18 οἱ V || 21 ὄρων V || 25 καταπλαγὲν V corr. V²

emperor that he be initiated in the Christian (faith). The latter received him gladly: the Roman noblemen became baptismal fathers of the Hunnic noblemen, and the wives of the former (did the same) to the spouses of the latter. After they had thus been initiated in things divine, (the emperor) presented them with imperial gifts and dignities: for he honored their chief with the rank of patrician and so dismissed him graciously to the abode of the Huns.

10. After this, the chief of the Avar nation, too, sent a message to Herakleios with a view to (concluding) a treaty. The latter was greatly pleased at this and rewarded him with gifts. Furthermore, he sent ambassadors to him, namely, the patrician Athanasios and, in addition, Kosmas, who held the post of quaestor (as they call it), to make a statement of imperial policy. Putting on a mask of friendship, the Avar (chief) spoke to them wily and alluring words, pretending to be a friend of the Romans, and announced that he would meet the emperor so as (to conclude) a treaty. The ambassadors returned and reported to the emperor that man's friendly attitude. Greatly pleased at this, he decided to meet the Avar (chief) in the city of Herakleia as had been agreed. He sent in advance some theatrical equipment and made preparation for chariot races to be held at the reception; he also brought along splendid vestments for him (the Chagan) and his companions.⁷ He then arrived at Selymbria and lodged there. Three days later the Chagan arrived before Herakleia with a great throng of Avars. After picking among his followers a contingent of the bravest fighting men, he sent them to the overgrown and wooded heights overlooking the so-called Long Walls and scattered them secretly in the bushy hills that are there so that, taking the emperor in the rear, they might encircle him and make an easy prey of him and his retinue. Upon becoming aware of them, Herakleios, greatly astonished at this unexpected event, took off his purple robe and, putting on instead some mean and miserable clothes so as to appear like an ordinary man to anyone he encountered; hiding, furthermore, his imperial crown

⁷Or possibly "for himself," if we make the slight alteration of ἀντῆ to αὐτῆ.

φανον τὸν βασιλειον τῆ ὠλένη περιαιψάμενος, ἀγεννώως παρα-
 30 χρήμα εἰς φυγὴν ἐτρέπετο καὶ μόλις πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον διε-
 σώζετο. οἱ δὲ Ἄβαροι σὺν θυμῷ κατὰ τὴν δίωξιν ἐπετίθεντο,
 καὶ πρὸς τὸ πεδῖον τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ὁ Ἑβδομον καλοῦσι dB14
 καταλαβόντες ἰδρύσαντο. ἐνθένδε τε σκεδάννυται ἄχρι καὶ
 εἰς τὴν τοῦ Βαρβύσσου παταμοῦ γέφυραν καὶ τὰ τῆδε χωρία
 35 πικρῶς κατελιζοντο καὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων ὄμιλον ἀφειδῶς ἐκε-
 ραΐζον, τὴν τε βασιλικὴν ἐσθήτα καὶ τὰς στολὰς παραλαμ-
 βάνουσι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ θυμηλικὰ ὄργανα καὶ τοὺς διακομί-
 ζοντας ἅπαντας. πλείστον δὲ ὅσον λαὸν ἀνδραποδισάμενοι
 δοριάλωτον ἄγοντες πρὸς τῆ σφετέρᾳ ἀπεκόμισαν· εἰς ἐβδο-
 μήκοντα δὲ καὶ διακοσίας χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν,
 40 καθάπερ ἔνιοι τῶν ἀλόντων διαδράντες ἀλλήλοις συναφδὰ
 ἔφασαν, ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτοῖς ἅπας συνήνεκτο.

11. Ἡρακλείῳ δέ, καίτοι τῶν κοινῶν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων
 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δυσχερείας καὶ ἀνωμαλίας ἠκόντων, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ
 τὰ οἰκεία εὐ θέσθαι φροντὶς ἐγεγόνει, ἀλλ' ὄγε πρὸς πράξιιν
 5 ἀθεσμον καὶ ἦν Ῥωμαίων ἀπαγορεύουσι νόμοι ἰδῶν, τὸ πρὸς
 τὴν ἀνεψιᾶν Μαρτίναν | ἠσπάσατο κῆδος. θυγάτηρ αὕτη Μα-
 ρίας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐτύγχανεν ἀδελφῆς, πατρός δὲ Μαρτίνου, ὃν V189r
 Μαρία πρὸ Εὐτροπίου γαμέτην ἐκέκτητο. καὶ δὴ δύο υἱεῖς ἐξ
 αὐτῆς τίκτει, ὧν τὸν μὲν Φλάυιον τὸν δὲ Θεοδόσιον προσηγό-
 ρευσεν. ἡ δίκη δὲ ἐθριάμβευε τὸ ἀθέμιτον, καὶ τοῦ μὲν πρε-
 10 σβυτέρου παρειμένον ἐδείκνυ τὸν αὐχένα ὡς μηδ' ἐτέρωθι
 ἐπιστρέφεσθαι οἶόν τε εἶναι, τοῦ δ' αὖ νεωτέρου τὴν ἀκουστι-
 κὴν ἀφήρητο αἰσθησιν καὶ κωφὸν ἤδη ἀπέφαινε. διήλεγχον
 δὲ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα τὸ ἄσεμνον συνοικέσιον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἵππικαῖς
 15 ἀμύλλαις καὶ οἱ τοῦ πρασίου δημόται χρώματος, (οἱ δὲ τοῦ
 ἀντικειμένου χρώματος) συνήνουν τε [ἐπὶ ταύτῃ] καὶ συν-
 ἐπραττον. Σέργιος δὲ ὁ τῶν Βυζαντιῶν ἱεράρχης γράμμασιν
 αὐτὸν λιπαρῶς ἐγκείμενος ἐνουθέτει τὴν πρὸς τὸ γύναιον
 τοῦτο κοινωνίαν ἀνήρασθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπελογεῖτο ὡς “εὐ μὲν
 20 φίλῳ, ἤδη ἀποδέδωκας· ἐφ' ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν κείσεται τὰ τῆς dB15

28–29 περιαιψάμενος ἀγεννώως, παραχρήμα interpunctit V || 39 χιλιάδας ο' Georg. Mon. 669.19

11: 5 post θυγάτηρ V² in mg. add. γὰρ || 7 γαμετήν V corr. vulg. || 7–8 υἱεῖς . . . ὃν V corr. vulg. || 14 δημόται V || οἱ δὲ . . . χρώματος addidi ex L || 15 ἐπὶ ταύτῃ seclusi: v. comment. || 19 ἔχει B ἔχει V

under his arm, immediately turned to ignominious flight and barely escaped to Byzantium. The Avars set out in hot pursuit and reached the plain in front of the City that is called Hebdomon, where they encamped. Spreading out from there as far as the bridge of the river Barbysses, they grievously devastated the settlements that are there and pitilessly slaughtered the Roman people. They also seized the imperial vestments, the theatrical equipment, and all the men who were transporting (those items). After taking a great many captives, they carried them off to their own country: the total number amounted to 270,000 men and women, as was mutually confirmed by some of the prisoners who escaped.

11. Now Herakleios, even though matters of state had come to such a sorry and abnormal pass, did not even take care to put his private affairs in order; instead, he committed an unlawful deed, one that is forbidden by Roman custom, by contracting a marriage with his niece Martina. She was the daughter of his sister Maria; her father was Martinos, who was Maria's husband before Eutropios. (Herakleios) begot two sons by her, the first of whom he called Flavius⁸ and the second Theodosios. Justice, however, proclaimed the unlawfulness (of the deed) by causing the elder to have a paralyzed neck which he could not turn in any direction, and depriving the younger of the sense of hearing—indeed, he proved to be deaf. This unseemly marriage was strongly denounced at the chariot races even⁹ by the partisans of the Green color, (and those of the opposing color¹⁰) concurred and cooperated with them. Sergios, the archpriest of Byzantium, also put earnest pressure on him by letter and admonished him to repudiate his connection with this woman, but he excused himself as follows: "What you say is very well. The obligation you owe me as high priest and friend you have already paid. For the rest, the

⁸*Recte* Fabius, as in L.

⁹Because Herakleios was a supporter of the Greens.

¹⁰*i. e.*, the Blues.

πράξεως". | κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν διεπιπράσκοντο τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κειμήλια καὶ εἰς ὑπαγωγὴν φόρων τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐξενεμήθη. L30^v

12. Αὐθις οὖν ἐπιστρατεύει Χοσρόης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς κατὰ Ῥωμαίων, Σάρβαρον ἡγούμενον τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκπέμψας, ὃς κατεδήον πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνατολικὴν χώραν. καταλαμβάνει δὲ τῶν ἁγίων τόπων τὰ ζωποια ξύλα τοῦ σωτηρίου σταυροῦ, Μωδέστου τηρικαῦτα Ἱεροσολύμων προεδρεύοντος. παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ ἠπείγοντο [μέχρις] ἔλθειν εἰς Χαλκηδόνα. ὁ οὖν Ἡράκλειος ἔκ τε Περσῶν καὶ Ἀβάρων θορυβούμενος ἅμα καὶ λιμῶ πιεζομένης τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς πολιτείας καὶ λοιμικῶ θανάτῳ φθειρομένης, προσεκαλεῖτο Σέργιον τε τὸν τῆς πόλεως πρόεδρον, ἔτι τε καὶ ἄρχοντας καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ λαοῦ μέρος, καὶ παρατίθεται αὐτοῖς τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ Βῶνον τὸν πατρίκιον ἐγχειρίζει τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων διοικήσεις, καὶ ἀπάρας διὰ τοῦ Εὐξείνου ἐπειράτο διὰ Λαζικῆς εἰς τὴν Περσικὴν εἰσβαλεῖν· καθ' ἣν τίκτεται αὐτῷ υἱὸς ἐκ Μαρτίνης τῆς γυναικὸς (μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ γὰρ ταύτην ἤγετο), ὃν καὶ ἐπωνόμασεν Ἡράκλειον. ἐντεῦθεν ἀποστέλλει δῶρα πρὸς τὸν Τούρκων | κύριον, ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Περσῶν συγκαλούμενος· ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος ὑπέσχετο συμμαχήσειν. ἐν τούτῳ ἤσθεις Ἡράκλειος ὤρμησε καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτόν, κάκεινος τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως παρουσίαν ἀκηκοὼς σὺν πλήθει Τούρκων πολλῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπηρτίαζε, καὶ ἀποβὰς τοῦ ἵππου τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ γῆς προσκυνεῖ. ἐποίει δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ πᾶς ὄχλος. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς τιμῆς θεασάμενος ἐδήλου αὐτῷ ὡς εἰ τὰ τῆς | φιλίας αὐτῷ βέβαια εἶη, καὶ ἐποχούμενον πλησιάζειν, καὶ ἅμα τέκνον ἴδιον ἀποκαλῶν. οὕτως οὖν οὗτος ἀσπάζεται τῷ βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ ὃν περιέκειτο στέφανον τῆς κεφαλῆς λαβὼν τῇ τοῦ Τούρκου κεφαλῇ περιέθετο, συμποσιάσας τε αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ συμποσίου σκευὴ ἅμα καὶ στολῆ βασιλικῇ καὶ ἐνωτίους ἐκ μαργάρων κεκοσμημένοις δωρεῖται αὐτῷ. ὡσαύτως

22 φόρων L φόρον V

12: 2 στρατιᾶς L || 3 κατεδίον VL corr. vulg. || 6 ὑπείγοντο V ὑπήγοντο L corr. vulg. || μέχρις secl. dB || 7 Χαλκιδόνα L || rasura inter ἔκ et τε L || 8 λιμῶ ex λιβῶ V || 11 καὶ² om. V || 12 Βόνον L || 17 τὸν τῶν Τούρκων . . . συμμαχία L || 21 πολλῶ L πολλῶν V || 24 ὡς εἰ L ὡσεὶ V || 28–29 τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν L || 29 στολὴν βασιλικὴν VL corr. P || 29–30 cf. Sudam s.v. ἐνώτια

responsibility shall lie on me." During this period the plate of the churches was being sold and expended to raise tribute to the barbarians.

12. Once again Chosroes, king of Persia, made war on the Romans, having placed his army under the command of Sarbaros, who devastated all the eastern lands. This man seized in the Holy Places the life-giving relic of the Cross of redemption, Modestos being at that time bishop of Jerusalem. Finding himself troubled by both the Persians and the Avars, and the Roman State hard pressed by famine and decimated by plague, Herakleios called in Sergios, the bishop of the City, along with the noblemen and the rest of the people, and placed his children in their care. He entrusted the administration of affairs to the patrician Bonos and, setting out by way of the Black Sea, he attempted to invade Persia through Lazica. At this juncture a son was born to him by his wife Martina (for he had taken her along), and he named him Herakleios. From there (Lazica) he sent gifts to the chieftain of the Turks, whom he urged to enter on an alliance against the Persians. The latter accepted (the gifts) and promised to be an ally. Herakleios was pleased at this and set forth in his direction; and he, on being informed of the emperor's presence, met him with a great multitude of Turks and, dismounting from his horse, prostrated himself on the ground before the emperor, while his entire host did the same. On perceiving this exceedingly great honor, the emperor declared to him that if their friendship was steadfast, he could draw nigh even on horseback; and he called him his own son. Taking off the crown from his head, he placed it on the Turk's and, after serving a banquet, presented to him all the utensils of the table as well as an imperial garment and earrings adorned

- δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἄρχοντας τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἐνωτίοις αὐτοχειρία ἐκόσμη. εἶτα δεδιώς μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Ἀβάρῳ καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου πείσεται, ἐπικρατέστερα δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς συμβάσεως ἀπεργάζεται, παραδείκνυσιν αὐτῷ τῆς θυγατρὸς Εὐδοκίας εἰκόνα ἔφη τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς “ἤνωσεν | ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός, σὲ τέκνον ἐμὸν ἀπέδειξεν. ἴδου δὴ αὕτη θυγάτηρ μου ἔστι καὶ Ῥωμαίων Ἀγούστα. εἰ οὖν συναίρεις μοι καὶ βοηθεῖς κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, εἰς γυναῖκα δίδωμί σοι αὐτήν”. ὁ δὲ τῷ κάλλει τῆς εἰκόνας καὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτήν κόσμῳ τρωθεὶς ἔρωτι τοῦ ἀρχετύπου ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῇ συμμαχίᾳ ἐπέκειτο. εὐθύς οὖν ἄρχοντα καὶ πλήθος Τούρκων τῷ βασιλεῖ παραδίδωσι· σὺν αὐτοῖς τε εἰς τὴν Περσικὴν εἰσβαλὼν τάς τε πόλεις καθήρει καὶ τὰ πυρεῖα διέστρεφεν. ἐφ' ἐνὸς δὲ τούτων εὐρηται, ὡς Χοσρόης ἑαυτὸν θεοποιήσας ἐν τῇ τούτου στέγῃ ἑαυτὸν καθήμενον ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀνεστήλωσεν, ἄστρα καὶ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην συγκατασκευάσας, καὶ ἀγγέλους περιστῶτας αὐτῷ, καὶ βροντὴν διὰ μηχανῆς ποιεῖν καὶ ὕειν ὁπότ' ἂν θελήσειεν. τοῦτο τὸ βδέλυγμα θεασάμενος Ἡράκλειος εἰς γῆν κατέρριψε καὶ ὡς κονιορτὸν διέλυσε. Χοσρόης τοίνυν ἀκούσας τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα καὶ ὡς Τούρκοι συμμαχοῦσιν Ἡρακλείῳ, δῆλα ἐποίησε πάντα διὰ γραφῆς τῷ Σαρβάρῳ, καὶ ὡς ταχέως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀναξυγνύναι καὶ Ἡρακλείου ἀμύνασθαι· μηδὲ γὰρ δύνασθαι τῷ πλήθει τῷ ἐκείνου ἀντικαθίστασθαι. | τὸ δὲ γράμμα περιτραπὲν Ἡρακλείῳ ἐγχειρίζεται. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο ἀναγνοὺς ταῦτα μὲν ἐξηφάνισεν, ἑτέραν δὲ γραφὴν ὡς ἀπὸ Χοσρόου σκηψάμενος τῷ Σαρβάρῳ ἐκτίθεται, τῇ ἐκείνου σφραγίδι σημηνάμενος, ἔχουσαν οὕτως “ὁ Καῖσαρ Ῥωμαίων φιλίαν μετὰ Τούρκων ἐσπέισατο καὶ εἰσῆλθε μέχρι τοῦ Ἄδορβαδιγάνου καλουμένου τόπου, καὶ ὅτι πέμψας στρατιὰν κατ' αὐτοῦ αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς Τούρκους διώλεσα, οἱ δὲ περιλειφθέντες ἔφυγον. μὴ οὖν ἀπάρης ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς, ἀλλὰ τῇ Χαλκηδόνι προσέδρανε, Ῥωμαίους αἰχμαλωτεύων καὶ ληϊζό-

31 τοῖς . . . ἄρχουσι VL corr. P || 32 δεδιώς L || τὰ αὐτῷ L || Ἀβάρῳ] prima littera in ras. ex βαρ-sive σαρ-V || 32-33 παρ' ἐκείνω VL corr. vulg. || 33 πῆσεται V corr. vulg. || δὲ αὐτῷ omisso καὶ L || 36 ταύτη L || 39 τρωθεὶς ex τρωθὲν V² || 40 συμμαχεῖα L || 42 Περσικὴν γῆν L || 43 πυρεῖα L cf. Sudam s.v. πυρεῖον || ὡς L erasum in V rest. dB || 45 ἄστρα L cf. Georg. Mon. 671.18 ἀστραπᾶς V || 46 καὶ ante ἀγγέλους om. V || ἀγγ. περ. αὐτῷ σκηπτούχους Georg. Mon. 671.19-20 || 49 τοίνυν V τε L || 54 τὸ δὲ V τὸ γάρ L || 55 ἐξηφάνισεν L || 56 σκεψάμενος VL corr. vulg. || 58 μετὰ Τούρκων φιλίαν ἐσπέισατο L || 60-61 περιλιφθέντες L

with pearls. He likewise decorated with his own hand the noblemen of (the Turk's) suite with similar earrings. Fearing, however, lest he suffer the same fate as with the Avar (chief), and with a view to making the agreement more binding, he showed him the portrait of his daughter Eudokia and said to him: "God has joined us and has made you my son. Behold, this is my daughter, the Roman Augusta. If you espouse my cause and help me against my enemies, I shall give her to you in marriage." (The Turk) was so struck by the beauty of the picture and its adornment that he fell in love with the person represented and held fast to the alliance all the more. Straightaway he delivered to the emperor a multitude of Turks under a commander. Taking these along, (Herakleios) invaded Persia and set about destroying cities and overturning the fire temples. In one of these temples it was discovered that Chosroes, making himself into a god, had put up his own picture on the ceiling, as if he were seated in heaven, and had fabricated stars, the sun and the moon, and angels standing round him, and a mechanism for producing thunder and rain whenever he so wished. Upon seeing this abomination, Herakleios threw it down and ground it into dust. Now Chosroes, when he had heard all these things and the fact that the Turks were fighting on the side of Herakleios, made everything known to Sarbaros in writing and (directed him) to return from the Roman country with all speed so as to ward off Herakleios, since he himself was unable to oppose the latter's numerous host. This letter was intercepted and delivered to Herakleios who, after reading it, erased the contents and forged a different message to Sarbaros as if it were from Chosroes, whose seal he affixed to it. It ran as follows: "The Roman Caesar has concluded an alliance with the Turks and has marched in as far as the country called Adorbadigan. I have sent an army against him and have destroyed him along with the Turks, and the remainder have fled. Do not, therefore, depart from the Roman country, but go on investing Chalcedon, taking Roman captives and devastating

μενος". και Σάρβαρος μὲν τὸ γράμμα δεξάμενος τῆς προσεδρίας εἶχετο.

13. Οἱ δὲ Ἄβαροι ἐπεὶ τὰς σπονδὰς διέλυσαν (καὶ γὰρ Ἡράκλειος πρὶν πρὸς Πέρσας ἐκστρατεῦσαι δώροις πρὸς αὐτοὺς ταύτας ἐβεβαίον, ὑποσχόμενος παρέχειν αὐτοῖς νομισμάτων μυριάδας εἴκοσι, ὁμήρους αὐτοῖς δεδωκὼς ἓνα τῶν υἱῶν Ἰωάννην τοῦνομα, ὃν δὴ καὶ Ἀταλάριχον ἐκάλεσε, νόθος δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ ἐκ παλλακῆς, καὶ Στέφανον ἀνεψιὸν αὐτοῦ, υἱὸν Μαρίας τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ Εὐτροπίου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην ἕτερον, υἱὸν Βώνου τοῦ πατρικίου, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ παλλακῆς αὐτῷ γεγονότα), | και ἄντοὶ ἐκστρατεύοντες τῷ τειχει τοῦ Βυζαντίου πελάζουσιν, εὐθύς τε πάντα ἐνεπίπρων τὰ προάστεια. και ὡσπερ ἀναμερισάμενοι ἐκάτεροι τὸν Θρακικὸν Βόσπορον Πέρσαι μὲν τὰ τῆς Ἀσιάτιδος μοίρας καθήρουν, Ἄβαροι δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ Θράκης διεφθειρον χώρον. ἀλλήλοισ τε λόγοις οἱ βάρβαροι συνετίθεντο συμφωνήσαντες
- 15 ἐλεῖν τὸ Βυζάντιον. οἱ οὖν Ἄβαροι μηχανήματα τειχομάχα ἐτέκταινον· πύργοι δὲ ἦσαν ξύλινοι καὶ χελῶναι τὰ κατασκευάσματα. και ἐπεὶ προσήεσαν τῷ τειχει τὰ ὄργανα, θεία δύναμις ἐξαπναιῶς ταῦτα διέλυσε και τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀβάρων μαχητὰς διώλεσεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ Σκλαβηνὰ πλήθη
- 20 οἱ Ἄβαροι ἐπεφέροντο και εἰς συμμαχίαν ἐχρώντο, δεδώκεσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς σημεῖον ὡς ἡνίκα ἂν ἴδοιεν πυρσοὺς ἀναφθέντας εἰς τὸ Βλαχερνῶν προτείχισμα, τὸ καλούμενον Πτερρόν, εὐθύς ἅμα τοῖς μονοξύλοις ἀκατίοις κἀκεῖνοι ἐπεξίειν, ὡς πλοῖμψ ἀναφανέντες τὴν πόλιν κραταιῶς θορυβήσωσιν
- 25 αὐτοὶ τε ἀδείας λαβόμενοι ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν ἀνατρέχοντες ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως γένωνται. δῆλα οὖν ταῦτα Βώνω τῷ πατρικίῳ ἐγένοιτο, και αὐτὸς διήρεις μὲν και τριήρεις ἀρμόσας, εἰς τὸν | χώρον ἐν ᾧ τὸ σημεῖον ἐδέδοτο καθοπλίσας προσώρμισεν,

L32^v

dB18

L33^r

63–64 προσεδρίας L προσεδρίας V

13: 2 πρὸς om. V || 3 αὐτοῖς om. L || 4 ὁμείρους L || 7 Εὐτροπίου P Εὐτρόπιον VL || 8 Βόνου L || 9 αὐτοῖ λι. εκ αὐτοῖς V || 10 ἐνεπίπρων L || 11 ἐκάτερος VL corr. vulg. || 12 τὰ V Georg. Mon. 671.1 τὰς V² L || Ἀσιτίδος V || 14 βάρβαροι L Ἄβαροι V || συνετίθεντο L || 15–16 τειχομάχα ἐτέκτεινον V || 17 προσίεσαν L || 18 ἐξαπνηῶς V ἐξαπνηαῖος L || 19 δὲ om. L || Σκλάβινα πλήθει L || 20–21 συμμαχίαν . . . δεδώκασι L || 24 πλοῖμου L || ἀναφανέντος VL corr. vulg. || θορυβήτουςιν V || 26 γένονται L || Βώνω L || 27 ἀρμώσας L || 28 καθοπλήσας L || προσώρμισεν VL corr. B

⟨their land⟩.” On receipt of this letter Sarbaros continued the siege.

13. The Avars, for their part, broke the treaty which Herakleios, before taking up arms against Persia, had confirmed by means of gifts—indeed, he promised to pay them 200,000 solidi and gave them as hostages one of his own sons, John by name, whom he had also called Atalarichos (he was a bastard born of a concubine), as well as his nephew Stephen (the son of his sister Maria and Eutropios) and, furthermore, another John, son of the patrician Bonos (also a bastard son born of a concubine). So they took up arms and drew near the walls of Byzantium, and straightaway they set fire to all the suburbs. Dividing, as it were, between themselves the Thracian Bosphoros, the Persians destroyed the Asiatic part, while the Avars devastated the Thracian side, and they made a mutual agreement to capture Byzantium. Now the Avars constructed siege engines, namely, wooden towers and “tortoise shells”; but when these machines approached the walls, a divine force undid them and destroyed the Avar soldiers who were inside. Furthermore, the Avars had brought along a multitude of Slavonic allies and gave them the following signal, namely, that when the latter saw pyres kindled by the forward wall of the Blachernai (the one called Pteron), they would immediately set out in their hollowed-out canoes with a view to producing a mighty disturbance in the City by their sea-borne sortie, while ⟨the Avars⟩, seizing this opportunity, would climb up the walls and so get inside the City. When these moves became known to the patrician Bonos, he, too, fitted out biremes and triremes, which he armed and stationed at the spot where the signal was to be given; he

ὠσαύτως καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέρα ἄκτὴν τὰς διήρεις ἐπέλασεν
 30 διαφρυκτωρεῖσθαι τε εὐθέως ἐπέτρεψεν. ὅπερ δὴ οἱ Σκλάβοι
 θεασάμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ καλουμένου Βαρβύσσου
 ἀφώρμων καὶ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἤεσαν. αἱ δὲ ἐπεκδρομοῦσαι
 καὶ εἰς μέσον αὐτοὺς ἀπολαβοῦσαι ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως ἔκτεινον,
 35 καὶ αἵματι πολλῶ τὸ θαλάσσιον ὕδωρ ἐφοινίσσετο. ἐν τοῖς
 πτώμασιν οὖν τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων καὶ γυναῖκες Σκλαβηναὶ
 κατεφαίνοντο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα οἱ Ἄβαροι θεασάμενοι καὶ τῆς
 προσεδρίας ἀπειπόντες πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν ἀνεζεύγνον. ὁ δὲ
 ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς πόλεως σὺν Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ εὐχαρι-
 40 στήριους λιτὰς τῷ θεῷ προσέφερον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς θεομήτο-
 ρος, τῷ | ἐν Βλαχέρναις ἰδρυνμένῳ ἀφικόμενοι· τεῖχος δὲ εὐθύς
 δωμησάμενοι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐκείνου ναοῦ φρούριον κατέστησαν.
 καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἀβάρων οὕτω πη ἔσχε.

V190^v
dB19

14. Μαθὼν δὲ Χοσρόης Ἡράκλειον πλησιάζοντα τοῖς
 βασιλείοις Περσῶν ἐκπέμπει κατ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγόν τινα
 Ῥαζάτην ὄνομα, γενναῖον ὄντα καὶ ἔμπειρον τὰ πολέμια.
 οὗτος ἐλθὼν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρατάσσεται, καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἀφορ-
 5 μῶν φάλαγγος μόνος | πρὸς μόνον προυκαλεῖτο διαμάχεσθαι.
 Ἡράκλειος δὲ ἐπεὶ οὐδένα τοῦ οἰκείου στρατοῦ προθυμούμε-
 νον ἐπεγίνωσκεν, αὐτὸς ἐξήει κατὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου. ὁ δὲ ὡς
 τὴν τοξικὴν ἔμπειρος δίστον ἠφίει καὶ ἄκρων χειλέων τοῦ
 βασιλέως καθήπτετο· εἶτα καὶ ἄλλον δίστον ἐξέπεμψε καὶ τὸ
 10 σφυρὸν τοῦ ποδὸς ἐπέξυσεν. αὐτὸς δὲ Ἡράκλειος τῷ ἵππῳ
 ἐπήει, καὶ τις τῶν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρων προφθάσας τὸν ὤμον
 Ῥαζάτου ξίφει ἀπέτεμε, καὶ αὐτὸν πεσόντα ὁ βασιλεὺς κατ-
 ηκόντισε καὶ εὐθύς τὴν τούτου κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμεν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ
 νίκη ταύτῃ προθυμίας ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς πλησθεῖς,
 15 αἰσθόμενος τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως παρρησίαν, κατὰ Περσῶν ἐχώ-
 ρουν συντονώτατα, καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος ἠττηθέντας ἐδίωκον καὶ
 πληῆθος αὐτῶν πολὺ ἀπέκτειναν.

L33^v

29 ἀντιπέρα ἄκτιν V ἀντιπέρας ἄκτιν L corr. vulg. || 32 ἔεσαν L || 33 εἰς μέσους VL corr. vulg. || 35
 Σκλαβίνοι L || 36 Ἄβαροι L ἀρβαροι V² eraso β || 37 αὐτῶν V corr. vulg. προσεδρείας . . .
 εἰαυτῶν ἀνεξ. γῆν L || 39 προσέφερον L || 40 δὲ om. V || 41 δωμησάμενοι L

14: 3 Ῥιζάτην V || γενναῖοντα V corr. V² || 5 πρὸς μόνῳ V || 7 ἐξίει L || 8 δίστον . . . χειλέων
 I. || 9 πάλιν post εἶτα add. L || τὸ L τὸν V || 10 σφυρὸν ex σφυρόν V² || 12 Ῥιζάτου V || 12-13
 κατηκόντισε V || 13 ἐπεὶ V || 16 κράτως L

also drew up some biremes near the opposite shore and immediately directed them to light fires. The Slavs, upon seeing this, put out from the river called Barbysses and advanced upon the City; but (the Roman ships) moved out against them and, catching them in the middle, slaughtered them forthwith so that the sea was dyed with much blood. Among the dead bodies one could observe even those of Slav women. When the barbarians beheld this, they gave up the siege and returned home. As for the archpriest of the City and Emperor Constantine, they proceeded to the church of the Mother of God at Blachernai to offer unto God their prayers of thanksgiving; and straightaway they erected a wall to protect that sacred church. So much, then, for the Avars.

14. When Chosroes had been informed that Herakleios was close to the Persian royal residence, he sent out against him a brave and experienced general named Razates. This man drew up (his forces) against the emperor and, coming forward in front of his lines, delivered a challenge to a duel. When Herakleios realized that none of his men would volunteer, he went forth himself against the barbarian. Being an expert archer, (Razates) discharged an arrow which grazed the emperor's lips. He then shot a second arrow which scraped his ankle. Now Herakleios urged on his horse, and one of his body-guard, who was ahead of him, sliced off with his sword the shoulder of Razates; and when the latter had fallen down, the emperor speared him and straightaway cut off his head. At the sight of this victory the Roman army was filled with ardor. Perceiving the emperor's boldness, they moved energetically against the Persians, whom they utterly defeated and pursued, killing a great number of them.

15. Οἱ δὲ Περσῶν ἄρχοντες ἐπεὶ διεγνώκεσαν ὡς ὁ τῶν
 Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πολιτείας τῆς οἰκείας
 ζωῆς κατεφρόνησε, μετὰ Σειρόου τοῦ υἱοῦ Χοσρόου βουλευ-
 ονται Χοσρόην ἀνελεῖν, μέγα περὶ τῆς οἰκείας πολιτείας
 5 καταφρόνησαντα. τοῦτον οὖν ἐφ' ἐνὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν οἰκῶν
 κατέκλεισαν, καὶ τροφήν μὲν οὐκ ἐδίδουσαν, προύθησαν δὲ
 χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ λίθον πλείστον λέγοντες “τούτων
 ἀπόλαυε οἷς κατεμάνης καὶ ἄπερ ἠγάπησας καὶ συνήγα-
 γες”. καὶ οὕτω λιμώττουσα ἐπελθόντες ἀνεῖλον, Σειρόην δὲ
 10 τὸν τούτου υἱὸν βασιλέα Περσῶν ἀνηγόρευσαν· ὃς εὐθύς πρὸς
 Ἡράκλειον διαπρესβεύεται δῶρά τε ἐξέπεμψεν ὡς σπείσε-
 σθαι αὐτῷ. γράφει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνουσθαί τε ἀλλήλαις τὰς
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦς πολιτείας καὶ εἰρήνην παρὰ θεοῦ ἀσπάξασθαι, ὡς
 ἐκάστην καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐφησυχάζειν. ᾧ ἀντέγραφε καὶ Ἡρά-
 15 κλειος, τέκνον τὸν Σειρόην καλῶν, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ ποτε
 κατὰ γνώμην βασιλέα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης ἐκπεπτωκέναι· διὸ
 οὐδὲ Χοσρόην. “ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πλείστα καὶ κάκιστα Ῥωμαῖοις
 καὶ Πέρσαις ἐπέδειξεν, ἔσπευσα ἄν”, ἔφασκε, “περισω-
 θέντα, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπικρατέστερος ἐγενόμην, εἰς τὴν
 20 ἑαυτοῦ ἀποκαθιστᾶν βασιλείαν. θεὸς δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου πρό-
 θεσιν ἐγνωκῶς μετήλθεν αὐτῷ ἀξίαν τὴν δίκην, ὡς μὴ τῶν
 πολλῶν γενέσθαι κατάλυσιν, ἡμῖν νῦν τὴν ἔλνωσιν παρα-
 σχόμενος”. περὶ τε τῶν ζωοποιῶν ξύλων ὧν εἶλε Σάρβαρος ἐξ
 Ἱεροσολύμων λιπαρῶς ἐπέκειτο ἐπιζητῶν· ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο δῶ-
 25 σειν, εἴπερ αὐτῷ κατάφωρα γένοιτο· περὶ τε τῶν πρესβεντῶν
 οὓς Σάϊτος πρὸς Χοσρόην ἀπήγαγε δόλω, (ἔφασκεν) ὡς Λεόν-
 τιος μὲν κοινῶ θανάτῳ ἐτελεύτα, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Χοσρόης |
 ξύλοις ἔκτεινεν, αἰσθόμενος τὸν Ἡράκλειον εἰς τὴν Περ-
 σικὴν εἰσβαλόντα.

16. Εὐθύς οὖν Σειρόης ἐτελεύτα, κρατεῖ δὲ τῆς βασι-
 λείας Περσῶν Καβόης, ὅστις οὐ μετὰ πολὺ τέθνηκε. μεθ' ὃν

15: 1 ἐπειδὴ ἐγνώκησαν L || 3 Σειρόου ex σείρου L² || 4 περὶ ἑαυτοῦ φρονήσαντα καὶ τῆς οἰκείας incerta manus in mg, V || 6 τροφήν V² ex τροφῆς || μὲν om. V || ἐδίδουσαν L || 7 λίθον ex πον V¹ || 9 λιμώττουσα L || 11–12 πείσασθαι L || 13 ὑπ' αὐτοῦς V² ex ὑπ' αὐτοῦ || 14 ἠσυχάζειν V¹ ἐφ' V² superscr. || 18 ἔφασκε om. L || 19 ἐγενάμην L || 20 αὐτοῦ V || 21 μετήλθεν αὐτὸν ἀξία τῇ δίκῃ conl. dB cf. I.26 || 24 λιπαρῶς L || 24–25 δωσιν ἄπερ αὐτ. κατάφωρα γένοιτο L κατάφωρα etiam V || 26 δόλω] litt. ó in ras. scripta L², altera rasura post ω || ἔφασκεν addidi: v. comment. || ὡς] ὧν conl. dB || 28 τὸν scripsi αὐτὸν VL αὐτὸν N. Oikonomides, *Byzantion* 41 (1971) 278 n. 1 || 29 εἰσβάλλουσα L

16: 2 ὅστις V² ex εἷτις || οὐ μετὰ πολὺ L οὐ μετ' οὐ πολὺ V μετ' οὐ πολὺ vulg. || ὃν V² ex ὧν

15. When the Persian noblemen became aware that the Roman emperor had made light of his own life for the sake of his state, they plotted with Chosroes' son Seiroes to slay Chosroes, inasmuch as he had shown great neglect of his country. So they imprisoned him in one of the royal palaces and gave him no food, but set before him a heap of gold and silver and precious stones, saying: "Do enjoy these things which you have loved insanely and amassed." In this way they starved him to death and proclaimed his son Seiroes king of Persia. The latter immediately sent an embassy and gifts to Herakleios with a view to coming to terms. And he wrote to him that their respective states should be reconciled and embrace peace at God's hands so that each might live in tranquillity. Herakleios wrote back, calling Seiroes his son and (saying) that it had never been his wish that a king—not even Chosroes—should lose his glory. "Even though he had inflicted innumerable woes upon Romans and Persians, I would have hastened," he said, "were he to have survived, to restore him to his own kingship, complete though my victory over him might have been. But God, knowing his purpose, has wreaked upon him a just punishment so as to prevent universal destruction, and has now bestown concord upon us." He also made a fervent plea concerning the Holy Cross, which Sarbaros had removed from Jerusalem. (Seiroes) promised to deliver it if he was able to find it; and concerning the ambassadors whom Saitos had conducted to Chosroes by deceit, (he said) that Leontios had died a natural death, while the others Chosroes had killed by flogging when he heard that Herakleios had invaded Persia.

16. Soon thereafter Seiroes died and the Persian kingdom passed to Kaboes, who (also) died after a short time. After him Hormisdas became king

βασιλεύει Περσῶν Ὁρμίσδας, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς διαπρῆσβεύεται
 πρὸς Ἡράκλειον, τὸν τε ἴδιον υἱὸν σὺν χρήμασι καὶ δώροις
 5 πολυτιμήτοις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλεν. ἐσήμαινε δὲ διὰ γραμ-
 μάτων τάδε “ὄν τρόπον λέγετε τὸν θεὸν ὑμῶν δοθῆναι γηραιῶ
 τινι ἀνθρώπῳ Συμεῶν εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας, οὕτως καὶ τὸν δοῦλόν
 σου τὸν υἱὸν μου δίδωμι εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου. γνοίη δὲ θεὸς ὄν
 σέβη, ὡς ποιήσεις αὐτῷ”. ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος μεγάλως ἐτίμησε,
 10 καὶ εἶτα τελεντήσαντος Ὁρμίσδου βασιλέα Περσῶν ἐτίμησε.

17. Σάρβαρος δὲ ἀκούσας ὅτι Χοσρόης καὶ Σειρόης,
 Καβόης καὶ Ὁρμίσδας ἐτελεύτησαν, ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ὑπενό-
 στει χώρας, γράφει τε ἀπολογία πρὸς Ἡράκλειον, ὡς οὐχ
 ἐκὼν ἀλλὰ γνώμη τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος ἔπραττεν ἄπερ εἰς
 5 Ῥωμαίους πεποίηκε, καὶ παραγενέσθαι ὡς αὐτὸν ἐξήτησε
 καὶ ὡς δοῦλον παρίστασθαι. λόγοις τε πίστεως παρὰ βασι-
 λέως βεβαιωθεὶς ἤκεν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ χρήματα ἐκ Περσίδος
 δίδοναι ὑπισχνεῖτο, δι’ ὧν πάλιν καινίζονται ὅσα ἂν αὐτὸς ἐν
 χώρα τῇ Ῥωμαίων κατεστρέψατο. ἐν τούτοις | ἐπιβουλεύεται
 10 καὶ ἀναιρεῖται ὁ υἱὸς Ὁρμίσδου, καὶ Σάρβαρος παρὰ βασι-
 λει τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ἐξαιτεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἐδίδου, καὶ ἀλλήλοις συν-
 ετίθεντο πάντα τὰ ἐκ Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ Πέρσαις γενόμενα Ῥω-
 μαίοις ἀνασώζεσθαι. εἰρήνης τε βραβευθείσης εὐθύς τὴν τε
 Αἴγυπτον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνατολικὴν γῆν Ῥωμαίοις ἀποδί-
 15 δωσι Σάρβαρος, τοὺς ἐκεῖσε Πέρσας ἐξελών, τὰ τε ζωποσιᾶ
 ξύλα πρὸς βασιλέα στέλλει. Ἡράκλειος δὲ Νικήταν υἱὸν
 Σαρβάρου πατρικίου ἀξία ἐτίμησε, Νίκην τε τὴν θυγατέρα
 αὐτοῦ Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ ἐκ Μαρτίνης υἱῷ αὐτοῦ γαμετὴν πεποί-
 ηκε. Γρηγορίαν τε τὴν θυγατέρα Νικήτα ἐκ Πενταπόλεως
 20 ἐνέγκας Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων ζεύγνυσιν· ἦν δὲ
 καὶ προμνηστευσάμενος ἦν περιόντος ἐτι τοῦ αὐτῆς πατρός.

18. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐκ τοῦ Αἰθριβίου λεγομένου

5 ἀπέστειλεν καὶ ἐσήμαινε L || 7 Συμεῶν V Συμεῶν L || οὕτως ex οὗτος V² || 8 σου V σου L ||
9 σέβης . . . ποιήσης L σέβεις ex σέβη V² || 10 καὶ om. L

17: 2 καὶ ante Καβόης add. L || Ὁρμίσδας ἐτελεύτησεν L || 3 τὲ accentu a V² addito || 5 καὶ
superscr. L om. V || ὡς L] δὲ V signo % addito a V² || 6 τὲ V || 7 βεβαιωθεὶς V² ex βεβαιωθὲν ut vid. ||
ἤκεν V || 8 ὑπισχνεῖτο V || 8-9 καινίζονται . . . τῆς Ῥωμαίων L || 10 Ὁρμίσδου ex Ὁρμίδου V¹
|| 11-12 ἐξήτη . . . συνετήθηοντο L || 14-15 ἀποδίδοσι L || 18 αὐτοῦ]-τοῦ in lit. V² || Θεοδοσίῳ L ||
19 θυγατέραν L || Πενταπόλεως V² ex Πεντάπολιν ut vid. || 21 ἦν om. L || αὐτῆς V αὐτοῦ L

16, 17, 18

of the Persians. He, too, treated with Herakleios and sent to him his own son along with a sum of money and precious gifts. He stated the following in his letter: "Just as you claim that your God was delivered into the arms of an old man (called) Symeon, so I am delivering into your hands my son who is your slave. May the God whom you worship watch how you treat him." Upon receiving him, (Herakleios) honored him greatly, and when Hormisdas had died, he recognized him as king of Persia.

17. Now Sarbaros, when he had heard that Chosroes and Seiroes, Kaboes and Hormisdas had (all) died, returned from the Roman country and wrote an apology to Herakleios, namely, that what he had done to the Romans was committed not of his own free will, but by order of his sovereign, and he begged permission to be received and to present himself like a slave. Upon receiving from the emperor a sworn assurance, he promised to appear before him and bring money from Persia so as to repair whatever he had destroyed in the Roman country. At this juncture the son of Hormisdas fell victim to a plot and was slain; and Sarbaros requested from the emperor the Persian crown. The latter gave it to him, and they agreed among themselves that all the Roman territory occupied by the Persians should be restored to the Romans. When peace had been concluded, Sarbaros immediately returned to the Romans both Egypt and all the eastern lands after withdrawing the Persians that were there; and he sent to the emperor the life-giving Cross. Now Herakleios conferred the dignity of patrician upon Niketas, son of Sarbaros, and gave the latter's daughter Nike in marriage to his own son Theodosios, born of Martina. He also brought from Pentapolis Gregoria, daughter of Niketas,¹¹ and wed her (whom he had already betrothed in her father's lifetime) to Constantine, emperor of the Romans.

18. At about this time the Saracens began to appear from Aithribos, as

¹¹ Herakleios' cousin.

- Σαρακηνοὶ διεφαίνοντο (χώρα δὲ τοῦτο τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας) καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε χωρία προσπελάζοντα ληϊζέσθαι ἐπεχειροῦν. Ἡράκλειος δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα Εὐδοκίαν τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐξιέναι ἐπέτρεψεν ὡς τῷ Τούρκῳ ταύτην κατεγγυήσας· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγνωστο ὅτι σφαγῆ ὁ Τούρκος ἀνήρητο, ταύτην ὑποστρέφειν ἐκέλευεν. ὑπάρχοντι δὲ Ἡρακλείῳ ἐν τῇ Περσικῇ ἐτελεύτησαν αὐτῷ δύο υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες δύο. | αὐτὸς δὲ λαβὼν τὰ ζῶοποιὰ ξύλα ἐσφραγισμένα, καθάπερ ἐλήφθησαν διαμείναντα, πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀφίκετο, καὶ Μωδέστῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ κλήρῳ ταῦτα ὑπέδειξεν. οἱ δὲ τὴν σφραγίδα σῶαν ἐπεγίνωσκον· καὶ ὡς ἀνεπάφα καὶ ἀθέατα βεβήλοις καὶ μαιφόνους χερσὶ τῶν βαρβάρων διετηρήθησαν, εὐχαριστήριον ᾧδὴν τῷ θεῷ ἀνέθεσαν. τὴν τε κλειδα τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁ ἱεράρχης μείνασαν παρ' αὐτῷ ἤγαγε, καὶ ἀνοιγνὺς προσκυνούσιν ἅπαντες. ὑψωθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖσε εὐθὺς εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξέπεμψεν. ἃ δὴ Σέργιος ὁ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἱεράρχης ἐκ Βλαχερνῶν (ἱερὸν δὲ αἱ Βλαχέρναι τῆς θεομήτορος) λιτανεύων ὑπεδέξατο καὶ πρὸς τὴν μεγίστην ἐκκλησίαν ἀγαγὼν ταῦτα ἀνύψωσε. δευτέρα δὲ ἦν ἰνδικτιῶν ἡνίκα ταῦτα ἐπράττοντο.

dB22
V191^v
L35^v

19. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ Ἡράκλειος πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐχώρει, ὑπὸ πολλῆς εὐφημίας καὶ δόξης ὑπερβαλλούσης παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖσε δεχθεῖς. τέσσαρας δὲ ἤγεν ἐλέφαντας, οὓς δὴ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἵππικούς ἀγῶνας ἐθριάμβευεν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πόλεως τέρψει, ἡμέρας τε ἐπινικίους ἐπ' εὐφροσύνη πᾶσι δωρεαῖς φιλοτιμούμενος ἐπετέλει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦν ἐλῶν τῆς οὐσίας τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ταμείου | αὐτῇ τε καὶ τῷ κατ' αὐτὴν κλήρῳ ἐτήσια χρήματα

L36^r

18: 2-3 Ἀραβείας L || 5 κατεγγυήσαι VL corr. vulg. || 6 ἐπεὶ διεγνωστο L || ἀναιρεῖτο VL corr. B || 7 ἐκέλευσεν L || ὑπάρχοντι usque ad 19.11 cf. Sudam s.v. Ἡράκλειος βασιλεὺς || 9-10 ἐλείφθησαν V + ὑπὸ Σαρβάρου Sab || 10 πρὸς] εἰς Suda || 10-11 Μωδέστῳ Suda, Sab || 11 αὐτοῦ κλήρῳ ταῦτα] -ου -ρω V² in ras.; -ρω τα- L² in ras.; αὐτῷ κλήρῳ Sab || 12 τὴν τε Sab || σῶαν ἐπέγνωσαν L ἐπιγινώσκουσι Sab || 13 καὶ μαιφόνους om. Sab || 15 παρ' αὐτοῖς Sab || 16 ἀνοιγνὺς scriptis ἀναγνὺς L ἀνοιγνῆτα ex ἀναγνόντας V (incerta manus) ἀνοιγνύντος Sab || 17 εὐθὺς om. Sab || ἐς Suda || 18-19 ἱερὸν . . . θεομήτορος om. Sab || 19 ὑπεδέχετο Sab

19: 1 πρὸς τὸ] ἐς Suda || 2 ὑπὸ] μετὰ Suda || 3 ἤγαγεν V² || 4 ἐθριάμβευσεν Suda || 5 πάση ex πᾶσι V² πάσας Suda || 6 ἐλῶν L || ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας Suda || 7 βασιλικὸν ex βασιλικοῦ L || 8 αὐτῇ] αὐτὴν L

it is called (this being a country of Arabia the Blessed) and attempted to lay waste neighboring villages. As for Herakleios, he directed that his daughter Eudokia should depart from Byzantium inasmuch as he had betrothed her to (the lord of) the Turks; but when it became known that the Turk had been slain, he ordered her to return. While Herakleios was in Persia, two of his sons and two of his daughters died. Taking the life-giving Cross (which had remained under seal as it was when it was removed), he came to Jerusalem and exhibited it to the archpriest Modestos and his clergy, who acknowledged the seal to be intact. Seeing that (the Cross) had been preserved untouched by the profane and murderous hands of the barbarians and unseen by them, they offered to God a hymn of thanksgiving. The bishop produced the appropriate key which had remained in his possession and, when the Cross was opened, everyone worshiped it. And after it had been elevated there, the emperor immediately sent it to Byzantium. Sergios, the archpriest of Byzantium, received it in procession at Blachernai (which is a church of the Mother of God) and, after bringing it to the Great Church, he elevated it. This happened in the 2nd indiction.

19. A short time thereafter Herakleios, too, came to Byzantium and was received by its inhabitants with great acclamation and exceeding honor. He brought four elephants, which he paraded at the hippodrome contests to the delight of the citizens, and celebrated (several) days of triumph and distributed largesse to everyone. And since he had alienated some of the property of the Great Church, he commanded that an annual subsidy should be paid to

10 παρέχεσθαι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παρασκευάζει Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν υἱὸν ὑπατεύσαι, Ἡράκλειον δὲ τὸν ἀπὸ Μαρτίνης Καίσαρα προχειρίζεται. dB23

20. Οὐ πολὺς δὲ χρόνος ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ Σαρακηνοὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατέτρεχον. εὐθέως δὲ Ἡράκλειος σὺν Μαρτίνῃ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ παιδί πρὸς τοῖς τῆς ἀνατολῆς χωρίοις ἐπεξῆει. αὐτόθι δὲ γενόμενος Θεοδώρῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ ὀργίζεταί· ὑπεψιθυρίζετο δὲ τισὶ λοιδορεῖσθαι αὐτὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ Μαρτίνῃ ἐνεκεν, λέγοντα ὅτι “ἡ ἄμαρτία αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ διὰ παντός”. καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀποστέλλει, γράψας τῷ υἱῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ τοῦτον ἐπ’ ἀθροίσματος λαοῦ ἀτιμώσαντα ὡς ἐν φρουρᾷ κατέχειν. στρατηγὸν τε ἀνατολῆς ἐκπέμπει Θεόδωρον, τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ταμίαν, τὸ ἐπίκλιον Τριθύριον. Σέργιος γὰρ ὁ κατὰ Νικήταν τελευταῖον τρόπον τοιῶδες. κάμηλον οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ἀποδείραντες τοῦτον ἐγκατακλείουσι τῇ δορᾷ καὶ ἀπέρραπτον. τῆς βύρσης οὖν κατεσκληκυίας συναπεξηραίνετο καὶ ὁ ἐντὸς ἀπειλημένος ἀνθρώπος, καὶ οὕτως ἀπομαρανθεὶς πικρῶς διώλετο. αἰτίαν δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπήγον ὡς αὐτὸς παρσεκεύασεν Ἡράκλειον μὴ συγχωρεῖν Σαρακηνοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς ἐμπορεύεσθαι τὰς (τε) συνήθως παρεχομένας αὐτοῖς τριάκοντα χρυσίου λίτρας δι’ ἐμπορικῆς ἀμοιβῆς ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς πολιτείας ἐκπέμπειν· ἐντεῦθεν τε αὐτοὺς ἄρξαι τῇ Ῥωμαίων λυμάνεσθαι χώρα. ἐκ τούτου παρήγγειλε Θεόδωρος μὴ συμβάλλειν πρὸς μάχην Σαρακηνοῖς. ὁ δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτὸν στρατηγὸς τὰ κατὰ γνώμην τῷ βασιλεῖ οὐκ ἔπραττεν, ἐπεὶ νεώτερα αὐτῷ βουλευσάμενος ἦν, καὶ ἐπεὶ παρήγοντο πολεμεῖν ὡς ἀνελπίστων περιέσεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ συνεργὸν ὑπελάμβανον τὴν νίκην τῆς κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπαναστάσεως. ἔτι τοίνυν ἐν τόπῳ καλουμένῳ Γαβιθὰ συγκαταμίγνυσι Σαρακηνοῖς. οἱ δὲ

V192’
L36’

10 δε] τε L Suda

20: 2 εὐθέως LV² εὐθύς V || 4 ἐπεξῆει . . . γενόμενος L || 5 ὑπεψιθυρίζετο . . . λοιδορεῖσθαι αὐτῷ L || 6 Μαρτίν sine accentu V -ης suppl. V² || Psalm. 50.5 || 10 τῶν] τὸν superscr. V² || 10-11 ταμίαν τὸ fort. ex τὸν ultima litt. erasa L || 11 ἐπίκλιον V || Τριθύριον L || 13 ἐπέρραπτον V || 14-15 ἀπειλημμένος ἄνθρ. L om. V ἀπειλημμένος Or || 15 καὶ om. V add. V² || οὕτως om. V || ἀπομαρανθεὶς LV² ἀπομαρανθὲν V || 16 ἐπέιγον V || 17 ἐκ τῆς . . . ἐκπορεύεσθαι (sic) secl. dB || ἐμπορεύεσθαι L item ex ἐκπορεύεσθαι V² || 18 τε addidi || λίτρας V² in lacuna || 21 Θεοδώρῳ V² ex Θεοδωρο vel Θεοδώρος sine accentu Θεόδωρος Ševčenko v. comment. || 22-27 ὁ δὲ . . . Σαρακηνοῖς om. V || 23 νεώτερος αὐτῷ L corr. Ševčenko || 24 ἀνελπίστων scripsi ἀνελπίστους L

it and to its clergy. After this he made arrangements for his son Constantine to assume the consulship and appointed Herakleios, the son of Martina, Caesar.

20. After a short lapse of time the Saracens overran the region round Antioch. Straightaway Herakleios, together with his wife Martina and his son Herakleios, went forth to the eastern parts. When he arrived there, he became incensed at his brother Theodore, for it was rumored in some quarters that the latter was railing at the emperor on account of Martina and saying that "His sin is continually before him." So he dispatched him to Byzantium and instructed his son Constantine to have him dishonored in front of a public assembly and to hold him in prison. And he appointed commander of the eastern <forces> Theodore surnamed Trithyrios, the imperial treasurer. Now Sergios *kata Niketan*¹² died in the following manner. The Saracens, having flayed a camel, enclosed him in the hide and sewed it up. As the skin hardened, the man who was left inside also withered and so perished in a painful manner. The charge against him was that he had persuaded Herakleios not to allow the Saracens to trade from the Roman country and send out of the Roman State the 30 lbs. of gold which they normally received by way of commercial gain; and for this reason they began to lay waste the Roman land. On this account <Herakleios> ordered Theodore not to join battle with the Saracens; but his subordinate commander did not act according to the emperor's wishes because he had rebellion in mind and <the men> were induced to fight so as to overcome the enemy unexpectedly: they believed that victory would be on the side of the insurgents against the emperor. And so he joined battle with the Saracens at a place called Gabitha. But they, having set ambushes beforehand and

¹²See Commentary.

προλοχήσαντες και ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἀκροβολισάμενοι Ῥωμαί-
 30 οὺς ὑπήγοντο. εἰσπίπτουσι δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν ἐξαπι-
 ναίως, και μέσον ἀπολαβόντες πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν στρατιώτας dB24
 τε και ἄρχοντας.

21. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον Μαρία ἡ ἀδελφὴ Ἡρα-
 κλείου χρήματα πρὸς τὸν χαγάνον Ἀβάρων ἐπεμψε και τὸν
 υἱὸν Στέφανον ἀπέλαβε. τοῖς δὲ τοιοῦτοις δώροις ἦσθεῖς ὁ
 Ἄβαρος ἠρέθισεν Ἄνιανὸν τὸν μάγιστρον, ὡς και αὐτὸς πέμ-
 5 ψας δῶρα ἀπολήψεται και τοὺς ἄλλους | οὐσπερ κατεῖχεν L37'
 ὀμήρους. και δὴ και ἐγένετο οὕτως.

22. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐπανέστη Κούβρατος ὁ
 ἀνεψιὸς Ὀργανᾶ ὁ τῶν Οὐνογονιδούρων κύριος τῶ τῶν Ἀβά-
 ρων χαγάνω, και ὃν εἶχε παρ' αὐτοῦ λαὸν περιυβρίσας ἐξ-
 5 ἐδίωξε τῆς οἰκείας γῆς. διαπρесеβύεται δὲ πρὸς Ἡράκλειον
 και σπένδεται εἰρήνην μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἥνπερ ἐφύλαξαν μέχρι
 τέλους τῆς ἑαυτῶν ζωῆς· δῶρά τε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐπεμψε και τῆ τοῦ
 πατρικίου ἀξίᾳ ἐτίμησεν.

23. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς μέρεσι διέτριβεν Ἡρά-
 κλειος, Ἰωάννην τὸν Βαρκαίνης στρατηγὸν προχειρίζεται
 και πέμπει κατὰ Σαρακηνῶν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· οἷς συμβαλῶν
 5 πίπτει και αὐτός. ἐπι και Μαρίνος ὁ τῶν Θρακικῶν ἐστρα-
 τευμάτων ἡγεμῶν συμμίξας αὐτοῖς ἠττήθη, πολὺν τε στρατὸν
 ἀποβαλῶν και αὐτὸς μόλις διασώζεται. μετ' ἐκείνον προ-
 βάλλεται στρατηγὸν Μαριανὸν κουβικουλάριον παρὰ Ῥω-
 μαίων τὴν ἀξίαν και πέμπει ἐκείσε, παραγγείλας ὡς ἀνα-
 κοινοῦσθαι Κύρῳ τῷ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἱεράρχῃ, και ὡς ἂν
 10 κοινῇ βουλευσούντο (και) τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς διάθουντο.
 Κύρος δὲ ἦν δεδηλωκῶς βασιλεῖ σπείσεσθαι ἐπὶ τελέσμασιν
 Ἄμβρω τῷ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν φυλάρχῳ, ᾧ δὴ και ὑπέχειν δι'
 ἐμπολαίου συνεισφορᾶς ἐσήμαινεν, τὰ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ παρεχό-

28 ἀκροβολησάμενοι L || 29 ὑπήγοντο LV² ὑπείγοντο V || δὲ V γε L || 29-30 ἐξαπηναιῶς VL

21: 2 χαγάνον V || 6 ὀμείρους. και δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο L

22: 1 Κούβαρος L || 2 Ἀργανᾶ . . . Οὐνογονιδούρων L || 3 περιυβρήσας L || 5 μεθ' εαυτοῦ
 . . . φυλάξει L || 6 ἑαυτῶν V αὐτοῦ L || γὰρ om. L

23: 5 τε L δὲ V || 10 κοινῇ L || βουλευσούντο secl. dB || και addidi || 11 Κύρος V || 13 ἐμπολέον
 . . . ἐσήμανεν. τάδε L || τῷ βασιλεῖ ex τῶν βασιλειῶν V¹

20, 21, 22, 23

skirmished with a few men, advanced on the Romans. The ambushed men fell suddenly on the latter and, having surrounded them, slew many soldiers and officers.

21. At the same time Maria, the sister of Herakleios, sent money to the Chagan of the Avars and ransomed her son Stephen. Pleased with such gifts, the Avar (chief) urged Anianos the magister that he, too, should send gifts and ransom the other hostages he was holding; which, indeed, was done.

22. At about the same time Koubratos, the nephew of Organas and lord of the Onogundurs, rose up against the Chagan of the Avars and, after abusing the army he had from the latter, drove them out of his land. He sent an embassy to Herakleios and concluded a peace treaty which they observed until the end of their lives. (Herakleios) sent him gifts and honored him with the title of patrician.

23. While Herakleios was dwelling in the eastern parts, he appointed John of Barkaina general of the army and sent him against the Saracens in Egypt. He joined battle with them and was himself killed. Likewise Marinos, commander of the Thracian contingents, engaged them in battle and was defeated: he lost many soldiers and himself barely escaped. In succession to him (Herakleios) conferred the army command on Marianos, who held the Roman rank of *cubicularius*, and dispatched him with instructions to consult with Kyros, archpriest of Alexandria, that they might take joint action with regard to the Saracens. Now Kyros had informed the emperor that he was going to conclude an agreement with Ambros, phylarch of the Saracens, and (pay him) tribute which, he stated, he would raise by a commercial levy, while the impe-

15 μενα | ἀδιάπτωτα μένειν· κατεγγνηθῆναι δὲ αὐτῷ Εὐδοκίαν L37^v
 τὴν Αὐγούσταν, [ἦ] μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς dB25
 ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τῷ θείῳ λουτρῷ βαπτισθησομένῳ καὶ Χρι-
 στιανῷ χρηματίζονται. ἐπειθέτο γὰρ Ἄμβρος τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ ὁ
 τοῦτου στρατός· καὶ γὰρ ἠγάπων αὐτὸν λίαν. καὶ τούτων Ἡρά-
 κλειος οὐδενὸς ἠνείχετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ Μαριανὸς ταῦτα ἐξ-
 20 ηπίστατο, δίστατο τῆς τοῦ Κύρου γνώμης, καὶ συμβαλὼν
 Σαρακηνοῖς πίπτει τε αὐτὸς καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἰκανός.

24. Τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀνέξευξέ πρός τὰ | οἰκεία Ἡράκλειος V192^v
 καὶ ἠλλίξετο ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ τῆς Ἱερίας· ἐδε-
 δίδει γὰρ ἐπιβῆναι θαλάσσης, πολλὰ τε ἀξιούντες οἱ τε ἄρ-
 χοντες καὶ οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰσελθεῖν ἔπειθον οὐ-
 5 δαμῶς. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἑορταῖς μόνους τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐξέπεμπε, καὶ
 οὗτοι ἐπιτελοῦντες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν θεῖαν λειτουργίαν εὐθύς
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξήεσαν. ὡσαύτως καὶ τοὺς ἵππικοὺς ἀγῶνας
 ἠνίκα ἐθεῶντο, πάλιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀπεχώρουν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ
 διέτριβεν ἐκεῖσε, ἀγγέλλεται αὐτῷ ὡς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀταλάρι-
 10 χος καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ τὴν ἀξίαν μάγιστρος, Θεοδώρου δὲ τοῦ
 βασιλέως ἀδελφοῦ υἱός, σὺν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ
 ἡμελλον· καὶ τοῖς μηνύσασι πεισθεῖς | τούτων τὰς ῥίνας καὶ L38^v
 τὰς χεῖρας ἐξέετεμε, καὶ Ἀταλάριχον μὲν εἰς τὴν νῆσον τὴν
 λεγομένην Πρίγκιπον ἐξόριστον ἔπεμψε, Θεόδωρον δὲ πρὸς
 15 τὴν νῆσον Γαυδομελέτην προσαγορευομένην, ἐπιτρέψας τῷ
 ἐκεῖσε δουκί, ἠνίκα πρὸς αὐτὸν καταλάβοι, καὶ τὸν ἕτερον
 τῶν ποδῶν ἀφελῆσθαι. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς συγγνόντας
 αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐτιμωρήσατο.

25. Χρόνου δὲ ἰκανοῦ διελθόντος παρασκευάζουσιν οἱ
 τοῦ βασιλέως ἄρχοντες τὸν ἔπαρχον ὡς συναγαγεῖν πλεῖστα
 πλοῖα καὶ ἐχόμενα ἀλλήλοις ἐξάψας ὥσπερ γεφυρώσει τὸν dB26

15 ἡ secl. Ševčenko ἢ μία L || 16 τῷ om. L || 17 Κύρω L accentu a corr. add. || 19 δὲ V γὰρ L || 20 τοῦ
 Κύρου V¹ ex τούτου

24: 2 Ἱερίας. ἐδεδείη L τὰ Ἱρία Suda s.v. Ἡράκλειος || 3 θαλάσση V || 5 τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐν
 τῇ πόλει ἐξέπεμπε L || 6 οὗτοι L αὐτοὶ V || 7 ἐξήεσαν. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ L || 8 ἐθέοντο VL corr. vulg.
 || 10 μάγιστρος VL || 11 ἀδελφοῦ υἱός om. L || 12 ἔμελλον . . . πισθεῖς L || 14 Πρίγγιπον VL corr.
 vulg. || 16 τὸ ἕτερον L || 17 ταῦτά coni. dB || συγγνόντας L

25: 2-10 Cf. Sudam s.v. Ἡράκλειος || 2 ἔπαρχον τῆς πόλεως L ὑπαρχον Suda || 2-3 συν-
 αγαγῶν . . . γεφυρώσει coni. dB

rial taxes would not be affected. (He also recommended) that the Augusta Eudokia or another of the emperor's daughters should be offered in marriage (to Ambros) with a view to his being consequently baptized in the holy bath and becoming a Christian; for Ambros and his army had confidence in Kyros and regarded him with great affection. But Herakleios would not brook any of this. Since Marianos, too, was aware of these matters, he rejected the policy of Kyros and, having attacked the Saracens, fell in battle as did many of his soldiers.

24. At this time Herakleios returned home and resided in the palace called Hieria; for he was afraid of embarking on the sea and remained unmoved by the noblemen and citizens who repeatedly begged him to enter the City. On feast days he would dispatch only his sons who, after attending holy liturgy in the church, immediately returned to him. And likewise, when they watched the hippodrome games, they went back to their father. While he was dwelling there he was informed that his son Atalarichos and Theodore, who had the rank of magister (the son of Theodore, the emperor's brother), together with some others, were about to plot against him. He was persuaded by the informants and cut off the noses and hands (of the conspirators). He exiled Atalarichos to the island called Prinkipos and Theodore to the island called Gaudomelete, with instructions to the local commander to amputate also one of (Theodore's) legs upon his arrival. He punished in the same manner those who were privy to the conspiracy.

25. After a considerable lapse of time the noblemen of the court caused the prefect to collect a great many ships and tie them one next to the other so

πορθμὸν τοῦ καλουμένου Στενοῦ, κλώνοις τε δένδρων καὶ
 5 φυλλάσιν ἐκατέρωθεν διατειχίσειεν, ὡς μηδὲ ὀράσθαι παρ-
 ὄντι τὴν θάλασσαν. καὶ δὴ τὸ ἔργον εἰς τάχος προυχώρει,
 καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἱππεὺς διὰ θαλάττης ὥσπερ διὰ τῆς ἠπείρου
 κατὰ τὰς ἀκτὰς τοῦ λεγομένου κόλπου Φιδαλείας ἐπεραιούτο,
 οὐ τε τὸν παράκτιον χώρον παραμεύσας διὰ τῆς γεφύρας τοῦ
 10 Βαρβύσσου ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον εἰσήει. καὶ μετὰ
 ταῦτα Ἡράκλειον τὸν Καίσαρα στέφει βασιλέα.

26. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν δωδεκάτην ἰνδικτιόνα ἐτελεύτα Σέρ-
 γιος ὁ τοῦ Βυζαντίου πρόεδρος. καὶ ἐπειδήπερ προσέκειτο
 Ἡράκλειος Πύρρω, ἀδελφὸν τε | ἐκάλει, ὡς ἡνίκα τῷ θεῖῳ L38'
 λουτρῷ ἐφωτίζετο ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφῆ χειρὶν ἐδέξατο,
 5 καὶ ἅμα ὠκειωμένον Σεργίῳ καὶ συνδιαιτώμενον ἐγίνωσκε,
 τοῦτον ἀρχιερέα τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀνηγόρευσεν. ἤδη χρόνοις τισὶ
 πρότερον Κύρον τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας πρόεδρον μετάκλητον εἰς
 Βυζάντιον ἦν πεποιηκῶς, καὶ ἐν αἰτίᾳ μεγάλην εἶχεν ὡς τὰ τῆς
 Αἰγύπτου πάσης Σαρακηνοῖς καταπροέμενον πράγματα.
 10 τῆσιν αὐτὰ δὲ περὶ τῶν αἰτιαθέντων ἐπὶ | πλείστου ἀθροισθέν-
 τος τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεξήει δῆμον. ὁ δὲ ἀπελογεῖτο ὡς οὐδα-
 μῶς τούτων ἔνοχος καθιστῆται, ὡς εἰ ἢ βουλή αὐτοῦ προ-
 ὑχώρει καὶ τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς δι' ἐμπολῆς τὰ τῆς φορολογίας
 παρεῖχε καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ἡσύχαζον, καὶ τὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ παρεχό-
 15 μενα οὐ καθυστερίζοιτο. ἄλλους τε ταῦτα ἐπητιᾶτο πράξαν-
 τας, καὶ αὐτὸν μάτην ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐγκαλοῦμενον ἰσχυρίζετο.
 ὁ δὲ ἔλληνα τὸν Κύρον ἀπεκάλει ὡς ἔλληνα καὶ θεομάχῳ καὶ
 κατὰ Χριστιανῶν φρονούντι τῷ Ἀμβρῳ τῷ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν
 φυλάρχῃ συμβουλευσάντα τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως κατεγγυηθῆναι dB27
 20 θυγατέρα. ἐν τούτοις οὖν ἀγανακτήσας κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναι-

4 πῶρθμον VL || κλώνοις VL corr. B || 5 φύλασιν L || 8 Φιδαλείας scripsi cf. Hesych. Pregor 8.7;
 14.14: Φιδαλείας V Φειδαλείας Suda om. L || 9 οὐ τε Ševčenko οὔτε V οὔτε L || 10 Βαρβύσσου
 Suda || εἰσείη L

26: 1 ἰνδικτιόνα L || 2 καὶ om. L || 2-3 ἐπειδὴ δὲ Πύρρω προσέκειτο Ἡράκλειος L loco
 Πύρρω, Σεργίῳ V || 5 οἰκειωμένον ex ὠκειωμένον V² οἰκειωμένον L || 6 τοῦ Βυζαντίου om. L ||
 ἤδη δὲ χρ. τυρὶν L || 7 Κύρον VL || 8 τὸ ante Βυζ. add L || μεγάλη om L || 9 καταπρο[ε]μενον] V in
 lac. καταπροῖεμενον L || 11 ἐπεξείη L || 12 καθιστήκειν L || ὡς εἰ . . . 15 καθυστερίζοιτο om. L ||
 13 φορολογίας ex φορολογίας V¹ vel V² || 14 παρείχετο sugg. dB || ἡσύχαζον vulg. ἡσυχάζων V
 ἡσυχάζοιεν conji. dB || 15 ἄλλ' ἄλλους ταῦτα ἐπαιτιᾶτο L ταῦτα dB ἐπαιτιᾶτο ex ἐπητιᾶτο V² ||
 16 αὐτῶν VL corr. vulg. || ὑπὲρ V περὶ L || 17 Κύρον V

as to bridge the straits called Stenon,¹³ and to make on either side a hedge of branches and foliage so that (the emperor), as he went by, would not even catch sight of the sea. Indeed, this work went ahead speedily, and the emperor crossed the sea on horseback, as if it were dry land, to the shore of the bay of Phidaleia (as it is called).¹⁴ Avoiding the coastal area, he reached Byzantium by the bridge of the river Barbysses. After this he crowned emperor the Caesar Herakleios.

26. In the 12th indiction Sergios, bishop of Byzantium, died. Since Herakleios was devoted to Pyrrhos, whom he called his brother (because when he was being baptized in the holy bath the emperor's sister had received him in her arms) and knew him, furthermore, to have been on friendly terms with Sergios (whose quarters he had shared), he appointed this man archpriest of Byzantium. Some years previously he had recalled to Byzantium Kyros, the bishop of Alexandria, and held him under severe accusation of having surrendered to the Saracens the affairs of all of Egypt. He pursued these charges at the time in front of a large gathering of citizens. But (Kyros) defended himself by saying that he was in no way guilty of these matters, and that if his plan had gone forward and he had raised taxes for the Saracens by means of trade profit, the latter would have remained in peace and the imperial dues would not have been in arrears. And he accused others of having committed the misdeeds in question and alleged that he himself had made charges against them to no avail. But (Herakleios) called Kyros a pagan for having advised that the emperor's daughter should be betrothed to Ambros, phylarch of the Saracens, a pagan, an enemy of God and an opponent of the Christians. Waxing in-

¹³The Bosphoros.

¹⁴The Golden Horn, so named after the wife of the mythical Byzas.

ρήσειν ἀπειλῶν, τῷ τῆς πόλεως αὐτὸν ὑπάρχω ὡς αἰκισο-
μῶν παραδίδωσι.

27. Μετὰ τοῦτο ἐδικαίου τὸν υἱὸν Ἡράκλειον ὑπατεῦ-
σαι, Δαβίδ τε καὶ Μαρτίνον τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ Καίσαρα ἀν-
ηγόρευσεν, Αὐγουστίναν δὲ καὶ Μαρτίναν τὰς θυγατέρας
Αὐγούστας. χρόνου δὲ | διελθόντος νόσφ ὕδερικῆ περιπίπτει, L39^r
5 καὶ ὀρῶν τὸ πάθος δυσίατον — ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ ἐπετείνετο ὡς
καὶ ἡνίκα ἀπουρεῖν ἡμελλε σανίδα κατὰ τοῦ ἤτρου ἐπετίθει
ἐστρέφετο γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ αἰδοῖον καὶ κατὰ τοῦ προσώπου αὐ-
τοῦ τὰ οὖρα ἐπεμπεν. Ἐλεγχος δὲ ἦν τοῦτο τῆς παρανομίας
τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, ὑπὲρ ἧς ταύτην δίκην ὑστάτην ἐξέτισε τοῦ εἰς τὴν
10 ἀνεπιὰν τὴν οἰκείαν γάμου. διαθήκας οὖν ἐξετίθει, ὥστε
Κωνσταντίνον καὶ Ἡράκλειον τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς ἰσο-
τίμους εἶναι, καὶ Μαρτίναν τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα τιμᾶσθαι παρ'
αὐτῶν ὡς μητέρα καὶ βασιλίσσαν. ἐκ τούτου λοιπὸν ἐτελευτα
ζήσας ἔτη ἕξ καὶ ἐξήκοντα, ἐν δὲ τῇ βασιλείᾳ διανύσας ἔτη
15 τριάκοντα μῆνας τέσσαρας ἡμέρας ἕξ. θάπτεται δὲ ἐν τῷ
ἱερῷ τῶν πανευφήμων ἀποστόλων, καὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἀσκε-
πές, ὥσπερ ἦν διατάξας ἔτι περιῶν, τὸ ὑποδεξάμενον αὐ-
τοῦ σῶμα διετέλει μνήμα, περικαθημένων αὐτὸ εὐνούχων
ὑπηρετῶν.

28. Μετὰ τοῦτο Μαρτίνα ἢ Αὐγούστα προσκαλεῖται
Πύρρον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἐκκλη-
σιάσασα καὶ τὸν περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον λαόν, τὰς τε διαθήκας
Ἡρακλείου ὑπεδείκνυ, ὡς περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν τέκνων διέθετο.
5 ὁ δὲ παρῶν ἅπας δῆμος Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ἡράκλειου | τοὺς L39^v
βασιλεῖς ἐπεζήτην ἢ δὲ ἦγεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἅμα διελέγετο νομί-
ζουσα ἄτε βασιλίσσα τὰ πρῶτα εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν φέρεσθαι. dB28
τινὲς δὲ τοῦ συνεστῶτος λαοῦ ἀνεφώνουν πρὸς αὐτὴν ὅτι "σὺ

21–22 ἐπάρχω . . . παραδίδοσι L

27: 2 δὰδ . . . Μαρῖνον V Δαυῖδ δὲ καὶ Μαρτίνον L || 5 ἐπεκτείνετο vulg. dB cf. ἐπεκτάθη
Georg. Mon. 673.14 || 6 ἡμελλεν L cf. 24.12 ἔμελλε V || ἴτρου V Georg. Mon. 673.15 || ἐπετίθη L || 8
ἀναπέμπευ Georg. Mon. 673.16 || 9 ἐξέτισε V² in lit. ex ἐξήτησε ut vid.: ἐξαίτησεν ἕνεκεν τοῦ
L || 18 τὸ ante σῶμα add. V || αὐτῷ L || 19 ὑπηρετῶν om. L

28: 2 Πύρρον] Κύρον V || 6 πρὸς αὐτοὺς L || διελέγετο ex διελογίζετο V² || 7 ante βασιλείαν
litt. φ(?) a V² deleta || 8 συνεστῶτος litteris συ superscr. V¹

censed with him and threatening him with death, (Herakleios) handed him over to the prefect of the City for punishment.

27. After this he thought fit that his son Herakleios should assume the consulship. He proclaimed Caesars his sons David and Martinos, and his daughters Augustina and Martina Augustas. Sometime later he fell ill with the dropsy and realized that his disease was difficult to cure, for it grew to such an extent that when he was about to urinate, he would place a board against his abdomen: (otherwise) his private parts turned round and discharged the urine in his face. This was in reproof of his transgression (namely, his marriage to his own niece) on account of which he suffered this ultimate punishment. He set forth a testament whereby his sons Constantine and Herakleios were to be emperors of equal rank and his wife Martina was to be honored by them as mother and empress. So he died of this (disease) at the age of sixty-six after a reign of thirty years, four months, and six days. He was buried in the church of the all-praised Apostles and for three days, as he had ordained while he was still alive, the tomb containing his body remained uncovered and attended by ministering eunuchs.

28. After this the Augusta Martina summoned the archpriest Pyrrhos and the dignitaries of the court, and having gathered the people of Byzantium in an assembly, showed the testament of Herakleios and the provisions he had made concerning herself and her children. All the people who were present clamored for Emperors Constantine and Herakleios; so she brought them out while expressing her claim that she, as empress, would have the first place in the empire. But some of the people present cried to her: "You have the honor

10 μὲν τιμὴν ἔχεις ὡς μήτηρ βασιλέων, οὗτοι δὲ ὡς βασιλεῖς
καὶ δεσπότηι". ἐξαιρετον δὲ ἐδίδουν γέρας Κωνσταντίνω
ὡς πρώτῳ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν κατὰ τὴν | ἡλικίαν ἐκ παιδὸς
προχειρισθέντι. "οὐδὲ γὰρ βαρβάρων ἢ ἀλλοφύλων πρὸς τὰ
βασιλεία εἰσερχομένων, ᾧ δέσποινα," ἔφασκον, "δύνασθαι
15 τάξεως τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐλθεῖν πολιτείαν". καὶ κατήρχοντο
ἀνευφημοῦντες τοὺς βασιλεῖς. ταῦτα ἀκούσασα πρὸς τὸ ἐαυ-
τῆς ὑπεχώρει παλάτιον.

29. Ἐξ οὗ καὶ Κωνσταντίνος τῆς βασιλείας ἤρχε. προσ-
αγγέλλει δὲ αὐτῷ Φιλάργιος, ὃς ἦν τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων
ταμίας, ὡς ἀσθενοῦντος τοῦ πατρὸς Ἑρακλείου χρήματα
Πύρρῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεὶ παρατίθεσθαι Μαρτίνης τῆς βασιλίσσης
5 ἔνεκεν, ὡς μὴ ποτε αὐτὴ ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ
προγόνου ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων διωθουμένη χρημάτων καθυστε-
ρίζοιτο. ὁ δὲ Πύρρον μεταστειλάμενος διεπνυθά|νετο εἰ οὕτω
ταῦτα ἔχοι. Πύρρος δὲ ὑπὸ Φιλαργίου διελεγχόμενος προεδί-
δου καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλων τὰ χρήματα. ἐπεὶ δὲ νόσῳ χρονίᾳ Κων-
10 σταντίνος συνείχετο καὶ εὐκρασίας ἀέρων ἔνεκεν ἐν Χαλ-
κηδόνι διέτριβεν ἐν τῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κτισθέντι παλατίῳ, ἰδὼν
Φιλάργιος ἀρρώστως αὐτὸν διακείμενον, καὶ ἐλπίσας τάχιον
ἀποβιώσασαι, ἐδεδίει Ἑρακλείου καὶ Μαρτίναν ὡς αὐτὸν κακώ-
σοντας. ἐκ τούτου Κωνσταντίνῳ συνεβούλευε γράφειν τοῖς
15 στρατευομένοις ὡς τελευτῆς συμβαιούσης αὐτῷ ἀντιλαβέ-
σθαι τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὴ συγχωρεῖν ἀδικεῖσθαι μηδὲ
τῆς βασιλείας διωθεῖσθαι. ἐφ' οἷς ἤσθεῖς Κωνσταντίνος Οὐα-
λεντίνον τὸν Φιλαργίου ὑπασπιστὴν τὰ τε γράμματα καὶ τὴν
λοιπὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἐργασίαν ἐγχειρίσας πρὸς τὸ στρα-
20 τευμα ἐξέπεμψε, δεδωκὼς αὐτῷ χρήματα συντελοῦντα εἰς
ποσότητα ἀριθμοῦ μυριάδων [πέντε] διακοσίων καὶ ἑτι μύρια
καὶ ἑξακισχίλια νομίσματα, ὑποθέμενος πείθειν τοὺς τοῦ
στρατιωτικοῦ καταλόγου μετὰ τελευτῆν Κωνσταντίνου ἀντι-

9 + τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐπεξ(η)τη(σα)ν vel sim. in mg. L || 10 ἐδίδου L || 11 πρώτον καὶ τὴν βασ. L ||
κατὰ P: καὶ VL.

29: 1-2 προσαγγέλλει L || 3 ταμείας L || 6 διωθουμένην VL corr. vulg. || 7 οὕτω in mg. V ||
12-13 τάχιον ἀποβιώναι ἐδεδείη L || 14 τούτω L || 15-16 ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι L || 17-18 Οὐαλέν-
τιον ex Οὐαλεντίου ut vid. L || 21 πεντε punctis superpositis secl. V² om. L || 22 ἑξάκισχηλια L

due to the mother of the emperors, but they that of our emperors and lords!" They paid particular respect to Constantine because, by reason of his seniority, he was first to have been appointed emperor when he was still a child. "Nor can you, O Lady," they said, "receive barbarian or (other) foreign (emissaries) who come to the palace or hold converse with them. May God forbid that the Roman State should come to such a pass." And they came down (from their seats)¹⁵ acclaiming the emperors. When (Martina) had heard these things, she withdrew to her palace.

29. From this time Constantine ruled the empire. Now Philagrios, who was imperial treasurer, informed him that his father Herakleios, when he was ill, had provided money to the archpriest Pyrrhos on behalf of Empress Martina so she would not be lacking in funds if she were driven out of the palace by her stepson, Emperor Constantine. The latter summoned Pyrrhos and inquired if that was so. Exposed by Philagrios, Pyrrhos surrendered the money even against his will. Since Constantine was afflicted by a chronic illness, he dwelt for reasons of climate at Chalcedon where he had built a palace. On seeing him in poor health and expecting him to die soon, Philagrios was afraid that Herakleios and Martina would do him harm. For this reason he advised Constantine to write to the army that his death was approaching and that they should assist his children and not suffer them to be wronged or ousted from the imperial office. Pleased by this (advice), Constantine entrusted the letters and the conduct of this business to Valentinus, an adjutant of Philagrios, whom he dispatched to the army with a sum of money amounting to 2,000,000 plus 16,000 solidi, and instructed him to persuade the enrolled soldiers that after Constantine's death they should oppose Martina and her

¹⁵In the Hippodrome.

καθίστασθαι Μαρτίνη καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς. συμβασιλεύ-
 25 σας δὲ τῷ πατρὶ ἔτη ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ ἐπιβιούς εἰς τὴν
 βασιλείαν ἔτι ἡμέρας ἑκατὸν τρεῖς, ἐτελεύτησε.

L40^v

30. Μεθ' ὃν αὐτοκράτωρ τῆς βασιλείας ἀναγορεύεται
 Ἡράκλειος, ᾧ συνελάμβανεν εἰς τὰ τῆς βασιλείας πράγματα
 καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Μαρτίνα. εὐθύς οὖν τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς στέφανον,
 ὃν καὶ συνέβαλαν αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς Κωνσταντίνος τοῦ ναοῦ
 5 ἐξήνεγκε τιμηθέντα μέχρι χρυσίου λιτρῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, τῷ
 θεῷ προσφέρει ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, Κύρον δὲ τὸν πρόεδρον Ἀλεξαν-
 δρείας τῷ οἰκίῳ θρόνῳ ἀποκαθίστησι. Φιλάγριον δὲ ἀπο-
 κείρας ἐξόριστον εἰς τὸ Σέπται λεγόμενον φρούριον πρὸς
 ἡλίον δύνοντα κατὰ [τὰ] θάτερα τῶν Ἡρακλέος στηλῶν πρὸς
 10 τῇ Λιβύῃ κείμενον παρέπεμψεν. ἑτέρους τε πλείστους, οὓς
 εὔρε φίλους καὶ ὑπηρέτας αὐτοῦ, πληγαῖς καὶ ἑτέραις αἰκίαις
 ἡμίνατο. Οὐαλεντίνος δὲ ὁ Φιλαγρίου ὑπασπιστῆς ταῦτα
 αἰσθόμενος τὸ στρατιωτικὸν κατὰ Μαρτίνης καὶ τῶν τέκνων
 αὐτῆς ἐτάραττε· μεθ' ὧν τὴν Χαλκηδόνα καταλαμβάνει ὡς
 15 τοῖς τέκνοις Κωνσταντίνου ἐπικουρήσων, καὶ αὐτοῦ διέτρι-
 βεν. Ἡράκλειος δὲ τὴν τε πόλιν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ εἶχε, καὶ
 πᾶσιν ἀπελογεῖτο ὡς Ἡράκλειος ὁ υἱὸς Κωνσταντίνου ἀπή-
 μαντος διαμένει, καὶ πᾶσιν ὑγιᾶ καὶ σώων ὑπεδείκνυ, καὶ
 20 ἅμα | ὡς τέκνου γνησίου περιείχετο. καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιστοῦτο τῷ
 ἐκ τοῦ σωτηριώδους βαπτίσματος ἀγκάλαις δεξασθαι. καὶ
 συμπαρόντος Πύρρου τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἱεράρχου τῶν ζυφοποιῶν
 ξύλων ἤπτετο καὶ διώμνυτο ὡς οὔτε δι' αὐτοῦ οὔτε δι' ἑτέρου
 τὰ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου τέκνα βλαβήσεται. Οὐαλεντίνον δὲ
 ἀπισχυρίζετο δεικνύειν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύσαντα αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς
 25 βασιλείας ἐπορευόμενον. ὡς δὲ εἰς πλείον ἅπαντας βεβαιώ-
 σηται, συλλαβὼν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ Ἡράκλειον πρὸς Οὐαλεντίνον
 περαιούται, καὶ πάλιν ἐβουλεύετο διόμνυσθαι καὶ πείθειν
 αὐτοὺς ὡς φιλοστόργως διάκειται πρὸς Ἡράκλειον. Οὐαλεν-

V194^rL41^r

dB30

26 ἔτη ἡμ. 87 L

30: 2 καὶ Ἡρ. L || ᾧ V ὡς L || 5 ἐξήνεγκεν τιμηθέντα L || λιτρῶν in lacuna V² || 6 προσφέρειεν V || 8 ἐξόριστον L || Σεπται sine acc. V Σέπτε L Σέπτας vulg. || 9 τὰ secl. vulg. || 10 θάτερα τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν L || 14 μεθ' ὃν V || Καλχηδόνα L Χαλκηδόνας V || 18 πᾶσιν ὑγιᾶ L πᾶσι ὑγιᾶ ex πάση ὑγιᾶ V² πᾶσι ὑγιᾶ dB || ἀπεδείκνυ L || 19 τῷ τὸ V corr. vulg. om. L || 24 ἐπιβουλεύσαντα L || 25 εἰς πλείονα πάντα V εἰς πλείον ἅπαντα dB || 27 διομνύσθαι L διωμνύσθαι V corr. vulg.

children. After reigning twenty-eight years together with his father and surviving another hundred and three days in the imperial office, (Constantine) died.

30. After him Herakleios was proclaimed emperor and shared the administration of the empire with his mother Martina. Straightaway he dedicated to God in the sanctuary the crown of his father—this had been buried with him, but his son Constantine removed it from the church because it was valued at 70 lbs. of gold. He also reinstated Kyros, bishop of Alexandria, in his own see. As for Philagrios, he had him tonsured and exiled him to a fortress called Septai¹⁶ which lies toward the setting sun, opposite the Pillars of Hercules, on the side of Libya. And many others who happened to be friends and servants (of Philagrios) he punished by scourging and other torments. Now Valentinus, the adjutant of Philagrios, when he heard these things, roused the soldiery against Martina and her children. He came with the army to Chalcedon and remained there with a view to assisting Constantine's children. Herakleios held the City securely and offered to all and sundry the justification that Constantine's son Herakleios remained unharmed. He showed him hale and sound to everybody and protected him like his own child, which was confirmed by the fact that he had received him in his arms after the salutary baptism. In the presence of Pyrrhos, the archpriest of the City, he laid his hand on the life-giving cross and swore that Constantine's children would not be harmed either by him or anyone else. He also affirmed he would prove that Valentinus was plotting against them and reaching for the imperial office. In order to convince everyone even further, he took Herakleios along and crossed over to Valentinus, and was intending once again to swear and persuade (the soldiers) of his affection for Herakleios. Valentinus, however, did not receive

¹⁶Septem fratres (Ceuta). Called Septon by Procopius, *Bell. Vand.*, I.1.6; II.5.6; *De aed.*, VI.7.14 (fort rebuilt by Justinian). Septai in Theoph., 426.4.

τῖνος δὲ οὐκ ἐδέχετο ἀλλ' ἀπέπεμπε, καὶ δὴ ὑπενόστει καὶ
 30 διηγείτο πάντα τοῖς τῆς πόλεως. οἱ δὲ ἐπειθοντο καὶ Οὐαλεν-
 τῖνον ἐδυσφήμουν.

31. Τῆς τρύγης δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης, οἱ τῆς πόλεως αἰσθό-
 μνοι ὡς ὁ μετὰ Οὐαλεντίνου στρατὸς τοὺς τε ἀμπελώνας
 αὐτῶν διαφθείρει κάκείνους οὐ συγχωρεῖ ἐκεῖσε περαιουῖ-
 σθαι, συνίστανται Πύρρῳ βοῶντες στέφειν Ἡράκλειον τὸν
 5 Κωνσταντίνου υἱόν. Πύρρος δὲ τὴν ταραχὴν καὶ τὴν στάσιν
 τοῦ λαοῦ περιαθρήσας ἀπελογοῖτο ὡς οὐ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ στα-
 σιάζουσιν, ἀλλ' Οὐαλεντίνῳ | τὴν βασιλείαν περιποιοῦνται. L41
 ἔτι οὖν ἐπικειμένου τοῦ ὄχλου δῆλα ποιεῖ βασιλεῖ ἀπαντα. ὁ
 δὲ συλλαβόμενος τὸν ἀνεψιὸν Ἡράκλειον εὐθέως ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν
 10 ἐχώρει καὶ ἀνέρχεται ἅμα Πύρρῳ ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι καὶ προτρέ-
 πεται στέφειν Ἡράκλειον. οἱ δὲ ὄχλοι τὸν βασιλέα ἐβιάζοντο
 τὸ ἔργον ἐπιτελεῖν. ὁ δὲ λαβῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸν τοῦ πα-
 τρός Ἡρακλείου στέφανον τὸ ἔργον ἐπλήρου. εὐθύς οὖν τὸν
 15 στεφθέντα Κωνσταντίνου οἱ ὄχλοι μετονομάζουσι. τὸ οὖν ἀχυ-
 ρῶδες καὶ ἀγροικωδέστερον τοῦ λαοῦ κατὰ Πύρρου τὰς χεῖρας
 ὥπλιζον, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν γενόμενοι αὐτὸν μὲν οὐχ εὔρον,
 κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς τοῦ λυχνικοῦ συνάξεως εἰσέρχονται
 ἐπαγόμενοι Ἑβραίων καὶ ἄλλων κακοδόξων ὄμιλον ἐν τῷ
 20 ἱερὸν χώρον | αἰσχυρῶς κατερρύναινον, τὰς τε κλείς τῶν πυλῶν
 λαβόντες ἐπὶ κοντοῦ ἀνήρτων, καὶ οὕτω τὴν πόλιν ἀθέσμως
 περιήρσαν. Πύρρος δὲ ταῦτα μαθὼν τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ἐν
 τῷ ἱερῷ παραγίνεται καὶ πάντα τὰ ἱερὰ ἀσπάζεται καὶ τὸ
 25 περικείμενον αὐτῷ ὠμόφορον περιελὼν τῇ ἱερᾷ | ἀποτίθεται L42^r
 τραπέζῃ, φήσας “τῆς ἱερωσύνης μὴ ἀφιστάμενος ἀποτάσ-
 σομαι λαῷ ἀπειθεῖ”. ἐκεῖθεν ἡσυχῇ ἐξελθὼν παρὰ μιᾷ θεο-
 σεβεστάτῃ γυναικὶ κρυφῇ κατήγετο καὶ καιροῦ εὐθέτου λα-
 βόμενος πρὸς τὴν Χαλκηδὸνα ἀπέπλει. οὐ τὴν ἔλευσίν τινας
 τῶν μοναζόντων ἐκεῖσε ἀκηκοότες περὶ τῶν ἐκτεθέντων παρὰ

29 δὴ V δι' L

31: 6 περιαθρόσας VL corr. vulg. || 8 τῷ βασ. L || 10 ἄμβωνι L || 14–15 ἀχυρῶδες] ἀγυρῶδες con. dB || 18 καὶ ἄλλων om. L || 19 διαρῆγνυσι L || 21–22 κόντου . . . περίεσαν L || 24 ὠμοφόριον L || 25–26 ἱεροσύνης . . . ἀποτάσσωμαι L || 26 ἐκεῖθεν οὖν L || 27 κρυφεῖ L || 28 Χαλκηδόνος V

him and sent him away; so he returned and told the story to the inhabitants of the City who believed him and cursed Valentinus.

31. When vintage time had come, the citizens saw that the army accompanying Valentinus was destroying their vineyards and not allowing them to cross thither, and so they urged Pyrrhos by their clamors that he should crown Constantine's son Herakleios. On beholding the disturbance and uprising of the people, Pyrrhos excused himself on the grounds that the insurrection had a different purpose, namely, to gain the imperial office for Valentinus; but as the mob was insisting, he laid the whole matter before the emperor. The latter, taking along his nephew Herakleios, proceeded to the church and mounted the ambo together with Pyrrhos, whom he invited to crown Herakleios; and as the crowd was pressing him to accomplish the deed, he took from the church the crown of his father Herakleios and performed the ceremony. And straight-away the mob renamed the (newly) crowned one Constantine. Now the more ruffianly and boorish part of the people armed themselves against Pyrrhos and came to the church, but did not find him; so at the time of vespers they entered the sanctuary, accompanied by a group of Jews and other unbelievers. They tore the altar cloth, shamefully defiled the holy spot and, having seized the keys to the doors, affixed them to a pole and so went round the City in lawless fashion. When Pyrrhos had been informed of this, he came to the church the following night and, after embracing the sacred objects, took off his pallium and placed it on the altar table, saying, "Without renouncing the priesthood I abjure a disobedient people." So he went out quietly and found a secret refuge with a pious woman; then, seizing a favorable occasion, he sailed away to Carthage.¹⁷ When some of the monks there heard of his arrival (their leaders

¹⁷Chalcedon in the text, but the confusion between the two names is frequent in Byzantine texts.

30 τοῦ πάλαι Ἡρακλείου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Σεργίου τοῦ τῆς πό-
λεως ἱεράρχου, ἔνεκεν τῶν δύο ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτήρος Χριστοῦ θε-
λημάτων καὶ ἐνεργειῶν ἀνηρεῦνων, ὧν προασπισταὶ ἐτύγ-
χανον Μάξιμος καὶ Θεοδόσιος ὄντες ἐν Ἀφρικῇ. καὶ τὰ μὲν
κατὰ Πύρρον οὕτω πως ἔσχεν.

32. Ἐπεὶ οὖν τοὺς περὶ Οὐαλεντίνου ἢ Χαλκηδῶν εἶχεν,
ἀναγκαιότερως (ἔσχον) Ἡράκλειος καὶ Μαρτίνα, ὡς μὴ ἐπὶ
πλείον τὰ ἐκεῖσε προάστεια βλάπτοιτο, ἐνωθῆναί τε αὐτῷ
καὶ ὄρκοις τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους θέσθαι· καὶ ἀξία αὐτὸν ἐτί-
μησαν ἢν Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι κόμητα ἐξσκουβιτόρων, καὶ μηδ'
5 ὄλως ἐγκαλεῖσθαι περὶ ὧν παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου ἐδέξατο χρη-
μάτων, φιλοτιμηθῆναι δὲ χρήμασι τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν αὐτῷ
στρατιώταις, στεφθῆναι τε καὶ Δαβὶδ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ μετο-
νομασθῆναι Τιβέριον. | καὶ τούτων οὕτω τελεσθέντων προ-
10 χειρίζεται Παῦλος, οἰκονόμος γεγωνῶς τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλη-
σίας, ἀρχιερεὺς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, κατὰ τὸν Ὀκτώβριον
μῆνα τῆς πεντεκαίδεκάτης Ἰνδικτιόνος.

L42^v

33. Κωνσταντίνος οὖν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπηρε-
τῶν δόλῳ φονευθεὶς ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ, ἤδη ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ εἰκο-
στὸν ἔβδομον ἀνύσας ἔτος, ἐτελεύτα.

dB32

34. Μεθ' ὃν Κωνσταντίνος ὁ υἱὸς τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἐγ-
χειρίζεται σκήπτρα. καὶ τούτου ἀρξαμένου εὐθύς ὁ τῶν Σαρα-
κηνῶν ἡγούμενος ναῦς πλείστας κατασκευάσας κατὰ τοῦ
Βυζαντίου ἐκπέμπει, ἡγεμόνα τούτων ἐπιστήσας, ἅτε πιστό-
5 τατον καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἔμπειρον, κατὰ τὴν ἐαυτῶν διάλεκτον
Χαλεῖβ ὀνομαζόμενον· ὃς ἀναχθεὶς προσωρμίζετο ἐν προ-
αστείοις τοῦ Βυζαντίου, κατὰ τὸν παραθαλάσσιον τόπον τὸν
καλούμενον Ἐβδομον. τοῦτον αἰσθόμενος Κωνσταντίνος ἀντι-
παρατάττεται καὶ αὐτὸς στόλῳ μεγάλῳ. ὑφ' ὧν πλείσται ναυ-
10 μαχίαι ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐγίνοντο, τοῦ πολέμου συγκροτουμέ-

33 Θεοδόσιος ex Θεοδόσιον L

32: 1 Οὐαλεντίνου V corr. P || τῆς περὶ Οὐαλεντίνου ἢ Χαλκηδῶνα L || 2 ἀναγκαιότερως L
|| ἔσχον add. dB || 3 βλάπτοι . . . αὐτὸν L || 5 κόμητα ἐκκουβητόρων L || 7 φιλοτιμηθῆναι L

33: 2-3 εἰκοστοῦβδομον L

34: 1 μεθ' ὧν L || 4 ἡγεμόνα L || τοῦτον V || 5 πολέμια V || αὐτῶν L || 6 Χαλεῖβ . . . προσωρ-
μίζεται L || 8-9 ἀντιπαρατάσσεται L || 9-10 ναυμαχίαι L

31, 32, 33, 34

were Maximos and Theodosios, who dwelt in Africa), they interrogated him concerning the Exposition made by the former emperor Herakleios and by Sergios, archpriest of the City, regarding the two wills and energies of Christ our Savior. So much for Pyrrhos.

32. Now since the followers of Valentinus were still at Chalcedon, Herakleios and Martina deemed it imperative, lest the estates in those parts suffered further damage, to come to an agreement with him and compose their differences under oath; so they honored him with the rank which the Romans call *comes excubitorum* and (promised) that he would not be called to account for the monies he had received from Constantine; that the soldiers who had joined him would be rewarded with gold; and that the Caesar David would be crowned and renamed Tiberios. When these things had been done, Paul, the former *oikonomos* of the Great Church, was appointed archpriest of Constantinople in October of the 15th indiction.

33. Then, after a reign of twenty-seven years, Constantine was treacherously killed by his own servants in his bath in Sicily and so ended his life.

34. After him, his son Constantine was invested with the imperial office. Immediately after his accession the leader of the Saracens built many ships and sent them against Byzantium under the command of Chaleb¹⁸ (as he was called in their language), a man most loyal and experienced in war. On his arrival, he put in at a seaside suburb of Byzantium called Hebdomon. When he became aware of his (presence), Constantine, too, deployed a great fleet against him. Many naval battles were fought every day between the two sides,

¹⁸Χαλέφ in L, Χαλέ or Χάλε in Theoph. Not recorded in the Arabic sources.

- νου ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔαρινουῦ μέχρι φθινοπωρινουῦ καιροῦ. | χειμῶνος V195^r
 δὲ ἐπιγυνομένου ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν στόλος διαπεραιωθείς ἐν
 Κυζίκῳ διεχειμάζε, | καὶ πάλιν ἔαρος ἀρχομένου ἐκεῖθεν ἀντ- L43^r
 αναχθεὶς ὡσαύτως τοῦ διὰ θαλάσσης πολέμου εἶχετο. ἑπτὰ
 15 οὖν ἔτεσι τοῦ πολέμου διαρκέσαντος τέλος οὐδὲν πλέον ὁ τῶν
 Σαρακηνῶν ἤνυσσε στόλος, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς τε ἄνδρας μαχίμους
 ἀποβαλόντες καὶ δεινῶς τραυματισθέντες καὶ χαλεπῶς ἠττη-
 μένοι ὑπενόστουν πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα καταίροντες. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς
 20 πελάζουσι τοῦ Συλλαίου γενόμενοι ὑπὸ σκληρῶν πνευμάτων
 καὶ θαλασσίῳ κλύδωνος καταληφθέντες πανστρατιᾷ διώ-
 λοντο. ὁ δὲ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν βασιλεὺς τὸ τοῦ στόλου ἀκού-
 σας δυστύχημα πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλει πρὸς Κωνσταντῖνον ὡς
 σπεισόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τελέσμασι ἐνιαυσίοις. ὁ δὲ
 25 αὐτοῖς Ἰωάννην τὸν πατρίκιον, τὸ ἐπὶ κλην Πιτζιγαῦδιον,
 πολυπειρία καὶ φρονήσει διαφέροντα, ὡς τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ dB33
 διαλεχθησόμενον· ὃς πρὸς τὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν γενόμενος ἦθη
 συμβαίνει τε αὐτοῖς ὄρκους τὴν εἰρήνην βεβαιωσάμενος ἐπὶ
 30 τριάκοντα ἔτεσιν, ὥστε παρέχεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρα-
 κηνῶν ἀνὰ ἔτος ποσότητα χρυσίου τρεῖς χιλιάδας ἄνδρας τε
 αἰχμαλώτους | πεντήκοντα καὶ ἵππους πεντήκοντα. ταῦτα L43^v
 ἀκκοῦτες καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὰ ἐσπέρια οἰκοῦντες μέρη, τουτέστιν
 ὁ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἡγεμῶν καὶ οἱ ἐπέκεινα ἄρχοντες τῶν πρὸς
 35 δύσιν παρακειμένων ἔθνων διὰ πρέσβων δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ
 στείλαντες εἰρήνην ἐζήτησαν· ἐφ' οἷς εἰξάντος τοῦ βασιλέως
 εἰρήνην τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ γαλήνην ἐν τε τοῖς ἐφίοις ἐν τε τοῖς ἐσπε-
 ρίοις ἐβραβεύετο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔσχε.

35. Λεκτέον δὲ ἤδη περὶ τῆς τῶν λεγομένων Οὐννων καὶ
 Βουλγάρων ἀρχῆς καὶ καταστάσεως αὐτῶν. περὶ τὴν Μαιῶ-
 τιν λίμνην κατὰ τὸν Κῶφίνα ποταμὸν καθίσταται ἡ πάλαι
 καλουμένη μεγάλη Βουλγαρία καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι Κῶτραγοι,

11 φθινοποριουῦ L || 12 διαπεραιωθείς ex διαπεραιωθὲν V² || 13 ἐρχομένου V || 17 ἀποβά-
 λουτες L || καὶ² om. L || χαλεπῶς V δεινῶς L || 19 Συλλέου L || 19-20 γενόμενοι . . . καταλη-
 φθέντες V² ex γενομένου . . . καταληφθέντων || 23 πεισόμενος L || 25 ἐπὶ κλην VL corr. vii f. ||
 Πιτζιγαῦδιον ex Πιτζιγαῦα*ον V² || 27 τὰ Σαρ. ἦθη γενομένου L || 30 ἀνέτους L || 34 πρεσβείων L
 || 35 ἐζήτησαν . . . ἤξαντος L || 37 οὕτω πῶς ἔσχευ L

35: 1-2 Οὐννογονδοῦρων Βουλγάρων propos. V. Beşevliev, *REB* 28 (1970) 156 || 2 ἀρχῆς V
 ἀρχοντας L || 2-3 Μαιῶτιν ex Μαροσσιῶν L¹ || 4 καλουμένη V λεγομένη L || Κῶτραγοι L

the engagements starting in the spring and continuing until autumn. When the bad weather came, the fleet of the Saracens crossed over to Kyzikos and wintered there, and in the beginning of spring it returned thence and continued in the same fashion the war on sea. So the war lasted seven years, and finally the Saracen fleet met with no success; on the contrary, they lost many fighting men. Badly injured and grievously defeated, they set out on their homeward journey. And when they came to the region of Syllaion,¹⁹ they were overtaken by violent winds and a tempest at sea which destroyed their entire armament. On hearing of the disaster of his fleet, the king of the Saracens sent ambassadors to Constantine with a view to concluding a treaty on payment of an annual tribute. The latter received them and, after hearing their message, sent out in their company the patrician John surnamed Pitzigaudios, a man of outstanding experience and wisdom, that he might negotiate the peace. On his arrival in the country of the Saracens, he reached an agreement with them and confirmed by oath a peace treaty for thirty years (which stipulated) that every year the Saracens would deliver to the Romans the sum of 3,000 (pieces) of gold, fifty captives, and fifty horses. When this news had reached the peoples that live in the West, namely, the chief of the Avars and the princes of neighboring nations further west, they (too) sent ambassadors to the emperor bearing gifts and asked for peace. The emperor consented to this, and so peace and tranquillity prevailed in both East and West. So much for this.

35. It is now time to speak of the dominion of the Huns (as they are called) and the Bulgarians and their affairs. In the area of the Maeotic lake,²⁰ by the river Kophis,²¹ lies Great Bulgaria (as it was called in olden times) and

¹⁹In Pamphylia. The name is also spelled Sillyon or Syllion. For a description of the site see G. E. Bean, *Turkey's Southern Shore* (London, 1968), 59 ff.

²⁰The Sea of Azov.

²¹Presumably the Kuban: Κοῦφισ in Theoph., 356.27, 357.9, 434.11 (who, however, appears to have the Bug in mind) and *DAI*, 42.59 (see also Commentary of *DAI*).

- 5 ὁμόφυλοι αὐτῶν καὶ οὗτοι τυγχάνουτες. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Κωνσταν-
τίνου χρόνοις ὃς κατὰ τὴν δύσιν ἐτελεύτα, Κοβρᾶτός τις ὄνομα
κύριος γενόμενος τῶν φύλων τούτων τὸν βίον μεταλλάξας
πέντε καταλιμπάνει υἱούς, ἐφ' οἷς διατίθεται μηδαμῶς τῆς
ἀλλήλων ἀποχωρισθῆναι διαίτης, ὡς ἂν διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἀλ-
10 λήλους εὐνοίας τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν διασώζοιτο. οὗτοι μικρὰ
τῆς πατρικῆς φροντίσαντες παραινέσεως ὀλίγου παρῳηκό-
τος χρόνου διέστησαν | ἀλλήλων, ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τοῦ λαοῦ
ἴδιον μέρος ἀποτεμνόμενος. ὦν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος υἱὸς λεγόμενος
Baϊανὸς κατὰ τὰ ἐνταλθέντα αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν τῇ
15 προγονικῇ γῇ διέμεινε μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος λεγό-
μενος Κότραγος τὸν Τανάιν περαιωθεὶς ποταμὸν ᾤκησε τού-
του ἀντικρῦ, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος τὸν Ἴστρον ποταμὸν διαβάς ἐν Παν-
ωνίᾳ τῇ νῦν ὑπὸ Ἀβάροις κειμένη ἀυλίξεται ὑπόσπουδος τῷ
ἐγχωρίῳ ἔθνει γενόμενος, ὁ δὲ πέμπτος κατὰ τὴν Ῥαβεν-
20 νησίαν Πεντάπολιν ἰδρυσάμενος ὑπόφορος Ῥωμαίους ἐγέ-
νετο. τούτων ὁ λοιπὸς τρίτος ἀδελφὸς ὄνομα Ἀσπαροῦχ τὸν
Δάναπριν καὶ τὸν Δάναστριν ποταμὸν περαιωθεὶς περὶ τὸν
Ἴστρον οἰκίξεται, τόπον πρὸς οἴκησιν ἐπιτήδειον, Ὀγγλον τῇ
σφῶν καλούμενον φωνῇ, καταλαβόμενος, δυσχερῆ τε καὶ
25 ἀνάλωτον πολεμίοις ὑπάρχοντα· ἀσφαλῆς τέ ἐστι τὰ μὲν ἔμ-
προσθεν τῇ τε δυσχωρίᾳ καὶ τῷ τελματώδεις εἶναι τυγχάνων·
τὰ δ' οὖν ὀπισθεν κρημοῖς ἀβάτοις τετειχισμένα. οὕτω τοίνυν
τοῦ ἔθνους διαιρεθέντος καὶ σκεδασθέντος, τὸ τῶν Χαζάρων
φῶλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνδοτέρου τῆς Βερσιλίας λεγομένης χώρας ὡς
30 πλησίον | τῶν Σαρματῶν ᾤκημένον πλείστης ἀδείας ἐντεῦθεν
† ἐπέτρεχον. τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα κατέδραμον χωρία τῆς ὑπὲρ
Πόντου τὸν Εὐξείνιον γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐπέρασε· † μεθ' ὧν
καὶ Βαϊανὸν ὑπεξούσιον ποιησάμενον εἰς ὑπαγωγὴν φόρων
κατέστησε.

36. Κωνσταντίνος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἔγνω ὡς τὸ σκηνώσαν

6 Κοβρᾶτος L || ὀνόματι V² ex ὄνομα || 7 φυλῶν VL corr. vulg. || 8 τῆς ex τοὺς V¹ || 13–14 Βαϊανὸς (ex Βαϊανὸς) υἱὸς λεγόμενος V || 15 γῆ om. L || 16 Κότραγος τὸν Τανάιν L || περαιωθεὶς ex περαιωθῆν V² || 16–17 τούτου scripsi τούτων V τούτου L || 18 τῆς . . . κειμένης ex τῆς . . . κοιμένης V² Πανωνία τῆς νῦν ὑπὸ Ἀβάρους κειμένης L corr. vulg. || 19 ἔθει V || 19–20 Ῥαβεννησίαν L || 21 ὀνόματι V² ex ὄνομα || 22 Δάναστριν L || 23 Ὀγγλον V || 26 τῷ τελματώδεις τὸ τελματώδεις L corr. vulg. || 29 ἀπὸ ὑπὸ VL corr. vulg. || Βερυλίας V || λεγόμενον VL corr. B || 30 Σαρματῶν V || ᾤκημένον L || 31–32 ὑπὲρ πόν (πόν a V² deletum) πόντου V vide comment. || 32 μεθ' ὧν L || 33 ποιησάμενον scripsi ποιησάμενος VL

(here lived) the so-called Kotragoi, who are also of the same stock (as the Bulgarians). In the days of Constantine who died in the West, a certain man by the name of Kobratos became master of these tribes. On his death he left five sons, upon whom he enjoined not to part company under any circumstances, so that their dominion might be preserved thanks to their mutual friendship. But they took little account of the paternal injunction and a short time thereafter they divided, each one of them taking his own share of their people. The eldest son, called Baianos, in accordance with his father's command, has remained until this day in his ancestral land. The second, called Kotragos, crossed the river Tanais²² and dwelt opposite the first; the fourth went over the river Istros²³ and settled in Pannonia, which is now under the Avars, becoming an ally of the local nation. The fifth established himself in the Pentapolis of Ravenna²⁴ and became tributary to the Romans. The remaining third brother, called Asparuch, crossed the rivers Danapris and Danastris²⁵ and settled near the Istros, where he found a suitable place for habitation (called Onglos in their language), which happened to be difficult (of access) and impregnable by the foe: for it is secure in front because it is impassable and marshy, while at the back it is fenced by inaccessible cliffs. When this nation had thus divided and scattered, the tribe of the Chazars, (issuing) from the interior of the country called Bersilia, where they had lived next to the Sarmatians, invaded with complete impunity all the places that are beyond the Euxine Sea. Among others, they subjected Baianos to paying tribute to them.

36. When Constantine became aware that the nation which had settled

²²The Don.

²³The Danube.

²⁴Between Ravenna and Ancona.

²⁵The Dnieper and Dniester.

- (παρά) τὸν Ἴστρον ἔθνος τὰ πλησιάζοντα τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς χωρία καταθέον διαφθείρειν ἐπεχείρει, στρατὸν ὀπλίτην ἐπὶ τὴν Θρακῶν διαβιβάσας χώραν, ἔτι τε καὶ στόλον
- 5 ὀπλίσας κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους ὡς ἀμυνόμενος ᾤχετο. οἱ δὲ Βούλγαροι τῶν τε ἰππικῶν καὶ πλοῦμων τὰ πλήθη θεασάμενοι καὶ τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀνελπίστῳ καταπλαγέντες πρὸς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ὄχρωμάτα ἔφυγον, τέτρασιν ἡμέραις ἐκείσε ὑπομείναντες· καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μὴ δυναθέντων αὐτοῖς πολέμῳ συμμίξειν διὰ
- 10 τὴν δυσχωρίαν τοῦ τόπου, ἀνελάμβανόν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ προθυμότεροι ἐγίνοντο. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς νόσῳ ποδαλγικῇ συσχεθεὶς καὶ ὄξυπαθήσας ἐπὶ Μεσήμβρειαν τὴν πόλιν ἀπέπλει θεραπείας ἔνεκεν, προστάξας τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τοῖς λαοῖς προσεδρεύειν τῷ ὄχρωματι καὶ ὅσα πρὸς ἀμυναν τοῦ ἔθνους κατεργάσασθαι. φήμη δὲ τις ἐδέδοτο | τὸν βασιλέα φεύγειν
- 15 μνηύουσα, δι' ἣν θορυβηθέντες οὐδενὸς διώκοντος συντόμως ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ Βούλγαροι ἐπιδόντες ἐπεδίωκον καρτερῶς, | καὶ ὅσους μὲν τοῦ λαοῦ κατελάμβανον ἀνήρουν, πλείστους δὲ V196' καὶ ἐτραυμάτιζον. περαιωθέντες δὲ τὸν Ἴστρον ἐπὶ τὴν λεγομένην Βάρναν πλησίον Ὀδύσσου καὶ τοῦ ὑπερκειμένου μεσογαίου, τὸ ὄχυρόν καὶ ἀσφαλὲς τοῦ τόπου πάντοθεν ἔκ τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἄγαν δυσχωρίας θεασάμενοι ἐνταῦθα σκηνοῦσι. κρατοῦσι δὲ καὶ τῶν [ἐγγιζόντων] παρῳκημένων
- 20 Σκλαβηνῶν ἔθνων, καὶ οὓς μὲν τὰ πρὸς Ἀβάρους πλησιάζοντα φρουρεῖν, οὓς δὲ τὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐγγιζόντα τηρεῖν ἐπιτάττουσιν. ἐν τούτοις ὄχρωθέντων καὶ αὐξηθέντων τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία τε καὶ πολίσματα καταδηοῦν ἐπεχείρουν. τῷ βασιλεῖ δὲ ἀνάγκη ἦν ταῦτα ὀρώντι ἐπὶ τελέσμασι πρὸς αὐτοὺς σπένδασθαι.

37. Οὕτως τοιγαροῦν εἰρημευούσης πάντοθεν τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας ἢ τῶν Μονοθελητῶν δυσσεβῆς αἵρεσις ἐκρα-

36: 2 παρά add. dB || ἔθνος om. L || 7 αἰφνιδίω . . . κατὰ πλαγέντες L || 10 ἀνελάμβανόν (ex ἐνελάμβανόν) τε ἑαυτοῦς L αὐτοῦς V || 11 κατασχεθεὶς L || 12 Μεσεμβρίαν L || 16 θορυβηθέντες ex θορυβέντες V || οὐδενὸς διώκοντος: cf. Le 26.36; Pr 28.1; Mi 2.11 || συντόμως VL corr. vulg. || 17 ἐπιδόντες L || 18 ἀνήρουν ex ἀρήρουν ut vid. L || 19 περαιωθέντ[ων] δὲ τ[οῦ] Ἴστρ[ου] V περαιωθέντων τὸν Ἴστρον L corr. dB || 20 Βαρνᾶν V Βαρίαν L corr. B || Ὀδύσσου L || 23 ἐγγιζόντων secl. B || παρῳκημένων VL παρακειμένων Theoph. 359.13 || 24 Σκλαβηνῶν ἔθνων om. L || 27 κατὰ δηοῦν L || 29 σπένδεται L

37: 1 οὕτω L || 1-2 τῶν Ῥωμαίων L || 2 δυσσεβῆς L

by the Istros was attempting to devastate by its incursions the neighboring places that were under Roman rule, he conveyed an army to Thrace and, furthermore, fitted out a fleet and set out to ward off that nation. On seeing the multitude of cavalry and ships and amazed as they were by the unexpected suddenness (of the attack), the Bulgarians fled to their fortifications and remained four days there. Since, however, the Romans were unable to engage them in battle because of the difficulty of the terrain, they regained strength and eagerness. Now the emperor was seized by an attack of gout and being in much pain, sailed off to the city of Mesembria for treatment after giving orders to the officers and soldiers to keep on investing the fort and do whatever was necessary to oppose the nation. But a rumor spread about that the emperor had fled and, being on this account thrown into confusion, they fled headlong although no one was on their heels. Seeing this, the Bulgarians pursued them in strength, killing those they caught and wounding many others. After crossing the Istros in the direction of Varna, which is near Odysos, and perceiving how strong and secure was the inland area thanks to the river and the great difficulty of the terrain, they settled there. Furthermore, they subjugated the neighboring Slavonic tribes, some of which they directed to guard the area in the vicinity of the Avars and others to watch the Roman border. So, fortifying themselves and gaining in strength, they attempted to lay waste the villages and towns of Thrace. Seeing this, the emperor was obliged to treat with them and pay them tribute.

37. The Roman Empire being thus at peace on all sides, the impious heresy of the Monotheletes (which had begun in the days of Emperor

- τύνετο, ἤδη τῶν ἀφ' Ἡρακλείου τοῦ βασιλέως χρόνων λαβοῦσα
 τὴν ἀρχήν· καὶ σχίσμα ἦν περὶ τὴν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. dB36
 5 ταῦτα διαγνοὺς Κωνσταντῖνος σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν συγκρο-
 τεῖ, ἢ τὰς μὲν προλαβοῦσας | πέντε ἀγίας οἰκουμενικὰς συν- L45'
 ὁδους ἐκύρωσε καὶ τὰ δύο ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτήρος Χριστοῦ θελή-
 ματα καὶ δύο φυσικὰς ἐνεργείας, τέλειον αὐτὸν ἐν θεότητι
 καὶ τέλειον ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι διατρανώσασα καὶ τῷ ἀναθέματι
 10 τοὺς τῆς αἰρέσεως ἄρξαντας παραπέμφασα. οὕτως ἐν γαλήνῃ
 καὶ εἰρηνικῇ καταστάσει τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζωῆς διατελέσας
 τῷ ἑπτακαίδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἔτελεύτα. καὶ
 κατατίθεται αὐτοῦ τὸ λείψανον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τῶν ἀγίων
 ἀποστόλων μνήμασι.
 38. Καταλιμπάνει δὲ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τὸν υἱὸν Ἰου-
 στινιανὸν ἐκκαίδεκατον ἔτος τῆς ἡλικίας ἄγοντα, ὃς τῆς βα-
 σιλείας ἐπιλαβόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐνεκεν
 καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πολιτικῆς εὐταξίας βραβευθέντα διέστρεψε.
 5 μεθ' ὧν λύει καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Βουλγάρους γενομένην εἰρή-
 νην. ἵππικὰ δὲ στρατεύματα πρὸς τοῖς Θρακκοῖς διαγαγὼν
 χωρίοις κατὰ τῶν Σκλαβηνῶν εὐθέως ὤρμησε. μέχρι δὲ Θεσ-
 σαλονικῆς ἐκδραμῶν πόλεως, πολλὰ τῶν ἐκεῖσε Σκλαβηνῶν
 γένη τὰ μὲν πολέμῳ τὰ δὲ ὁμολογίᾳ παραλαβῶν, εἰς τὴν τοῦ
 10 Ὀψικίου λεγομένην χώραν διὰ τῆς Ἀβύδου διαβιβάσας κατ-
 ἔστησεν. ἐξ ὧν στρατεύει ἄχρι καὶ εἰς τριάκοντα χιλιάδας L46'
 λαόν, οὓς ἐξοπλίσας λαὸν ἐκάλεσε περιούσιον, ἄρχοντα αὐ-
 τοῖς ἐκ τῶν εὐγενεστέρων ἐπιστήσας Νέβουλον τοῦνομα. εἰς
 οὓς θαρρήσας λύει τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς παρὰ τοῦ πα-
 15 τρὸς γενομένην εἰρήνην, μεθίστησι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ
 Λιβάνου λοχοῦντας ἐκ παλαιοῦ χρόνου ὀπλίτας. ἐκστρατεύει
 δὲ κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν Σεβαστόπολιν γίνεται. καὶ αὐτοὶ
 δὲ ἐπιστρατεύσαντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς παραγίνονται· καὶ τὰ μὲν
 τῆς εἰρήνης φυλάττεσθαι βέβαια παρ' αὐτῶν ἔφασκον, εἰ δὲ
 20 βούλοιντο διαστρέφειν Ῥωμαῖοι, θεὸν κριτὴν τῶν αἰτίων γίνε- V196'
 dB37

7 καὶ τὰ om. L || 13 ἀποτίθεται L

38: 1-2 Ἰουστινιανὸν ex Ἰουστιανὸν V² || 2 ἐξκαίδεκατον L || 4 διέστρεψε L || 5 γενο-
 μένην L || 7 Σκλαβίνων ἐθνῶν ὤρμησεν L εὐθ[έως] V || 7-8 Θεσσαλονικῆς V || 8-9 Σκλαβίνων
 γένει L γένει etiam V || 11 εἰς B ἕως VL || 11-12 χηλιάδας . . . ἐξοπλήσας L || 13 Νεβόλλου V || 15
 μεθίστησι L || 16 ἐκστρατεύσας L || 17 καὶ¹ om. L || 20 δια[στρέ]φειν V || θεὸν κατ' αὐτῶν τὸν
 αἰτίων L

Herakleios) was gaining in strength and a schism prevailed in the Catholic Church. On perceiving this, Constantine convened an ecumenical council which confirmed the five preceding ecumenical synods as well as (the dogma of) the two wills and two natural energies of Our Lord Christ, whom it proclaimed perfect in His divinity and in His manhood, while condemning to anathema the leaders of the heresy. After thus spending the rest of his life in tranquillity and peace, he died in the seventeenth year of his reign. His body was laid down in the imperial sepulchers at (the church of) the Holy Apostles.

38. He left the empire to his son Justinian, who was then in his sixteenth year and who, on assuming power, undid the measures which his father had taken for the sake of peace and the good order of the state. In addition to other things, he broke the peace that had been concluded with the Bulgarians. He conveyed a force of cavalry to the Thracian region and straightaway advanced against the Slavonians. Having pushed on as far as the city of Thessalonica, he captured many of the Slavonic tribes that were there—some by war, others by treaty—and after conveying them by way of Abydos to the land of Opsikion (as it is called), he established them there. Among them he raised an army of thirty thousand, whom he equipped and named “the Peculiar People,” and placed under the command of one of their noblemen called Neboulos. Putting his trust in them, he broke the peace that his father had concluded with the Saracens and also dislodged the armed men who from olden times had been lurking in the mountains of Lebanon. He made an expedition against them (the Saracens) and came to Sebastopolis. They, too, raised an army and came to meet him; and they declared that they had in their possession the pledges of the peace treaty, but if the Romans wished to break them,

σθαι. Ἰουστινιανοῦ δὲ μάλλον τῆς μάχης αἰρουμένου, οὗτοι τὸν τῆς εἰρήνης ἔγγραφον λόγον ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ ἀναρτήσαντες σημείου προάγειν ἐκέλευον, καὶ δὴ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐχώρουν. οἱ δὲ εἰς φυγὴν ἐτρέποντο. καὶ ὁ κληθεὶς περιούσιος τῶν
 25 Σκλάβων λαὸς τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς προστίθεται, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαίους ἀνήρουν. ἐξ οὗ πλείον προσκτησάμενοι θάρσος πλείονως τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐλυμαίνοντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος οὕτω πως ἔσχεν.

39. Εἰς δὲ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς καθίστα ἀνδρας ἀπηνεῖς καὶ ὠμοτάτους, ὧν ἦν Στέφανος | εὐνοῦχος Πέρσης, ταμίας L46' τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων· καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα αἰκίζόμενος ἄχρι καὶ εἰς τὴν μητέρα Ἰουστινιανοῦ τὴν τόλμαν
 5 ἐξήνεγκε, μάστιγας αὐτῇ [ἐν σχήματι] ὥσπερ τοὺς παῖδας οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἐπιθέμενος. Θεόδοτον δὲ τινα μοναχόν, ἐγκλειστὸν τὸ πρότερον κατὰ τὰ Θρακῶα τοῦ Στενοῦ λεγομένου πόρου γεγονότα, τῶν δημοσίων λογιστὴν, ὃν τὸ δημῶδες γενικὸν λογοθέτην καλοῦσι, κατέστησεν, ὃς ὑπερβολῇ ὠμότητος
 10 οὐ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν μόνον χρήματα ἔπραττε, μετεώροις σχολινοῖς ἀναρτῶν καὶ ἀχύροις περικαπνίζων, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ ἐτέρους περιφανεστέρους ἀνδρας δημεύων καὶ ἀφορήτους ποιῶν ἐπιπέρων ἀπέκτενε.

40. Λεόντιον δὲ τινα πατρίκιον ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἰσαύρων ὀρμώμενον χώρας καὶ στρατηγὸν γενόμενον τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ καλουμένου στρατεύματος, εὐδόκιμόν τε ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις
 5 πολλὰκις γενόμενον, καὶ αὐτὸν ὑποφρούριον τρισὶ χρόνοις τῆς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐποίησεν· εἶτα τῆς φρουρᾶς λύσας στρατηγὸν dB38 τῆς Ἑλλάδος προβάλλεται, αὐθημερὸν ἀναγκάσας τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀπαίρειν. πρὸς ὃν γίνονται φίλοι τυγχάνοντες ἄωρι

21 ἐρωμένου L || 23 ἐκέλευεν καὶ ἤδη L || 24 ἐτρέποντο L || 26 Ῥωμαίους L || 27 τῶν Ῥωμαίων . . . ἐλομαίνοντο L || 28 ἔθνος V πάθος L

39: 1 usque ad 40.12 cf. Sudam s.v. Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ Ῥωμόμητος || 1 ἐς Suda || καθίσταει L καθίστη Suda || ἀπεινῆς L || 2 ὁ εὐνοῦχος Suda || ταμίας L || 5 μάστιγος L || αὐτῇ V² ex αὐτῆς || ἐν σχήματι seclusi om. L || 6 γραμματεῖς L || 6-7 ἐγκλειστον Suda || 8-9 γενικόν L om. V || 10 οὐ om. L || τοῖς VL corr. vulg. || 11 περικαπνίζων L || 12 περιφανεστέρους L περιφανεστάτους Suda || 13 ἀπέκτενε Suda

40: 1 Ἰσαύρων L || 3 ἐν πολλοῖς V || 5-6 στρατ. Ἑλλάδος Suda || 7 ἄωρι B ἄωροι L ἄωρον] V accentu sec. m. add.

God would judge the guilty. Since Justinian indicated his preference for battle, they affixed the written peace treaty to a tall standard and ordered it to be carried forward; and so they advanced against the Romans who turned to flight. The "Peculiar People" of the Slavonians (as they had been called) joined the Saracens, along with whom they massacred the Romans. Gaining as a result added courage, they (the Saracens) caused greater damage to the Roman State. Thus it was with the (Slavonian) nation.

39. As for civil magistracies, he appointed to them men of a cruel and exceedingly harsh character, among them the eunuch Stephen the Persian, treasurer of the imperial monies,²⁶ who inflicted many punishments not only on those under his authority, but went so far in his insolence as to inflict lashes on Justinian's mother as teachers do to children.²⁷ And a certain monk Theodotos, who had formerly been a recluse on the Thracian side of the Bosporos, he appointed treasurer of public funds (or, as ordinary folk say, general *logothete*). This man not only exacted money with exceeding cruelty from those placed under his power, whom he suspended by ropes and suffocated with smoking straw, but even confiscated (the property) of persons of high position and put them to death by inflicting unbearable torments on them.

40. Justinian also imprisoned for three years a certain patrician Leontios, a native of Isauria, who had been commander of the Anatolic army (as it is called) and had often achieved success in war. Then he freed him from prison and appointed him *strategos* of Hellas, forcing him to depart from Byzantium that very day. At a late hour of the night his friends—a certain monk Paul

²⁶I.e., *sacellarius*. Cf. Theoph., 367.15.

²⁷We have omitted from the translation the words *ἐν σχήματι* which do not appear to yield any satisfactory sense.

- τῆς νυκτὸς Παῦλὸς τις μοναχὸς τῶν Καλλιστράτου μονῆς | L47'
 ὑπάρχων, ἀστρονόμος τὴν ἐπιστήμην, καὶ Γρηγόριος μο-
 10 ναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐν τῇ Φλώρου μονῇ, Καππαδόκης τὸ
 γένος, ὡς προπέμψοντες. αὐτὸς δὲ ἰδὼν ἐνεκάλει λέγων ὡς
 “μάτην μοι τὰ τῆς βασιλείας προεμαντεύσασθε· νῦν γὰρ ἐν-
 θένδε ἀποχωροῦντα τὸ τέλος με τῆς ζωῆς πικρὸν καταλήψι-
 15 ὀκνήσειεν τῆς ἐξουσίας κρατήσειεν. τούτοις πεισθεῖς εὐθὺς
 ἐπικομίζων τινὰς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἔτι τῆς νυκτὸς ἐνισταμένης
 καὶ ὄπλα ἀνελόμενος εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον ἀνεισιν ἤσυχῃ. καὶ
 σημηνάντων ὡς τὸν βασιλέα παρεῖναι ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖσε πρᾶξαι
 τὰ κατὰ γνώμην, ὁ τοῦ πραιτωρίου ὑπαρχὸς ὑπήντα διανοι-
 20 γνὺς τὰς πύλας· ὃν αὐτίκα χεῖρας καὶ πόδας ἐπέδησεν. ἐντὸς
 δὲ γενόμενος Λεόντιος πάντας τοὺς καθειργμένους ἔλυσε καὶ
 ὀπίστας ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Φόρον ἐξώρμησε· | κἀκεῖθεν V197'
 σκεδαννυμένους ἀνὰ πάντα μέρη τῆς πόλεως βοῆ κράζειν
 ἐκέλευσε πάντας Χριστιανούς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Σοφίας παρα-
 25 γενέσθαι. ἐξ ὧν πᾶν τὸ πλήθος θορυβηθὲν σπουδῆ πρὸς τὸν
 λουτήρα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἠθροίζετο. ὁ δὲ σὺν τοῖς μοναχοῖς καὶ
 ἑτέροις τῶν φίλων πρὸς Καλλίνικον τὸν | τηνικαῦτα ἱεράρχην L47'
 τῆς πόλεως ἔρχεται, καὶ βιάζεται κατελθεῖν καὶ φωνῆσαι
 πρὸς τὸν λαόν “αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα ἦν ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος”. τὸ δὲ
 30 πλήθος Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐδυσφήμει. καὶ οὕτως ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τὸν
 χῶρον τῆς ἵπποδρομίας ᾤχοντο. ἡμέρας δὲ ἐπιγενομένης ἐκ-
 φέρουσιν Ἰουστινιανὸν πρὸς αὐτούς. καὶ τῆς πληθύος βοώσης
 βασιλέα ξίφος διαδέχασθαι, Λεόντιος τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ φει- dB39
 σάμενος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀγά-
 35 πην, τεμῶν τὴν γλῶτταν καὶ τὴν ῥίνα ἐν Χερσῶνι τῇ πόλει
 ἐξώρισε, δέκατον ἤδη ἔτος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διανύσαντα. Λεόν-
 τιος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους βασιλεὺς ἀναγορεύεται. Στέφανον δὲ
 τὸν εὐνοῦχον καὶ Θεόδοτον τὸν μοναχόν, δι’ ἣν ὑπέμειναν
 παρ’ αὐτῶν κάκωσιν, καὶ ἄκουτος τοῦ βασιλέως συλλαβόμε-
 40 νοι καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ἐξαναρθήσαντες διὰ σχοιῶν συνρέντας

8 τῶν L τῆς V Suda || 10 ἐν Φλόρου μονῆς L τῆς τοῦ Φλ. Suda || 12 προμαντεύσασθαι L || 14 ὡς
 add. vulg. om, VL || 15 κρατήσειεν L fort. recte omisso ὡς || 16 ἐπιισταμένης V || 18 σημαίνων L || 19
 πραιτωρίου P πραιτώρος VL v. comment. || 19–20 διαναγνὸς L || 20 ἐπέδισαν L || 23 σκεδαν-
 νύμενοι VL corr. B || 24 ἐκέλευσε ex ἐκέλυσε V¹ || 26 ἠθροίζετο L || 27 Καλλήνικον L || 28 βία
 κατελθεῖν L || 29 Ps. 117 (118).24 || 31 ἐπιγενομένης L || 33 διαδέχεται Λεόντιος δὲ L || 34 τὴν ex
 τῆς V² || 35 ῥίνας L || 38 Θεόδοτον B Θεοδόσιον VL || ὑπέμεινε V || 40 σχοιῶν L

of the monastery of Kallistratos, who was an expert astronomer, and the monk Gregory, a Cappadocian by origin, who was abbot of the monastery of Florus—came to see him off. On seeing them, he rebuked them, saying: “In vain have you predicted that I would become emperor; for now, as I depart hence, I shall be overtaken by a cruel death.” But they dissuaded him from the journey by assuring him that he would attain power if he showed determination. Convinced by them, he assembled some of his servants and taking up arms (it was still night) he went quietly up to the Praetorium. On their announcing that the emperor had arrived to carry out his wishes there, the prefect of the Praetorium²⁸ met them and opened the gates; immediately they bound him hand and foot. Getting inside, Leontios released all the prisoners, whom he armed and then rushed to the Forum (as it is called); and from there he ordered them to scatter throughout the City and to call loudly to all Christians to assemble at the church of Sophia. Being thus roused, the entire multitude gathered in haste at the fountain²⁹ of the church. Together with the monks and other friends of his, (Leontios) presented himself to Kallinikos, who was then archpriest of the City, and forced him to come down and cry to the people: “This is the day that the Lord hath made!” The multitude, for its part, insulted Justinian. Thus they all proceeded to the Hippodrome; and when it became day, Justinian was brought out to them. While the crowd was shouting that the emperor should be put to the sword, Leontios spared his life because of his affection for (Justinian’s) father Constantine and, after cutting off his tongue and his nose, exiled him to the city of Cherson; by then he had reigned ten years. And so Leontios was proclaimed emperor by the crowd. As for the eunuch Stephen and the monk Theodotos, even against the emperor’s wish, they arrested them for the mistreatment they had suffered at their hands and, tying them up by their feet with ropes, dragged them to the so-called market

²⁸Not the praetorian prefect, an office that no longer existed at the time, but the prefect of Constantinople, whose seat was at the Praetorium.

²⁹I.e., the atrium.

πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην τοῦ Βοὸς ἀγορὰν πυρὶ παραδεδώκεσαν.
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει οὕτω διέκειτο.

41. Ἡ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀφρικὴν Καρχηδῶν πρῶην ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις
τελοῦσα τότε ὑπὸ χεῖρα τῶν Σαρακηνῶν γίνεται, πολέμῳ
παρ' αὐτοῖς ληφθεῖσα. τοῦτο διαγνοὺς Λεόντιος ἅπαντα τὰ
'Ρωμαϊκὰ ἐξώπλισε πλόϊμα, στρατηγόν τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Ἰωάν- L48^r
5 νην τὸν πατρίκιον ὡς ἔμπειρον τῶν πολεμίων προχειρισά-
μενος πρὸς Καρχηδόνα κατὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐξέπεμψεν· ὃς
ἐκείσε παραγενόμενος τοὺς μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν πο-
λέμῳ ἐτροπώσατο, τὴν δὲ πόλιν Ῥωμαίοις ἀνεσώσατο, καὶ
τὰλλα πάντα τὰ ἐκείσε πολίσματα τῆς τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπαλλά-
10 ξας ἐξουσίας καὶ στρατὸν ὀπλίτην πρὸς φυλακὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς
ἐγκαταλείψας αὐτοῦ διεχειμάζεν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν βασι-
λεὺς ταῦτα μεμαθηκῶς πλείονα κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐκίνησε πόλεμον,
δι' οὗ καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἰωάννην σὺν τῷ περιόντι αὐτῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ
στόλῳ ἐξώθησε, καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα παραλαμβάνει πάλιν
15 καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν πολίσματα πάντα. ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ἀφορμή-
σας πρὸς βασιλέα ἀνήγετο, ἐν δὲ τῇ νήσῳ Κρήτῃ γενόμενος
ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους ἐστασιάζ-
ετο, ὡς οὐδαμῶς βουλευθεὶς αἰσχύνη καὶ δέει κατεχόμενος
πρὸς βασιλέα παραγενέσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο Λεόντιον μὲν δυσφη- dB40
20 μοῦντες ἀθετοῦσι, ψηφίζονται δὲ Ἀψίμαρον ὄνομα, στρατοῦ
ἀρχοντα τῶν Κουρικιωτῶν τυγχάνοντα τῆς ὑπὸ Κιβυραιωτῶν
χώρας, ὃν δρουγγάριον Ῥωμαίοις καλεῖν ἔθος, Τιβέριον αὐτὸν
ἐπονομάσαντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ | νόσος λοιμικὴ | τῇ πόλει V197^v
ἐπέσκηψε καὶ πλήθος λαοῦ ἐν μῆσι τέτρασι διέφθειρεν. Ἀψί- L48^v
25 μαρος δὲ σὺν τῷ συνόντι αὐτῷ στόλῳ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀναχθεὶς
ἀντικρὺ τῆς πόλεως ἐν Συκαῖς λεγομένῳ παραθαλασσίῳ χω-
ρίῳ προσορμίζεται. ἐπὶ χρόνον δὲ τινα πόλεμον συμβαλῶν
τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, τέλος τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ τείχους Βλαχερνῶν φρου-
ροὺς καὶ τοὺς τούτων ἀρχοντας ὑποφθείρας δόλῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν
30 παραλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν. καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς εἰσελθὼν

41 παραδέδωκε L

41: 1 Καρχηδῶν V || 4 ἐξώπλησεν L || 7 τοῖς L || 8 τὴν . . . ἀνεσώσατο om. L || 11 ἐν-
καταλέξας L || 12 ἐκίνησε L || 15 πάντα om. V || 17 στρατιωτικοῦ L || 18-20 ὡς . . . ἀθετοῦσι
om. L || 20 ψηφίζονται L || Ἀψίμαρον V ubique Ἀψήμαρον L || 21 τῆς om. L || 22 τῆς χώρας L || 23
τῷ V τὸ L || 23-24 λοιμικὴ ex λοιμικῇ V¹ λυμικῇ . . . ἐπέσκηψεν . . . τέσσασι L || 24-25
Ἀψήμαρος . . . συνῶντι L || 30 ὁ om. L

of the Bull, where they burned them. Such were the events at Constantinople.

41. At that time Carthage in Africa (which had previously been subject to the Romans) passed under the dominion of the Saracens who took it by war. On becoming aware of this, Leontios fitted out the entire Roman fleet, to whose command he appointed the patrician John because of his experience in military matters and sent him against the Saracens at Carthage. Arriving there, he routed in battle the Saracens who were in Carthage and regained the city for the Romans. He also delivered from the dominion of that nation all the other towns that are there, left soldiers to guard them, and wintered in those parts. When the king of the Saracens had heard of this, he mounted a stronger campaign against him, by which means he drove out John together with the Roman fleet and reoccupied Carthage and all the towns round about. Setting sail, John was making his way back to the emperor, but when he reached the island of Crete, a rebellion broke out among his officers and the mass of his soldiers, being as he was³⁰ quite unwilling to return to the emperor in the grip of shame and fear. For this reason they insulted and repudiated Leontios and elected a man called Apsimaros, whom they renamed Tiberios, the commander of the Korykiote contingent of the Kibyraiote region—an office which the Romans are wont to call *drungarios*. In the meantime a plague fell upon the City and destroyed a multitude of men within four months. Having sailed up to Byzantium with the fleet that accompanied him, Apsimaros put in at Sykai (as it is called), a seaside spot opposite the City. For some time he joined battle with the inhabitants of the City, which he finally took by deceit after bribing the guards of the Blachernai walls and their officers. The army

³⁰ Nikephoros has here confused the meaning of his source: it was, of course, the army, not John, that was reluctant to return to Constantinople, as Theoph., 370.20 makes clear.

τὰ χρήματα τῶν πολιτῶν διήρπαξε. Λεόντιον δὲ χειρωσάμενος τρίτον ἔτος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διάγοντα τὴν ρίνα αὐτοῦ ἐξέτεμε, καὶ ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ τῆς Δελμάτου μοναστηρίου ἡσυχάζειν προσέταξε.

42. Καὶ οὕτως μὲν ταῦτα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς συνέβαινον· Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ πρὸς τῇ Χερσῶνι διέτριβε, συχνότερον δημογυρῶν ὡς πάλιν κρατήσῃ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπαρρησιάζετο. οἱ δὲ ὡδε πολῖται κίνδυνον ἑαυτοῖς ὑπονοοῦμενοι ἐβουλεύσαντο
- 5 αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν ἢ δεσμώτην πρὸς Ἀψίμαρον ἀναπέμπειν. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦτο αἰσθόμενος ἐκεῖθεν διέφυγε καὶ εἰς τὸ φρούριον τὸ λεγόμενον Δόρος πρὸς τῇ Γοθικῇ κείμενον χώρα ἀπέδρασεν. | αἰτεῖ δὲ τὸν τῶν Χαζάρων ἡγεμόνα (χαγάνους δὲ L49^r τούτους αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν) ὡς αὐτὸν παραγενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ τῇ
- 10 αἰτήσῃ εἶξε καὶ αὐτὸν μετὰ τιμῆς ἐδέξατο, καὶ φιλωθεὶς αὐτῷ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὴν Θεοδώραν καλουμένην εἰς γυναῖκα ἐξέδοτο. ὁ δὲ τῇ αὐτοῦ συναινέσει ἐν Φαναγῶρῃ ἐλθὼν σὺν αὐτῇ διέτριβε. ταῦτα διαγνοὺς Ἀψίμαρος ἐνέκειτο συχνῶς dB41 τὸν τῶν Χαζάρων ἄρχοντα ἐκλιπαρῶν, πλεῖστα δὲ χρήματα
- 15 καὶ δῶρα ὑπισχνεῖτο, εἰ ζῶντα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἢ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῷ ἐκπέμψαι. ὁ δὲ ταῖς πολλαῖς εἷξας παρακλήσεσιν ὑπέσχετο τοῦτο πληροῦν. πέμπει οὖν ἄνδρας εἰς φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ καθεστάναι, τῷ μὲν προσχήμετι ὡς μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐπιβουλευθεῖν, τῷ ὄντι δὲ φυλάσσειν, ὡς μὴ ἀποδράσαι ποτὲ
- 20 προασφαλιζόμενος. κελεύει δὲ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν ὁμοέθνων, ὠκειωμένῳ δὲ Ἰουστινιανῷ ὄντι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῷ τοῦ Βοσπόρου τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἐπιτηρεῖν ἡνίκα αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψῃ ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς τάχιστα. ταῦτα δὲ μηνύεται Θεοδῶρα παρὰ
- 25 τινος τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκετῶν· ἢ δὲ τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀνετίθει. καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐκείνον τὸν Χαζάρων | καλέσας καὶ ἀπιδιάσας μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀγχόνῃ παρέδωκε, τῷ αὐτῷ τε L49^v τρόπῳ ἀναιρεῖ καὶ τὸν Βοσπόρου ἄρχοντα. εὐθύς δὲ Θεο-

31–32 χειρισάμενος L || 32 ρίνα om. L || 33 τῆς Δ.: fort. τοῦ vel τῶν Δ. legendum

42: 1 οὕτως μετὰ ταῦτα . . . συνέβενεν L || 5 Ἀψίμαρον L || 6 αἰσθόμενος L || 6–7 φρούριον τὸ λεγόμενον Δόρος L || 8 τὸν τὸν V || 8–9 ἡγεμῶνα χαγάνους δὲ τούτοις L || 10 ἡξεν L || 12 ἐξέδωτο . . . συνε[ras. 1 litt.]v[ras. 2 litt.]έσει L || Φαναγῶρι L || 13 αὐτῇ om. L || 14 ἐκκληπαρῶν L || 15 ὑπισχνίτο L || εἰ vulg. ἢ VL || 16 πολλαῖς (ex πολλαῖσι) εἷξας V¹ ἡξας L || 18 ὑπὸ V ἐπὶ L || 19 φυλάσσειν secl. dB || 20 ὁμοέθνων V || 21 δὲ¹ om. L || 22 αὐτοῦς VL corr. vulg. || 23 ὡς om. L || μνηοίεται L || 26–27 ἀγχῶνι . . . δὲ τρόπῳ L

that was with him entered and seized the monies of the citizens. He arrested Leontios (who was then in the third year of his reign) and, after cutting off his nose, directed that he should live quietly in the monastery of Delmatos (as it is called).

42. So much for them. As for Justinian, he was making, while he dwelt at Cherson, frequent declarations in public that he would regain the empire. Suspecting themselves to be in danger, the inhabitants of that city planned to kill him or to deliver him prisoner to Apsimaros. On becoming aware of this, he escaped from that place and fled to the fortress called Doros, which lies in the country of the Goths.³¹ He requested from the chieftain of the Chazars (whom they call Chagan) leave to pay him a visit. The latter consented and received him with honor; and after becoming friendly with him, gave him his own sister Theodora in marriage. With (the Chagan's) consent he came to Phanagoria and dwelt there with her. When Apsimaros had been informed of these matters, he pressed the chieftain of the Chazars with repeated requests, promising him great sums of money and gifts if the latter delivered Justinian alive to him or, (if not,) his head. (The Chagan) yielded to the numerous requests and promised to do so. He accordingly sent a band of men to guard (Justinian) on the pretext that he should not fall victim to a plot by his fellow countrymen, but in reality to make sure that he would not escape. He also gave orders to the chief of his tribesmen, who was on friendly terms with Justinian, and to the commander of the Scythian Bosporos to be in readiness for his order to kill him at the earliest opportunity. These matters were announced to Theodora by one of her father's servants and she confided to her husband the details of the plot. So he invited his Chazar friend and, taking him aside, had him strangled; and in the same manner he killed the com-

³¹ Usually placed in the area of medieval Mangup in the SW part of the Crimean peninsula. Δόρου in Procopius, *De aed.*, III.7.13; Δαρᾶς or Δαρᾶς in Theoph., 372.30; Δόρος in *Notit.* III. 42, 611, ed. J. Darrouzès, *Notitiae episcopatum*, 231, 241. See A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 52 ff.; L. V. Firsov, *VizVrem* 40 (1979), 104–13.

δώραν τὴν γαμετὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐκπέμπει, αὐτὸς δὲ
 ἀπάρας εἰς Τόμιν καλούμενον παραθαλάσσιον χωρίον κατ-
 30 ἦλθε. κάκεισε νηϊ ἐπιβάς σὺν ἑτέροις τισὶν ἀνδράσι καὶ
 ταύτην παραπλεύσας ἦλθε μέχρι | Συμβόλου τῆ πόλει πλη- V198^r
 σιάσας Χερσῶνι. καὶ προσορμίσας τῷ ἐκεῖσε λιμένι πέμπει
 ἕνα τῶν ἐταίρων ἐπὶ τῆ πόλει, κάκειθεν ἄγει πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν
 Βαρασβακούριον καὶ τὸν τούτου ἀδελφὸν τὸν τε Σαλιβᾶν καὶ
 35 ἑτέρους τινὰς ἀνδρας. καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐκπλεύσας, τὰ λεγόμε-
 μενα Νεκρόπηλα παρελθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἴστρον ποταμὸν παρα-
 γίνεται. ἐκεῖθεν ἐκπέμπει τῶν συνόντων τινὰ Στέφανον πρὸς
 Τέρβελιν κύριον ὄντα τηρικαῦτα τῶν ἐκεῖσε Βουλγάρων,
 παρακαλῶν συλλαβέσθαι αὐτῷ ὥστε τὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἀπο-
 40 λήψεσθαι θρόνον, ἄλλα τε πλεῖστα δῶρα ὑποσχόμενος καὶ
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα εἰς γυναικὰ αὐτῷ δώσειν ἐπαγγελιάμε-
 νος. ὁ δὲ προθύμως ἐν πᾶσιν ὑπέεικε, καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸν σὺν
 τιμῇ μεγάλη ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἅπαντα τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ λαὸν ὀπλίσας
 σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ὥχετο. | προσεδρεύει δὲ τῷ L50^r
 45 τείχει Βλαχερνῶν ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις, ἀξίων τοὺς τῆς πόλεως
 εἰσδεχθῆναι αὐτὸν βασιλέα. οἱ δὲ αἰσχροῦς ὑβρίζοντες ἀπ-
 ἐεμπον. ὁ δὲ νυκτὸς εἰσδύεται σὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ κατὰ τὸν τῆς
 πόλεως ἀγωγὸν κἀντεῦθεν παραλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρὸς
 βραχὺ σκηνοῦται ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ Βλαχερνῶν. Ἡράκλειον δὲ
 50 τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀψιμάρου στρατηγὸν τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ στρατοῦ
 γενόμενον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρχοντας καὶ ὑπασπιστὰς αὐτοῦ
 πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐπὶ ξύλου ἀνήρτησεν. Ἀψίμαρον δὲ συλλαβῶν
 ἑβδομον ἔτος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διανύσαντα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Λεόντιον
 σιδήροισ πεδῆσας κατέσχευ ἐν εἰρκτῇ· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἱππι-
 55 κὸν ἐπιτελέσας ἀγῶνα, θάτερον μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν θάτερον δὲ
 ἐξ ἀριστερῶν πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ πατεῖσθαι ῥίψας ἐπὶ
 ὥρας βραχείας, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκπέμπει ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Κυ-
 νηγιῷ τμηθῆναι τὰς κεφαλὰς. τὸν δὲ Βουλγάρων ἄρχοντα
 Τέρβελιν ἔξω τείχους Βλαχερνῶν σκηνοῦμενον πολλὰ φιλο-
 60 φρονησάμενος, τέλος παραγενόμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν χλανίδα τε
 περιβάλλει βασιλικὴν | καὶ Καίσαρα ἀναγορεύει, καὶ συμ- L50^v

29 Τομῖν L || χωρίον om. L || 30 νηϊ L || τισὶν ex τρισὶν V¹ || 31 ταύτην V αὐτὴν L || 32 προσ-
 ορμήσας V || 33 ἑτέρων L || 34 Σαλιβαν L || 38 τηρικαῦτα om. L || 39–40 ἀπολήψασθαι L || 41–42
 ἐπαγγελάμενος L || 42 ἐν πᾶσιν om. L || ὑπήκεν L || 43 αὐτοῦ L || 44 τῷ V τὰ L || 51 γενόμενον L ||
 52 ξύλων L || 53 διανοίσαντα L || 55 τούτων θάτερον L || θάτερον² L || 58 τὸν V τῶν L

mander of the Bosphoros. Straightaway he dispatched his wife Theodora to her father and he himself departed to a coastal spot called Tomis.³² There he boarded a boat together with several men and, sailing by, came as far as Symbolon,³³ close to the city of Cherson. Putting in at the harbor which is there, he sent one of his companions to the city to fetch Barasbakourios, the latter's brother, Salibas, and a number of other men. Setting sail with them, he went past the so-called Nekropela³⁴ and came to the river Istros. From there he sent his companion Stephen to Terbelis, who at the time was lord of the local Bulgarians, begging him for assistance that he might regain the imperial throne and promising him, in addition to many gifts, his own daughter in marriage. (Terbelis) readily complied in all respects and received Justinian with great honor. He then armed his whole people and proceeded to the Imperial City along with (Justinian). For three days (Justinian) encamped by the walls of Blachernai and demanded the inhabitants of the City to receive him as emperor; but they dismissed him with foul insults. However, he crept with a few men at night into the aqueduct of the City and in this way captured Constantinople. For a short time he established himself in the palace of Blachernai. He hanged on gibbets upon the walls Herakleios, the brother of Apsimaros, who was *strategos* of the Anatolic army, and other officers who were in the latter's retinue. He also apprehended Apsimaros (who had reigned seven years) as well as Leontios, bound them with fetters, and kept them in prison. Thereafter he celebrated horse races and had them thrown down at his feet, one on the right, the other on the left, and after treading on them for a short time, sent them to be beheaded at the so-called Kynegion. He showed many favors to the Bulgarian chief Terbelis, who was encamped outside the Blachernai wall, and finally sent for him, invested him with an imperial mantle and proclaimed him Caesar. He had him sit by his side and ordered the

³² All the MSS of Theoph. at 373.15 give Τόμην (acc.). This cannot be Tomi/Costanța, but must refer to a harbor near Phanagoria. H. Grégoire, "Le nom de la ville de Tmutarakan," *Nouv. Cléo* 4 (1952), 288–92, argues that Τομή (cutting) became transformed to Taman and produced the name Τομή(ν) τάριχα = Tmutarakan.

³³ Modern Balaklava. Cf. *DAI*, 53.296, 302, 309.

³⁴ The Karkinitic Gulf. Spelled Νεκρόπυλα by the editors of *DAI*, 42.5, 69, 79 (but Νεκρόπηλα in cod. P, the best MS).

πάρεδρον ποιησάμενος προσκυνεῖσθαι σὺν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 λαοῦ ἐκέλευε, καὶ πλείστα παρασχόμενος δῶρα πρὸς τὰ
 ἐαυτοῦ ἐξέπεμπε. Καλλίνικον δὲ τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἱεράρχην,
 65 ὡς δυσφημήσαντα αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Λεοντίου ἀναγορεύσει,
 τυφλώσας ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐξέπεμψε, Κῦρον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν
 Ἱερωσύνην προχειρισάμενος τὸν ἐν Ἀμάστριδι ἐγκλειστον
 γενόμενον, προσημάναντα αὐτῷ ἐκεῖσε παριόντι τὴν τῆς
 δευτέρας βασιλείας κατάστασιν. πολὺν τε φόνον καὶ κά- dB43
 70 κωσιν ἐν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐποιεῖτο· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἄρχοντας
 προβαλλόμενος αὐτίκα ἐτέρους ὀπισθεν ἐκπέμπων ἀνήρει,
 οὓς δὲ ἐν δεῖπνῳ συγκαλῶν δόλῳ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἄλλους ἐν τῷ
 βυθῷ σάκκοις ἐμβαλὼν ἀπέρριπτε, καὶ συνελόντα εἰπεῖν,
 75 ὠμότητι πολλῇ καὶ θηριώδει γνώμῃ πρὸς τὸ ὑπήκοον διακεί- V198'
 μενος. ἐν τούτοις δὲ μεταστέλλεται ἀπὸ Χαζαρίας Θεοδώραν
 τὴν ἐαυτοῦ γαμετὴν καὶ Τιβερίον τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς τεχθέντα αὐτῷ
 υἱόν, καὶ στέφει αὐτοὺς εἰς βασιλείας.

43. Μετὰ τοῦτο λύει τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Βουλγάρους εἰρήνην,
 καὶ στρατεύματα πλείστα διὰ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης πρὸς τοῖς
 Θρακικοῖς μέρεσι διαγαγὼν πρὸς τῇ | Ἀγχιάλῳ πόλει ὡς πο- L51'
 5 λεμήσων αὐτοὺς παραγίνεται. ἀφυλάκτως δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς
 τὰ ἐκεῖσε πεδία ἐπὶ κομιδῇ χόρτου σκεδανυμένου ἐπιπί-
 πτουσιν ἀθρόως οἱ Βούλγαροι καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν διαφθει-
 ρουσι, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ αἰχμαλώτους εἶλον. καὶ Ἰουστινιανῷ
 ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἀγχιάλῳ ἀπολειφθέντι ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις προσ-
 εδρεύουσιν. ὁ δὲ νυκτὸς ναυσὶν ἐπιβάς φυγῇ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπ-
 10 ἐπλευσε καὶ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐπανάγεται.

44. Ἐν τούτοις ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν
 βασιλεὺς λαὸν πλείστον ὀπλίτην ἐκπέμπει, ἡγεμόνας αὐτοῖς
 ἐπιστήσας Μασαλμᾶν καὶ Σολουμᾶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν διάλε-
 κτον καλουμένους, ὡς τὰ Ὑάνα τὴν πόλιν πολιορκήσουσας. οἱ
 5 δὲ ἐκεῖσε παραγενόμενοι, πολέμους πλείστους συνάψαντες,

63 παρασχόμενος L || 64 ἐξέπεμψεν L || 67 ἐγκλειστον V || 68 γενάμενον (ex γενάμενος) προσ-
 ημήναντι L || 72 ἀπέκτεινεν L || 73 σάκοις ἐμβάλλων L || 73-74 συντελοῦντα . . . ὠμωτητι . . .
 θηριώδη L || 74 ὑπέικοον V || 75 Χαζαρίαν VL corr: vulg. || 76 αὐτοῦ L || 77 βασιλέα L

43: 3-4 πολεμίσιων αὐτοῖς L || 5 κομηδεῖ L || 6 πολλοῖς L || αὐτοῦς V || 8 πόλει ex πόλῳ L

44: 3 Μάσαλμαν καὶ Σολιμᾶν L || 4 Τοιάνα ubique V hic solum L || πολιορκήσουσας ex
 πολιορκήσαντας L ut vid. || 5 παραγενάμενοι L

people to pay homage to them jointly, and after showering him with many gifts, sent him home. As for Kallinikos, the archpriest of the City, who had cursed him at the proclamation of Leontios, he blinded him and exiled him to Rome, and elevated to the priesthood in his stead one Kyros, who had been a hermit at Amastris and had foretold him the circumstances of his second reign when he was passing through those parts. He inflicted many deaths and injuries on his subjects: some men he promoted to magistracies and immediately sent emissaries after them to have them killed; others he invited to dinner and slew by deceit; others he placed in sacks and cast in the sea. In brief, he treated his subjects with great cruelty and a savage disposition. At this juncture he fetched from Chazaria his wife Theodora and his son Tiberios, who was born of her, and invested them with the imperial crown.

43. Thereafter he broke the peace with the Bulgarians and, after conveying a great army to Thrace by land and by sea, proceeded to the city of Anchialos with a view to fighting them. While his men scattered heedlessly to gather hay, the Bulgarians fell suddenly upon them, killing many of them and taking many prisoners. Then for three days they besieged Justinian, who had remained in the city of Anchialos. Embarking on a ship at night, he fled from there and returned to Byzantium.

44. At this juncture the king of the Saracens sent a large army under the command of Masalmas and Solymas (as they are called in their language) to besiege the city of Tyana. When they arrived there, they fought many encoun-

μέρος δὲ καὶ τοῦ τείχους ἐκ τῶν πρὸς τειχομαχίαν ὀργάνων
καταβαλόντες καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ἀνύσαι ἰσχύσαντες, ἀποχω-
ρεῖν πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία ἐβούλοντο, ἐν ᾧ ἐκπέμπει Ἰουστινια-
νὸς πρὸς τῇ μεσογείᾳ, καὶ πλείστον λαὸν ἄγροικόν τε καὶ
10 γεωργικὸν ἀθροίσας πρὸς τὰ Ἰύανα ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσεν
ὡς τοὺς πολιορκουμένους ἐπαμυνόμενος. τούτους ἀόπλους οἱ
Σαρακηνοὶ θεασάμενοι ὀρμῶσι κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν | dB44
ξίφει ἀνείλον τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους συνέλαβον. ἐντεῦθεν θαρ- L51^v
ραλεώτερον διατεθέντες τῆς προσεδρίας Τυάνων εἶχοντο. οἱ
15 δὲ ἀπορία δαπανημάτων τῶν πρὸς μάχην ἀπειπόντες τῆς τε
παρὰ βασιλέως βοηθείας οὐκ εὐπορήσαντες, ὁμολογία ἐαυ-
τοὺς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς παρέδωσαν καὶ πρὸς τὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἤθη
ἀπύχοντο. ἐξ ἐκείνου λοιπὸν πλείστη τοῖς ἐχθροῖς παρρησία
ἐδέδοτο ἀδεῶς τὰς Ῥωμαίων καταληϊῆσθαι χώρας, οὐδενὸς
20 τούτοις ἰσχύοντος ἀντιτάττεσθαι, καὶ τινὰ τούτων ἀποδασμῶν
εἰς τριάκοντα ἀνδρας περιστάμενον ἄχρι Χρυσοπόλεως κατ-
ελθεῖν (παραθαλάσσιον χωρίον ἀντικρὺ Βυζαντίου πρὸς ἥλιον
ἀνίσχοντα ἰδρυμένοι), καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτόσε οἰκήτορας ἀπο-
σφάζει, τὰς δὲ πορθμίδας ἐμπρήσαι ναῦς.

45. Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ ἐν μνήμῃ ἔχων περὶ τῆς γενομένης
αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀψίμαρον παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερσῶνι διαβολῆς, ναῦς
πολὴν πλείστας καὶ διαφόρους συναγείρας, ἐμβιβάσας | παρ' V199^r
αὐτοῦ ἄχρι εἰς ἑκατὸν χιλιάδας ἀριθμὸν ἀνδρῶν, [εἰδόμενος] ἔκ L52^r
5 τε τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καταλόγων, | ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῦ γεωργικοῦ
καὶ τῶν βανασικῶν τεχνῶν τῶν τε ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς
καὶ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δήμου, Στέφανον δὲ τινὰ πατρικίων τὸ ἐπί-
κλην Ἄσμηκτον τοῦ τοιούτου στόλου ἡγεμόνα προβαλλόμενος
ἐξέπεμψε, προστάξας πάντας τοὺς ἐν Χερσῶνι καὶ Βοσφόρῳ
10 καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχοντιῶν λαοὺς ξίφεσιν ἀνηλωκέναι,
Ἡλίαν δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρον σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπιόντα ἄρχοντα

6 τειχομαχίαν L || 7 ἀνοίσει L || 9 τῆν μεσογίαν L || 10 ἐκέλευεν L || 11 τούτους ἀόπλους L || 13 συλλαβόντες L || 13-14 θαρραλεώτεροι V θαρραλαιώτεροι L corr. vulg. || 14 προσεδρείας L || 15 ἀπορεία L || τῶν om. L || μάχην V βραχὺ L || 17 παρέδωσαν L || ἤθη L || 20 τούτους L || ἀπόδασμον L ἀποδρασμῶν V || 23 ἀνίσχον τὸ L || 23-24 αὐτόσε . . . πορθμίδας L

45: 1 ἔχων V ὦν i.e. ὦν L fort. recte || γεναμένης L || 2 αὐτῶν L || 3 ἐμβιβάσας L || 3-4 παραντὰ conī. dB fort. recte || 4 χηλιάδας L || εἰδόμενος seclusi ιδιώτας conī. dB || 6 τὸν τε L || 7 Στέφανον τὸν πατρ. L || 7-8 ἐπικλῶν VL corr. vulg. || 8 ἡγεμόνα L || προβαλλόμενος VL corr. B || 10 ἀρχοντι[ῶν] V || 11 δορυφόρον L || post ἄρχοντα ras. unius litt. V

ters and threw down part of the walls by means of their siege engines, but were unable to achieve any further success and were intending to return home. Thereupon Justinian sent emissaries into the interior and, after collecting a numerous body of peasants and farmers, ordered them to proceed to Tyana and relieve the besieged. On seeing them unarmed, the Saracens rushed against them, and some of them they put to the sword, while others they captured. Thus emboldened, they pursued the siege of Tyana. Renouncing to do battle because of the lack of necessities and deprived of the emperor's help, (the inhabitants) surrendered to the enemy under treaty and departed to the country of the Saracens. On this account the enemy gained complete freedom to devastate the Roman lands without fear, since no one was able to oppose them, so that a contingent of them consisting of thirty men advanced as far as Chrysopolis (this is a seaside settlement standing opposite Byzantium in the direction of the rising sun), massacred the local inhabitants, and set fire to the ferry boats.

45. Still remembering the denunciation made against him by the people of Cherson to Apsimaros, Justinian collected a large fleet of different ships and embarked in them as many as a hundred thousand men recruited from the army registers as well as among farmers and artisans and from the senate and the population of the City. He appointed a certain patrician Stephen surnamed Asmiktos to command this fleet and sent him out with orders to put to the sword all the people of Cherson and Bosporos and the other principalities; to install as governor of Cherson his bodyguard Helias, who embarked along with

Χερσιώνος ἐγκαταστήσαι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βαρδάνην Ἀρμένιον
 τῷ γένει ἐξώριστον ἐκείνῃ καταλιπεῖν. Στέφανος δὲ διὰ τῆς
 Πορτικῆς θαλάσσης πρὸς τὰ ἐκείνῃ περαιωθεῖς τὰ πρω-
 15 τεταγμένα ἐπλήρου, μειρακία τινὰ ὀλίγα τῷ στυνόντι αὐτῷ
 λαῶ ὡς δῆθεν ἀίχμάλωτα περιποίησας. Τουδούνον δὲ τὸν
 Χερσιώνος ἄρχοντα καὶ Ζωῖλον πρωτοπολίτην λεγόμενον καὶ
 ἑτέρους ἄνδρας τεσσαρῆκοντα τῶν ἐμφανεστέρων δευμῶτες
 σὺν γυναίξί καὶ παισὶ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐπεμψεν, ἄλλους τε
 20 τῶν πρωτευόντων Χερσιώνος ἄνδρας ἑπτὰ ξυλίνοις ὀβελοῖς
 πρωταρτήτας ἐπὶ πυρὸς διώπησεν, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων προ-
 σταταεύοντας πολυμύτων ἄνδρας ἄχρι καὶ εἰς εἰκοσι ἀκατίῳ
 ἐμβαλὼν καὶ προσθήσας λίθους τε τούτῳ πλείστους * τῷ
 βυθῷ παραδέδωκεν. Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ φιλιανθροῦ|πότερον τὸν
 25 Στέφανον διατεθέντα παρὰ τὰ διατεταγμένα αὐτῷ νομίμως
 διὰ τὴν τῶν μειρακίων περιποίησιν, σπουδαιότερον ἐπαν-
 ἤκειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν. αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὰ πρωταχθέντα
 ἐκεῖθεν ἀπέρας μῆρος Ὀκτωβρίου ἐπισταχθέντων χειμῶνι με-
 γάλῳ καὶ ναυαγίῳ περιπίπτει, εἰς τρεῖς καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα χι-
 30 λιᾶδας τῶν καταπορτισθέντων ἀριθμηθέντων, ὧν τὰ πτώματα
 ἐξ Ἀμαστρίδος πόλεως μέχρις Ἡρακλείας ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης
 ἀπερρίπτετο, ἐφ' οἷς οὐ λυπηθεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν περὶ χαρῆς
 γερόμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς πάλιν βουλευέται ἕτερον ἐκείνῃ ἐκ-
 πέμπειν στόλον, οἱ δὲ τῶν χωρῶν τούτων ἄρχοντες τῆς φήμης
 35 αἰσθόμενοι ἐκντοὺς ὄση δύναμις ἠσφαλιζόντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς
 Χαζάρους διαπρεσβεύονται ὥστε ἐπὶ φυλακὴν τούτων λαῶν
 ἀποστέλλειν καὶ περιτόξειν τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς περιλειφθέντας.
 ταῦτα Ἰουστινιανὸς μεμαθηκῶς Γεώργιον τὸν πατρικίον ἀπο-
 στέλλει καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν τῆς πόλεως ὑπαρχον σὺν ἑτέροις
 40 ἄρχουσι καὶ στρατῷ ἄχρι τριακοσίων ἀνδρῶν, παραδοὺς αὐ-
 τοῖς Τουδούνον καὶ Ζωῖλον, ὥστε ἀποκαταστήσῃ αὐτοὺς
 ταῖς οἰκείαις ἀρχαῖς, Ἠλίαν δὲ ἀγαγεῖν ὡς αὐτὸν, τούτων ἐν
 Χερσιῶνι παραγενομένων οἱ τῆς πόλεως μόνους Γεώργιον καὶ
 45 τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἄρχοντας ἀξιούσιν ἐντὸς γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως·

12 ἐγκαταστήσαι V² ex ἐγκαταστήσει || Βαρδάνην V || 13 ἐξώριστον . . . καταλιπεῖν L || 16 τὸν
 δοῦνον V || 19-20 ἀπέπεμψε . . . πρωτευόντων L || 23 τοῦτο L || post πλείστους vetbum "iniciens"
 sonans excidisse vid. λίθους τοῦτο γεμάστας Theoph. 378.10 = 26 σπουδαιότερον L || 26-27
 ἐπανῆκειν vulg. ἐπανῆσεν V ἐπισταχ L || 29 ναυαγίῳ L || 29-30 χιλιᾶδας L || 31 Ἀμαστρίδος
 L || 32 ἀπερρήπτετο L || 35 ἠσφαλιζόντο ex ἠσφαλιζόντο L || 36 Χαζάρους sine acc V || διαπρεσ-
 βεύεται . . . φυλακῇ L || 37 αὐταῖς scripsi αὐτοῖς VL || 37-40 περιλειφθέντας . . . ἄχρι om. L || 41
 τὸν δοῦνον V || 43 παραγενομένων L || σμόνης V, η delete et om sec. m. superscr

him, and to leave there in banishment the Armenian Bardanes. After crossing to those parts by way of the Pontic sea, Stephen set about carrying out his orders, but spared a small group of children, allegedly as being captives. He made prisoner Toudounos, governor of Cherson, Zoilos, who was styled first citizen, and another forty distinguished men, whom he sent to Justinian with their wives and children; and another seven prominent men of Cherson he affixed to wooden spits and roasted in the fire. He also placed in a boat and tied up as many as twenty men who administered the other towns and, after (filling the boat with) a mass of stones, sank it in the sea. Now Justinian deemed, because of the consideration shown to the children, that Stephen had behaved more mercifully than he had been ordered and directed him to return with all speed. Embarking from there in accordance with the command in the month of October, Stephen was overtaken by a violent storm (and suffered) shipwreck, so that as many as seventy-three thousand were drowned and their bodies were cast up by the sea from the town of Amastris to Herakleia. Far from being distressed by these events, Justinian was overjoyed and decided to send another fleet there. On hearing this rumor, the dignitaries of those parts made themselves secure to the best of their ability and sent ambassadors to the Chazars (asking them) to send an army for their protection to save those among them who had survived. When he had been informed of this, Justinian dispatched the patrician George and John the prefect of the City together with other dignitaries and three hundred soldiers, to whom he handed Toudounos and Zoilos so as to restore them to their former commands and bring Helias back to him. When these men had arrived at Cherson, the citizens allowed only George and the dignitaries accompanying him to enter the city; and when

- 45 οὗ γεγονότος τὰς μὲν πύλας | ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔκλεισαν, Γε|ώργιον L53'
 δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην ξίφει ἀναιροῦσι. τοὺς δὲ ἔξω τοῦ τείχους V199'
 ἀπολειφθέντας στρατιώτας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰουδοῦνον καὶ Ζωῖλον
 τοῖς ἐκείσε προσεδρεύουσι Χαζάροις παραδόντες τῷ χαγάνῳ
 παρέπεμψαν, οὓς παραλαβόντες οἱ Χάζαροι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν
 50 ἔκτεινον. οἱ δὲ τῆς πόλεως Χερσῶνος Ἰουστινιανὸν μὲν αἰ-
 σχρῶς δυσφημήσαντες καθύβριζον, Βαρδάνην δὲ τὸν ἐκείσε
 ὄντα ἐξόριστον ὡς βασιλέα εὐφήμουν. τούτων αἰσθόμενος
 Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ μείζονι θυμῷ ἐξαπτόμενος τὰ μὲν Ἡλία
 τέκνα τῷ μητρώῳ κόλπῳ φερόμενα ἀνήλισκεν, τὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ
 55 γυναικὰ τῷ ἰδίῳ μαγείρῳ ζευχθῆναι ἠνάγκασεν, Ἰνδῷ τῷ
 γένει καὶ ὄλῳ δυσειδεῖ τυγχάνοντι. ἕτερον δὲ πάλιν μέγαν
 στόλον ἀποστέλλει, ἡγεῖσθαι τούτου προχειρισάμενος Μαῦ-
 ρον τὸν πατρίκιον, προστάξας τὴν μὲν πόλιν Χερσῶνος κατα-
 στρέψασθαι καὶ ἀπαντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀφειδῶς κατακτεῖ-
 60 ναι. ὁ δὲ πρὸς Χερσῶνα περαιωθεὶς τοῦ ἔργου εἶχετο. λαοῦ
 δὲ Χαζάρων ἐξαπιναιῶς ἐπιπεσόντος ἢ μὲν πόλις περιεσώ-
 ζετο, Βαρδάνης δὲ ὡς τὸν κύριον τῶν Χαζάρων φυγὰς ᾤχετο.
 Μαῦρος δὲ ὁ πατρίκιος πρὸς μὲν τὴν πολιορκίαν | ἀμηχανή- L53'
 σας, παλινοστεῖν δὲ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανὸν δεδιώς, συμφρονεῖ
 65 τῇ πόλει Χερσωνιτῶν. καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸν μὲν ἀπηναίοντο,
 Βαρδάνην δὲ ὡς βασιλέα εὐφήμουν, Φιλιππικὸν αὐτὸν μετ-
 ονομάσαντες. καὶ πρὸς τὸν Χάζαρον διαπρεσβεύονται τούτων
 ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀπεσταλκέναι. ὁ δὲ ὄρκους ἐμπεδοῖ τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν
 πλῆθος περὶ τῆς Βαρδάνου σωτηρίας χρήματα αὐτοὺς πρα-
 70 ξάμενος, κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον νόμισμα εἰληφώς. Ἰουστινια- dB47
 νὸς δὲ χρόνου παρερχομένου ὑπόπτειν ὡς καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν
 ἠθετημένος εἶη. διὰ τοῦτο αἰρεῖται Τέρβελιν τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν
 Βουλγάρων καὶ τηνικαῦτα συμμαχεῖν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ πέμπει πρὸς
 αὐτὸν ἄνδρας ὡς τρισχιλίους, οὓς δεξάμενος συμπεραιοῦται
 75 αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἅμα τῷ τοῦ Ὀψικίου λεγομένῳ στρατῷ εἰς τὸ
 καλούμενον πεδῖον τοῦ Δαματρῦ ἰδρύσασθαι παρεκέλευεν.
 αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας ἑαυτοῦ καὶ στρατὸν ὀπίτην ἕτερον
 παραλαβὼν πρὸς τοῖς Ποντικοῖς ἐξέδραμε χωρίους, ἄχρι

47 τὸν δαῦνον V || 50 Ἰουστινιανῶ L || 52 ἐξόριστον L || 53 μείζονι L || 53–54 Ἡλία etc.] ἐν ἡλικία
 τέκνα τῶν μητρῶων κόλπῳ L || 54 ἀνήλισκει V || 56 ὄλῳ L || 56–57 ἔτ. δὲ μέγα στόλον πάλιν L
 || 61 ἐξαπιναιῶς VL || ἐπιπεσόντος vulg., ἐπιπεσόντων V ἐπεισπεσόντων L || 64 δεδειώς L || 65
 ἀπένοντο gloss. Barocc. f. 293^v || 66 ἀνευφήμουν L || 67 διεπρεσβεύετο L || 68 ὡς αὐτοὺς V πρὸς
 αὐτὸν V² || ἀποσταλκέναι L || 69 αὐτοῖς VL corr. vulg. || 70 ἑκατὸν νομίσματα V || 71 ὑπόπτειν L
 || 76 Δαματρῦ L || 77 αὐτὸς vulg. αὐτοῦς VL

this had happened, they shut the gates on them and put George and John to the sword. As for the soldiers who had remained outside the walls, along with Toudounos and Zoilos, they delivered them to the Chazars who were encamped there and sent them off to the Chagan. Taking them along, the Chazars killed them on the way. Now the inhabitants of Cherson cursed Justinian with foul insults and proclaimed as emperor Bardanes who was in banishment there. When he had been informed of this, Justinian was all the more inflamed with anger: he killed the children of Helias while their mother was holding them in her lap and forced his wife to marry his own cook, who was an Indian and extremely ugly. Once again he sent out another great fleet under the command of the patrician Mauros, whom he ordered to destroy the city of Cherson and to massacre without pity all its inhabitants. Crossing to Cherson, he took his task in hand, but the city was saved by the sudden sortie of a Chazar army, and Bardanes escaped to the lord of the Chazars. Having failed in the siege and being afraid of returning to Justinian, Mauros made an accord with the city of Cherson. They abjured Justinian and acclaimed Bardanes emperor, whom they renamed Philippikos. They then sent an embassy to the Chazar (lord) asking (Philippikos) to be dispatched to them. (The Chagan) imposed an oath on the Roman army concerning the safety of Bardanes and exacted one *nomisma* from each man. As time went by, Justinian began to suspect that he had been rejected by them, too. For this reason he asked once again help from Terbelis, chief of the Bulgarians, who sent him three thousand men. After receiving them and crossing (the Bosporos) with them, he ordered them to encamp in the plain of Damatrys (as it is called)³⁵ together with the army of Opsikion. He himself, taking along his dignitaries and another armed contingent, proceeded to the Pontic region as far as a seaside village called Gingilissos with

³⁵Probably modern Samandra: Janin, *Grands centres*, 50–51 and map on p. 62.

- παραθαλασσίῳ κώμῃσι Γιγγιλίσσου ὀνομαζομένης, ὥστε
 80 ἀναμανθάνειν οἷα τὰ ἐν Χερσῶνι αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα. ἐπὶ
 χρόνον δέ τινα ἐκεῖσε διατρίψας καὶ θεασάμενος τὸν τοιοῦτον
 ἰστόλον σὺν τῷ | Φιλιππικῷ βασιλευόντι πρὸς Βυζάντιον καταί- L54^r
 ροντα, πρὸς τὸν καταλειφθέντα αὐτῷ λαὸν κατὰ τὸν Δαματρὺν
 παλινοστεῖ. Φιλιππικός δὲ πολέμου ἐκτὸς εἰς τὴν πόλιν
 85 εἰσῆγει, καὶ αὐτίκα Ἡλίαν σὺν ὀπλίτῃ λαῷ κατὰ Ἰουστινιανοῦ
 ἀποστέλλει. καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ μὲν συνόντι Ἰουστινιανῷ πλήθει
 ὄρκους τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐβεβαίωσε καὶ τὸν τῶν Βουλγάρων V200^r
 λαὸν σώους ἐπανήκειν ὑπέσχετο, αὐτοῦ δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τὴν
 κεφαλὴν ἐκτέμνει, ἤδη ἔτος ἕκτον ἀνύσαντος ἐν τῇ δευτέρῃ
 90 αὐτοῦ βασιλείᾳ, καὶ πρὸς Φιλιππικὸν ἐκπέμπει. ὁ δὲ ταύ-
 τῃν δεξάμενος πρὸς τοῖς ἐσπερίοις τόποις ἄχρι Ἰώμης ἀπ-
 ἔστειλε. Μαῦρον δὲ τὸν πατρίκιον καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν βασι-
 λικὸν δορυφόρον, ἐπὶ κλην Στροῦθον, κατὰ Τιβερίου τοῦ υἱοῦ
 Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἐξέπεμψεν, ὃν καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν τῷ θυσια-
 95 στηρίῳ καταφυγόντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς πανάγου θεομήτορος τοῦ
 ἐν Βλαχέρναις ὄντος, ἐν ᾧ εἰσπηδήσας Ἰωάννης ἀφέλκεται
 τῆς ἱεράς ἐξημμένον τραπέζης, μήτε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου
 εὐλαβηθεῖς μήτε τοῖς πολλοῖς δάκρυσιν Ἀναστασίας τῆς
 αὐτοῦ μάμμης εἴξας· παρῆν γὰρ καὶ αὐτῇ τῷ ἐγγόνῳ συγ- dB48
 κινδυνεύουσα. καὶ τοῦτον εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὑπερκειμένου τείχους
 100 πυλίδα | τὴν καλουμένην τῶν Καλλινίκων ζῶου ἀλόγου δίκην
 μαχαίρα ἀποσφάττουσιν, ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν θεῶν Ἀναργύρων
 τῶν καλουμένων τῶν Παυλίνης ταφῆναι προστάξαντες. μεθ'
 ὃν συλλαμβάνονται καὶ Βαρασβακούριον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς
 105 Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἄρχοντας, καὶ πάντας ξίφει ἀναιροῦσι.

46. Φιλιππικός δὲ ἀσέμνως καὶ ῥαθύμως τὰ βασίλεια
 διέπων ἐφαίνετο, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ οἰκουμηνικῇ συνόδῳ πα-
 τέρας ἀναθέματι καθυπέβαλε, τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐνθέως δογμα-
 τισθέντα δύο τοῦ σωτήρος θελήματα καὶ ἐνεργείας μὴ ἀπο-
 5 δεχόμενος, συλλήπτορας εὐρηκῶς Ἰωάννην τὸν τηνικαῦτα
 τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερέα καὶ Γερμανὸν τὸν Κυζίκου μητροπολί-
 τῃν καὶ ἐτέρους ἱερεῖς καὶ συγκλητικούς πλείστους.

79 παραθαλάσσιον L || Γιγγιλίσσου sine acc. V || 83 καταληφθέντα L || 84 Φιλιππικός ex Φιλιπ-
 πικοῦ V² || 85 εἰσεῖη L || 89 ἀνοίσαντος L || 91-92 ἀπέστειλεν L || 93 ἐπὶ κλην VL corr. vulg.
 Στροῦθον ex Στροῦθρο V¹ || 99 ἤξας L || ἐκγόνῳ L || 101 πυλίδα om. V

46: Cf. Sudam s.v. Φιλιππικός || 2 δέ] τε Suda || 5 εὐρηκῶς L Suda εὐρίσκων V || 7 καὶ
 ἐτέρους ἱερεῖς om. L

a view to finding out how things were going for him at Cherson. After spending some time there, he saw the fleet sailing down to Byzantium with Emperor Philippikos, and so returned to the army he had left at Damatrys. Now Philippikos entered the City without a struggle and immediately sent Helias with a band of soldiers against Justinian. This man gave a sworn pledge of safety to the army that accompanied Justinian and promised a safe return to the Bulgarian host. He then cut off Justinian's head (the latter having completed six years in his second reign) and sent it to Philippikos, who received it and dispatched it to the West as far as Rome. He sent out the patrician Mauros and the imperial bodyguard³⁶ John, surnamed Strouthos, against Justinian's son Tiberios, whom they apprehended in the church of the most-pure Mother of God at Blachernai, where he had taken refuge in the sanctuary. John rushed inside and dragged him away as he was clutching the holy table, without respect either for the sanctuary or the tears of his grandmother Anastasia, who was present to share her grandchild's danger. They killed him with a knife, like a senseless animal, at the so-called postern of the Kallinikoi of the wall that rises above, and ordered him to be buried in the church of the holy Anargyroi in the quarter named after Paulina. Next day they arrested Barasbakourios and Justinian's remaining dignitaries and put them all to the sword.

46. As for Philippikos, he appeared to administer the empire in an indecorous and negligent manner. (In particular) he subjected to anathema the Fathers of the Sixth Ecumenical Synod because he did not accept the two wills and energies of Our Savior that had been piously defined by them. In this he was supported by John, who was at the time archpriest of the City, Germanos, metropolitan of Kyzikos, as well as other priests and many senators.

³⁶I.e., *spatharios* as in Theoph., 377.22.

47. Ἐν τούτοις τῶν Βουλγάρων ὀπλίτης ὄμιλος ἀθρόως (κατὰ) τοὺς ἐν τῷ Θρακικῷ Βοσπόρῳ οἰκοῦντας ἐπεισπίπτει καὶ λαὸν πλείστον τῶν ἐγχωρίων καὶ τῶν ἐκ Βυζαντίου διαπερώντων τέρψεως καὶ ἡδυπαθείας ἔνεκεν ἀναιροῦσιν, ἄλλους τε ἡχμαλώτευσαν καὶ ἄργυρον ὡς πλείστον καὶ σκευή οὐκ ὀλίγα παρ' αὐτῶν προσκτησάμενοι· ἀδείας δὲ αὐτοῖς προσγενομένης καὶ πρὸς τῷ χερσαίῳ τείχει τῆς πόλεως σκεδάννυνται, ἄχρι καὶ τῆς Χρυσῆς καλουμένης πύλης προεκδραμόντες. ἐκεῖθεν ὑπουοστήσαντες πολλὰ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία καταλιζονται. | μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἔθνος τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατέθειον χώραν, καὶ τὰ πλείστα μέρη διεκτρέχοντες πλείστην ὄσσην βλάβην ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ κτηνῶν ἐποιοῦντο, τὴν τε Μισθίαν καὶ ἕτερα πολίσματα συμπαραλαμβάνουσι.

L55'

dB49

48. Φιλιππικὸς δὲ γενέθλιον τῆς πόλεως ἡμέραν ἐπιτελέσας καὶ ἀμιλλητήριον τῶν ἵππων ἀγῶνα ἐπιδειξάμενος, εἶτα τοῖς φίλοις συμποσιάσας εἰς ὕπνου κατὰ τὸν μεσημβρινὸν τῆς ἡμέρας καιρὸν ἐτράπετο. συμβαίνει δὲ γε αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐντεῦθεν. Γεώργιός τις ὄνομα, τὸ ἐπὶ κλην Βούραφος, πατρικίος τυγχάνων καὶ τοῦ Ὀψικίου | στρατοῦ ἡγούμενος, πρὸς τῇ Θράκῃ τῆνικαῦτα ἐπιδημῶν φυλακῆς ἔνεκα τῆς χώρας διὰ τὴν τῶν Βουλγάρων καταδρομὴν, γνώμη Θεοδώρου τοῦ πατρικίου τὸ ἐπὶ κλην Μυακίου πέμπει τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινά, Ῥοῦφον ὄνομα, σὺν ὀλίγοις στρατιώταις πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον τὰ πρὸς τὴν Φιλιππικὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπιτελέσοντας· ὃς ἀθρόως κατὰ τὰ βασιλεια ἐπεισπίπτει, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα καθεῦδοντα καταλαβὼν ἐξανίστησί τε τοῦ ὕπνου καὶ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ ἵπποδρομίου ἐξάγει χώρον κάκεισε αὐτοῦ τὰς ὄψεις ἀπετύφλωσε, δευτέρου ἔτος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διάγοντα. τῇ ἐπαύριον (ἡμέρα ἦν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἑορτάσιμος) ἀθροισθεὶς ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἅπας δῆμος πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου τέμενος

V200'

47: 1 ἀθρόως L || 2 κατὰ add. esse conii. dB || ἐπεισπίπτει οἰκοῦντας L || 3–4 διαπερόντων L || 4 ἀπαίρουσιν L || 5 αἰχμαλώτευσαν . . . σκευῆ L || 6 προσκτισάμενοι L || αὐτοῖς vulg. αὐτῶν VL || 7 προσγενομένης L || 8 πύλης καλουμένης L || 10 χωρεία L || 11 καὶ τὰ V κατὰ L || μέρει L || 13 Μισθίαν ex Μίσθιαν L Μήδειαν V || 13–14 παραλαμβάνουσιν L

48: 2 ὀμιλλητήριον L || 3 συμποσιάσας L || 5 ἐπὶ κλην VL corr. vulg. || 5–6 Βούραφος L || 7 τὴν Θράκην L || 9 τοῦ om. L || ἐπὶ κλην VL corr. vulg. || Μυακίου ut vid. L || 12 ἀθρόως L || 14 ἵπποδρόμου L || 15 post διάγοντα des. L

47. At this juncture an armed Bulgarian band suddenly fell upon the inhabitants of the Thracian Bosphoros. They killed a great many people both among the local population and among those who had crossed over from Byzantium for the sake of pleasure and recreation; others they took captive and robbed of much silver and a considerable number of utensils. Taking advantage of this opportunity, they fanned out toward the land walls of the City and advanced as far as the so-called Golden Gate. On their return from there they devastated many villages in Thrace. After this, the Saracen nation, too, raided the Roman country and, as they overran many regions, inflicted much damage on men and animals and took Misthia³⁷ as well as other townships.

48. Now Philippikos, after celebrating the birthday of the City³⁸ and putting on an equestrian contest, banqueted with his friends and lay to sleep at midday. At this juncture a plot was hatched against him. A certain George surnamed Bouraphos, who was a patrician and commander of the Opsikian army and happened at the time to be stationed in Thrace in order to guard the country because of the Bulgarian raid, sent at the instigation of the patrician Theodore surnamed Myakios one of his subordinates called Roupfos to Byzantium together with a few soldiers so as to carry out the plot against Philippikos. This man broke suddenly into the palace and, finding the emperor asleep, woke him up and brought him into the area of the Hippodrome, where he blinded him, (this being) in the second year of his reign. The next day, which was the feast of Pentecost, all the people of the City gathered in the church of

³⁷Modern Beysehir in Lycaonia: K. Belke and M. Restle, *Galatien und Lykaonien*, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 4 (Vienna, 1984), 205–6.

³⁸The anniversary of the dedication of Constantinople on 11 May.

ἀναγορεύουσιν εἰς βασιλέα Ἀρτέμιον Φιλιππικοῦ γραμματέα τυγχάνοντα, οὓς τῇ Ἰταλῶν φωνῇ καλοῦσιν ἀσηκρήτις, 20 ἐπονομάσαντες αὐτὸν Ἀναστάσιον. ὀλίγων δὲ ἡμερῶν διελθουσῶν τυφλοῦσι Θεόδωρον τὸν πατρίκιον, ὡσαύτως καὶ Γεώργιον, καὶ τοῦτον ἐξόριστον ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ πέμπουσιν.

49. Ἀναστάσιος δὲ δι' ἐπιμελείας τὰ πολεμικὰ πράγματα εἶχε καὶ ἄρχοντας ἱκανοὺς πρὸς τὰς τούτων διοικήσεις καθίστη. αἰσθόμενος δὲ (ὅτι) ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν βασιλεὺς βουλάς ἐκίνει ὡς κατὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων χώρας στρατευσόμενος, 5 ἀποστέλλει [δὲ] πρὸς αὐτὸν Δανιὴλ τὸν πατρίκιον (ἐκ) τῆς Σινωπιτῶν ὀρμώμενον πόλεως, ὑπαρχον τηνικαῦτα τῆς βασιλίδος ὑπάρχοντα, ὡς δὴθεν τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπικηρυκευσόμενον, τῷ ὄντι δὲ διοπτευσόμενον οἷα αὐτοῖς τὰ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξηρτύετο ὃς ἐπανήκων ἐπήγγειλε μεγίστην ἔσσεσθαι τοῦ 10 ἔθνουσ διὰ τε ἵππικῶν καὶ πλοῦμων στρατευμάτων τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς πολιτείας καταδρομῆν. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐκάστω τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει * ὡς εἴ τις τῶν ἀναγκαίων εὐπορήσοι ἐπὶ τριετῆ χρόνον διαρκούντων αὐτῷ, μένειν, ὁ δὲ τούτων ὑστερῶν οὐ ἂν βούλοιο ἀποτρέχειν. τὰ δὲ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ἐπιμελέστερον 15 καινίζει καὶ τὰ πολεμητήρια ὄργανα διασκευάζει, πλείστα δαπανήματα τῇ πόλει ἀποθέμενος καὶ ἑτέροις οἷς ἀνήκε πρὸς πολεμίων ἔφοδον ταύτην κατοχυρώσας.

50. Φήμης δὲ γενομένης ὡς ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν στόλος ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸν Φοίνικα παρεγένετο ναυπηγησίμης ξυλῆς κυπαρισσίνης ἕνεκεν, ἐκλέγεται σκάφη ταχυπλόιμα, στρατόν τε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγκαταλέγει ἐκ τῶν τῆς χώρας 5 τοῦ καλουμένου Ὀψικίου καὶ πρὸς τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Ῥόδῳ ἀποστέλλει. κάκεισε ἀθροισθῆναι καὶ ἄλλα Ῥωμαϊκὰ πλοῖμα συνέταξε. τούτοις ἡγεμόνα ἐφίστησιν Ἰωάννην διάκονον τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν δημοσίων φόρων λογιστήν, ὃν λογοθέτην γενικὸν οἶδε καλεῖν | ἢ συνήθεια, ὑπάρχοντα ἔμφρονά 10 τε καὶ ἔμπειρον καθιστάμενον, ὅστις τὸν ἅπαντα παρέλαβε στόλον. ὃς πρὸς τῇ Ῥόδῳ γενόμενος καὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα V201'

49: 3 καθίστει V corr. dB || ὅτι addidi v. comment. || 5 δὲ seclusi || ἐκ add. dB || 7-8 ἐπικηρυκευσόμενον . . . διοπτευσόμενον V corr. vulg. || 12 lacunam verbo διέταττεν suppl. P, verbo ἐπιτρέπει B: v. comment. || 15 καινίζοι V corr. vulg. || πλείστα δὲ V δὲ del. vulg.

50: Cf. Sudam s.v. Ἀρτέμιος || 2 τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου coni. dB || 2-3 ναυπηγησίμοις ξύλοις κυπαρισσίνοις V corr. B || 9 ὑπάρχοντα fort. delendum

the Divine Logos and proclaimed emperor Artemios, who was a secretary of Philippikos (such men are called *a secretis* in the Italian tongue) and renamed him Anastasios. A few days later they blinded the patrician Theodore as well as George; the latter they exiled to Thessalonica.

50 49. Anastasios bestowed care on military affairs and appointed capable commanders to take charge of them. Having been informed that the king of the Saracens was intending to invade the Roman country, he sent to him the patrician Daniel, a native of the town of Sinope, who was at the time prefect of the Imperial City, on the pretext of negotiating peace, but in reality to observe their preparations against the Romans. When this man had returned, he announced that the foreigners were about to launch a major attack on the Roman State with both horse and sea-borne armies. On hearing this, (the emperor commanded that) each inhabitant of the City could remain if he had provisions for a period of three years, but anyone who was not so provided should depart wherever he wished. He restored carefully the walls of the City and refurbished the military engines. He also stored a great quantity of provisions in the City and fortified it by such other means as befitted a hostile attack.

50 50. When a rumor had spread that the Saracen fleet had come from Alexandria to Phoenix³⁹ for the sake of cypress wood (suitable) for shipbuilding, he selected some fast vessels on which he embarked an army from the region called Opsikion and sent them to the island of Rhodes. He also arranged for other Roman ships to gather there. The command over them was given to John, a deacon of the Great Church and inspector of public taxes (commonly called general logothete), a prudent and experienced man who took charge of the whole fleet. When he had reached Rhodes and announced the orders that

³⁹Presumably the Phoenix in the Rhodian Peraea, on which see *RE*, Phoenix 14 (W. Ruge) rather than the Phoenix in Lycia (modern Finike).

ἀπαγγέλλων καταπειθεῖς εὔρισκε καὶ προθύμους πρὸς τὸν
 διάπλουν ὑπάρχοντας τοὺς συνειλεγμένους ἅπαντας. μόνου
 δὲ οἱ παραγενόμενοι τοῦ Ὀψικίου στρατοῦ τὴν τοιαύτην ὁδο-
 15 πορίαν δεδοίκεσαν. στασιάζουσιν οὖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν μὲν dB51
 βασιλέα Ἀναστάσιον ἐδυσφήμον, Ἰωάννην δὲ τὸν διάκονον
 ῥομφαίᾳ ἀναλίσκουσιν. ἐντεῦθεν λοιπὸν οἱ στόλοι σκεδάν-
 νυνται, καὶ πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία ἀπέπλευσαν ἕκαστοι. αὐτοὶ δὲ
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀνιόντες καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἀδραμύντιον γενόμε-
 20 νοι ἐκεῖσε εὐρίσκουσι Θεοδοσίον τινα ὄνομα, τῶν δημοσίων
 φόρων πράκτορα, ἀπράγμονά τινα καὶ ἰδιώτην τυγχάνοντα,
 καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἀξίαν προτρέπουσιν. ὁ δὲ φυγὰς
 ᾤχετο καὶ εἰς ὄρος κατεκρύπτετο. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπιδραμόντες
 καὶ βιασάμενοι βασιλέα τε ἀναγορεύουσι καὶ μεθ' ἑαυτῶν
 25 ἄγουσι.

51. Ταῦτα Ἀναστάσιος μεμαθηκῶς τὸ μὲν Βυζάντιον
 ἤδη προκατοχυρώσας ἐν τῇ πόλει Νικαίας τῆς κατὰ Βιθυνίαν
 ἐξέρχεται, κἀκεῖσε ἑαυτὸν κατασφαλίζεται. ὁ δὲ μετὰ Θεο-
 5 δοσίου στρατὸς συλλαβὼν ἅπαντα τὸν τοῦ Ὀψικίου στρατὸν
 καὶ πλεῖστα σκάφη ἐμπορικά, [καὶ] κατὰ τὸ ἤδη καὶ πρόσθεν
 εἰρημένον παραθαλάσσιον χωρίον Χρυσοπόλεως παραγι-
 νεται. ἐκεῖθεν τε ἐφ' ἑκάστου τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πόλεμον
 προσέβαλεν, ἐπὶ μῆσί τε ἐξ τὰ τῆς μάχης διήρκεσε. καὶ ὁ
 τοῦ Ἀναστασίου στόλος πρὸς τῷ Νεωρίῳ τῆς πόλεως καλου-
 10 μένῳ λιμένι κατήρε, ὁ δὲ τοῦ Θεοδοσίου στόλος ἀδείας ἐπιλα-
 βόμενος διαπορθμεύεται πρὸς τὰ Θρακῶα καὶ τούτων ἐκράτη-
 σεν. ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ δὲ τινος ὑποφθείραντες διὰ τῆς πύλης τῆς
 καλουμένης Βλαχερνῶν τὴν πόλιν εἶλον, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενο-
 μένης εἰς τοὺς οἴκους τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσδραμόντες μεγίστην
 15 αὐτοῖς βλάβην εἰργάζοντο. τοὺς δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ἄρχοντας ἅμα
 Γερμανῶ τῷ τηλικαῦτα ἱεράρχῃ τῆς πόλεως ἀποστέλλει ὡς τὰ
 πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ πιστωσόμενος Ἀναστασίῳ. ὁ δὲ τούτους
 ἰδὼν λόγον ἤτησεν ὡς μὴ τι κακὸν πάθη, καὶ τὸ μοναχικὸν
 περιβαλλόμενος σχῆμα πρὸς Θεοδοσίον ᾤχετο· ὁ δὲ ἕτερον
 20 μῆδὲν βλάβης κατὰ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην ἐξόριστον ἐπεμψεν. dB52

12 καταπειθ[εῖς] V || προθύμους V² προθύμως V || 19 ἀδραμύντ[ειον] V || 20 ὄνοματι ex ὄνομα V²

51: 5 καὶ secl. dB || 6 παραθαλασσίῳ χωρίῳ Χρυσοπό[λεως] V dubit. corr. dB || 10 κατήρει V corr. P || 18 ἰδὼν scripti ἤδη V: cf. Theoph. 386.11 θεασάμενος || 18–19 πάθη . . . περιβαλλόμενος V corr. vulg.

had been given to him, he found that all present were obedient and ready for the crossing, save only for those who had come from the Opsikian army, who were afraid of such a journey. The latter consequently revolted, cursed the emperor Anastasios, and killed the deacon John with a sword. Thereupon the fleet dispersed, each (contingent) returning home. Now (the Opsikians), when they had come on their homeward journey to Adramytion, found there a certain Theodosios, a collector of public taxes, an ordinary man uninvolved in politics, whom they urged (to assume) the imperial office. He ran away and hid on a mountain; but they pursued him, proclaimed him emperor under pressure, and took him along.

51. When Anastasios had been informed of these things, (he left) Byzantium, which he had previously fortified, and went to the city of Nicaea in Bithynia, where he made himself secure. As for the army accompanying Theodosios, they rounded up all the forces of Opsikion and many trading vessels and came to the aforementioned coastal village of Chrysopolis. From there they launched every day an attack on the inhabitants of the City, and for six months this battle continued. When the fleet of Anastasios moved to the city harbor of Neorion (as it is called), the armada of Theodosios seized this opportunity to cross over to the Thracian side, which it occupied. After treasonably subverting certain persons, they took the City through the gate of Blachernai (as it is called) and, while it was night, broke into the houses of the citizens and inflicted heavy losses on them. (Theodosios) sent forth the dignitaries who were in the City along with Germanos, who was then archpriest of Constantinople, to give evidence of his deeds to Anastasios. On seeing them, the latter requested a promise that he would suffer no harm and, after donning the habit of a monk, presented himself to Theodosios, who exiled him to Thessalonica without any further injury.

52. Ἐπεὶ οὖν πυκναὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπαναστάσεις ἐγένοντο καὶ ἡ τυραννὶς ἐκράτει τὰ τε τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς πόλεως κατημελεῖτο καὶ διέπιπτε πράγματα, ἔτι μὴν καὶ ἡ τῶν λόγων ἠφανίζετο παιδευσίς καὶ τὰ τακτικὰ διελύετο. ἐξ ὧν συνέβαινε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατα-
 5 τρέχειν ἀδεῶς πολιτείας, φόνοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπαγωγαὶ καὶ πόλεων ἀλώσεις. ἐντεῦθεν καὶ οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ὕμῳσι κατ' αὐτῆς τῆς βασιλευούσης, διὰ τῆς ἠπειροῦ στέλλοντες ἐκ διαφόρων ἔθνῶν τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἰππικὰ τε | καὶ πεζικὰ στρα-
 10 τεύματα ἀριθμοῦ κρείττονα. ὡσαύτως καὶ στόλον πολὺν ἀπέστειλαν ἄχρι καὶ εἰς χιλίας ὀκτακοσίας νεῦς, ἡγεμόνα τούτοις τινὰ καταστήσαντες Μασαλμᾶν τῇ σφῶν διαλέκτῳ καλούμενον. ταῦτα μαθόντες οἱ τε στρατιωτικοὶ καὶ πολιτικοὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θεοδοσίου ἀπειρίαν, καὶ ὡς οὐχ ἱκανῶς
 15 ἔχει τὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀντικαθίστασθαι, ἐφίστανται αὐτῷ παραινοῦντες τὴν βασιλείαν παραιτήσασθαι καὶ ἀβλαβῶς ἰδιωτεῦσαι. καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπεχώρει, ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διαρκέσας. εἶτα εἰς ψῆφον ἐληλυθῶν τοῦ βασιλεύσοντος ἠρέθη Λέων ὁ πατρικίος, τηλικαῦτα στρατηγὸς ὧν τοῦ
 20 τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν λεγομένου στρατοῦ. καὶ ὡς ἦν ἔθος βασιλεῦσι, διὰ προπομπίου δοχῆς διὰ τῆς Χρυσῆς καλουμένης πύλης εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον εἰσελαύνει, καὶ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ γενόμενος ἐκείσε τὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἀνεδήσατο στέφανον.

V201^v

53. Ὁ δὲ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν λαὸς πλεῖστα τῶν Ῥωμαίων καθελῶν πολίσματα καταλαμβάνει τὴν Πέργαμον καλουμένην πόλιν, καὶ ἤδη τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν πολιορκίας εἶχοντο. καὶ ταύτην αἰροῦσιν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. ἕκ τινος δαιμονικῆς ἐπι-
 5 νοίας οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἔνδον πρωτοτόκον κόρην λαβόντες ἐγκυμονοῦσαν καὶ ἤδη πρὸς τὸ τεκεῖν ἐγγίζουσιν, καὶ ταύτην τε ἀνέτεμον καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ βρέφος ἄραντες ἐπὶ λέβητος ὕδατι ἐψοῦσιν, ἐφ' οὗ οἱ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς παρασκευαζόμενοι τὰς χειρίδας τῶν δεξιῶν χειρῶν κατεβάπτισαν. ἐκεῖ-
 10 θέν τε τὰ ἐξ ὀργῆς τοῦ θεοῦ κατελάμβανεν· αἱ γὰρ χεῖρες

dB53

52: I πυκναὶ κατὰ τῶν B || 5 πολέμους V corr. vulg. || τῆς ex τοῦς V² || 6 πολλοὶ V² πολλοὶ V || 14 Θεοδοσίου θεασάμενοι ἀπειρίαν conl. dB || 19 εἰρέθη V corr. B

53: 4 αἰροῦσιν V corr. vulg. || 5 πρωτότοκον V

52. On account of the frequent assumptions of imperial power and the prevalence of usurpation, the affairs of the empire and of the City were being neglected and declined; furthermore, education was being destroyed and military organization crumbled. As a result, the enemy were able to overrun the Roman State with impunity (and to cause) much slaughter, abduction, and the capture of cities. For this reason also the Saracens advanced on the Imperial City itself, sending forth by land an innumerable host of horse and foot (recruited) from the various peoples subject to them, as well as a great fleet numbering as many as eighteen hundred ships under the command of a certain Masalmas (as he was called in their tongue). When the military and civil dignitaries became aware of these matters, (taking account) of Theodosios' lack of experience and his incapacity of offering resistance to the enemy, they pressed him with exhortations to abdicate the imperial office and assume without harm a private station. He accordingly withdrew after a reign of one year. Thereupon they held a ballot of who was to become emperor and elected the patrician Leo, who was at the time *strategos* of the so-called Anatolic army. According to imperial custom, he was received in procession as he entered Byzantium through the Golden Gate and, having come to the Great Church, was invested with the imperial crown.

53. The Saracen army, after destroying numerous Roman towns, reached the city called Pergamon and set about besieging it. They captured it for the following reason. By some devilish intention the inhabitants of the city took a pregnant girl who was about to give birth to her first child, cut her open and, having removed the infant from inside her, boiled it in a pot of water, in which the men who were preparing to fight the enemy dipped the sleeves of their right arms. For this reason they were overtaken by divine wrath: their hands

αὐτῶν ἐφάρπτεσθαι ὄπλου διείργοντο, καὶ ἀπρακτούντων οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν πόλιν εἶλον ἀμαχητί.

54. Ἐκεῖθεν ἄρα ντες οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ πρὸς τῷ στενῷ τῆς Ἀβύδου καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἀντιπερα-
οῦνται. καὶ πλείστα ταύτης ἐλόντες πολίσματα ἐπὶ τὴν βασι-
λεύουσαν ἀφίκοντο καὶ χάρακα ταύτη περιβάλλουσι καὶ τῆς
5 πολιορκίας εἶχοντο, τρισκαίδεκα μηνιαῖον χρόνον ἐν τῇ προσ-
εδρίᾳ διανύσαντες, ἰδέας μηχανημάτων ὡς πλείστας προσ-
ενεγκόντες. ἐν τούτῳ καταλαμβάνει καὶ ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν
στόλος, οὗ ἡγεῖτο Σολιμᾶν ὀνόματι Ἀράβων φωνῇ καλούμε-
10 πιν ἰοῦσαι ναῦς, οἷά περ νωτοφυλακοῦσαι καὶ φόρτῳ πολλῷ
βεβαρημέναι ἔκ τε στρατιωτῶν πλήθους καὶ ὄπλων, καὶ ἅμα
μικροῦ πνεύματος ἀντιπνεύσαντος καὶ τοῦ ρέιθρου εἰς τοῦ-
πίσω ἄγεσθαι βιαζομένου, σχολαιότερον ὑπέπλεον. ταῦτας ὁ
15 βασιλεὺς θεασάμενος διήρσειν ἐπιβὰς καὶ διέκπλους ποιη-
σάμενος πυρὶ κατέφλεξεν, οὔσας τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἴκοσι. | ὁ δὲ V202^r
λοιπὸς ἅπας στόλος τῷ Θρακικῷ προσπλεύσας Βοσπόρῳ τῷ
λιμένι τῷ καλουμένῳ Σωσθενίῳ προσορμίζεται καὶ αὐτοῦ
διεχειμάζειν. ἐν ᾧ συμβέβηκε χειμῶνα μέγιστον γενέσθαι,
ὥστε μηδαμῶς γῆν ὀφθῆναι ἔκ πληθύος τῆς κατενεχθείσης
20 χιόνος ἄχρι εἰς τὰς ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας· ἐξ οὗ πλήθος οὐκ ὀλίγον
ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ καμήλων καὶ λοιπῶν ζώων ἀπ-
έβαλον. ἕαρος δὲ ἐπιγενομένου ἐπικαταλαμβάνει καὶ ἕτερος
τῶν Σαρακηνῶν στόλος πλείστος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, οὗ ἡγεῖτο
Σοφιάμ ὄνομα ἄρχων, φόρτον ἄγων ἐν ταυτῷ σίτου τε πλεί-
25 στου καὶ ὄπλων. ὀλίγου δὲ διεληθόντος χρόνου καὶ ἕτερος ἐφ-
ίσταται στόλος ἔκ τῶν περὶ Ἀφρικὴν ἀναχθεῖς, ὄπλων τε
πολλῶν καὶ δαπανημάτων καταγέμων, οὗ ὑπῆρχεν ἡγεμῶν
Ἰέξιδος Σαρακηνῶν ὄνομα. οὗτοι, ὡς φασι, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐσκενα-
σμένου παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις πυρὸς ὑφορώμενοι βλάβην, τὸν [οὔν]
30 Βυζάντιον πόρον ἀπογνόντες τοῖς πρὸς Βιθυνίαν μέρεσι προσ-
έσχον, ὁ μὲν πρὸς τὸν καλούμενον λιμένα Καλοῦ ἀγροῦ, ὁ δὲ
πρὸς ταῖς ἀκταῖς τοῦ λεγομένου Σατύρου. οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς
εἰσπλέοντες Αἰγύπτιοι νυκτὸς τοὺς ἐνεστηκότας λέμβους τῶν
νηῶν εἰσβάντες πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἤκον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα

V202^r

dB54

54: 9 (διὰ) τῶν con. dB || 12 ἀντιπνεύσαντος V corr. vulg. || 17 αὐτοῦ vulg. αὐτῷ V (ἐν)
αὐτῷ con. dB || 20 ὀλίγον B ὀλίγων V || 24 ὄνομα V -τι superscr. V² item 54.28 || 28 Σαρακηνῶν
(φωνῇ) con. dB || 29 οὖν punctis supra et infra positis secl. V²

became incapable of taking up weapons and, in the face of their inactivity, the enemy captured the city without resistance.

54. Setting out from there, the Saracens proceeded to the straits of Abydos and crossed over to Thrace. After taking many towns there, they reached the Imperial City. They threw a palisade around it and began the siege, which they pursued for thirteen months (with the help of) many kinds of engines they had brought along. At this point there arrived a Saracen fleet under the command of Soliman (as he was called in the Arab tongue). As they were sailing up the straits next to Byzantium, the ships that were guarding the rear, being heavily laden with a great number of soldiers and arms, met with a light contrary wind and were forced back by the current, thus falling behind. On seeing them, the emperor embarked on biremes and, after breaking the enemy's line, burned twenty of their ships. The remainder of the (Arab) fleet, after sailing up the Thracian Bosphoros, put in at the harbor of Sosthenion⁴⁰ and wintered there. That winter happened to be very severe and so much snow fell that the ground was made invisible for a hundred days. Consequently, (the Arabs) lost no small number of men, horses, camels, and other animals. When spring had come, another great Saracen fleet arrived from Egypt under the command of a general called Sophiam and brought a large cargo of corn and weapons. A short time thereafter yet another fleet came up from Africa, laden with a mass of arms and provisions: its leader was a Saracen named Iezidos. These fleets, it is said, for fear of being injured by the artificial fire of the Romans, avoided the straits of Byzantium and landed on the Bithynian side, the first at the harbor called Kalos Agros,⁴¹ the second at the shore called Satyros.⁴² Now the Egyptian sailors entered at night the skiffs that were on their ships, came to Byzantium, and acclaimed the emperor. Taking courage

⁴⁰Modern Istinye, halfway up the European side of the Bosphoros: Janin, *CP*, 479.

⁴¹Exact situation unknown; presumably near the mouth of the gulf of Nicomedia (north side). Cf. *Synax.CP*, 777.10 and Janin, *Grands centres*, 94 note 1.

⁴²Near modern Bostanci: Janin, *Grands centres*, 42-43.

35 εὐφήμουν. ἐφ' οἷς ἀναθαρσήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς πυρφόρους ναῦς
κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων στόλων ἐξέπεμψε καὶ πάσας αὐτῶν τὰς
ναῦς ἐνέπρησεν. ἐκεῖθεν λαφυραγωγήσαντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπ-
αρχόντων αὐτοῖς ὄπλων καὶ δαπανημάτων καταφορτισθέντες
πρὸς βασιλέα ὑπέστρεφον.

55. Τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Σέργιος ὁ πατρίκιος ὁ τῆς Σικελίας
στρατηγὸς καὶ οἱ τὰ ἐσπέρια οἰκοῦντες, τὰ περι τὸ Βυζάντιον
καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτὸν ἀπογνόντες τῆς γενομένης τῶν πολε-
μίων χάριν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐφόδου, ἴδιον στέφουσι βασιλέα τῶν
5 ὑπηρετῶν τινα Σεργίου, Βασίλειον τοῦνομα, υἱὸν γεγονότα
Γρηγορίου τὸ ἐπίκλην Ὀνομαγούλου, Τιβέριον αὐτὸν ὀνομά-
σαντες. τοῦτο ἀκηκοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς Παῦλον τὸν πατρίκιον
στρατηγὸν Σικελίας προβάλλεται ἅτε πιστὸν καὶ οἰκεῖον
ὑπάρχοντα καὶ τακτικῶν ἔμπειρον, καὶ πρὸς Σικελίαν ἐκ-
10 πέμπει. οὕτως ἐκεῖσε καταλαβόντος Σέργιος φηγὰς ἐκεῖθεν
οἷχεται καὶ πρὸς Λογγουβάρδους γίνεται, Παῦλος δὲ ἐν τῇ
νήσῳ λαὸν περιαθροίσας τὰ βασιλέως ὑπαναγνώσκει γράμ-
ματα, δι' ὧν εἰς πίστωσιν ἐλθόντες τόν τε βασιλέα εὐφήμησαν
καὶ Βασίλειον καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προχειρισθέντας ἄρχον-
15 τας δεσμίους αὐτῷ παραδεδώκασιν. ὁ δὲ τούτους παραλαβὼν
Γεώργιον τινα καὶ ἐτέρους ἀνείλε καὶ τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς
πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἀνέπεμψε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους σὺν πληγαῖς καὶ
αἰκίαις πολλαῖς, ὧν δὲ καὶ τὰς ρίνας ἐκτεμών, ὑπερορίαίς
παρέπεμψε. Σέργιος δὲ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας λόγον αἰτήσας
20 πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον ἐκομίσθη. ἐντεῦθεν τὰ τῆς ἐσπέρας πρά-
γματα ἐν εἰρήνῃ | καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ κατέστη.

dB55

V202^v

56. Μετὰ τοῦτο τίκεται υἱὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὃν ἐπωνόμασε
Κωνσταντῖνον. πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ δὲ τοῦ ἐπεισιόντος μηνὸς Αὐ-
γούστου πάντα τὰ τε ἵππικὰ καὶ πλοῖμα τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐκ-
στρατεύματα τῆς βασιλευούσης ἀπεχώρουν, πλείστας ναῦς
5 ἀποβαλόντες ὑπὸ τε ζάλῃς καὶ ἀνέμων ἀγρίων καταληφθεί-
σας, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν εἰς τὰς νήσους ἄχρι καὶ εἰς τὴν Κύπρον

35 πυρφόρους ex πυρφόρος V²

55: 6 ἐπίκλην V corr. vulg. || 10 Σεργίου V corr. vulg. || 13 εὐφήμησας V corr. vulg. εὐφήμη-
σαντες, Βασίλειον con. dB ||

56: 5 ἀποβαλόντες ex καταβαλόντες V² || 5-6 καταληφθείσας V corr. vulg.

at this, the emperor sent out fire-bearing ships against those fleets and burned all of their vessels. They made much booty and, after loading the weapons and provisions that were in them, came back to the emperor.

55. At this time the patrician Sergios, who was *strategos* of Sicily, along with the inhabitants of the West, gave up hope for Byzantium and the emperor himself on account of the enemy attack against them, and crowned their own emperor, one of the adjutants of Sergios, called Basil, the son of Gregory surnamed Onomagoulos, and renamed him Tiberios. On being informed of this, the emperor appointed the patrician Paul *strategos* of Sicily, inasmuch as he was a faithful friend and experienced in military matters, and dispatched him to Sicily. When he had arrived there, Sergios fled to the Lombards. As for Paul, he gathered together the inhabitants of the island and read to them the imperial letters. Being reassured by them, they acclaimed the emperor and surrendered both Basil and the magistrates who had been appointed by him as prisoners to (Paul). Taking hold of them, he executed a certain George and others, and sent their heads to the emperor, while the rest (he punished) with blows and torments, cut off the noses of some, and sent them into exile. After requesting an assurance of his safety, Sergios, too, was brought to Paul. As a consequence, the affairs of the West returned to peace and tranquillity.

56. After this a son was born to the emperor, whom he named Constantine. And on the 15th of the following month of August the entire Saracen armament, both cavalry and fleet, withdrew from the Imperial City. They lost many ships, which were overtaken by storm and violent winds, and many were dispersed among the islands as far as Cyprus, while others sank with

σκεδασθειςῶν, ἐτέρων δὲ καὶ αὐτάνδρων τῷ βυθῷ παραδοθειςῶν.

57. Ἀρτέμιος δὲ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ ἐξόριστος ὢν πάλιν πειράται τῆς βασιλείας ἐπικρατήσῃ, καὶ ἐπεχειρεῖ τοιάδε πράττειν. γράφει πρὸς Σισίννιον πατρίκιον τὸ ἐπίκλιον Ἰνδράκιον, πρὸς τῇ τῶν Βουλγάρων διατρίβοντα χώρα παρὰ βασιλέως τηνικαῦτα ἀποσταλέντα ὡς ἂν συμμαχίαν παρ' αὐτῶν κατὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν λήψοιτο, ὅπως αὐτῷ τοῖς κατὰ γνώμην συμπράξειεν, ἀναπείσῃ δὲ καὶ Βουλγάρους συνεργήσῃ αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο ὑπέσχετο. γράφει δὲ καὶ πρὸς Νικήταν τὸν μάγιστρον τὸ ἐπίκλιον Ξυλινίτην, ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ὑπάρχοντα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἰσώην πατρίκιον καὶ τοῦ λεγομένου βασιλικοῦ Ὀψικίου ἡγεμόνα, καὶ Θεοκτίστου τὸν πρώτιστον τῶν βασιλικῶν γραμματέων καθ' οὓς ἐβασίλευε χρόνους γενόμενον, καὶ Νικήταν ἐπίκλιον Ἄνθρακα ἄρχοντα τειχῶν, παλαιᾶς φιλίας ἀναμνηθῆσκεισθαι, καὶ ἐτοίμους εἶναι συντρέχειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοιγνύναι καὶ ὡς βασιλέα ὑποδέχεσθαι. τὰ γραφέντα οὖν εὐθύς τῷ βασιλεῖ διαγινώσκειται, καὶ τοὺς τὰ γράμματα δεξαμένους χειροῦται καὶ πληγαῖς αἰκίζεται, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογοῦσι. καὶ Νικήτα μὲν τοῦ τὴν ἀξίαν μάγιστρον καὶ Θεοκτίστου τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐξέτεμε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους οὐ μικρῶς αἰκισάμενος καὶ δημεύσας ἐξορίαις ἀπέπεμψεν. Ἀρτέμιος δὲ ἅμα Σισιννίῳ τῷ πατρικίῳ καὶ τοῖς Βουλγαροῖς μέχρις Ἡρακλείας καταλαμβάνει, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ ἄπερ ἦγον ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης ἀκάτια· μονόξυλα δὲ αὐτοὶ προσαγορεύουσι. γράφει δὲ Βουλγαροῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς τὴν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἀσπάσονται καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς προδοῖεν. οἱ δὲ εἰς ἀπολογίαν κατέστησαν συγγνώμην αἰτήσαντες καὶ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην ὑπισχνούμενοι. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀρτέμιον σὺν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ ἄλλους πλειστοὺς δεσμώτας πρὸς βασιλέα πέμπουσι, καὶ Σισιννίου τοῦ πατρικίου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκτεμόντες ὡσαύτως στέλλουσιν, οὕτω τε πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀπεχώρουν. Ἀρτέμιον δὲ σὺν τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ παραλαβὼν ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Κυνηγίῳ ἀπέτεμεν. ἵππικὴν δὲ ἄμιλλαν ἐπιτελέσας τῶν ἀποτμηθέντων τὰς κεφαλὰς διὰ τοῦ ἵπποδρομίου ἐπὶ κοντοῦ ἀνηρτημένας

dB56

57: 3 ἐπίκλιον V || 9 μάγιστρον sine acc. τὸ ἐπίκλιον V || 11 Θεοκτίστου P (cf. 57.19) Θεοδόσιον V || 13 ἐπίκλιον V || 18 Νικήταν V corr. vulg. || 25 ἀσπάσαιτο con. dB || 32 κυνηγίῳ V corr. vulg. || 34 ἐπὶ κοντῷ V corr. dB

their crews.

57. Now Artemios, who had been banished to Thessalonica, attempted once again to win the empire by means of the following actions. He wrote to the patrician Sisinnios surnamed Rhendakios, who was then dwelling in the land of the Bulgarians (whither he had been sent by the emperor with a view to concluding an alliance with them against the Saracens), (asking him) to assist him in his designs and persuade the Bulgarians to cooperate with him. (Sisinnios) promised to do so. (Artemios) also wrote to the magister Niketas surnamed Xylinites, who was resident at Constantinople, as well as to the patrician Isoes, who was commander of the imperial Opsikion (as it is called), to Theoktistos, who had been first imperial secretary at the time when he was emperor, and to Niketas surnamed Anthrax, commander of the Walls, reminding them of their old friendship and (urging them) to assist him, open the city to him, and receive him as emperor. These letters were immediately revealed to the emperor, who arrested their recipients and punished them with blows, and they confessed. He cut off the heads of Niketas, who had the dignity of magister, and of Theoktistos, while the others he chastised severely, confiscated their possessions, and sent them into exile. As for Artemios, he advanced as far as Herakleia with the patrician Sisinnios and the Bulgarians; and (they had) with them the boats they had brought from Thessalonica, which they call *monoxyla*.⁴³ The emperor, however, wrote to the Bulgarians that they should embrace peace and surrender his enemies. They apologized and asked his forgiveness, promising to bring about peace. Accordingly, they sent Artemios along with the archpriest of Thessalonica and many others as captives to the emperor. They also cut off the head of the patrician Sisinnios and sent it likewise, and so departed to their own country. Having gained possession of Artemios and the archpriest, (the emperor) beheaded them in the so-called Kynegion. He then performed an equestrian race and paraded their heads, af-

⁴³ Canoes hollowed out of single tree trunks. See *DAI*, Commentary, 23–25.

35 ἐξεπόμπευε. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πάντας αἰκισάμενος καὶ τὰς
 ῥίνας αὐτῶν ἐκτεμῶν καὶ δημεύσας ὑπερορίαις κατεδίκασε.

58. Ταῦτα οὖν καταπραξάμενος προσκαλεῖται Γερμανὸν τὸν τηρικαῦτα ἀρχιερέα πέμπτη καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνὸς τῆς τρίτης ἰνδικτιόνος, τῇ σωτηρίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναστάσει, ἐν (τε) τῷ Τριβουναλίῳ λεγομένῳ δεκαευνέα ἀκουβίτων στέφει τὸν υἱὸν Κωνσταντῖνον εἰς βασιλέα.

59. Οἶον δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐκείνους περὶ τὰς νήσους τῆς τε Θήρας καὶ Θηρασίας καλουμένας συμβέβηκεν, αἱ πρὸς τῷ Κρητικῷ πελάγει κεῖνται, παραδραμεῖν οὐκ ἄξιον. θέρους ὥρας ἐνεστηκυίας συνηνέχθη τὸν θαλάττιον βυθὸν πλείστον ὅτι καπνώδη ἀτμὸν ἐξερεύγεσθαι, ἐξ οὗ ἐπὶ πολὺ πυκνουμένου τοῦ ἀέρος πῦρ ἐξαφθῆναι, καὶ μετὰ τὸ πῦρ λίθους κισηρώδεις διεκβρασθῆναι εἰς πλήθος μέγιστον, ὥστε εἰς εἶδος νήσου τοὺς λίθους συστήναι, ἐνωθῆναι τε τὴν γῆν τῇ Ἰερᾷ καλουμένῃ νήσῳ, ἣν δὴ καὶ αὐτὴν φασὶ τῷ ὁμοίῳ τρόπῳ τοῦ βυθίου ἀναδοθῆναι χώρου, καθάπερ καὶ τὰς ῥηθείσας λόγος Θήραν καὶ Θηρασίαν νήσους. τῷ ἀπείρῳ δὲ πλήθει τῶν ἀναδιδομένων λίθων ἀνὰ πᾶσαν κατεστορέσθαι τὴν ἐκείνη θάλασσαν, ἐνθενδε τε ἀφικέσθαι ἄχρις Ἀβύδου καὶ τῆς Ἀσιaticῆς παραθαλασσίου, ὑπεκκαίεσθαι δὲ τὸ προσπελάζον ρεῖθρον ὡς μηδὲ θιγγάνειν αὐτοῦ τινὰ ἰκανῶς ἔχειν.

60. Ταῦτά φασιν ἀκούσαντα τὸν βασιλέα ὑπολαμβάνειν θείας ὀργῆς εἶναι μηνύματα, καὶ ἦτις αἰτία ταῦτα κεκίνηκε διασκέπτεσθαι. ἐντεῦθεν λοιπὸν κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἴσταται καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν εἰκονισμάτων μελετᾷ τὴν καθαίρεσιν ὡς ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἰδρύσεώς τε καὶ προσκυνήσεως γεγονέναι οἰόμενος τὸ τεράστιον, κακῶς εἰδώς. ἐκδιδάσκει δὲ τὸν λαὸν τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐπεχειρεῖ δόγμα. πολλοὶ γοῦν τὴν ὕβριν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπωλοφύροντο. διὸ δὴ καὶ οἱ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους οἰκοῦντες οὐ προσιέμενοι τὸ δυσσεβήμα

58: 4 τε addidi || 5 στέφει τε B στέφειν τὸν conl. dB

59: 7 κισιρώδεις V || 8 τῇ γῇ V corr. B || 9 ὁμοιοτρόπῳ V corr. vulg. || 11 τὰ ἄπειρα δὲ πλήθη conl. dB || 12 καταστορέσθαι V corr. vulg. || ἐκείνην V corr. B

60: 5 τῆς τούτων ex τῆς των V¹ || 9 προιέμενοι V corr. vulg.

fixed to poles, through the Hippodrome. All the other (conspirators) he chastised, cut off their noses, confiscated their possessions, and condemned them to banishment.

58. After accomplishing these things, he invited the then archpriest Germanos on the 25th of March of the 3rd indiction (which was the day of Christ's salutary resurrection) to the so-called Tribunal of the Nineteen Couches⁴⁴ and crowned his son Constantine emperor.

59. It is not proper to pass over in silence what occurred in those days near the islands called Thera and Therasia, which lie in the Cretan sea. During the summer season the watery deep happened to belch forth a quantity of smoky steam, out of which, as the air became thicker, a fire burst and, after the fire, an enormous mass of pumice-like stones was cast out, so that they formed a kind of island and the land was joined to the so-called Sacred Island which, they say, had also emerged from the deep in a similar manner, as is also reported of the aforementioned islands Thera and Therasia. The sea in those parts was everywhere covered by the immense quantity of stones that were thrown up, and they spread from there as far as Abydos and the coast of Asia. The adjacent water was so hot that one could not even touch it.

60. The emperor, it is said, when he had heard of these things, considered them to be signs of divine wrath and was pondering what cause might have brought them about. On this account he took up a position contrary to the true faith and planned the removal of the holy icons, mistakenly believing that the portent had occurred because they were set up and adored. He tried to expound his own doctrine to the people, while many men lamented the insult done to the Church. For this reason the inhabitants of Hellas and the Cyclades, disapproving as they did of this impiety, rebelled against the emperor and,

⁴⁴A court of honor in front of the ceremonial dining room of the imperial palace. See J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople* (Paris, 1910), 58 ff.

- 10 πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα διαστασιάζουσι, καὶ πλείστον στόλον
 ἀθροίσαντες Κοσμᾶν τοῦνομα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς βασιλεύουσι. καὶ
 πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἤκον· οἷς συμμίσγουσι πολέμῳ οἱ
 τῆς πόλεως καὶ πολλὰς τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν νηῶν ἐνέπρησαν. οἱ
 δὲ τὴν ἤτταν θεασάμενοι τῷ βασιλεῖ προσφεύγουσι. τῶν δὲ
 15 περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρχόντων τις Ἀγαλλιανὸς ὄνομα, ταῦτα θεασά-
 μενος καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἑαυτοῦ ἀπογνοῦς, σὺν τῇ πανοπλίᾳ
 ἑαυτὸν τῷ βυθῷ παραδέδωκε. Κοσμᾶς δὲ καὶ ἕτερός τις Στέ-
 φανος συλληφθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπετμήθησαν.

61. Τῷ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῳ θέρει πάλιν ἱππικὰ στρατεύ-
 ματα τῶν Σαρακηνῶν πλείστα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς κατ-
 ἔθειον, ὧν ἠγοῦντο Ἄμερος καὶ Μανίας ὀνομαζόμενοι Σαρα-
 κηνοί· καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι πρὸς τὴν προκαθεζομένην τῆς
 5 Βιθυνίας πόλιν Νίκαιαν καλουμένην· ἐπὶ (τε) τινα χρόνον τῆς
 πολιορκίας ἐχόμενοι τέλος ἄπρακτοι ἀπεπέμποντο.

62. Μετὰ δὴ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀθροίζει πλείστον λαὸν
 τῆς πόλεως περὶ τὰ βασιλεία, καὶ συγκαλεῖ τὸν τότε | τῆς V
 πόλεως ἀρχιερέα Γερμανόν, καὶ συγγράφειν κατὰ [τῆς καθ-
 αιρέσεως] τῶν εἰκόνων τῶν ἁγίων ἠνάγκαζεν. ὁ δὲ παρητεῖτο
 5 καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀπέβαλε, λέγων ὡς “ἄνευ οἰκουμηνικῆς
 συνόδου ἐγγραφον πίστιν οὐκ ἐκτίθεμαι”. ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὸν
 πατρικὸν οἶκον γενόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς βιοτεῦν διετέ-
 λεσε χρόνον. μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ προχειρίζονται ἀρχιερέα Ἄνα-
 στάσιον κληρικὸν τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τυγχάνοντα. ἐξ
 10 ἐκείνου τοίνυν πολλοὶ τῶν εὐσεβούντων, ὅσοι τῷ βασιλεῖ
 οὐ συνεντίθεντο δόγματι, τιμωρίας πλείστας καὶ αἰκισμοὺς
 ὑπέμενον.

63. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὕτω ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, ἐκπέμπει ὁ βασι-
 λεὺς πρὸς τὸν τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Χαζάρων ἠγούμενον, καὶ τὴν
 αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα μεταπέμπεται καὶ τῷ νιῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ εἰς d
 γυναῖκα κατηγγύησε. χρόνου δὲ μεταξὺ παρελθόντος σεισμὸς
 5 ἐνσκήπτει κατὰ τὸ Βυζάντιον, μεθ' οὗ καὶ πόλεσιν ἐτέραις καὶ
 χώραις ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιφύεται. καὶ ἤδη ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς οἴκους

13 περὶ αὐτῶν V corr. dB || 15 περὶ αὐτῶν V corr. vulg. || ὄνομα V -τι superscr. V²

61: 4 καθεζομένην V προ- in mg. add. V² || 5 τε addendum esse conii. dB

62: 3-4 τῆς καθαιρέσεως seclusi τῆς καθιερώσεως perperam conii. dB || 7 βιωτεῦν V

after collecting a great fleet, made a certain Kosmas their emperor. And so they came to the Imperial City. The men of Constantinople joined battle with them and set fire to many of their ships. Beholding their defeat, they went over to the emperor. One of their commanders, called Agallianos, when he had seen these things, despaired of his salvation and cast himself in the deep in the armor (he was wearing). Kosmas and another man called Stephen were arrested and beheaded.

61. The following summer a numerous force of Saracen cavalry again overran the Roman State. Led by Saracens called Ameros and Mauias, they came to the chief city of Bithynia, namely, Nicaea. After besieging it for some time, they finally departed without having accomplished anything.

62. After this the emperor convened to the palace a great throng of people from the City and summoned Germanos, who was then archpriest of Constantinople, whom he pressed to subscribe to the suppression of the holy icons. The latter declined to do so and laid aside his priesthood, saying, "Without an ecumenical synod I cannot make a written declaration of faith." Retiring thence to his ancestral house, he spent in it the remainder of his life. In succession to him Anastasios, who was a cleric of the Great Church, was appointed archpriest. From that time onward⁴⁵ many pious men who would not accept the imperial doctrine suffered many punishments and tortures.

63. While these things were being done, the emperor sent (an embassy) to the chief of the Chazar nation and fetched the latter's daughter, whom he betrothed in marriage to his son Constantine. After a lapse of time an earthquake occurred at Byzantium and likewise shook violently other towns and regions. In addition to many other buildings, holy churches, and porticoes

⁴⁵Or perhaps "at his hands," i.e., those of Anastasios.

καὶ ἱεροῦς ναοὺς καὶ στοᾶς ἀθρόον ἐπικαταβάλλει, ἐκ πρώτων
 βάθρων αὐτῶν ἔστιν οὗς τούτων ἀνατρέψιας, καὶ τὸν θεῖον
 νεῶν ὃν τῆς ἀγίας Εἰρήνης ἐπώνυμον καλοῦσι κατέσεισεν, ὃς
 10 πλησιαίτατα τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἴδρυνται. μεθ' ὃν καὶ ὁ
 Ἄρκαδίου τοῦ πάλαι Ῥωμαίων τὰ σκήπτρα ἰθύνοντος ἀνδριάς,
 ὃς κατὰ τὸν λεγόμενον λόφον Ξηρόλοφον καθύπερθε τοῦ γλυ-
 φαίου ἴδρυνται κίονος, κατὰ γῆς ἀνωθεν ἔρριπτο. διέμεινε δὲ
 τὰ τοῦ σάλου ἄχρι καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ὄλον· διὸ πλεῖστοι τῆς
 15 πόλεως προΐοντες καὶ ἔξω τειχῶν ἀυλιζόμενοι ἐν καλύβαις
 κατέμενον.

64. Λέων δὲ (μετὰ) τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτη τῆς βασι-
 λείας μεταλλάττει τὸν βίον ὑδέρῳ χαλεπῷ περιπεσῶν, διά-
 δοχον δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν υἱὸν Κωνσταντῖνον καταλιμπάνει.
 Ἄρτάβαζος δέ, ὃς γαμβρὸς Κωνσταντῖνου ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ ὑπήρ-
 5 χεν, ἅμα τῷ περιόντι λαῷ (στρατηγὸς δὲ τοῦ Ὀψικίου λαοῦ
 ἐτύγγανε) καὶ τοῖς δυσὶν υἱέσιν, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἕτερος Νικήτας
 θάτερος δὲ Νικηφόρος ἐκέκλητο, κατὰ τὸ λεγόμενον τοῦ Δο-
 ρυλαίου πεδίου ηὔλιζετο. καὶ δὴ τυραννίδα εὐθύς κατ' αὐτοῦ
 μελετᾷ, τὸν τοῦ πενθεροῦ θάνατον πυθόμενος· καὶ ὄρκους τὸν
 10 ὑπὸ χεῖρα κατεδέσμει λαὸν αὐτῷ μὲν εὖνον ἔσεσθαι, ἕτερον
 δὲ εἰς βασιλέα μὴ δέχεσθαι. Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ τῆς βασιλείας
 κρατήσας ἀπόμοιράν τινα στρατοῦ ἐπιλεξάμενος τῆς πόλεως
 ἔξεισι καὶ τὸ πεδίου ὃ Κρασὸς προσαγορεύεται καταλαμ-
 15 βάνει καὶ Ἄρταβάζῳ ἐσημαίνειν ἤκειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ἂν ἅμα
 τῶν πολεμίων χάριν βουλευσοῖντο. ὁ δὲ ἤδη ὄρμα, οὐ βου-
 λῆς ἔνεκεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν καθαιρήσων. Κων-
 σταντῖνος δὲ τὰ τῆς τυραννίδος πυθόμενος, καὶ Βίσηρον τὴν
 ἀξίαν πατρίκιον προῦπαντήσαντα καὶ τῷ ξίφει τῶν ἀντι-
 20 γων στρατόπεδον εἰσιδῶν, αὐτὸς πρὸς τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀνατο-
 λικῶν καλουμένη φυγὰς ἐνθένδε ἀπιὼν τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν
 ἑαυτοῦ περιποιήσατο. καὶ αὐτοὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ὑποδεξάμενοι ἐν-
 ωμότους αὐτῷ συνθήκας δεδώκεσαν ὡς μέχρις αἵματος ὑπὲρ
 αὐτοῦ ἀνελέσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, καὶ Ἄρταβάζον αἰσχυρῶς δυσ-

V204^r
 dB60

63: 12–13 γλυφάνου V corr. vulg.

64: 1 μετὰ add. P || ἐτι V || 6 ὦν V corr. vulg. || 14 πρὸς signo ⇨ superscr. ἀντι τοῦ πρὸς (sic) in
 mg. V¹, ὡς ut vid. loco πρὸς in textu scribere animo habens || 18 προσυπαντήσαντα V corr. P

which it caused to fall down at once, some of them being overturned from their very foundations, it also threw down the sacred church which bears the name of St. Eirene and stands very close to the Great Church. Furthermore, the statue of Arkadios, the former Roman emperor, which stood on the hill called Xerolophos above the sculpted column, was cast from its height to the ground. The quakes continued for a whole year; for which reason many people went out of the City and dwelt in huts outside the walls.

64. After a reign of twenty-four years Leo contracted a violent case of dropsy and departed from this life, leaving his son Constantine heir to the empire. Now Artabazos,⁴⁶ who was Constantine's brother-in-law (he was his sister's husband), together with his army (for he was commander of the Opsikian host) and his two sons, of whom one was called Niketas and the other Nikephoros, was encamped in the plain of Dorylaion (as it is called). Immediately on being informed of the death of his father-in-law, he planned a usurpation against (Constantine); and he imposed an oath on the army under his command that they would remain loyal to him and not accept another emperor. As for Constantine, after he had acceded to the throne, he selected a contingent of soldiers and went out of the City to the plain called Krasos, from where he sent a message to Artabazos that he was coming to (join) him that they might confer regarding the enemy. The latter had already set out, not with a view to taking counsel, but in order to depose (Constantine) from the throne. When Constantine had been informed of the rebellion and became aware that the patrician Biser, who had gone forward to meet (Artabazos) had fallen by the sword of his opponents; when he saw that the imperial camp was being looted, he fled to the country of the Anatolics (as it is called) and made himself safe. They received him favorably and gave him a sworn undertaking that they would risk their lives on his behalf, while cursing Artabazos with

⁴⁶The normal spelling is Artabasdos.

25 φημοῦντες καθύβριζον. μεταστέλλονται γοῦν καὶ Σισίνιον
 τὸν πατρίκιον καὶ σύμφωνα καθίστων ἅμα τῷ ὑπ' αὐτὸν στρα-
 τηγομένῳ τῶν Θρακησίων λεγομένῳ λαῷ, καὶ ἅπαντες κατὰ
 Ἄρταβάζου ὁμῶς ἐχώρουν. Θεοφάνης δέ, ὃν Μονώτιον ἐκά-
 λουν, τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀξίαν διέπων καὶ τὴν βασιλέως
 30 χρείαν εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀποπληρῶν, Ἄρταβάζῳ προσέθετο καὶ
 βασιλέα ἀνεκήρυττε, καὶ Βυζαντίους ἀνέπειθεν ὡς Κωνσταν-
 τίνος τεθνήκει. τὸν δὲ υἱὸν Νικηφόρον τοῦνομα κατὰ τὴν
 Θράκην τότε στρατηγοῦντα μεταπέμπεται καὶ σὺν τῷ περὶ
 αὐτὸν στρατῷ πρὸς φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐγκαθίστησι. τῶν
 35 βασιλικῶν δὲ ὑπηρετῶν οὓς μὲν ἀπετύφλου οὓς δὲ καὶ ἑτέρως
 κατήκιζε. καὶ Ἄρτάβαζος εὐθύς τῷ συνόντι ἅμα λαῷ τῇ πόλει
 ἐφίσταται καὶ ἀντίκα τῶν ἀγίων ἀνίστη τὰ ἱερά ἀπεικονί-
 σματα. τούτου δὲ κατόπιν ἰὼν Κωνσταντίνος τὴν Χρυσόπολιν
 καλουμένην καταλαμβάνει· ἐπίνειον δὲ τοῦτο ἀντικρῶ Βυζαν-
 40 τίου πρὸς τῇ Ἀσιάτιδι γῆ διακείμενον. κἀνταῦθα βραχὺν δια-
 τρίψας χρόνον ὑπενόστει καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἣν Ἀμόριον
 καλοῦσι διεχειμάζε.

65. Τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἐπιγενομένῳ ἐνιαυτῷ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν
 υἱῶν Νικήταν στρατηγὸν τοῦ καλουμένου τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων
 στρατοῦ Ἄρτάβαζος ἀποστέλλει, τὸν δ' αὖ ἕτερον Νικηφόρον
 εἰς βασιλέα στέφει. ἐπιστρατεύει δὲ κατὰ τῆς τῶν Ἀσιανῶν
 5 χώρας, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία ἐσιαίνετο πικρῶς. καθ' ὃ ἐπι-
 τίθεται Κωνσταντίνος καὶ πρὸς τὰς Σάρδεις ὑπαντιάζει, πο-
 λέμῳ τε αὐτῷ συμμίξας κραταιῶς ἐτροπώσατο, τὸν τε ὑπὸντα
 λαὸν δουλωσάμενος τὴν τε ὑποῦσαν αὐτοῖς ἀποσκευὴν εἰσ-
 ποιησάμενος. Ἄρτάβαζος δὲ φυγὰς [πρὸς] τὴν πόλιν Κυζικὸν
 10 καταλαβὼν κάκειθεν ἀποπλεύσας ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ᾤχετο.
 Νικήτας δὲ ὁ αὐτοῦ υἱὸς κατὰ Κωνσταντίνου τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐποι-
 εῖτο. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τι χωρίον αὐτῷ μάχῃ προσβαλὼν, Μωδρινῇ
 τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ προσαγορευόμενον, | αὐτὸν μὲν Νικήταν
 15 ἐτρέψατο, τοῦ δὲ συνόντος λαοῦ πλείστους ἀναερεῖ. ἐντεῦθεν
 ἐν μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς τὰ Ῥωμαίων διεκείτο, ὀπηνίκα ἢ
 παρ' ἐκείνους περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀμίλλα τὸν ἐμφύλιον Χριστια-

dB61

V204^v

26 σύμφωνα in σύμφωνα mut. V² || 28 ὁμῶς V dB corr. vulg. || 36 λαῷ ex τῷ V¹ || 40 βραχὺ V corr. vulg.

65: 5 καθό V καθ' οὐ coni. dB || 9 πρὸς seclusi || 12 Μωδρινῇ edd. || 15–16 εἰ παρ' ἐκείνους περὶ τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀμίλλαν V corr. P

foul insults. They also brought over the patrician Sisinnios and made an agreement with the army of the so-called Thrakesians which he commanded; and so, all together, they set out against Artabazos. Now Theophanes, surnamed Monotios, who held the rank of magister and was administering the emperor's affairs in Byzantium, gave his support to Artabazos, whom he proclaimed emperor, while informing the people of Byzantium that Constantine had died. He summoned his son Nikephoros, who was *strategos* in Thrace, and set him to guard the City with his army. As for the imperial servants, some of them he blinded, while others he maltreated in different ways. Straightaway Artabazos arrived in the City with the army that accompanied him and speedily restored the holy images of the saints. Marching in pursuit, Constantine reached Chrysopolis, as it is called (this is a port lying opposite Byzantium on the Asiatic shore). After remaining there for a short time, he returned and wintered in the town called Amorion.

65. The following year Artabazos appointed one of his sons, Niketas, commander of the so-called army of the Armeniacs, while he crowned emperor his other son Nikephoros. He also mounted an expedition against the country of the Asians⁴⁷ and cruelly devastated the villages that are there. Whereupon Constantine attacked him and met him at Sardis; and, having joined battle, routed him mightily, captured his army and took possession of their baggage. Artabazos fled to the city of Kyzikos and thence sailed off to Byzantium, while his son Niketas advanced on Constantine. The latter met him in battle near a place called Modrine⁴⁸ in the native dialect, routed Niketas, and killed many of his men. Under these circumstances the Roman State was in extreme distress, inasmuch as the struggle for power among those men aroused an internecine war among Christians. What terrible things are

⁴⁷I.e., the ancient province of Asia.

⁴⁸In Bithynia, east of Nicæa, probably modern Mudurnu. See *RE*, Modra (W. Ruge).

νοῖς ἀνερρίπισε πόλεμον. οἶα γὰρ καὶ ὅσα συμβαίνειν τοῖς
 τοιοῦτοις εἶθε τὰ δεινότατα, ὡς καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἑαυτὴν ἐπι-
 λανθάνεσθαι καὶ καθ' ἑαυτῆς ἵστασθαι (καὶ τί γὰρ δεῖ τᾶλλα
 20 λέγειν;), πολλοὺς ἂν ἐν πείρᾳ καθεστηκέναι.

66. Ἐν τούτοις καθυπέρτερος Κωνσταντῖνος γενόμε-
 νος πρὸς τὰ Θρακικὰ περαιούται χωρία καὶ τῷ τείχει προσ-
 εδρεῦει τῆς πόλεως διεκώλύε τε τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων εἰσφο-
 ράν· καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐν μεγάλῃ ἦν ἡ πόλις ἀνάγκη, ὥστε [τοῦ]
 5 μεγίστου λιμοῦ τοὺς Βυζαντίους κατατείνοντος πολλοὺς μὲν
 συνέβαινε διαφθεῖρεσθαι, ἄλλους ὑπὲρ τειχῶν ἑαυτοὺς ἔξω
 ρίπτειν βιαζομένους. οἱ δὲ καὶ δώροις ἔπειθον τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν
 πυλῶν φύλακας κρύβδην ἐξιέναι τῆς πόλεως. Κωνσταντῖνος
 δὲ ἅπαντας εὐμενῶς ἐδέχετο καὶ περιεποιεῖτο μάλιστα. αὐθις
 10 οὖν Νικήτας ἐπιστρατεύει καὶ μέχρι Χρυσοπόλεως παρα-
 γίνεται. Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ πάλιν αὐτῷ ἐπιτίθεται καὶ κατὰ
 τὴν Νικομηδέων καταλαμβάνει πόλιν, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν χειρω-
 σάμενος σιδήροις ἐδέσμει, Μαρκελλίνου δὲ τοῦ συνόντος
 αὐτῷ ἀρχιερέως τῆς Γαγγρηῶν μητροπόλεως τὴν κεφαλὴν
 15 ἐξέτεμε. κάκειθεν ἐπανελθὼν παραλαμβάνει τὸ Βυζάντιον.
 Ἄρτάβαζος δὲ ἀποδράς πρὸς τὴν ἐν Βιθυνίᾳ Νίκαιαν πόλιν
 διασώζεται, καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀνέπειθεν ὡς ἦκοι στρατολογή-
 σων καὶ δυνάμιν τινα ἐκεῖ περιβαλλόμενος * ἐξ ὧν ὀλίγους
 στρατιώτας προσλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον τὸ λεγόμενον Που-
 20 ζάνης ἀπὼν ἐγκατακλείεται. Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ ἀπόμοιραν
 εἰς δίωξιν αὐτοῦ ἐκπέμψας αὐτὸν τε χειροῦται, καὶ σὺν τοῖς
 νιέσι αὐτοῦ δεσμώτας ἐπὶ ἀγῶνος ἵππικοῦ ἔλκων θριαμ-
 βεῦει ἐκεῖθεν τε ἐν εἰρκτῇ τηρεῖσθαι ἀσφαλῶς παραδέδωκεν.
 οὐ πολὺ δὲ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ Σισίννιος ὁ πατρῷκιος τυραννίδα
 25 ἐφωράθη κατὰ Κωνσταντῖνου μελετήσας, ἐφ' ἧ διαγνωσθεῖς
 τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκκόπτεται. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Ἄρτάβαζος

dB62

19 ἑαυτ[ῆς] V || δεῖ dB δῆ V || 20 ἂν) οἶμαι conī. B fort. πολλοῖς . . . καθέστηκεν legendum seu
 καθεστηκέναι πέπειμαι vel sim.

66: 2 περατοῦται V corr. B || 4 τοῦ seclusi || 5 τοῖς βυζαντίους V corr. vulg. || κατατείνων,
 τοὺς πολλοὺς V κατατείνοντος τοὺς πολλοὺς vulg. τοὺς del. dB || 7 οἱ scripti οἱ V || 8 πυλῶν in mg.
 V || 9 καίπερ ἐποῖει τὸ (sive τὰ) V¹ καὶ περιεποιεῖτο V² || 14 γαγγρινῶν V corr. vulg. || 17 τοῖς V
 corr. dB || ἦκοι) οἶκοι V corr. P sed v. comment. || 18 post περιβαλλόμενος lacunam statuit P. Speck,
Artabazos, 306n.68

wont to happen in such conditions—so much so that (human) nature is neglected and made to oppose herself (not to say any more)—is, indeed, known to many from experience.

66. At this juncture Constantine gained the upper hand, crossed over to Thrace, and laid siege to the City walls, while preventing the introduction of necessary supplies. For this reason the City was reduced to great distress and a severe famine racked the inhabitants of Byzantium, so that many of them died, while others were forced to throw themselves over the walls. Some, indeed, bribed the guards of the gates (to be allowed) to leave the City in secret. Constantine received them all with favor and treated them very well. Once again Niketas undertook an expedition and came as far as Chrysopolis. And again Constantine attacked him; overtaking him at the city of Nicomedia, he captured him and put him in fetters, while he cut off the head of Markellinos, archpriest of the metropolis of Gangra, who accompanied (Niketas). Returning from there, he took Byzantium. Artabazos fled to the city of Nicaea in Bithynia, to whose inhabitants he alleged that he was going to recruit an army and deploy a force round about. Taking a few soldiers from among them, he went off to the fort called Pouzane⁴⁹ and shut himself up. But Constantine sent a detachment to pursue him and apprehended him. Having brought him captive together with his sons, he paraded them at the hippodrome games and then confined them to a well-guarded prison. A short time thereafter the patrician Sisinnios was also detected to have planned a rebellion against Constantine and, after being convicted, was blinded. Later on, Artabazos and

⁴⁹Situation unknown. Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr.*, 190, places it south of Nicaea. Cf. the village of Pouza or Pazoukome near the source of the Sangarios: Belke and Restle, TIB 4, 221, 238.

καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ υἱοὶ τῇ αὐτῇ τιμωρίᾳ ἠκίσθησαν, πλείσταις δὲ πληγαῖς καὶ τιμωρίαις καὶ οἱ συγγνώντες αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὑποβληθέντες ὑπερωρίαις κατεδικάσθησαν.

67. Ταῦτα οὕτω τὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς διαθεῖς Κωνσταντῖνος μετὰ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν κατὰ τὴν χώραν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐκστρατεύει, ὧν εἶλε πόλιν Γερμανικεῖαν τῆς Εὐφρατησίας χώρας. εἰσπίπτει δὲ κατὰ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν καὶ τὰς κύκλω
- 5 χώρας * καὶ καθ' οὓς τόπους τὸ φθοροποιὸν ἐπεφύετο πάθος, ἅπαν ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐπινεμόμενον διώλλυ[ε] τε καὶ ἄρδην ἐξηφάνιζε. διεσώθη δ' ἂν τις θεῖα πάντως βουλήσει, ὅστις ὡς πορρωτάτω τούτων τῶν χωρῶν ἀπέδρα. ἐπετείνετο δὲ τὰ τῆς φθορᾶς μάλιστα περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον. τεράστια δ' οὖν καὶ δεί-
- 10 ματα ἐξαπίνης ἐφαίνετο· (τύποι σταυροειδεῖς ἔν τε ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων στολαῖς καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐσθημάτων ἐπανατέλλοντες, θύραις τε ὡσαύτως καὶ τοῖς τῶν θυρῶν σταθμοῖς,) ἃ δὴ φαινόμενα φρίκην μεγάλην καὶ ἀπορίαν πᾶσιν ἐνέτικτεν ὡς παραχρῆμα τὸν ὄλεθρον μηνύοντα ἔσσεσθαι. ὡσπερ δὲ
- 15 ἐξεσθηκότες τῷ δέει οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ φαντασιούμενοι ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς ὡς ξένοις τισὶ συνοδεύειν καὶ εἰδεχθέσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ εἶτα ὡς γνωρίμοις δῆθεν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι προσαγορεύοντες, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν ὠμιλημένα ἑτέροις ἔπειτα ἀφηγούμενοι· καὶ ἄλλοι φάσμασί τισιν ἐκδειματούμενοι ἐώρων
- 20 ξίφεισιν ἀλλήλους τινὰς βάλλοντας. καὶ δὴ οὕτω τὰ πλείστα ἐξέβαινε. οὐδὲ οἰοί τε ἦσαν οἱ περισωζόμενοι τῶν ἀποχομένων ταφῇ παραδιδόναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν ὄσιαν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι, ὀλιγοστοὶ μᾶλα πλείστους ἄγαν ἐκκομίζοντες. διὸ μηχανὰς ἐκ τινος περινοίας κατεσκευάζον, σε-
- 25 σαγμένοις τοῖς ἀχθοφόροις ζώοις σανίδας ἐπιστρωννύντες καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα τι χωρίον ἀπευρύνοντες τὸ μηχανήμα, οὕτω τε τὰ πλείστα τῶν πτωμάτων ἀκόσμως καὶ ὡς ἂν ἔτυχεν ἐπέτιθεσαν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἅμαξαι πρὸς τὴν ἐκφορὰν τοῦ πλήθους τῶν νεκρῶν φορούμεναι ὑπηρέτουν, τῶν ὑποζυγίων αὐτοῖς μὴ

V205^r
dB63

27–29 πλείσταίς . . . κατεδικάσθησαν in mg. add. V²

67: 3 Γερμανικίαν V corr. B || 5 post χώρας verba λοιμὸς μέγιστος vel sim. excidisse videntur || 8 τούτω V corr. vulg. || δὲ οἱ τὰ V οἱ om. B || 11 καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν con. dB || 11–12 ἐπανατέλλων ταῖς θ. V corr. dB || 16 αὐτοῖς V corr. B || ἠδεχθέσιν V corr. vulg. || 19 ἄλλους ex ἄλλοι V² || 20 ἀλλήλοισ V corr. vulg. || 21 οὐδὲ dB ἐνουδε οἰοί τε V¹ ἐνουδεν οἰοί (accentibus deletis) τε V² ἐνουδενὶ δ' vulg. οὐδαμοῦ B || 23 ὀλιγοστοὶ V || πλείστους V corr. B

his sons underwent the same penalty, while their accomplices in the plot were subjected to flogging and various (other) punishments and condemned to exile.

67. After making such disposition concerning his own rule, Constantine undertook a little later an expedition against the country of the Saracens, from whom he captured the city of Germanikeia in the region of Euphratesia. (Now a great plague) fell upon the Imperial City and the surrounding lands, and wherever this destructive disease prevailed it consumed and entirely annihilated all human beings. Only those who fled as far away as possible from those parts were able to be saved, surely by God's will. The pestilence was particularly intense at Byzantium. Frightful portents were suddenly to be seen: cruciform markings appeared on men's garments and holy cloths, upon doors and door posts, and these phenomena aroused in everyone great fear and consternation as if they were foreshadowing an instant doom. Being out of their wits through terror and subject to hallucinations, men imagined that they were being accompanied by certain hideous strangers, whom they addressed as if these were known to them and later recounted to others the words that had been spoken on the way. Others, terrified by phantasms, saw certain people striking one another with swords. And, indeed, most of (these visions) were fulfilled. Nor were the survivors able to inter the bodies of the deceased and conduct their funerals, so few were they in carrying out so many to burial. For which reason they invented a device, namely, to lay planks upon harnessed beasts of burden and, after making this construction very wide, they heaped upon it the corpses without decorum and in whichever way. And as the

30 ἐπαρκεῖν ἔτι δυναμένων. ἐπιλελοίπασι δὲ εἰς ἄπαξ καὶ οἱ
τάφοι, ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀνύδρους τῶν δεξαμενῶν νεκρῶν ἐμ-
πλησθῆναι σωμάτων. ἄρουραι δὲ ἀνετέμνοντο καὶ ἀμπελώ-
νες διωρύσσοντο καὶ κήποι διεσκάπτοντο πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀ-
πειρῶν σωμάτων ταφὴν καινοτομούμενοι. ἐξ ὧν συνέβαινε dB64
35 τοὺς πλείονας τῶν οἴκων κατακλείστους πάμπαν γίνεσθαι.
παρέτεινε δὲ τὰ τῆς θραύσεως μέχρις ἐνιαυτοῦ, καὶ ἐξ ἐκεῖ-
νου ἐνεδίδου τὰ πλείστα, καὶ κατὰ μικρόν, ὥσπερ τὴν ἀρχὴν
ἠῦξανεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐλώφησεν ἢ φθορά. ταῦτα ἐκρίνετο τοῖς
ὀρθὰ φρονεῖν εἰδόσιν ἐκ θείας ἐπισκῆπτειν ὀργῆς, ἥνικα ὁ
40 τότε ἀθέως καὶ δυσσεβῶς κρατῶν, καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῷ συνήρουν τῷ
ἀθέσμῳ φρονήματι, τὰς χεῖρας ἐπαφείναι κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων
ἀπεικονισμάτων εἰς ὕβριν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας τετολ-
μήκασιν.

68. Ἐντεῦθεν τοίνυν ἀοίκητον σχεδὸν ἤδη γεγонуῖαν
τὴν πόλιν ταύτην κατοικίζει ἐκ τῶν χωρῶν καὶ τῶν νήσων τῆς
ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐξουσίας λαῶν πλήθη μετὰγων. ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτον
τὸν χρόνον στόλον ἐκπέμπει κατὰ τῆς τῶν Σαρακηνῶν χώ-
5 ρας, οὗ ἡγεῖτο ὁ τηνικαῦτα στρατηγῶν τῶν Κιβυραιωτῶν κα-
λουμένου | στρατοῦ. καθορμίζεται δὲ ὁ στόλος κατὰ τὴν Κύ-
προν νήσον. ἐνθα αὐτίκα μάλα κατήρην ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου
πόλεως καὶ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν πλούμον. ὅπερ ὁ στρατηγὸς προ-
αισθόμενος ἐξαπιναιῶς εἰσπίπτει κατ' αὐτοῦ πυρὶ τε δια-
10 φλέξας τὰς ναῦς τὰ αὐτῶν σφετερίζεται ἅπαντα, καὶ κατὰ
κράτος ἐλὼν τοὺς πολεμίους πρὸς Κωνσταντῖνον ὑπενόστει.

69. Μετὰ ταῦτα τίκτεται τῷ βασιλεῖ υἱός, ὃν Λέοντα
ἐπωνόμασε. τηνικαῦτα καὶ ἐν Συρίᾳ σεισμὸς μέγας γίνεται
καὶ ὄλεθρος ἐκεῖθεν ἐφίσταται μέγιστος. αἰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐκεῖ
πόλεων * ἐπὶ μέγα ἢ γῆ περὶ αὐταῖς ἔχανεν, αἰ δὲ παρὰ
5 μέρος τοῦτο πεπόνθεισαν. ἄλλαι τῶν ὑψηλῶν ἀποκινηθεῖσαι
χώρων πρὸς τὰ ὑποκείμενα πεδία σὺν τείχεσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ
οἰκήμασι σώοι κατεσύρησαν, μέχρι σημείων ἐξ [καὶ] τῆς

32 σώματων V² σώματα V¹ || 34 καινοτομούμεναι V corr. vulg. || 42–43 τετολμηκόσιν V corr. vulg.

68: 2 κατοικίζοι V corr. vulg. || 5 κιβυραιωτῶν V corr. dB || 7 κατήρει V corr. dB || 9
ἐξαπηναιῶς V || 10–11 κατακράτως V corr. B

69: 4 post πόλεων lacunam statui ὅλαι κατεπόθησαν καὶ suppl. B || 7 καὶ del. dB

beasts did not suffice, they used hand-borne wagons to carry out the multitude of the dead. The tombs gave out altogether, so that empty cisterns were filled with dead bodies. Fields were plowed up, vineyards and orchards dug up to serve the novel purpose of burying the immense number of bodies. As a result, most of the houses were completely shut up. The pestilence lasted for a year, after which time it gave way for the most part and, as in the beginning it had increased, so now it gradually abated. Those who were able to think aright judged that these <misfortunes> were inflicted by God's wrath inasmuch as the godless and impious ruler of the day and those who concurred with his lawless purpose dared to lay their hands on the holy images to the disgrace of Christ's Church.

68. The City having consequently become almost deserted, <Constantine> populated it by transferring to it a multitude of people from the lands and the islands subject to the Romans. At the same time he sent a fleet against the Saracen country, at whose head was the commander of the Kibyraiote army (as it is called). The fleet put in at the island of Cyprus. Straightaway a Saracen armada from Alexandria arrived there too. Forewarned of this, the commander made a sudden attack, burned the enemy ships with fire, gained possession of all their <equipment> and, after defeating them soundly, returned to Constantine.

69. Thereafter a son was born to the emperor, whom he named Leo. At the same time a severe earthquake occurred in Syria, causing enormous damage. For some cities that were there <were completely destroyed and> the ground round about opened up to a great extent, while others suffered this fate but partially. Others were shifted from their high positions and slipped down entire, with their walls and houses, to the plains below, moving a distance of

οἰκείας μεταστᾶσαι ἰδρύσεως, ἢ μικρῶ πρὸς. ἤδη δέ τινες
 ἔφασαν τὴν γῆν θεάσασθαι τὴν κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν Μεσοπο-
 10 ταμίας ῥαγεῖσαν ἐπὶ σημείοις δύο βύθιον ἑτέραν ἀναβράσαι
 κάτωθεν γῆν ὡσπερ ἀμμώδη καὶ λευκοτάτην, συναναδοθῆναι
 δὲ ταύτῃ ἡμίονον θήλειαν ἀνθρωπεῖα φωνῆ τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων
 κατάλυσιν προαναφωνοῦσαν. οὐ πολὺ γὰρ τὸ μεταξὺ, καὶ τῆς
 15 ὑπερέκεινα ἐρήμου ἔθνος ἐπιφυεὲν πλήθη τούτων πολλὰ ἀμαχί
 διεχειρίσατο.

70. Μετὰ δὴ ταῦτα στέφει Κωνσταντῖνος τὸν υἱὸν Λέοντα
 εἰς βασιλέα καὶ εὐθύς κατὰ Σαρακηνῶν ἐκστρατεύει. καὶ
 γενόμενος κατὰ τὴν Μελιτηναίων πόλιν ταύτην πολιορκία
 εἶλε, λαὸν πολὺν δοριάλωτον καὶ πλείστα σκῦλα ἐκεῖθεν ἀ-
 5 ενεγκάμενος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐτελεύτα καὶ Μαρία ἡ Αὐγούστα ἡ
 αὐτοῦ γαμετή.

71. Ὅπερ δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον συνέβαινε μνήμης ἄξιον, οὐ
 παραδραμεῖν δίκαιον. συνηνέχθη γὰρ τηνικαῦτα θέαμα φο-
 βερὸν καὶ τεράστιον ξένον ἐξ ἀερίου γενέσθαι συμπτώματος,
 ὅπερ περὶ λύχνων ἀφᾶς κατάρξαν διὰ πάσης ἐφαίνετο νυ-
 5 κτός, ἔκπληξιν καὶ δέος μέγα τοῖς θεωμένοις ἐμποιοῦν ἄπα-
 σιν. ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡς οἱ ἀστέρες ἄπαντες τοῦ τεταγμένου
 αὐτοῖς οὐρανοῦ χώρου παρακινούμενοι κατὰ γῆς ἐφέροντο.
 οἱ δὲ περίγειοι γενόμενοι ἄθρόον διελύοντο, ἦκιστα τὴν οἴα-
 10 σης τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐξάισιον διεδείκνυτο θέαμα.

72. Καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἀστέρων ἐν τούτοις ὥφθη χρόνον
 δὲ τιнос διωχηκόςτος Ἀναστάσιος ὁ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐτελεύτα
 ἱεράρχης. Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ καθ' ἅπαξ πρὸς τὴν ὕβριν τῆς ἐκ-
 κλησίας ἰδὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἤδη ἀπομαχόμενος, ὡς
 5 ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄγοντος αὐτὸν ἐναντίου πνεύματος κινούμενος, σύν-
 οδον | ἱερέων ἀθροίζει ὀκτῶ καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους
 τὸν ἀριθμὸν τυγχάνουσαν, (ταύτης ἐξῆρχε Θεοδόσιος ὁ τῆς
 Ἐφεσίων πόλεως ἀρχιεπίσκοπος) ἀρχιερέα τε τῆς πόλεως
 ἀνακηρύσσει Κωνσταντῖνόν τινα τὸ τῶν μοναχῶν σχῆμα

12 ταύτην V corr. vulg. || αἰῶα V corr. dB

71: 3 συμπτώματα V corr. vulg.

72: 1 ἀστέρων V² in lacuna || 6 ἱερέων] litt. ν V² in ras. || 8 τε ex τω V¹

as much as six miles, more or less, from their original situation. Some affirmed they had seen the ground in Mesopotamia (which is near Syria) crack deeply along (a distance) of two miles, and another ground, sandy and very white, thrown up from below; and that along with the latter was cast up a female mule, which proclaimed in a human voice the destruction of the Arabs. A short time thereafter a tribe appeared from the desert beyond and slew many multitudes (of Arabs) without resistance.

70. After these events Constantine crowned his son Leo emperor and straightaway marched against the Saracens. He came to the town of Melitene, which he took by siege and carried off from there a great number of captives and much booty. At this time the Augusta Maria, his wife, died.

71. We ought not to pass over in silence a memorable event that happened a little later. Indeed, a terrible sight and a strange prodigy occurred at that time through some aerial circumstance. It began at twilight and was visible all through the night, causing amazement and great fright to all spectators. For it appeared to them that all the stars moved from their appointed celestial stations and were borne down toward the earth. When they came near the earth they vanished at once without ever causing the slightest damage. Many men affirmed that this extraordinary sight was visible throughout the whole world.

72. So much for the spectacle of the stars. After some time Anastasios, the archpriest of Byzantium, died. Now Constantine, who was completely determined to insult the Church and was, by now, making war on piety (driven as he was by the evil spirit that directed him) convened a council of 338 priests under the presidency of Theodosios, archbishop of Ephesos, and appointed to be archpriest of the City a certain Constantine, who wore the monastic habit

10 περιβεβλημένον, ἐπίσκοπον δὲ τῆς τοῦ Συλλαίου πόλεως
γεγονότα. ὅρον δὲ πίστεως ἐκτίθενται, ἐν ᾧ ὑπεσημνήσαντο
ἅπαντες κακῶς καὶ δυσσεβῶς συμφρονησαντες, τὴν τῶν
ἱερῶν εἰκονισμάτων καθάραισιν ἐκφωνήσαντες· καὶ ὡσπερ
νηπιῶδεις ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ταῦτα ἀνεθεμάτιζον. μεθ' ὧν καὶ Γερ-
15 μανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ Βυζαντίου γεγονότα Γεώργιον τε τὸν
ἐκ Κύπρου τῆς νήσου ὀρμώμενον καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀπὸ Δα-
μασκοῦ τῆς Συρίας τὸ ἐπίκλην Μανσοῦρ.

73. Ταῦτα ἐπιτελεῖ ποιήσας Κωνσταντίνος ἤρξε δομεῖ-
σθαι τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης πολιόμενα, ἐν οἷς οἰκίζει Σύρους καὶ
Ἀρμενίους, οὓς ἐκ τε Μελιτηναίων πόλεως καὶ Θεοδοσιου-
πόλεως μετανάστας πεποίηκε, τὰ εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν αὐτοῖς ἀνή-
5 κοντα φιλοτίμως δωρησάμενος. ταῦτα τοίνυν οἱ Βούλγαροι
ὡς ἐπολιζοντο θεασάμενοι, φόρους ἤθουμ παρά βασιλεῖ δέ-
ξασθαι. τοῦ δὲ μὴ δεξαμένου οἱ γε στρατευσάμενοι τὰ ἐπὶ
Θράκης χωρία κατέτρεχον καὶ μικροῦ τοῦ Μακροῦ καλου-
μένου Τείχους ἐπεξέθεον. ὁ δὲ ἀντεπεξῆει καὶ συμβαλὼν
10 πολέμῳ εἰς φυγὴν ἐτρέψατο καὶ ἐδῶκεν ἀνά κράτος καὶ
πλείστους Βουλγάρους ἀνεῖλε. μετ' οὐ πολὺ πλοῖ καὶ πεζῆ
κατ' αὐτῶν ἐστράτευεν. οἱ γοῦν τὰς ναῦς ἔχοντες ἄχρι καὶ εἰς
πεντακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν συντελούσας, διὰ τοῦ Εὐξείνου
ἐκπλεύσαντες καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἰστρῷ γενόμενοι ποταμῷ χώρας
15 τε Βουλγάρων ἐπίμπρασαν καὶ δοριαλώτους οὐκ ὀλίγους
εἶλον· αὐτὸς δὲ μάχῃ συμμίξας αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὰς λεγομένας
Μαρκέλλας (φρούριον δὲ τοῦτο πλησιαίτατα Βουλγάρων κεί-
μενον) εἰς φυγὴν ἐτρέψατο καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἔκτεινεν. ἐντεῦ-
θεν ἐκεῖνοι τὸ ἦττον ἀπενεγκάμενοι περὶ εἰρήνης διεπρε-
20 σβεύοντο ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων τέκνων ὀμήρους προῖέμενοι.

74. Ἐπι πρὸς τούτοις οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο νῦν παραδραμεῖν ἄξιον.
ᾧρα ἐνέστηκε φθινοπώρου, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ χειμέριον γίνεται τὸ
κατάστημα καὶ τῷ ὄντι κρυερὸν καὶ δριμύτατον, ὡς ξένην
τινὰ καὶ ἐξαισίον τοῖς τηνικαῦτα ὀρώσιν ἀποτελέσαι τῆς

dB67

14 νηπιῶδεις scripsi νηπιωδ[ῶς] V νηπιωδεῖς dB || μεθ' ὧν V corr. B || 17 ἐπίκλην ex ἐπίκλιο V¹ corr. vulg.

73: 1 ἐπὶ τέλει V corr. P || 8 μικροῦ δεῖν μέχρι con. dB || 10 πόλεμον con. dB || φυγὴν ex φρυγῆν V¹ || ἀνακράτας V corr. B || 11 πεζῆ V corr. vulg. || 13 συντελούσας V² συνελθούσας V¹ || 14 ἰστρῷ V corr. vulg. || 20 ὀμήρους V

and had been bishop of Syllaion. They drew up a definition of the faith in which all of them, by an evil and impious agreement, set down a proclamation of the destruction of the holy icons. These they childishly anathematized in public and, along with them, Germanos, who had been archpriest of Byzantium, George, a native of the island of Cyprus, and John of Damascus in Syria, surnamed Mansour.

73. Having accomplished these matters, Constantine started building towns in Thrace in which he settled Syrians and Armenians, whom he had transferred from Melitene and Theodosiopolis and bountifully endowed with all necessities. When the Bulgarians saw these towns being founded, they demanded taxes from the emperor. On meeting with his refusal, they took up arms and overran the Thracian region nearly as far as the Long Wall. (The emperor) marched out against them and, having joined battle with them, put them to flight. He pursued them mightily and killed many Bulgarians. A short time thereafter he made an expedition against them by sea and land. Those who were embarked on the ships (which numbered five hundred) set sail by way of the Euxine and, upon reaching the river Istros, burned the Bulgarian lands and made many captives; while (the emperor) himself joined battle with them at the so-called Markellai (this is a fort lying very near to the Bulgarians),⁵⁰ put them to flight, and killed many of them. Being thus worsted, they petitioned for peace and delivered hostages from among their children.

74. The following (incident) should also not be passed over in silence. In the autumn season the weather became wintry—indeed cold and extremely harsh—to the extent of congealing the liquid element (a strange and extraordinary sight to those who beheld it then), and this not only in the case of fresh

⁵⁰Believed to have been at Karnobadski Hisarlük, SW of Karnobad.

- 5 ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας ἐκ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν συμβάσης πήξεως τὴν θεάν, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς γλυκέσιν ὕδασι μόνον, ἀλλὰ, τὸ δὴ παραδοξότερον, καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀλμυρᾶς ἰσχύσαν ποιότητος, καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις μὲν πλείστοις τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην τόποις, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τὰ τε ὑπερβόρεια καὶ προσάρκτια καταπήξαν δεινότατα. ἐπὶ
- 10 τοσοῦτο δὲ κατεπυκνούτο καὶ διεπήγγυεν ὥστε τὴν ὑπερπόντιον τοῦ Εὐξείνου | θάλασσαν ἐπὶ σημεῖοις ἑκατόν που ἀποκρυσταλλωθῆναι κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος, εἶτα καὶ τοὺς ὑπερκειμένους μεγίστους ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ πλείστους ποταμῶν, καὶ ἔτι τὸν ἐπὶ Μεσημβρείαν καὶ Μήδειαν πόλιν ἐρχόμενον παρά-
- 15 κτιον χώρον τῷ πάγει συναποπετρωθῆναι, διὰ βάθους χωρησάσης τῆς τοιαύτης πήξεως ἄχρι καὶ εἰς τριάκοντα πήχεις· ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀφάτου καταρραγείσης χιόνος εἰς ὕψος διαρθῆναι τὸ κρύος ὑπερανεστηκός τῆς ἐπιφανείας μέχρι πηχῶν που ἄλλων εἴκοσι, καὶ πως συμφυῆναι τῇ ἠπείρῳ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς
- 20 μηδὲ διακρίναι ῥοδίως ποτέρα ἐτέρας ἀποκέκριται. οὕτω τε ἅπαν τὸ πρὸς ἄρκτον ἠπειρωθὲν ὕδωρ πεζεύειν κατὰ νώτου συνεχώρει τοῖς βουλομένοις, βάσιμά τε ἦν τὰ ἐκείνη ἅπαντα, ὅσα τε ἐν τοῖς τῶν Χαζάρων γῆς μεθορίοις καὶ τοῖς πλησιοχώροις Σκυθικοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ
- 25 κτήνεσι καὶ ζώοις ἐτέροις γενόμενα· ἄπλωτον δὲ ἤδη ἐντευθεν γενέσθαι τὴν Ποντικὴν τότε θάλασσαν. ἡμέραις δὲ τισι διυπνεούσαις καὶ ὁ ἄπλετος ἐκεῖνος τοῦ παγέτου ὄλκος εἰς διάφορα συρρήγγυται τμήματα, ἅπερ εἰς τοσοῦτον ὕψος ἀνέσχεν ὡς ὄρη δοκεῖν εἶναι ὑπερύψηλα. τούτων ἀπορραγέντα
- 30 μέρη τινὰ καὶ τῇ βίᾳ τῶν πνευμάτων συνωθούμενα πρὸς τε Δαφνουσίαν, φρούριον [δν] τι τῆς Ποντικῆς μοίρας ἐρμυνότατον τυγχάνον, ἐξοκέλλουσι καὶ ἄχρι τοῦ στομίου τοῦ Εὐξείνου κατέρρουσι· συστραφέντα δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτὰ κατὰ τὸν αὐτόθι στενὸν πόρον, τὸν μεταξὺ πορθμὸν πληρώσαντα τὰς ἑκατέρωθεν ἠπείρους, τὴν τε Θράκην καὶ τὴν Ἀσιάτιδα, ἀλλήλαις
- 35 συνήνωσαν, ὡς ἐξ ἑκατέρας πρὸς θατέραν πεζῇ μᾶλλον ἢ πλοῖ διαπεραιούσθαι ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ. ἐκείθεν συνωθούμενα ἀνὰ τὴν Προποντίδα μέχρις Ἀβύδου ἐξεχύθησαν,

74: 7 ἰσχύσαν V¹ ἰσχύσασαν V² corr. vulg. || πιώτης V corr. vulg. || 9 ὑπερβόρεια V corr. vulg. || 12–13 το[ύς] ὑπερκειμένους μεγίστο[υ]ς V || 13 πλείστους ex πλείστων ut vid. V² || 14 τὸν . . . ἐρχόμενον B τοῦ . . . ἀρχομένην V || 19 τῆς θαλάσσης V¹ corr. V² || 21 ἄρκτον V² ἄρκτους V¹ || 22 ἐκείνης V¹ corr. V² || 31 φρουρίων ὄντι V φρούριον ὄντι V² ὄν secl. dB || 32 ἐξοκέλλουσι V || 34 πόρθμον V || 36 πεζῇ V corr. vulg.

water, but, even more amazingly, in overcoming the salty kind. The freezing (occurred) in many parts of the world, but was especially severe in the hyperborean and northerly (regions). So hard was the congelment that the Euxine sea beyond the Pontos was frozen for about a hundred miles from the shore, as well as the numerous great rivers that lie beyond. Furthermore, the coastal region that lies by Mesembria and the city of Medeia⁵¹ was turned to rock by the cold, such coagulation extending to a depth of thirty cubits. In addition, an extraordinary amount of snow fell, so that the icy matter was piled up to a height of about another twenty cubits from the ground and the sea became somehow conjoined with the land, so much so that one could not easily distinguish their respective boundaries. Thus, all the water having turned solid in the direction of the north, anyone who so wished could walk on it, and all those parts became passable—those bordering on the lands of the Chazars and the neighboring Scythian nations—not only for men but also for cattle and other animals. For this reason, too, the Pontic sea ceased at the time to be navigable. After the passage of a few days that immense mass of ice was fractured into several portions, which rose to such a great height that they seemed to be tall mountains. Some parts that broke off, driven by the force of the winds, drifted to Daphnousia⁵² (a very strong fort in the Pontic region) and moved down to the mouth of the Euxine. Compressed in the narrow passage that is there, they filled the intervening strait and joined the continents on either side, namely, Thrace and Asia, so that anyone who so wished was able to cross on foot rather than by ship from one to the other. Propelled from there, (the ice) spread as far as Abydos on the Propontis, which no longer looked

⁵¹ Ancient Salmydessos, modern Midye.

⁵² Ancient Thynias, modern Kefkenadasī, an island in the Black Sea on the Bithynian coast.

ἤπερ δὴ οὐδὲ θάλασσα εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν ὑπωπτεύετο. τούτων
 40 ἐν ἀποσπασθὲν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τοῦ Βυζαντίου προσαράσσειται
 καὶ τὸ αὐτόθι τεῖχος περιέσεισεν ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον οἰκοῦντας
 συμμετασχεῖν τοῦ σάλου. καὶ τοῦτο τριχῆ διαιρεθὲν παρ'
 ἑκάτερα μέρη τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τὰς ἀκτὰς ἐμπίπλησι. τὸ δὲ
 45 ὕψος αὐτοῖς τῶν τῆς πόλεως τειχῶν ὑπερανέστηκε, δι' αὐτῶν
 τέ τινες ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως πρὸς τὸ ἀντικρῦ, ἐν οἷς τῶν Γαλάτου
 λεγόμενον ἴδρυται φρούριον, πεζῆ διεπεραιούντο. ταῦτα ἐκ-
 πληξίω μεγίστην τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐνεποίει τῷ παραδόξῳ γὰρ
 καὶ ἀδοκῆτῳ τῆς θεᾶς ἐν ἀπορίᾳ γενόμενοι θρήνοις καὶ δά-
 κρυσι πλείστοις συνεχόμενοι ἐνθένδε ἀπῆλλάσσοντο. |

75. Χρόνων δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγων διελθόντων, Σκλαβηνῶν γένη V207
 τῆς ἐαυτῶν μεταναστάντα γῆς φυγάδες διαπερώσι τὸν Εὐ-
 ξεινον. συνετέλει δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἄχρι καὶ εἰς ἀριθμὸν
 5 ὀκτῶ καὶ διακοσίας χιλιάδας. καὶ πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν ὃς Ἄρτά- dB69
 νας καλεῖται αὐτοὶ κατοικίζονται.

76. Τὰ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Οὐννοὺς Βουλγάρους ἐπράττετο
 τῆδε. οὗτοι τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνθέμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἐκ σειρᾶς
 τὴν κυρείαν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κεκτημένους κτείνουσιν, ἡγεμόνα
 5 δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς καθιστᾶσιν Τελέσσιον ὄνομα, ἄνδρα σοβαρὸν
 καὶ τὸ ἐκ νεότητος θράσος ἅμα ἐπιδεικνύμενον. οὗτος λαὸν
 συναγείρας ὀπλίτην καὶ μάχιμον τὰ πλησιαίτερα τῶν Ῥω-
 μαίων χωρία καὶ φρούρια κατέτρεχε καρτερῶς. οὗ τὸ θρασὺ
 καὶ αὐθαδὲς Κωνσταντῖνος θεασάμενος ναὺς ἰππαγωγούς
 10 ἄχρι καὶ εἰς τὰς ὀκτακοσίας κατεσκεύασε, καὶ ταύτας ἰππικῶ
 στρατῷ πληρώσας διὰ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πρὸς τὸν Ἰστρον ἐξέπεμ-
 ψεν. αὐτὸς δὲ στρατὸν ἕτερον ἐπαγόμενος πρὸς Ἀγχίαλον
 πόλιν παραγίνεται. καθ' ὃν Τελέσσιος ἐξέρχεται ἔχων εἰς
 15 συμμαχίαν καὶ Σκλαβηνῶν οὐκ ὀλίγα πλήθη. καὶ ἡττηθεὶς
 μάχῃ εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπετο. πλείστοι δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἀφ'
 ἑκατέρου μέρους πίπτονσι, καὶ ἄλλοι οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ τῶν ἐπι-
 φανεστέρων ἐζωγρήθησαν. οὕτω τε τοῦ πολέμου κρατήσας
 πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον Κωνσταντῖνος ὄψατο, καὶ οὖς ἐπήγετο τῶν

39 εἴπερ . . . θάλασσαν V corr. vulg. || 46 διεπεραιούτο V corr. vulg.

76: 2 σειρᾶς ex Theoph. scr. dB ξηρᾶς V || 3 αὐτ[οὺς] κεκτημέν[ους] V ἐπ' αὐτοῖς conl. dB ||
 4 τελέσσιον V² τελεσσιων V¹ ὀνόματι ex ὄνομα V² || 10 Ἰστρον V corr. vulg. || 12 καθ' ὃν conl. dB
 || τελέσιος V || 17 ἐπέιγετο V signo super primum e posito ἢ in mg. scr. pr. m. ἡπέιγετο legendum
 esse monens; corr. vulg.

like a sea. One part that broke off struck against the Acropolis of Byzantium and gave such a jolt to the wall that is there that those dwelling inside felt the quake. Dividing into three, (the ice) covered the shore on either side of the Acropolis. In height it rose above the city walls. Over it some men were able to cross on foot from the Acropolis to the opposite shore, upon which stands the fort of Galata (as it is called). These things caused great astonishment to the inhabitants of the City: distressed by this strange and unexpected spectacle, they were seized by lamentation and weeping and so went home.

75. Several years later some Slavonian tribes left their own country and fled across the Euxine. Their number amounted to 208,000. They were settled by the river Artanas.⁵³

76. As for the Bulgarian Huns, the following events took place. Coming to an agreement among themselves, they killed their hereditary lords and appointed as their ruler one called Telessios, a haughty man who yet exhibited the rashness of youth. This man gathered a band of armed fighters and overran vigorously the Roman villages and forts that were nearest to him. On seeing his insolent boldness, Constantine built as many as eight hundred horse-carrying ships and, after loading them with a force of cavalry, sent them by way of the Euxine to the Istros. He himself came to the city of Anchialos with another army. Telessios marched out against him with a great multitude of Slavonian allies, but was defeated in battle and fled. Many of the belligerents⁵⁴ fell on both sides, and a considerable number of prominent men were captured. Having thus won the war, Constantine returned to Byzantium and delivered to

⁵³Or Artanes. In Bithynia, between the mouth of the Bosporos and Daphnousia, by modern Şile. See Arrian, *Periplus*, 17; anon. *Periplus*, 3. Both in A. Baschmakoff, *La synthèse des Périples pontiques* (Paris, 1948), 92, 108–10.

⁵⁴Literally "of the enemy," which is probably what Nikephoros meant, without noticing the contradiction with the phrase "on both sides."

ἐξωγρημένων τοῖς τε πολίταις καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων
 χρωμάτων δημόταις ὡς ἀναιρήσειν αὐτοχειρίᾳ παραδίδωσιν.
 20 οἱ δὲ λαβόντες ἔξω τείχους τοῦ πρὸς τῷ χειρσαίῳ κειμένον
 ἀνεῖλον. καὶ τούτων τὰ λάφυρα τὸν ἵππικὸν ἀγῶνα θεώμενος
 ἐθριάμβευσε. μεθ' ὧν καὶ δύο χρυσοὶ λουτήρες, οἱ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ
 κατεσκευάσθησαν Σικελίᾳ, δημοσιεύονται, ὅλην χρυσοῦ
 ἄχρι καὶ εἰς ὀκτακοσίας λιτρῶν ἕκαστον ἄγοντα.

77. Οἱ δὲ Βούλγαροι τὸ δυστυχεῖς Τελεσσίου θεασάμενοι dB70
 τοῦτόν τε στασιάσαντες κτείνουσι, καὶ κύριον αὐτῶν καθ-
 ιστώσιν ἕνα τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀρχόντων τυγχάνοντα, ᾧ Σαβίνος
 ὑπῆρχεν ὄνομα· ὃς εὐθύς τὸ κύριος δεξάμενος πρὸς βασι-
 5 λέα διαπρεσβεύεται, εἰρήνην αὐτὸν αἰτούμενος βεβαιότατα.
 Βουλγάρους δὲ οὐκ ἤρεσκε τὸ πραττόμενον· ἀλλύοντες γὰρ ἐν
 τούτῳ ἰσχυρῶς ἀντέλεγον, οἰόμενοι ὡς Ῥωμαίοις αὐτίκα δου-
 λωθησόμενοι. τούτους δεδιὼς Σαβίνος φυγὰς πρὸς βασιλέα
 ᾗχετο. εὐζώνων δὲ ἀποστείλας ἀνδρῶν τινας τὰς γυναῖκας
 10 αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς κεκρυμμένους εὐρῶν πρὸς Σαβίνον
 ἄγει. ἐν τούτοις μεταμεληθέντες οἱ Βούλγαροι καὶ αὐτοὶ πέμ-
 πουσι πρὸς βασιλέα τοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην αἰτήσοντας. ὁ δὲ οὐκ
 ἐδέχετο, ἀλλ' εὐθύς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξεστράτευσεν. οἱ δὲ τὰς δυσ-
 χωρίας τοῦ περὶ αὐτοὺς ὄρους ἀνέφραττον. καὶ τούτων ὁ κύριος
 15 | τὰ πιστὰ παρὰ βασιλέως λαβὼν σὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτοῦ V207^v
 πρὸς βασιλέα παραγίνεται. αὐτὸς δὲ τούτους δεξάμενος ἅμα
 Σαβίνῳ συμπαρεδρεύοντι ὠνείδισε τὴν ἀταξίαν καὶ τὸ μῖσος ὃ
 κατὰ Σαβίνου ἐπεδείξαντο, καὶ εἰρηνεύειν αὐτοῖς συνετίθετο.

78. Ταῦτα διεπράττετο κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἰνδικτιόνα. ἔτι
 καὶ υἱὸς τίκεται τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὃν Νικήταν ὠνόμασεν. ὑπὸ
 δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον στόλος τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐξ Ἀφρικῆς
 ἀπάρας κατὰ τῆς νήσου Σικελίας παραγίνεται· τὸ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ
 5 στρατιωτικὸν γενναίως ἀντιταξάμενον τούτοις, μηδὲν τῆς ἐλ-
 πίδος ἠνυκότας ἀπέπεμψε.

79. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν τρίτην ἰνδικτιόνα εἰσέρχεται Κωνσταν-

20 τοῦ ἐκ τῷ V¹ || κειμένῳ V corr. B || 22 χρυσοὶ V || 23 ὅλην V

77: 2 αὐτῶν vulg. αὐτὸν V || 3 ᾧ vulg. ὃς V || 4 ὄνοματι ἐκ ὄνομα V² || 5 αὐτὸν dB αὐτῷ V ||
 βεβαιώτατα V || 14 τοῦ περὶ αὐτοὺς ὄρους vulg. το . . . περὶ αὐτ . . . ὄρους V¹ τοὺς περὶ αὐτοὺς
 (ultima litt. postea deleta) τὸ ὄρος V² || 17 ἀταξίαν P cf. Theoph. 436.13 ἄξιαν V

78: 1 δὴ ἐπράττετο con. dB

the citizens and to the members of the so-called "colors" the captives he had brought along so that they would kill them with their own hands. Taking them outside the wall that lies on the landward side, they slew them. He exhibited their spoils while they were watching the equestrian games. At the same time were displayed two golden basins that had been made in the island of Sicily, each one weighing 800 lbs. of gold.

77. Now the Bulgarians, on seeing the bad fortune of Telessios, rose in revolt and killed him, and appointed as their lord one of their commanders named Sabinos. Immediately on being invested with his authority, he sent an embassy to the emperor asking for a secure peace. This action did not please the Bulgarians: for in their distress at this they objected strenuously, thinking that they would be straightaway enslaved by the Romans. Being in fear of them, Sabinos fled to the emperor. He⁵⁵ sent a number of well-equipped men and, having found their wives and kinsmen, who were in hiding, brought them to Sabinos. At this the Bulgarians changed their minds and they, too, made overtures of peace to the emperor. The latter did not accept (their proposals) and immediately took up arms against them. They, for their part, fortified the difficult (passes) of the mountain range that surrounds them. Upon receiving pledges from the emperor, their lord came before him together with his dignitaries. The emperor received them with Sabinos seated by his side, reproached them for their disorderly conduct and the hatred they had shown to Sabinos, and agreed to make peace with them.

78. These events took place in the 1st indiction. Furthermore, a son was born to the emperor, whom he called Niketas. At the same time a Saracen fleet set sail from Africa and came to the island of Sicily, but they failed in their purpose because the army that was there opposed them bravely and repelled them.

79. In the 3rd indiction Constantine entered Bulgaria in order to re-

⁵⁵Meaning unclear; see Commentary.

τινος εἰς Βουλγαρίαν τῷ τῶν ἀρχηγῶν αὐτῶν κατασταθῆντα
 ὑπὸ Σαβίριον Οὐμαρον ὄνομα τῆς ἀρχῆς μεταστήται [Βουλ-
 γάρους], ἀνεπιτεῖν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ Τάκτον ἀδῆρα Βουλγαριου τῶν
 5 Βαϊανου ἀδελφῶν, οἱ δὲ Βούλγαροι φρυγίδες ἐν ταῖς ἕλαις τῶν
 ποταμῶν τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἀπόχορτο, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ αὐτῶν κατα-
 κτείνονται, μεθ' ὧν καὶ ὁ Τάκτος ἄμια τῷ ἀδελφῷ Βαϊανῷ
 ἀναιρεῖται καὶ ἕτεροι, ἄλλος δὲ τις ἀρχῶν αὐτῶν, ὃν ὄνομα
 10 ζοῦσι Καμπαγιάνον, ἐν Βιρίνη προισφυγείν * ὡς ἐδόκει προτι-
 μνεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων δούλων ἀγῆρῆθη, τότε δὴ καὶ Βουλγα-
 ρίας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πυρίκαυτα ὡς πλείστα χωρὶς γέγονε καὶ
 διόλωλεν.

80. Ἴδη δὲ ἡ ἀγέβεια τοῦ κρατούντος ἐπαρρητιάζετο,
 καὶ πάντα εὐτεβείας ὁδῶς διεβιάλλετο καὶ τῶν εὐτεβιούντων
 καὶ θεῶ προσηρακεκίμενων ὁ βίος ἐχλευάζετο καὶ διαικώ-
 πτετο, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν μοναζούντων τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκθέτημας ἔδιω-
 5 κετο τάγμα, τούτων γὰρ τοὺς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὁμολογίαν φυλάξαν-
 τες καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκείου διακείμεντες στήματος καὶ τῷ ἀνωτίῳ
 αὐτῶν ἀνθεστηκότας δόγματι ποικίλους βιατάνους καὶ δια-
 φόρους αἰκίαις παρεδίδοσαν, καὶ ὧν μὲν τὴν γενεαῖδα ἀφει-
 δῶς ἐνεπίμπρων, ὧν δὲ τῶν ταύτης τριχῶν βίαι ἀπισπιῶντες
 10 ἀφήρουν, κεφαλὰς δ' ἄλλων τοῖς ἱεροῖς πίναξιν, ἐν οἷς τῶν
 ἀγίων τὰ ἐκτυπώματα ἐκεχάρακτο, διέθρασκον πειῶντες, καὶ
 μέντοι καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς τούτων διώρυσσον ἢ τῶν μελῶν ἕτερα
 τοῦ σώματος ἐξέκοπτον ἀπανθρώπως αἱ δειλαιοὶ, καὶ ἔπιαν
 ὡς εἰπεῖν τὸ εὐτεβές διωθεῖτο καὶ ἀπηλαύνετο, καὶ αἰτηρ
 15 ἑλληρισμοῦ δευτέρου Χριστιανοῖς ἐπιφύετος πάντα μηχανῆ
 κακουργίας ἐπειροεῖτο, δι' ἧς τοὺς κατὰ θεὸν ζῆν ἀίρουμένους
 ἐπηρεάζεω καὶ πημαίνειω ἐσπούδαζον, ἤδη δὲ τούτων ἐνίως
 πρὸς τὸ τῆς αἰκείας ἀπωλείας καθείλκυται βάρβαρον * καὶ
 τῷ δυσσεβεῖ | αὐτῶν εἶξαν θεοπίσματι ἢ βίαι ἐλκόμενοι ἢ
 20 ἀπάτη ὑποσυρόμενοι ἢ θωπεῖαις ὑποκλεπτόμενοι ἢ χρήματι
 δελεαζόμενοι ἢ στρατείας καὶ ἀξιομάτων * φιλοτιμούμενοι.

79: 2 τῷ τῶν vulg., τὸ τῶν (ex τῶν) V¹ || 3 ὀνόματι ex ὄνομα V² || 3-4 μεταστήται· Βουλ-
 γάρους ἐν εἰπεῖν V μεταστήται Βουλγάρους, ἀνεπιτεῖν vulg., Βουλγάρους seclust || 5 Βουλγαρίων
 V¹ corr. V² cf. 65,9 || 6 Ἰστροῦ V corr., vulg. || 7 μεθ' ὧν V² μέων V¹ || 9 post προισφυγείν lacunam
 statui προσφυγῶν B προισφυγείν del., dB

80: 2 διεβιάλλετο V || 17 πημαίνειω V² ποιμαίνειω V¹ || 18 lacunam statui || 19 ἤξει· V corr.
 vulg. || 21 ἀξιομάτων ὑποσχέσει φιλ., vel. ἀξ. φιλοτιμίας κυριόμενοι suppl. esse com. dB

move from office their leader who had been appointed by Sabinos, a man called Oumaros, and proclaim in his stead the Bulgarian Toktos, brother of Baianos. The Bulgarians fled to the forests of the river Istros and many of them were slain, including Toktos together with his brother as well as others. Another one of their commanders, whom they call Kampaganos, was killed by his own slaves while he was attempting to escape to Varna and join (the emperor).⁵⁶ At that time a great many Bulgarian villages were burned and destroyed by the Romans.

80. The emperor's irreligion was by now freely expressed: every avenue leading to piety was brought into discredit; the manner of life of the pious and those devoted to God was ridiculed and mocked; and, in particular, the holy regiment of monks was lawlessly persecuted. Those of them who had kept their profession, had clung to their habit, and had opposed the unholy doctrine of those men were subjected to diverse tortures and different outrages: some had their beards burned without pity, others had the hairs of their beard plucked out by force. They also broke the heads of some (monks) by striking them with the holy boards upon which were represented the images of saints; indeed, they even gouged out their eyes and cruelly cut off other parts of the body, wretched men that they were. Every form of piety was, so to speak, rejected and driven away and, as though a second paganism had grown up among Christians, all kinds of wicked devices were invented whereby they sought to maltreat and injure those who had chosen to live according to God. Some of them they dragged down to the pit of their own perdition, (those who) yielded to the impious decree being driven by force or seduced by deceit or cheated by flattery or beguiled by money or honored by imperial⁵⁷ appoint-

⁵⁶ See Commentary.

⁵⁷ The term *strateia* denoted not only military, but every kind of imperial service.

ἢ ἐτέραις πολυτρόποις τοῦ πονηροῦ μεθοδεΐαις τὴν ἐξαπάτην
 εἰσδεχόμενοι τὸ ἐπάγγελμά τε ἠθέτουσαν καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν με-
 25 ἀμφιεννύμενοι στόλισμα κομῆται αὐτοὶ ἀντὶ κεκαρμένων
 διεδεικνυτο καὶ εἰς λαϊκῶν σχῆμα εὐθύς μεθρημόζοντο, γυ-
 ναιξί τε ὀμιλεῖν κατεδέχοντο καὶ τὸ πρὸς αὐτάς ἡσπάζοντο
 συνοικέσιον. ἐπράττετο γοῦν ταῦτα, ὡς ἂν διὰ πάντων αὐτὸς
 τε ὁ τῶν ὄλων θεὸς τό γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀτιμάζεται καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκ-
 κλησίας καθυβρίζεται τίμια.

81. Ἐντεῦθεν συλλαμβάνονται Στέφανόν τινα, ἄνδρα
 ὄσιον καὶ θεοφιλῆ τυγχάνοντα, μοναστὴν δὲ τῷ σχήματι καὶ
 περιειργμένον ἐν οἰκιδίῳ στενωπάτῳ πάνυ ὑπάρχοντα, ὑπὸ
 τῆν τοῦ μεγίστου ὄρους ἰδρυμένον ἀκρώρειαν, ὃ καλοῦσι τοῦ
 5 ὄσιου Αὐξεντίου λόφον. ἔγκλημά τε εὐσεβείας ἐπάγουσιν
 αὐτῷ οἱ ἀνόσιοι, “ὡς πολλούς”, φασίν, “ἐξαπατᾶ διδάσκων
 δόξης τῆς παρούσης καταφρονεῖν οἴκων τε καὶ συγγενείας
 ὑπερορᾶν καὶ τὰς βασιλείους αὐτὰς ἀποστρέφεισθαι καὶ πρὸς
 τὸν μονήρη βίον μεταρρυθμίζεσθαι”. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πληγαῖς
 10 τε πλείσταις αἰκισάμενοι καὶ δεσμωτήριον οἰκεῖν καταδικά-
 σαντες, τέλος σχοινίοις αὐτὸν κατὰ τοὺς πόδας ἐξάψαντες καὶ
 τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀφορμήσαντες περιβόλων, μέχρι τῆς λεγο-
 μένης τοῦ Βοὸς ἀγορᾶς ἐλκύσαντες διέσπασαν, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ
 σῶμα ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις τάφοις τῶν Πελαγίου ὡς κακούρ-
 15 γου οἱ δυσσεβεῖς ἀπέρριψαν· αὐτόθι γὰρ τὰ τε τῶν ἐθνικῶν
 ἀμυήτων σώματα καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπηγορευμένῳ τελευ-
 τῶντων ἐξεπέμπετο. πλείστους τῶν τε ἐν τέλει καὶ τοῦ στρα-
 τωτικῆς ὑπευθύνους καθιστῶντες, προσκυνεῖν ἱεραῖς εἰκόσι
 20 καταιτώμενοι, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ καθοσιώσει ἀλόντας διέφθειραν,
 οὓς μὲν διαφόροις θανάτοις παραδιδόντες, οὓς δὲ τιμωρίαις
 ξέναις καθυποβάλλοντες, πλήθη τε ἄπειρα ὑπερορίαις παρα-
 πέμποντες. ἐφ' οἷς ὄρκους βεβαιοῦν ἐβουλεύσαντο ἅπαν αὐ-
 τοῖς τὸ ὑπήκουον ὡς τὸ λοιπὸν εἰκόνη μὴ προσκυνεῖν ἀγίων
 25 τινά. φασὶ δὲ ὡς καὶ τὸν τηρικαῦτα τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερέα θεα-
 σάμενοι ὑψώσαντα τὰ ζωοποιὰ ξύλα ὀμωμοκέναι μηδ' αὐτὸν
 εἶναι τῶν προσκυνούτων τὰς ἱερὰς εἰκόνας. τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀσε-
 βούντων τὰ τολμήματα.

dB73

22 μεθοδείαις V || 24 κομίται V

81: 5 ὄσιου V² in ras. ὄν'. . . ς (fort. ὀνόματος) V¹ || 9 μεταρρυθμίζεσθαι V || διὰ vulg. δὴ V
 || 10 [οἰκ]εῖν ὡς V οἰκ-sec. m. in ras. scripto ὡς deleto || 14-15 κακούργων ultima litt. in v ras. mutata V

ments and dignities or who, having once swallowed the deceit through some of the multifarious devices of the Devil, set their profession at naught, put off their decorous raiment, grew their hair instead of being tonsured, changed immediately into lay costume, and consented to have intercourse with women and embrace marriage with them. These things were done so that the God of the universe should in every way be dishonored (as far as this was possible to them) and the holy (institutions) of the Church insulted.

81. For this reason they apprehended a certain Stephen, a holy and God-loving man, who wore a monk's habit and was confined to a tiny cell situated below the summit of that great mountain which is called the hill of St. Auxentios.⁵⁸ Unholy as they were, they brought against him a charge relating to religion,⁵⁹ saying that "he deceived many men by teaching them to despise the glory of this world, to disregard family and relatives, to avoid the imperial court, and to adopt the monastic life." On this account they inflicted many blows on him and condemned him to prison; finally, tying a rope round his feet, they dragged him from the imperial palace to the so-called market of the Bull and broke him to pieces and, impious as they were, threw his body, as if he had been a criminal, in the so-called tombs of Pelagios;⁶⁰ for it was customary to convey thither the bodies of unbaptized pagans and of those who had died an illicit death. They brought under accusation many men invested with authority as well as members of the army, charging them with worshiping holy icons, and killed them as if they had been found guilty of sacrilege; some they subjected to different kinds of death, on others they inflicted unusual punishments, while a great multitude were exiled. Furthermore, they resolved that all the subjects (of the state) should affirm under oath that henceforth none of them would worship the icon of a saint. It is even said by eyewitnesses that the then archpriest of the City elevated the life-giving Cross and swore that he, too, was not a worshiper of the holy icons. Such were the daring deeds of the impious.

⁵⁸Modern Kayışdağ, SE of Chalcedon: J. Pargoire, "Mont Saint-Auxence," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 8 (1903), 266–79 (for identification); Janin, *Grands centres*, 43 ff.

⁵⁹Or possibly "to loyalty," which would be more appropriate to the nature of the charges.

⁶⁰In the west part of Constantinople; exact situation unknown. See Janin, *CP*, 405.

82. Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔτει ἐπιστρατεύει Κωνσταντῖνος κατὰ Βουλγάρων καὶ παραγίνεται σὺν τῷ περιόντι λαῷ ἐγγύτατα τῆς Βουλγάρων γῆς καὶ σκηνοῦται παρὰ τὴν λεγομένην ἐμβολὴν Βεριγάβων. πλόϊμον δὲ ἐξοπλίσας συντελοῦν περὶ τὰ
 5 δισχίλια καὶ ἑξακόσια σκάφη, ναυτικὸν δὲ πλήθος καὶ στρατιωτικὸν | ἔκ τε τῶν πλοῖμων στρατηγίδων καὶ ἐτέρων χώρων V208^v
 ἐμβαλῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλεν, ὥστε παραγενέσθαι περὶ τε Μεσήμβρειαν καὶ Ἀγχίαλον τὰ πολίσματα καὶ προσπελάζειν Βουλγάρους. ἐντεῦθεν οὖν περικτυπηθέντες οἱ Βούλγαροι
 10 τότε, τὸ ἵππικὸν καὶ πλόϊμον θεασάμενοι πλήθος, εἰς συμβάσεις τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐτράποντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πλόϊμον πρὸς ταῖς ἀκταῖς τῆς ἐκείνῃ θαλάσσης καθωρμίζετο (ἀλίμενος γὰρ ὁ τόπος καὶ τοῖς πλέουσι δυσφορώτατος), πνεῦμα βίαιον καὶ
 15 ναῦς πρὸς ταῖς ἀκταῖς περιτρέψιας συνέτριψε καὶ πλήθη τῶν εἰσπλεόντων οὐκ ὀλίγα τῷ ῥοθίῳ κατεπόντισεν. ἐν τούτοις ἄγαν θορυβηθέντα τὸν βασιλέα κελεύσαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας δικτύους περιβαλεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς ἀνελέσθαι τῶν ἀποπνιγέντων τὰ σώματα καὶ τῇ γῇ παραδιδόναι, οὕτω τε πρὸς τὰ
 20 βασιλεια ὑποστρέψαι.

83. Ἐπι δὲ πνέων κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν Ναζηραίων σχῆμα καθύβριζεν. εὐθύς γὰρ ἀγῶνα ἵππικὸν ἐπετέλει, καὶ τινὰς τούτων ἐπιτρέπει ἐν μέσῳ τῷ θεάτρῳ διέλκεσθαι καὶ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον γυναῖκα μονάστριαν παρὰ χεῖρα
 5 φέρειν πολλῶν τε παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν θεωμένων ὕβρεων αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμπτυσμάτων, οἷα περὶ τὸ ὀχλῶδες καὶ ἀγελαῖον συμβαίνειν εἶωθε, καταχεθέντων οὕτω τὸν ἄθεσμον ἐκείνον καὶ αἰσχιστον διήνυσαν δίαυλον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἄνδρας τινὰς τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχαῖς καὶ ἀξιώμασι ἐγκλήμασι βαρυντάτοις συκοφαντῶν ὑπάγει ὡς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ ἐπιβουλεύειν πειρωμένους. τούτων δ' ἦν Ἀντίοχος μὲν ὁ τῶν δημοσιῶν πραγμάτων τὰς ὑπομνήσεις αὐτῷ διακομίζων (λογοθέτην δὲ τοῦ δρόμου τὴν ἀξίαν οἱ περὶ τὰ βασιλεια καλοῦσι), Θεοφύλακτος δὲ ἐν τοῖς πατρικίους καὶ στρατηγοῖς διατελῶν, ἔτι μὴν
 dB74

82: 7 παραγενέσθαι dB γενέσθαι praecedente lacuna V || 10–11 συμβάσ[εις] V || 16 ῥωθίω V || 17 θορυβηθέντα B θορυβηθέντες V

83: 1 ἀσεβείας V corr. B || 7 κατασχεθέντων V corr. dB καταχυθέντων vulg.

82. In the same year Constantine made an expedition against Bulgaria and came with his army very close to the Bulgarian land, where he encamped by the pass called Verigava.⁶¹ He also fitted out a fleet of about 2,600 vessels, which he manned with a multitude of sailors and soldiers drawn both from the naval commands and from other regions, and sent them to the townships of Mesembria and Anchialos in order to draw near to the Bulgarians. Upon seeing the multitude of cavalry and ships, the Bulgarians were distraught and begged the emperor for terms. But as the fleet was anchored by the coast of the sea that is there (for that place is lacking in harbors and difficult for sailors), a violent and harsh blast blew against it (it was a north wind), overturned and broke the ships against the shore, and sank in the surf a great number of the crews. The emperor was greatly distressed by this and commanded the officers to cast nets in the sea in order to collect the drowned bodies and bury them; and thus he returned to the palace.

83. Still breathing hard against the pious faith, he insulted the sacred habit of the Nazarenes. For straightaway he conducted hippodrome games and directed that some of them should be dragged in the midst of the theater, each holding a nun by the hand. After the throng of the spectators had poured upon them a mass of insults and had spat upon them (as is the custom of the vulgar rabble), was this unlawful and most shameful procession completed. After this he falsely brought under grave accusation several men in high positions and dignities, (alleging) that they were attempting to plot against his authority. Among these were Antiochos, who conveyed to him memoranda of public affairs ((the holder of) this post is called logothete of the course by those who belong to the court), Theophylaktos, who was patrician and *strategos*, in ad-

⁶¹Probably the pass of Riš.

- 15 καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀσπιδηφόρων καὶ δορυφόρων τυ-
χάνοντες, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τούτων ἔκτος ἕτεροι. μετ' οὐ πολὺ τὴν
ὁμοίαν ἐπιτελῶν ἄμιλλαν δεσμώτας ἐνταῦθα περιελκύσας
ἐθριάμβευε· καὶ τῇ ἐξῆς Κωνσταντῖνον μὲν καὶ Στρατήγιον
ἀδελφούς ὑπάρχοντας θανάτῳ κατεδίκασε, καὶ ἤδη τούτων
20 τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ τῆς πόλεως Κυνηγίῳ ἀπέτεμεν,
ἄλλων δ' αὐ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξέκοψε. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ παρα-
σκευάζει τῶν οἰκείων τινὰς Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ τῆς πόλεως
ἀρχιερέως ὄρκιον κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐξυφῆναι κατηγορίαν, διελέγ-
χειν δὲ φανερώς ὡς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀκηκοῆναι πάντα τὰ παρὰ
25 τῶν περὶ Ἀντίοχον καὶ Θεοφύλακτον μελετώμενα. καὶ εὐθὺς
ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐξόριστον ἐν τῇ Ἱερίᾳ, οὕτω καλουμένου βασι-
λικοῦ παλατίου ἀντιπέρα πρὸς εὐρον ἄνεμον τοῦ Βυζαντίου
κείμενον, παρέπεμψε, Νικήταν δὲ | πρεσβύτερον τῆς τῶν
ἀγίων ἀποστόλων ἐκκλησίας εὐνοῦχον προχειρίζεται ἀρχιε-
30 ρέα. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐπράττετο κατὰ τὸν Αὐγουστον μῆνα τῆς
τετάρτης ἰνδικτιόνος.

dB75
V209^r

84. [Κατὰ δὲ τὸν Ὀκτώβριον μῆνα τῆς ἕκτης ἰνδικτιό-
νος] Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ μεταπέμπεται Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ ἀπο-
στέλλει πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν φορεῖν ἐποχοῦμενον. συνεκπέμπει δὲ
τινα αὐτῷ τῶν βασιλικῶν γραμματέων κομίζοντα ἐν γραμ-
5 ματίῳ ὅσα κατ' αὐτοῦ· ἅπερ εἰς ἐπήκοον τοῦ ἀθροισθέντος
ἐκεῖσε λαοῦ ἀνέγνω, παίων αὐτὸν κατὰ κόρρησ ἐφ' ἐνὶ ἐκά-
στῳ τῶν κατηγορουμένων. καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄμβωνος ἀν-
ενέγκαντες καθαιρούσι, τοῦ νέου πατριάρχου πρὸς τῷ θυσια-
στηρίῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα αἰτιάματα ὑπαναγινώσκοντος. καὶ τῇ ἐξῆς
10 τὴν συνήθη αὐτῷ ἵππικὴν ἀγωνίαν ἐπιτελῶν ἐπιτρέπει αὐτὸν
ἐπ' ὄνου προσιζήκότα, τῆς καθέδρας αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῖς ὀπι-
σθίοις τοῦ ζώου περιτραπίσης, [καί] ἐκεῖσε διέλκεσθαι καὶ
ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς δυσφημεῖσθαι τε καὶ καταπτύεσθαι.
εἶτα μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐν τῷ τῆς πόλεως Κυνηγίῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν
15 αὐτοῦ ἀπομηθῆναι προστέταχε, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐν τῷ καλου-

15 ἀσπιδηφόρων V corr. B || 16 ἐτέρους μετ' οὐ πολὺ conit. dB οὗς μετ' B || 17 ὁμοίαν . . . ἄμιλλαν
V || 23 ὄρκιον gloss. Barocc. f. 313^v ὄρκον V ἔνορκον P || 24–25 παρὰ τὸν V corr. vulg. || 26 ἐκεῖνων
V corr. vulg. || 27 ἀντιπέρα V corr. vulg.

84: 1 v. comment. || 3 φορέω V corr. B || 5 ἐπήκοον B et Theoph. 441.12 ὑπήκοον V || 6 αὐτῷ
V corr. B || 12 καὶ secluisi

dition to some members of (the imperial) bodyguard as well as a number of others. Shortly thereafter he performed a similar contest⁶² and paraded them there as prisoners. The following day he condemned to death the brothers Constantine and Strategios and cut off their heads in the so-called Kynegion of the City, while others he blinded. And the next day he contrived that some friends of Constantine, archpriest of the City, should concoct a sworn accusation against him, proving clearly that they had heard from him all the designs of the companions of Antiochos and Theophylaktos. Straightaway he exiled Constantine to Hieria (this is the name of an imperial palace that lies across the water from Byzantium in an easterly direction) and appointed as archpriest the eunuch Niketas, who was a presbyter of the church of the Holy Apostles. All these events took place in the month of August of the 4th indiction.

84. Shortly thereafter he had Constantine fetched and sent him to the church riding in a cart. He had him accompanied by one of the imperial secretaries bearing the written charges against him; these (the secretary) read out before the gathered people, striking him on the face for every item of the accusation. In this way they brought him up to the ambo and deposed him, while the new patriarch read out these same charges in front of the sanctuary in a low voice. The next day (the emperor) conducted the customary hippodrome games and directed that (Constantine) should be pulled along, seated on a donkey, facing toward the rear of the animal, and should be cursed and spat upon by the whole people. Not long thereafter he commanded that his head should be cut off in the Kynegion of the City and exposed aloft at the so-called

⁶²I.e., chariot races in the Hippodrome.

μένω Μιλίω ἐξαρτηθεῖσαν μετέωρον φέρεσθαι, τὸ δ' αὐτοῦ
σῶμα σχοινίοις διασύρουσιν ἀνὰ τὰς λεωφόρους τῆς πόλεως
εἰς (τε) τοὺς τῶν Πελαγίου καλουμένους τάφους ἐξέριπτον.

85. Πέμπτη δὲ ἰνδικτιόνι ἀβροχίας ἐπικρατούσης αὐ-
χμῶδες καὶ ξηρὸν γέγονε τὸ κατάστημα, ὡς καὶ αὐτὴν ἐπι-
λελοιπέναι τὴν ἀέριον δρόσον, ἔτι καὶ τὰ πηγαῖα ὑποστέλ-
λεσθαι νάματα, ἀργὰ τε μένειν ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὰ λουτρὰ τῶν
5 ἐκδοχείων κενῶν ὑπαρξάντων. ἐκ τούτου βουλευέται Κων-
σταντῖνος τὸν τοῦ ὕδατος ὄγκον ἀνακαινίζειν ὃν Βαλεντινια-
νὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς κατεσκεύασεν, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἀβάρων ἐπὶ τῶν Ἡρα-
κλείου χρόνων τοῦ βασιλέως καταστραφέντα. καὶ πλείστους
10 ἀνδρας τεχνίτας εἰς οἰκοδομὴν ἐμπείρους ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥω-
μαίων ἀρχῆς συναθροίσας, πολλὰ τε δαπανήματα αὐτοῖς ἐκ
τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων προσαναλώσας, οὕτω τὸ τοιοῦτον
ἔργον ἐτέλεσε. φιλόχρυσος δὲ ὢν ὁ μισόχριστος νέος Μίδα-
Κωνσταντῖνος ἀναδείκνυται καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα ἀπο-
θησαυρίζει. ἐν οἷς συνέβαινε ἐν ταῖς τῶν φόρων πράξεσι
15 τῶν φορολογουμένων βιαζομένων εὐώνως τὰ τῆς γῆς καρπή-
ματα καὶ γεννήματα διαπιπράσκεσθαι, ὡς τῷ νομίσματι
ἐξήκοντα μοδίους σίτου διαγοράζεσθαι, κριθῆς δὲ ἑβδομή-
κοντα, καὶ πλείστα ἄγαν βραχεῖα πάνυ ἀπεμπολεῖσθαι πο-
σότητι. ὅπερ τοῖς μὲν ἀνοήτοις εὐφορία τε γῆς καὶ πραγμά-
20 των εὐθηνία ἐνομίζετο, τοῖς δὲ εὐφρονουσι τυραννίδος καὶ
φιλοχρηματίας ἔργον καὶ ἀπανθρωπίας νόστος ἐκρίνετο.

86. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐβδόμην ἰνδικτιόνα τίκεται υἱὸς Κων-
σταντίνω, ὃν ἐκάλεσεν Ἀνθιμον. ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν Νι-
κῆτας ὁ τῆς πόλεως πρόεδρος τινὰ μὲν [τῶν] ἐκ χρόνου δια-
φθαρέντα τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνακαινίζει κτίσματα,
5 τὰς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖσε ἰδρυμένοις τῶν προόδων οἴκοις, οὓς
Ῥωμαῖοι σέκρετα καλοῦσι, τὸ τε μικρὸν δόμημα καὶ τὸ μέγα,
τοῦ σωτήρος καὶ τῶν ἁγίων οὓσας διὰ ψηφίδων χρυσῶν καὶ

dB76

V209'

18 εἰς τῆς τῶν πελαγίων καλουμένης ταφῆς V corr. dB, qui autem pravam lectionem Πελαγίων retinuit. Cf. 81.14

85: 12 ὁ νέος V ὁ del. V² || 16 γενήματα V corr. B

86: 3 τῶν del. esse conl. dB || 5 οὓς dB ἄς V || 6 Ῥωμαίους V corr. vulg. σεκρετα sine acc. V || δώμημα V corr. vulg.

Milion,⁶³ while his body was dragged by a rope through the streets of the City and cast in the tombs known as those of Pelagios.

85. In the 5th indiction there was a drought. The weather became parched and dry, so that even the aerial dew disappeared and the flow of springs was interrupted. For this reason the baths remained idle, since the reservoirs were empty. Consequently Constantine decided to renew the aqueduct which had been built by Emperor Valentinian and had been destroyed by the Avars in the days of Emperor Herakleios.⁶⁴ He collected from the Roman dominions a great number of artisans skilled in construction, on whom he lavished many allowances from the public treasury and so completed this work. Avaricious as he was, Christ's enemy Constantine proved to be a new Midas, who stored away all the gold. As a result, the taxed people, hard pressed as they were by the exaction of imposts, sold cheaply the fruit and produce of the earth, so that 60 *modii* of wheat and 70 of barley could be bought for 1 *nomisma* and many (other goods) were sold for very small sums. This was considered by the senseless as a sign of the earth's fertility and the abundance of commodities, but by the wise as the result of oppression and avarice and as an inhuman sickness.

86. In the 7th indiction a son was born to Constantine, whom he called Anthimos. At the same time Niketas, the bishop of the City, restored certain structures of the cathedral church that had fallen into decay with (the passage of) time. He also scraped off the images of the Savior and of the saints done in golden mosaic and in encaustic that were in the ceremonial halls that stand there (these are called *secreta* by the Romans), both in the small one and in

⁶³ An arch placed at the starting point of the Mesē, the main street of Constantinople: C. Mango, *The Brazen House* (Copenhagen, 1959), 47–48; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 216–18.

⁶⁴ I.e., the siege of 626. The aqueduct is usually attributed to Emperor Valens.

κηροχύτου ὕλης εἰκονογραφίας ἀπέξυσε. Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ
 (πρὸς) τοὺς τῶν Σκλαβηνῶν ἀποστέλλει ἄρχοντας καὶ ἀνα-
 10 καλεῖται τοὺς ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου παρ' αὐτοῖς αἰχμαλωτι-
 σθέντας Χριστιανούς ἀπὸ τε Ἰμβρου καὶ Τενέδου καὶ Σαμο-
 θράκης τῶν νήσων, σηρικοῖς ἱματίοις τούτους ἀμειψάμενος,
 τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντας ἄχρι δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων, καὶ πρὸς
 15 ρεύεσθαι οὐ ἂν βούλοιο ἕκαστος.

87. Τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἰνδικτιόνι, κατὰ τὸν Ἀπρίλιον μῆνα, τῷ dB77
 ἀγίῳ σαββάτῳ στέφει Κωνσταντῖνος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα
 Εὐδοκίαν Αὐγούσταν, καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ τοὺς
 μὲν δύο Χριστοφόρον καὶ Νικηφόρον Καίσαρας, Νικήταν δὲ
 5 νοβελίσιμον. τῆς δὲ βασιλικῆς προόδου κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἐπὶ
 τὴν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν γενομένης ὑπατείας ἐποίησαν καὶ
 τοῖς παρελθοῦσι χρήματα διένειμαν, ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου ἀρ-
 ξάμενοι μέχρι τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦτο ἐπιτελοῦντες.

88. Ὁγδόῃ δὲ ἰνδικτιόνι ἄγεται Κωνσταντῖνος εἰς υἱὸν
 Λέοντα γαμετὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Εἰρήνην, καὶ τῷ Δεκεμβρίῳ
 μηνὶ στέφει τε αὐτὴν Αὐγούσταν καὶ τῷ υἱῷ ζεύξας τὸν γάμον
 ἐπιτελεῖ.

9 πρὸς add. esse conl. dB || 12 σειρικοῖς V corr. B

87: 1 ἀπρήλιον V corr. vulg. || 3 ἐπ' αὐριον V || τῶν υἱῶν om. V¹ τὸν υἱόν in mg. V² || 5
 ὀβελίσιμον V corr. vulg.

the big one. As for Constantine, he sent emissaries to the chieftains of the Slavonians and ransomed in exchange for silken vestments the Christian captives they had taken a long time previously on the islands of Imbros, Tenedos, and Samothrace, to the number of 2,500. After bringing them in his presence and giving them some small rewards, he let each man go wherever he wished.

87. In the month of April of the 7th indiction, on Holy Saturday, Constantine crowned his wife Eudokia as Augusta, and the next day (he made) two of his sons, namely, Christopher and Nikephoros, Caesars and (the third), Niketas, *nobilissimus*. In the course of the customary imperial procession to the cathedral church they gave largesse and distributed money to passers by, starting at the palace and continuing to do so as far as the church.

88. In the 8th indiction Constantine brought from Hellas a wife for his son Leo, namely, Eirene, and in the month of December he crowned her Augusta and, after uniting her with his son, celebrated their wedding.

ΧΡΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΝ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟΥ
ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ

L24^r

1. Μετὰ τὴν Μαυρικίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναίρεσιν Φωκᾶς,
ἐπεὶ ταύτην κατειργάσατο, τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιλαμβάνεται
ὑφ' οὗ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κακώσεως Χριστιανοῖς ἤλασε τὰ πρά-
γματα ὡς παρὰ πολλοῖς ἄδεσθαι ὅτι Πέρσαι μὲν τὴν Ῥωμαίων
5 ἀρχὴν ἐκτὸς κατεπόνουν, Φωκᾶς δὲ ἔνδον χεῖρω τούτων ἔπρατ-
τεν. διὸ οἱ περὶ τὴν Λιβύην στρατηγούντες τῷ μεγίστῳ δια-
στήματι τὸ θαρρεῖν ἔχοντες, ἅμα δὲ καὶ παρὰ Μαυρικίου
τὰ τῆς στρατηγείας ἐγχειρισθέντες (δύο δὲ ἦσθη ἀδελφῶ,
'Ηράκλειος καὶ Γρηγόριος), οὗτοι κοινῇ βουλευσάμενοι τοὺς
10 ἑαυτῶν υἱεῖς πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐκπέμπουσιν, ὡς τὸν προφθά-
σαντα τούτων τῆς βασιλείας, εἰ δυνατὸν, ἐπιλήψεσθαι. καὶ
'Ηράκλειον μὲν τὸν Ἡρακλείου παῖδα πλειστῶ καθοπλίσαν-
τες στόλῳ ἕκ τε τῶν Ἄφρων καὶ Μαυρουσίων πληρώσαντες,
πλοῖ ἐκπέμπουσιν, Νικήταν δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Γρηγορίου ἱππικῆ
15 στρατιᾷ πολλῇ περιβαλόντες διὰ τῆς ἠπείρου ἀπέστειλλον.
δεξιᾷ δὲ τύχῃ χρησάμενος καὶ πνεύμασιν ἐπιφορωτάτοις ἀ-
αχθεῖς | Ἡράκλειος προφθάζει Νικήταν εὐπλοῖσας εἰς Βυζάν-
τιον, καὶ ἤδη τῇ πόλει προσεπέλαζεν. Κρίσπος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Φωκᾶ
L24^v
γαμβρός, ὃς ἦν τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς πόλεως ἔπαρχος, μεγάλα ἐν
20 τοῖς βασιλείοις δυνάμενος, ἐπεὶ ἀπεχθάνετο Φωκᾶ, περι-
υβρισμένος παρ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῆς οἰκείας εἰκόνας καθαίρε-
σιν, ἦν ποτε οἱ τῶν ἀντιθέτων χρωμάτων δημόται τῇ τοῦ Φωκᾶ
συμπεριέγραψαν εἰκόνι, δόλῳ αὐτὸν μετήρχετο, καὶ πονεῖν
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἔπειθεν, καὶ Ἡράκλειον ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ
25 ἤκειν ἀπισχυρίζετο, συνήργει δὲ Ἡρακλείῳ καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ

1: 3 τοσοῦτον corr. ex τοσοῦτων L¹ ut vid. || 5 χεῖρο L corr. Or || 11 ἐπιλείψασθαι L corr. Or
ex V || 12-13 καθοπλήσαντες L corr. Or || 14-15 ἱππικὴ στρατεία πολλή L corr. Or || 16 δεξιᾷ L
corr. Or || ἐπιφορωτάτοις L corr. Or || 23 σὺν περιέγραψαν L corr. Or

αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ μάλιστα ἔπραττεν. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Φωκᾶν θεασάμενοι ὅτι καὶ οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἐστασίαζον — ἤδη γὰρ καὶ οἱ τοῦ πρασίνου χρώματος δημόται τὰ περὶ τὴν Καισαρείου τὸ πῦρ ὑφήπτον καὶ τὸν ἔπηλυν βασιλέα ἀνευφήμουν — ἐπι-
 30 κειμένους δὲ αὐτοῖς κραταιῶς καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἡρακλείου στρατευμάτων, καταλιπόντες αὐτοὺς ἀνεχώρουν. Φώτιος δέ τις ὄνομα, ὃς παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν σύζυγον ἐπεβουλευθή ποτέ, ἐπελθὼν εἰς τὸ παλάτιον μετὰ πλήθους στρατιωτῶν, κατέσχεν τε αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀπαμφιάσας ἐσθήτα καὶ
 35 περίζωμα μέλαν αὐτὸν περιθέμενος, τὰς τε χεῖρας περιηγμένους εἰς τοῦπίσω ἀποδήσας, πλοίω ἐμβαλὼν | πρὸς Ἡράκλειον δεσμώτην ἀπήγαγεν. ὃν ἰδὼν ἔφη· “οὕτως, ἄθλιε, ἐδιοίκησας τὴν πολιτείαν;” ὁ δὲ “σὺ μᾶλλον” ἔφη “κάλλιον ἔχεις διοικήσαι.” εὐθὺς οὖν ἐπιτρέπει ἀποτμηθῆναι αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ
 40 τὴν κεφαλὴν, τὸν τε ὦμον τὸν δεξιὸν σὺν τῇ χειρὶ ἐκκοπῆναι καὶ τῶν αἰδοίων ἐκτμηθῆναι καὶ κοντοῖς ἀναρτηθῆναι, οὕτω τε αὐτὸν συρέντα σὺν Δομνητζιόλῳ τῷ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῷ, Βουνοῦσῳ τε καὶ Λεοντίῳ, τῷ τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ταμίᾳ, κατὰ τὴν Βοῶς λεγομένην ἀγορὰν πυρίκαυτον γενέσθαι.

2. Μετὰ τοῦτο εὐγνωμόνως παρά τε Σεργίου τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἱεράρχου καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πληθύος εἰσδέχεται. καὶ εὐθὺς Κρίσπον, εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν προτρέπεται, φάσκων οὐ τῆς βασιλείας ἔνεκεν ἐληλυθέναι, τιμωρήσασθαι δὲ μᾶλλον
 5 τὸ Μαυρικίου αἷμα καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέχετο. τέλος ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Ἡράκλειος βασιλεὺς ἀνακηρύσσεται καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως στέφεται. Κρίσπον δὲ στρατηγὸν ἀποστέλλει τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ στρατευμάτων. καὶ ἐπεὶ φήμη διέτρεχεν ὡς Πέρσαι κατὰ Ῥωμαίων
 10 ἐπιστρατεύουσιν, Ἡράκλειος τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀπάραξ πρὸς Κρίσπον ἐν Καισαρείᾳ παραγίνεται, | ὡς δὴ αὐτῷ τῶν πολεμίων ἔνεκεν βουλευσόμενος. ὁ δὲ νοσεῖν προσεποιεῖτο, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα οὐκ ἐδόκει δέχεσθαι, καὶ πάλιν παραγενόμενον μόλις ἐδέχετο ἐν σχήματι ἀρρώστου ἀνακλιόμενος· εἶτα

27 ἤδει L corr. Or || 28 δημόται L corr. Or || 29–30 ἐπικείμενος L corr. Or || 31 καταλειπόντες L corr. Or || 34 βασιλικὴν L corr. Or || 36 τουπήσω L corr. Or || 41 ἐδύον L corr. Or || κόντοις L corr. Or || 43 βασιλικῶν L corr. Or || ταμεία L corr. Or || 44 πυρίκαυτος L corr. Or

2: 1 τούτω L corr. Or || 4 τιμωρίσασθαι L corr. Or || 12 βουλευόμενος L corr. Or ex V

- 15 ἠκούετο ὡς καὶ διελοιδορεῖτο αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα συνῆκε, καὶ τὴν ὕβριν τέως ἤνεγκε, καὶ ἤδη ἑκαιροφυλάκει. ἀλλ' ἔδοξέ πως γησιώτερον διαλέγεσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεῖν πονεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων τῆς πολιτείας χάριν. ὁ δὲ ὡσπερ ἐπιχλευάζων ὑπεκρίνετο, ὡς οὐκ ἐξὸν βασιλεῖ καταλιμπάνειν τὰ βασιλεία
- 20 καὶ ἐν τοιαύταις ἐκστρατείαις παραγίνεσθαι. ἐν τούτοις τίκτεται παῖς τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἡράκλειος, ὃν καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον ἠνόμασε. τότε παραγίνεται καὶ Νικήτας ὁ πατρίκιος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει. διὰ ταῦτα Ἡράκλειος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐπεισέρχεται, καὶ Νικήταν μετὰ τιμῆς μεγάλης ὡσπερ ἀδελφὸν γνήσιον καὶ ὁμότιμον δέχεται, ὡς ἦν αὐτοῖς συντεταγμένον ἐκ Λιβύης ἀπαίρουσι. Κρίσπος δὲ εἰσέρχεται εἰς Βυζάντιον, ὡς τῇ εἰσόδῳ Νικήτα συγχαρισούμενος. σκήπτεται δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς βαπτίζειν τῷ θεῷ λουτρῷ τὸν υἱόν, υἰοθετεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Κρίσπου. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ
- 30 παλάτιον. Ἡράκλειος δὲ ἀθροίσας τὸν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄμιλον | τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἄμα Σεργίῳ τῷ L26' ἱεράρχῃ λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς· “ὁ ὑβρίζων βασιλέα τίμι προσκρούει;” τοὺς δὲ φάναι· “τῷ θεῷ τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτὸν βασιλέα.” καὶ πρὸς Κρίσπον εἶπεν. ὡσαύτως καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεφήνατο τὸ δοκοῦν ὀρθῶς. τὸν δὲ οὐκ εἰδὸτα τὸ πρᾶγμα λέξαι, οὐδὲ φιλανθρωπίας τὸν τοιοῦτον ἀξιωθήσεσθαι. λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς· “τί σοι ἔπταισα ὅτι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐξευτέλισας;” ἀναμιμνήσκοντα ἤδη ἄπερ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ ἐδραματουργεῖτο· “οὐχὶ καὶ βασιλεῦσαι σε πρότρεψα;” καὶ
- 40 ἄμα λαβόντα τόμον, κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦτον παίων ἔλεγεν· “ὡς γαμβρὸν οὐκ ἐποίησας, φίλον πῶς ἂν ἐποίησας;” εὐθύς δὲ ἐπέτρεψεν εἰς κληρικὸν σχῆμα τὴν κεφαλὴν κείρασθαι καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐπιθεῖναι. ἐξελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν τοῖς μετὰ Κρίσπου στρατιώταις εἰπεῖν (βουκελλαρίους δὲ
- 45 τούτους ἐπιχωρίῳ διαλέκτῳ ἐκάλουν)· “ὁ παπᾶς Κρίσπος ἕως τοῦ νῦν ὑπηρέτας αὐτοῦ εἶχεν ὑμᾶς, ἡμεῖς δὲ σήμερον οἰκιακοὺς τῆς βασιλείας ὑπηρέτας.” προσθεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ σιτηρέσιον ἐκέλευσεν καὶ πρῶτους καλεῖσθαι ἐν τοῖς ἐκστρατεύμασιν· αὐτούς τε ἀσμένως ταῦτα δεξαμένους τὸν βασιλέα

15 διελυδορεῖτο L corr. Or || 16 ἑκαιροφυλάκη L corr. Or || 19 ἐξῶν L corr. Or || καταλιμπάνειν L corr. Or || 25 ὁμότημον L corr. Or || 27 συγχαρησόμενος L corr. Or || 32 ἱεράρχη ex -ει L¹ || 40 παίων L corr. Or || 43 ἐπιθῆναι L corr. Or || 44 στρατιῶτα[ις] in ras. L² || 46 αὐτου L corr. Or || 47 προσθῆναι L corr. Or

50 ἐπευφημήσαι ἅμα τῇ ἄλλῃ πληθύνει. | μετὰ τοῦτο Κρίσπον L2
 περιορίζει εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον τῆς Χώρας μονακτῆριον, ὃς ζήσας
 ἐνιαυτὸν ἐτελεύτησεν. Θεόδωρον δὲ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφόν,
 κοροπαλάτιον ὄντα τὴν ἀξίαν, ἔξαρχον ἀνατολῆς ἐξέπεμψεν,
 55 μικρὸν ἐπιβίους ἐτελεύτα, καὶ ἐν Χρυσοπόλει τάφῳ παρα-
 δίδοται πρὸς τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ δωμηθείσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

3. Ὀλίγου δὲ χρόνου διππεύσαντος νόσῳ ἐπιληψίας ἡ
 τοῦ βασιλέως γαμετὴ ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὸ ἑαυτῆς ἐκ-
 κομίζεται σῶμα, συνέβηκε τῶν παρακυπτόντων τινὰ ἐπὶ τῇ
 5 θεᾷ κόρην βάρβαρον ἀποπτύσαι, καὶ τὸ περίττωμα ἐνεχθῆ-
 ναι κατὰ τῆς πολυτελοῦς ἐσθήτος ἐκείνης, ἣ τὸ τῆς βασιλίδος
 σῶμα περιεκόσμιει. ἄγουσιν οὖν οἱ περὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν τὴν
 κόρην καὶ πυρίκανστον κατὰ τὴν λεγομένην τοῦ Βοὸς ἀγορὰν
 ἐποίησαν. περιεζήτουν δὲ καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς κυρίαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτῇ
 10 ὁμοίως χρῆσασθαι. ἡ δὲ αἰσθομένη διέφυγεν, τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ
 ὄραθεῖσα πώποτε.

4. Ἐν δὲ χώρᾳ τινὶ τῶν περιφανῶν τις ἦν καὶ εὖπορος,
 οὗ τὸ ἐπώνυμον Βιζουλίνος, τὴν δὲ ἀξίαν ἦν κανδιδάτος Ἰω-
 μαῖοι καλοῦσι. τοῦτῳ ἐγειτόνευε γυνὴ τις χήρα. καὶ μάχης | L27
 αὐτοῖς περὶ μεθορίων γῆς συμβαινούσης, ἐπιτρέπει τοῖς δού-
 5 λοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπιέναι τοῖς γειτονέουσιν· οἱ δὲ ξύλοις ἕνα τῶν
 ἐκείνης υἰῶν ἀναιροῦσιν. αὕτη λαβοῦσα τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἡμα-
 γμένον τὸ ἱμάτιον εἰς Βυζάντιον ὡς Ἡράκλειον παραγίνεται,
 καὶ ἐπεὶ προΐοντα εἶδεν, εἰσδραμοῦσα τοῦ χαλινοῦ τοῦ ἵππου
 ἐπιλαμβάνεται, καὶ ἅμα τὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ἱμάτιον ἐπιδεικνύσα
 10 φησὶ πρὸς αὐτόν· “οὕτω γένοιτο τοῖς τέκνοις σου, ἐὰν μὴ τὸ
 αἷμα τοῦτο ἐκδικήσης.” τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἐπιόντων
 αὕτῃ καὶ πλήττειν ἐπειγομένων αὐτὸς διεκώλυσε, φήσας τῇ
 γυναικὶ μηκέτι τολμᾶν προσιέναι, ἐπεξίεναι τε τὰ τῆς δίκης
 ἡνίκα ἂν αὐτῷ δεδογμένον εἴη. ἀπῆλθεν οὖν εὐθύς μὴ δίκης
 15 τυχόν ὀλολύζον τὸ γύναιον. χρόνος δὲ διήρχετο, καὶ ὁ τὸν

50 τοῦτῳ L corr. Or || 56 δωμηθείσῃ L corr. Or

3: 2 ἑαυτῆς L ταύτης Or ex V

4: 2 ἐπώνυμον L corr. Or || κανδιδάτον Or ex V || 5 αὐτοῦ Or || ἐπειέναι L corr. Or || 11
 ἐκδικήσις L corr. Or || 12 αὐτῇ scripsi αὐτῆν L || διεκώλυσε L corr. Or

4, 5, 6

φόνου ἐπιτρέψιας ἐδεδείει, ὡς καὶ αὐθις τὴν γυναῖκα περὶ τοῦ φόνου τὸν βασιλέα διανοχλεῖν. διὰ τοῦτο εἰς τὸ δημοτικὸν μέρος ἑαυτὸν ἐγκαταμίγνυσι, καὶ ἵππικῶν ἀγῶνος ἐπιτελουμένου τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν μέσοις τοῖς δημόταις θεατᾶμενος
 20 τῷ ἐπάρχῳ ἐπιτρέπει φρουρᾷ παραδίδοισθαι. εἶτα τὴν μητέρα τοῦ φονευθέντος παιδὸς μεταπέμπεται, καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ φόνου ἐξετάσας κελεύει τὸν Βιζουλῖνον ὑπὸ | τῶν παιδῶν 1.27^v
 αὐτοῦ ξύλοις ἀναιρεθῆσθαι, ὡσαύτως καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων κτείνεσθαι.

5. Ἡράκλειος δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Ἡράκλειον ὑπὸ Σεργίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως βαπτισθέντα ἀγκάλαις ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας κολυμβήθρας ἐδέξατο, στέφει τε αὐτὸν εὐθὺς βασιλέα σὺν τῇ ἀδελφῇ. καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Νικήτα τοῦ πατρικίου αὐτῷ κατηγγύησεν· οὐ
 5 καὶ στήλην κεχρυσωμένην καθύπερθε τοῦ τετρακιονίου λεγομένου ἔστησεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Φόρου ἀγορᾷ. καὶ ὧδε μὲν ταῦτα ἔσχε.

6. Χοιρῶν δὲ ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἡγεμόνα τῶν Περσικῶν στρατευμάτων Σάϊτον ἐπιστείλας, ὅς ἐλθὼν τὴν τε Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παραλαμβάνει καὶ τὴν ὅλην Αἴγυπτον, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνατολικὴν
 5 μοῖραν κατεδήου τε καὶ αἰχμαλώτους πλείστους ἤγε καὶ ἄλλους ἀνήρει. τὴν Χαλκηδόνα οὖν μετὰ ταῦτα καταλαμβάνει, καὶ περιεκάθητο ταύτῃ χρόνον ἰκανόν. ἡξίου τε τὸν βασιλέα εἰς ὀμίλιαν λόγου παραγενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ διεπεραιούτο πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν ἄρχουσιν τε καὶ στρατῶν καὶ τῇ βασιλικῇ δωρυφορίᾳ. τοῦτον Σάϊτος ἰδὼν ἐξανέστη τῆς καθέδρας καὶ τῇ γῆ
 10 προσρίψας ἑαυτὸν προσκυνεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀκατίου ἐν ᾧ ἐπέπλει προσε | φώνει αὐτῷ τὸ χαῖρε καὶ χαρίσματος ἡμείβετο. 1.28^v
 Σάϊτος δὲ αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν· “ὦ δέισποτα, ἔδει τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων καὶ Περσῶν μῆτε ἐν διαστάσει εἶναί ποτε, ἀλλ' ὡς
 15 ἀδελφοὺς γνησίους τάς πολιτείας ἑαυτῶν διοικεῖσθαι ἕκαστον· οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστι βασιλεία ἑτέρα ταύταις ὁμοία.” ὁ δὲ τῶν

16 ἐδεδείη L. corr. Or || 18 ἐγκαταμίγνυσι L. corr. Or || 19 δημῶταις L. corr. Or

5: 5 κεχρυσωμένην L. corr. Or

6: 3 ἐπιστείλας] an ἐπισητήσας? || 9-10 συνἀρχουσιν τε . . . καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς δωρυφορίας L || 11 προσκυνῆ L. corr. Or || 16-17 τῶν -ων τὸ 1,2 in ras.

50 ἐπευφημηῆσαι ἅμα τῇ ἄλλῃ πληθύνει. | μετὰ τοῦτο Κρίσπον
 περιορίζει εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον τῆς Χώρας μοναστήριον, ὃς ζήσας
 ἐνιαυτὸν ἐτελεύτησεν. Θεόδωρον δὲ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφόν,
 κοροπαλάτιον ὄντα τὴν ἀξίαν, ἔξαρχον ἀνατολῆς ἐξέπεμψεν,
 55 μικρὸν ἐπιβιούς ἐτελεύτα, καὶ ἐν Χρυσσπόλει τάφῳ παρα-
 δίδεται πρὸς τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ δωμηθείσῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

3. Ὀλίγου δὲ χρόνου διππεύσαντος νόσῳ ἐπιληψίας ἢ
 τοῦ βασιλέως γαμετῆ ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὸ ἑαυτῆς ἐκ-
 κομίζεται σῶμα, συνέβηκε τῶν παρακυνπτόντων τινὰ ἐπὶ τῇ
 θέᾳ κόρην βάρβαρον ἀποπτύσαι, καὶ τὸ περίττωμα ἐνεχθῆ-
 5 ναι κατὰ τῆς πολυτελοῦς ἐσθήτος ἐκείνης, ἣ τὸ τῆς βασιλίδος
 σῶμα περιεκόσμη. ἄγουσιν οὖν οἱ περὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν τὴν
 κόρην καὶ πυρίκαυστον κατὰ τὴν λεγομένην τοῦ Βοὸς ἀγορὰν
 ἐποίησαν. περιεζήτουν δὲ καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς κυρίαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτῇ
 ὁμοίως χρήσασθαι. ἡ δὲ αἰσθομένη διέφυγεν, τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ
 10 ὄραθεισα πάποτε.

4. Ἐν δὲ χώρᾳ τινὶ τῶν περιφανῶν τις ἦν καὶ εὐπορος,
 οὗ τὸ ἐπώνυμον Βιζουλίνος, τὴν δὲ ἀξίαν ἦν κاندιδάτος Ῥω-
 μαῖοι καλοῦσι. τούτῳ ἐγειτόνευε γυνὴ τις χήρα. καὶ μάχης |
 αὐτοῖς περὶ μεθορίων γῆς συμβαιούσης, ἐπιτρέπει τοῖς δού-
 5 λοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπιέναι τοῖς γειτονεύουσιν· οἱ δὲ ξύλοις ἕνα τῶν
 ἐκείνης υἱῶν ἀναιροῦσιν. αὕτη λαβούσα τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἡμα-
 γμένον τὸ ἱμάτιον εἰς Βυζάντιον ὡς Ἡράκλειον παραγίνεται,
 καὶ ἐπεὶ προϊόντα εἶδεν, εἰσδραμούσα τοῦ χαλινοῦ τοῦ ἵππου
 ἐπιλαμβάνεται, καὶ ἅμα τὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ἱμάτιον ἐπιδεικνύσα
 10 φησὶ πρὸς αὐτόν· “οὕτω γένοιτο τοῖς τέκνοις σου, ἐὰν μὴ τὸ
 αἷμα τοῦτο ἐκδικήσης.” τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἐπιόντων
 αὐτῇ καὶ πλήττει ἐπειγομένων αὐτὸς διεκώλυσε, φήσας τῇ
 γυναικὶ μηκέτι τολμᾶν προσιέναι, ἐπεξιέναι τε τὰ τῆς δίκης
 ἡνίκα ἂν αὐτῷ δεδογμένον εἴη. ἀπήλθεν οὖν εὐθύς μὴ δίκης
 15 τυχὸν ὀλολύζον τὸ γύναιον. χρόνος δὲ διήρχετο, καὶ ὁ τὸν

50 τούτῳ L. corr. Or || 56 δωμηθείσῃ L. corr. Or

3: 2 ἑαυτῆς L. ταύτης Or ex V

4: 2 ἐπώνυμον L. corr. Or || κανδιδάτον Or ex V || 5 αὐτοῦ Or || ἐπιέναι L. corr. |
 ἐκδικήσεις L. corr. Or || 12 αὐτῇ scripsi αὐτήν L. || διεκώλυσε L. corr. Or

4, 5, 6

φόνον ἐπιτρέψας ἐδεδίει, ὡς καὶ αὐθις τὴν γυναῖκα περὶ τοῦ φόνου τὸν βασιλέα διενοχλεῖν. διὰ τοῦτο εἰς τὸ δημοτικὸν μέρος ἑαυτὸν ἐγκαταμίγνυσι, καὶ ἵππικὸν ἀγῶνος ἐπιτελουμένου τούτου ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν μέσοις τοῖς δημόταις θεασάμενος
 20 τῷ ἐπάρχῳ ἐπιτρέπει φρουρᾷ παραδίδοσθαι. εἶτα τὴν μητέρα τοῦ φονευθέντος παιδὸς μεταπέμπεται, καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ φόνου ἐξετάσας κελεύει τὸν Βιζουλῖνον ὑπὸ | τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ ξύλοις ἀναιρεθῆσθαι, ὡσαύτως καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων κτείνεσθαι. L27'

5. Ἡράκλειος δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Ἡράκλειον ὑπὸ Σεργίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως βαπτισθέντα ἀγκάλαις ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας κολυμβήθρας ἐδέξατο, στέφει τε αὐτὸν εὐθύς βασιλέα σὺν τῇ ἀδελφῇ, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Νικήτα τοῦ πατρικίου αὐτῷ κατηγγύησεν· οὐ
 5 καὶ στήλην κεχρυσωμένην καθύπερθε τοῦ τετρακιονίου λεγομένου ἕστησεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Φόρου ἀγορᾷ. καὶ ὦδε μὲν ταῦτα ἔσχε.

6. Χοσρόης δὲ ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἡγεμόνα τῶν Περσικῶν στρατευμάτων Σάϊτον ἐπιστείλας, ὃς ἐλθὼν τὴν τε Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παραλαμβάνει καὶ τὴν ὅλην Αἴγυπτον, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνατολικὴν
 5 μοῖραν κατεδήου τε καὶ αἰχμαλώτους πλείστους ἤγε καὶ ἄλλους ἀνήρει. τὴν Χαλκηδὸνα οὖν μετὰ ταῦτα καταλαμβάνει, καὶ περιεκάθητο ταύτῃ χρόνον ἰκανόν, ἡξίον τε τὸν βασιλέα εἰς ὀμιλίαν λόγου παραγενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ διεπεραιούτο πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν ἄρχουσὶ τε καὶ στρατῷ καὶ τῇ βασιλικῇ δορυφορίᾳ. τούτου Σάϊτος ἰδὼν ἐξανέστη τῆς καθέδρας καὶ τῇ γῆ
 10 προσρῖψας ἑαυτὸν προσκυνεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀκατίου ἐν ᾧ ἐπέπλει προσε | φώνει αὐτῷ τὸ χαῖρε καὶ χαρίσμασιν ἡμείβετο. Σάϊτος δὲ αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν· “ὦ δέσποτα, ἔδει τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων καὶ Περσῶν μῆτε ἐν διαστάσει εἶναί ποτε, ἀλλ' ὡς
 15 ἀδελφοὺς γνησίους τὰς πολιτείας ἑαυτῶν διοικεῖσθαι ἕκαστον· οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστι βασιλεία ἑτέρα ταύταις ὁμοία.” ὁ δὲ τῶν L28'

16 ἐδεδείη L corr. Or || 18 ἐγκαταμίγνυσι L corr. Or || 19 δημῶταις L corr. Or

5: 5 κεχρυσωμένην L corr. Or

6: 3 ἐπιστείλας] an ἐπιστήσας? || 9–10 συνάρχουσι τε ... καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς δορυφορίας L || 11 προσκυνῆ L corr. Or || 16–17 τῶν –ων τὸ L² in ras.

λόγων τὸ προσηγνές ἀμειβόμενος ἔφη αὐτῷ· “τί οὖν πράσσειν ὀφείλομεν;” ὁ δὲ ἐπομνύμενος ἔλεγεν ὅτι· “καὶ θέλω καὶ σπεύδω τὰς πολιτείας ἐν εἰρήνῃ καθίστασθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ Χοσρόης οὕτω γε βούλεται, εἴ τι οὖν μοι πείθεσθε, συνεκπέμποιτέ μοι ὡς αὐτὸν τοὺς πρεσβευσομένους, πεισθειή δ' ἂν ἐμοὶ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰρήνην διαιωρίζουσιν κρατύναι μεθ' ὑμῶν.”

7. Ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο δώσειν, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἐβουλευέτο συνήνουν ὁ τε ἱεράρχης καὶ οἱ ἐν τέλει, καὶ ἤδη ἐξελέγοντο Ὀλύμπιος ἔπαρχος πραιτωρίων, Ἀναστάσιος τε ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς μεγίστης ἐκκλησίας οἰκονόμος, Λεόντιος ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἔπαρχος, οὓς παραλαβὼν Σάϊτος ἐκ Χαλκηδόνος ἀπήρην καὶ πρὸς τὰ τῶν Περσῶν ἦθη ἐχώρει, καὶ μέχρι μὲν τῶν μεθορίων τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχῆς μετὰ τιμῆς ἦγε καὶ θεραπείαν πᾶσαν ἀπένεμεν, τῇ Περσικῇ δὲ εἰσβαλὼν σιδήροις | ἐδέσμει καὶ δεσμώτας πρὸς Χοσρόην ἀπήγαγε. Χοσρόης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι

10 Σάϊτος Ἡράκλειον ὡς βασιλέα ἐτίμησε, καὶ οὐκ αἰχμάλωτον λαβὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπήγαγεν (ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἔκειτο) μεγάλα τε ἠγανάκτει κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς ἀσκὸν αὐτὸν ἀποδείρας τὴν δορὰν εἶχε, καὶ οὕτως ἀθλίως ἐτελεύτα, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευτὰς ἰδίᾳ διαστείλας ἕκαστον ἐν

15 φρουραῖς ἀσφαλεστάταις ἀπέθετο καὶ ἐκάκου τὰ μέγιστα.

8. Πολλὴ οὖν δυσθυμία καὶ λύπη τούτων ἔνεκε τὸν βασιλέα εἶχε, καὶ διεβουλευέτο πρὸς Λιβύην ἀποίχασθαι, καὶ προπέμπει χρήματὰ τε πλείστα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ λίθους πολυτελεῖς ἐκέισε· ὦν τὰ πλείστα καταίροντα, ναυαγίῳ περιπεσόντα, βρύχια γέγονεν, οἱ οὖν πολῖται αἰσθόμενοι, ὡς δυνατὰ ἦν, διεκώλυνον· ὡς καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Σέργιον ὑποθέσθαι ὄρκους αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐνέγκαντα καταδεσμῆσαι μὴ μεθίστασθαι τῆς βασιλευούσης, λιμὸς μὲν τηρικαῦτα ἐπεκράτει κατὰ τὴν πόλιν (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ Αἴγυπτος

5 αὐτοῖς ἐπεσίτιζε λοιπὸν) ὅθεν καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν βασιλικῶν σιτηρεσιῶν ἐπελελοίπει, ἐν τούτοις καὶ θάνατος τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπενέμετο.

9. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ ὁ τῶν Οὐννων | κύριος εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον εἰσῆλθε, καὶ βασιλέα δέχεσθαι αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἦτησε, καὶ δίδόναι τὸν διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λουτροῦ φωτισμόν· καὶ Θεόδωρος, ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφός, ἐκ τῆς

7: 2 οἱ] τοῖς L corr. Or ex V

5 ἀγίας κολυμβήθρας ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ ἄρχοντες Ῥωμαίων τοὺς Οὐννικοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὡσαύτως καὶ αἱ τούτων σύζυγοι τὰς ἐκείνων γαμετάς. οὕτω τε φωτισθέντες δώροις βασιλικοῖς ἐτιμήθησαν καὶ ἀξιώματι· πατρίκιον γὰρ τὸν κύριον αὐτῶν πεποίηκε, καὶ πρὸς τὰ αὐτῶν ἀπέπεμπε.

10. Μετὰ τούτου ὁ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἡγεμὼν περὶ εἰρήνης ὡς Ἡράκλειον ἐπικηρυκεύεται. ὁ δὲ πέμπει Ἀθανάσιον τὸν πατρίκιον, εἶτα μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ Κοσμᾶν τὴν ἀξίαν κυαιστόρα, καὶ αὐτὸν σὺν δώροις πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τὰ πρὸς φιλίαν ὑποκρινόμενος ἔπειθεν αὐτοὺς ὡς φίλος εἶη τοῦ βασιλέως. οὗτοι ἐκείθεν ἀναζεύξαντες τὰ τῆς εὐνοίας τοῦ Ἀβάρου τῷ βασιλεῖ δῆλα ἐποιοῦν. ὁ δὲ ἤσθεις βουλευέται κατὰ τὴν τῆς Θράκης Ἡράκλειαν τὸν χαγάνον δέχεσθαι, καὶ τὴν τε θυμελικὴν σκευὴν προεκπέμπει, ὡς καὶ ἵππικὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπὶ τῇ δοχῇ ἐκείνου θεάσασθαι· στολὴν τε αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ εὐτρέπισεν. αὐθις προπέμπει Κοσμᾶν καὶ Ἀθανάσιον ἀπαγγελοῦντας χαγάνῳ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔξοδον. ὁ δὲ ἡσμένιζε, |
10 καὶ συντίθεται ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ καταλαμβάνειν. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως κατὰ τὴν Σηλυμβρίαν γενομένου ἐφίσταται ὁ χαγάνος
15 τρισὶν ἡμέραις ὕστερον σὺν πλήθει πολλῶ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ ὧν δὴ τοὺς πολλοὺς κατὰ τὰ ὑπερκείμενα τοῦ Μακροῦ Τείχους χωρία διασκεδάννυσι, κρύβδην ἐκείσε κατὰ τῶν ὀρῶν χωροῦντας τὰ λάσια, ὡς ἂν κατὰ νῶτον γενόμενοι τοῦ βασιλέως, μέσον αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποληψά-
20 μνοι χειρώσουντο. οὗς ὁ βασιλεὺς αἰσθόμενος τὴν στολὴν τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀπαμφιέννυται, ἰμάτιον δὲ ἀλλότριον περιθέμενος καὶ τὸν στέφανον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τῇ ὀλένῃ περιαιψάμενος, πρὸς Βυζάντιον ἔφρευγεν ἀνὰ κράτος, ἐντεῦθεν τε εἰσελθὼν μόλις διεσώζετο. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ ἔξω πρὸ
25 τῆς πόλεως πεδίον τὸ καλούμενον Ἑβδομον καταλαμβάνουσι, καὶ σκεδάννυται ἄχρι τῆς καλουμένης γεφύρας τοῦ Βαρβύσσου ποταμοῦ, πολλοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἀναιροῦντες, καὶ τὰ τῆδε χωρία πικρῶς κατεδήουν, τὴν τε βασιλικὴν ἐσθήτα καὶ τὰς στολὰς παραλαμβάνουσιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ θυμελικά ὄργανα,
30 πάντας τε τοὺς ταῦτα διακομίζοντας καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν τοὺς

L29'

10: 1 ἀν τοῦτο? || 3 κυέστορα L. corr. Or || 10 αὐτῷ Or αὐτοῦ L || τοῖς scripsi τῆς L || 14 Σηλυμβρίαν L. corr. Or || 17 διασκεδάννυσι L. corr. Or || 18 χωροῦντες L. corr. Or || 19–20 ἀποληψόμενοι Or || 21 ἀλλότριον scripsi ἀλλότον L ἀλωτὸν Or || 23 ἀνακράτως L. corr. Or || 26 σχεδάννυται L. corr. Or || 27 πολλοὺς scripsi πολλὰ L ἀν πολλὰ Ῥωμαίων πλήθη? || 28 κατεδιόν L. corr. Or

συνόντας αὐτοῖς, ὁ δὲ ἀριθμὸς φασι τῶν ἀλόντων | παρ' αὐτοῖς L30^r
αἰχμαλώτων, οὓς δὴ κατὰ τὴν Ἀβάρων γῆν ἀπεκόμισαν ἀν-
δρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν, εἰς διακοσίας καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα χιλιά-
δας, ὡς τινες διαδράντες ὠμολόγησαν, συνήκετο.

11. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἄγεται Ἰράκλειος εἰς
γυναῖκα Μαρτίαν τὴν ἀνειψιάν, θυγατέρα Μαρίας ἀδελφῆς
αὐτοῦ γνησίας, ἣν ἔσχεν ἐκ Μαρτίνου τοῦ πρὸ Εὐτρόπιου
γεγονότος αὐτῆς γαμέτου, ἐξ ἧς καὶ τίκτει δύο υἱούς, Φάβιον,
5 ὃν καὶ νοβελλήσιμον ἐποίησεν (οὗτος δὲ ἦν βλαμμένος τὸν
αὐχένα, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι ἐπ' οὐθετέρῳ αὐτὸν μέρει περιστρέ-
φειν) καὶ Θεοδόσιον, καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα κωφόν. διήλεγchon δὲ
αὐτοῦ τὴν περὶ τῆ ἀνειψιᾶ παρανομίαν ἐφ' ἵππικοῦ ἀγῶνος
καὶ οἱ τοῦ πρασίνου χρώματος δημόται, καὶ κωλύειν τὴν συν-
10 αφὴν ἐπειρῶντο τὴν ἄθεσμον, οἱ δὲ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου χρώμα-
τος συνήρουν τε καὶ συνέπραττον. [καὶ] Σέργιος δέ, ὁ κατὰ
τὸ Βυζάντιον μυσταγωγός, γράμμασιν αὐτὸν ἐνουθέτει καὶ
ἐλιπάρει τὴν πρὸς τὸ γύναιον τοῦτο κοινωνίαν ἀπαρνήσα-
σθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπελογεῖτο ὡς· “εὐ μὲν ἔχει τὰ παρὰ σοῦ
15 λεγόμενα. ὁ γὰρ σοι χρέος ὡς ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ φίλῳ, ἥδη ἀπο-
δέδωκας. ἐφ' ἧμῖν δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν κείσεται τὰ τῆς πράξεως.” | L30^v
κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν διεπιπράσκοντο τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν
κειμήλια καὶ εἰς ὑπαγωγὴν φόρων τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐξενεμήθη.

31 ἀλόντων L corr. Or || 32 ἀπεκόμισαν L corr. Or || 33–34 χηλιάδας L corr. Or || 34 διαδρά-
σαντες L correxi ex V

11: 1 αὐτὸν] litt. –ντ– in ras. corr. L² ut vid. || 4 γαμετοῦ L || 9 δῆμωτ[αι] in ras. L¹ corr. Or ||
11 καὶ secl. Or || 13 ἐλιπαρει L corr. Or || 14 αὐτοῦ L correxi ex V || ἔχοι L corr. Or || 15 χρεως L
correxi ex V || 16 κῆσεται L corr. Or || 18 κειμήλια L

COMMENTARY

1. Overthrow of Phokas (610)

In addition to Nik., there are three other basic Greek sources for these events: Ioann. Ant., *Exc. de insidiis*, 149–50; *Chr. Pasch.*, 699–701; and Theoph., 297–99. The overlap between Nik. and Theoph. is very slight, being limited to: (1) the *bon mot* about the disastrous nature of the government of Phokas = Theoph., 296.10 (cf. Mich. Syr., II, 378; *Chr. 1234*, 176); (2) the story about the portrait of Priskos = Theoph., 294; but this is also in Ioann. Ant., 149; (3) the alleged pact between Herakleios and Niketas that whoever of them reached Constantinople first would become emperor = Theoph., 297.6–10 (also in Mich. Syr., II, 378; *Chr. 1234*, 177); (4) the mention of Africans and Moors (or Mauritanians) in the armament of Herakleios = Theoph., 298.18. The actual events of the overthrow are, however, related quite differently by Theoph.

It is also clear that Nik. is not dependent here on *Chr. Pasch.* The closest correspondence is with Ioann. Ant., who tells a fuller story, but includes all the basic elements found in Nik. The latter, therefore, must be following either Ioann. Ant. or an intermediary source. Cf. above, pp. 12–14.

20ff. The aberrant form Krispos (for Priskos) reappears in Georg. Mon., 668.3 (from Nik.) and in *Patria*, 273, c. 184, where he is also called a prefect.

31 ἡ *Καίσαριον*: the house or mansion of Kaisarios (perhaps the one who was consul in 397), which gave its name to a quarter and a harbor on the Propontis side of Constantinople. There has been much inconclusive discussion as to whether the harbor of Kaisarios was the same as that of Theodosios or another, to the east or west of it. The identity of the harbor of Kaisarios and that of Theodosios is suggested by *Mir. S. Artemii*, 16. See my *Développement urbain de CP* (Paris, 1985), 55.

47 Marketplace of the Bull or Forum Bovis: exact situation unknown, but approximately corresponding to modern Aksaray. See Janin, *CP*, 69–71.

48 Domentiolos (Domnetziolos, Domnitiolos), brother of Phokas, *magister officiorum*: Theoph., 292.2. Sent to defend the Long Walls (in Thrace) against Herakleios, he promptly returned to the capital: Theoph., 298.29.

49 Bonossos (Bounousos and other spellings), *comes Orientis* (Theoph., 296.22), infamous for his cruel repression of internal disorders at Antioch and else-

COMMENTARY

where in the East. Unsuccessfully opposed the occupation of Egypt by Niketas before returning to Constantinople. See Kulakovskij, III, 12–13, 20–23; Stratos, I, 186–87, 208–13. His murder was maliciously attributed to the Jew Jacob: *Doctr. Iacobi*, 40.

49 Leontios: named by Ioann. Ant., 150.31 as *sakellarios*. *Chr. Pasch.*, 701 describes him as a Syrian and ἀπὸ σακελλαρίων, i.e., former *sakellarios*.

2. Accession of Herakleios (610). Fall of Priskos (612)

No known source.

Recorded dates: coronation of Herakleios, 6 Oct. 610 (*Chr. Pasch.*, 701); birth of Herakleios Constantine, 3 May 612 (*Chr. Pasch.*, 702; *Theoph.*, 300.7); Priskos made a cleric, 5 Dec. 612 (*Chr. Pasch.*, 703).

3 ff. Offer of empire to Priskos: The fact or fiction that Herakleios had no intention of becoming emperor and was planning after the overthrow of Phokas to return to Africa is stated in the letter of the Senate to Chosroes: *Chr. Pasch.*, 708.

9 ff. Expedition of Priskos: Nik. neglects to say that Caesarea (in Cappadocia) had been taken by the Persians: *Theoph.*, 299.31. This probably happened in 611: cf. W. E. Kaegi in *BZ* 66 (1973), 323. The march of Priskos to Caesarea is confirmed by *V. Theod. Syk.*, c. 153. He is said to have blockaded the city for a year but failed to prevent the Persians' escape (Sebeos, 65). Herakleios went to confer with Priskos at Caesarea (cf. *V. Theod. Syk.*, c. 154) probably in the early months of 612.

24 ff. The date of Niketas' arrival at Constantinople is not certain. *Theoph.*, 298.19 implies that he came simultaneously with Herakleios, i.e., in Oct. 610. We know, thanks to *V. Theod. Syk.*, c. 154, that Niketas was in the capital before Herakleios' return from Caesarea (hence by the early part of 612) and was paralyzed, allegedly because he had been poisoned. He was healed by the saint.

44 The rebuke "You have not been a good in-law," etc. is attributed by Mich. Syr., II, 379 to Phokas with respect to Philippikos, brother-in-law of Maurice.

48 Note that L specifically designates Priskos' soldiers as *bucellarii*. On this passage see Haldon, *Praetorians*, 376.

54 On Priskos in the monastery of Chora see F. I. Šmit, *Karie-Džami* = *IRAİK* 11 (1906), 21–22.

57 On the title of *curopalati* (*kouropalates*), held, before Theodore, by Domentziolos, nephew of Phokas, see Bury, *Admin. System*, 33–35. Strictly speaking, it was second in rank to the emperor when there was no Caesar. The text of V, in saying that Theodore (and Philippikos?) was appointed to the command previously occupied by Priskos, creates the incorrect impression that he was made *comes excubitorum*, whereas, in fact, that office was conferred on Niketas: *Chr. Pasch.*,

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703; *V. Theod. Syk.*, c. 154.28. It is evident from L that Nik. meant to say merely that Theodore and Philippikos were made generals in the East.

58 Philippikos, *comes excubitorum* under Maurice, became a clergyman and retired to the monastery he had built at Chrysopolis: Theoph., 293.22. On the monastery, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, see Janin, *Grands centres*, 24–25. Philippikos led an expedition into Persian Armenia without achieving any notable results. See Kulakovskij, III, 35 and below, c. 6.

3. Death and Funeral of Empress Eudokia (612)

No known source.

Fabia/Eudokia died on 13 Aug. 612 (*Chr. Pasch.*, 702–3) or 14 Aug. (Theoph., 300.9). She was buried the next day in the church of the Holy Apostles.

Note that L provides two details that are absent in V, namely, that the servant girl was a barbarian and that she was burned in the Forum Bovis.

4. Boutelinos (Bizoulinos) story

No known source.

We may suppose that L's Bizoulinos represents the original form of the name, which was probably Thracian. Cf. D. Detschew, *Die thrakischen Sprachreste* (Vienna, 1957), 60 ff., 66 ff. (Biza, Byza, Bitus, Bithys, Beithys, Vitus, etc.); I. I. Russu, *Die Sprache der Thrako-Daker* (Bucharest, 1969), 112. This lends some support to de Boor's conjecture in line 2 (*ἐν τινι τῶν ἐπι Θράκης χωρίων*). The "improvement" of the name may have been inspired by that of the Alamannic chieftain Boutilinos (Buccelin), who is featured prominently by Agathias, I.6.2, etc.

24 ff. The factions had special "grandstands" in the Hippodrome, opposite the imperial Kathisma. See R. Guiland, *Etudes de topographie byzantine*, I (Berlin, 1969), 411 ff. By joining the "partisans" (*demotai*), Bizoulinos would have made himself visible to the emperor.

5. Coronation of Herakleios Constantine and Eudokia (612–13). Niketas honored with a statue

Coronation of Herakleios Constantine: 22 Jan. 613 according to *Chr. Pasch.*, 703 or 25 Dec. 612 according to Theoph., 300.14. His sister Epiphania/Eudokia had been crowned on 4 Oct. 612 according to both *Chr. Pasch.* and Theoph. Note that V omits the coronation of Eudokia.

The betrothal of Herakleios Constantine to Gregoria and the erection of Niketas' statue are not mentioned elsewhere. Note that V omits the reference to the Tetrakionion, i.e., a group of four columns (a monument not otherwise known to have stood in the Forum) but adds the statement that the statue was an equestrian

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one. The two epigrams of the Palatine Anthology, XVI, 46, 47, probably pertain to this statue and make it clear that it was erected on behalf of the emperor, the army, the "cities," and the Green faction to commemorate Niketas' victories over the Persians. This circumstance has not been noticed and appears to confirm the tradition that Niketas won a battle near Emesa: Agapios of Menbidj, ed. A. Vasiliev, PO VIII/3, 450. Cf. my remarks in *Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Ν. Σβορώνο* (Rethymno, 1986), I, 30–31.

6. Persian invasion. Interview at Chalcedon (615?)

The account of the Persian invasion is condensed and vague and omits to mention the fall of Jerusalem (614), which is alluded to later, in c. 12. The advance on Chalcedon is placed in *Chr. Pasch.*, 706 in 614/5, but after the mention of a liturgical innovation introduced during Lent of indiction 4 (616). Theoph., 301, has the siege of Chalcedon (Carthage printed by de Boor from Anastasius) in 614/5 and its capture in 615/6. Note that Theoph., too, mentions the conquest of Egypt, including Alexandria, before the march on Chalcedon, whereas modern scholarship holds that the invasion of Egypt began in 616 or 617 and that Alexandria fell in 618 or 619.

V. Anast. Persae, c. 5, a contemporary source, confirms the advance of Shahīn ἕως Καρχηδόνας (surely Chalcedon), adding that he was outflanked by Philippikos, domestic of the Schools, who invaded Persia (εἰσελθόντος ἐν Περσίδι), whereupon Shahīn turned back in an easterly direction. Anastasios, who was serving in the Persian army, proceeded ἕως τῶν μερῶν τῆς ἀνατολῆς, i.e., as far as the diocese of Oriens, where he deserted.

It is difficult to explain why Shahīn (Σαήν in *Chr. Pasch.*, Σάιν in Theoph.) should be called Saitos by Nik. The confusion may be scribal (e.g., if Σάιν was written Σάϊ-), or else Nik. may have been influenced by the Arabic name Sa'īd.

Historians are divided as to whether Egypt was conquered by Shahīn (so Butler, *Conquest*, 70 on the authority of Tabarī) or by Shahrbaraz (so, among others, Kulakovskij, III, 44 and Stratos, I, 277–78 on the authority of Mich. Syr. and other Oriental sources). The argument that Shahīn could not have invaded Egypt because he was busy in Asia Minor (so Stratos) is not necessarily supported by the chronology of the events.

10ff. With regard to the interview, *Chr. Pasch.*, 706 gives more or less the same details as Nik.: Herakleios went by ship to the harbor of Chalcedon taking gifts to Shahīn, and was given a promise of peace if an embassy was sent to the Persian court. The text of the letter addressed by the Senate to Chosroes, which was entrusted to the ambassadors (ibid., 708–9), makes it clear that Shahīn had no authority to negotiate peace, but had his king's assurance regarding the ambassadors' safety.

It may be noted that Sebeos, 77–79, followed by Thomas Artsruni, *History*

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(trans. R. W. Thomson [Detroit, 1985]), 157, also inserts a long speech at this juncture. It is, however, put in the mouth of Herakleios and takes the form of an abject plea. It would appear, therefore, that some record existed of speeches exchanged on that occasion. The omission of Herakleios' speech, probably motivated by Byzantine *amour propre*, may be ascribed to the source of Nik. Shahīn's rather vacuous oration, as it appears in V, was expanded by Nik. from the shorter version found in L. For another speech by a Persian general in praise of peace see Simok., I.15.3–10.

7. Embassy to Persia (615?). Punishment of Shahīn

The names of the ambassadors are given in the same order by *Chr. Pasch.*, but Anastasios is described as presbyter of the Church of Constantinople (706.19) or as presbyter and *synkellos* (in the text of the letter, 709.11), not as *oikonomos*. Georg. Mon., 668 (who is following Nik.) must be in error in speaking of seventy ambassadors (*μεγιστάνους ο'*). On the fate of the ambassadors see below, c. 15.

The punishment of Shahīn is a fable. He remained in service for another ten or eleven years and is said to have died of grief after being defeated by Theodore in 626. His body, preserved in salt, was brought to Chosroes, who insulted it: Theoph., 315.

8. Famine and plague (c. 619). Herakleios proposes to abandon Constantinople

Note that the order of entries, as given in L, is reversed in V, probably to provide stronger motivation for the emperor's despair.

Famine: *Chr. Pasch.*, 711, without mentioning the loss of Egypt, records that in 618 the beneficiaries of the civic annona were required to pay 3 nomismata per ration; and that in August of the same year the distribution was halted altogether. Even if Alexandria fell in 619, the invasion of Egypt must have disorganized the export of corn.

Plague: A plague in the reign of Herakleios is mentioned in *Mir. S. Artemii*, 52.

Georg. Mon., 669 (who is here following Nik.), after mentioning the famine and plague, adds *καὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἤμαυρώθη, καὶ ἔβρεξε κόωνυ*. He may, therefore, have had before him a fuller text of Nik. A partial eclipse of the sun occurred on 24 Oct. 618 and total eclipses on 21 March 619 and 2 Sept. 620: Grumel, *Chronologie*, 461.

Herakleios' plan to withdraw to Libya is not mentioned in any other source. The sinking of the treasure appears legendary.

9. Baptism of Huns

No other source.

It is commonly supposed that the Huns in question were the Onogundurs of

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c. 22, whose chief was Organa, uncle of Kuvrat. So, e.g., Gy. Moravcsik, "Byzantinische Mission," *Proc. XIIIth Intern. Congress of Byz. Studies, Oxford 1966* (London, 1967), 21; idem, *Studia byzantina* (Budapest, 1967), 252; Artamonov, *Istorija*, 157–58. Those who favor this view quote in their support the statement of John of Nikiu, Zotenberg, 580 (Charles, 197) to the effect that Kubratos, nephew of Organa, was baptized at Constantinople as a child and brought up in the imperial palace. It appears, however, that the Ethiopic text of John of Nikiu has, not Kubratos and Organa (these forms representing an emendation on the part of the translators), but Qetrādes and Kuernāka: see J. Marquart, *IRAIK* 15 (1911), 7 note 5.

Another view is that the Huns in question were the ones to whose land Herakleios withdrew in 625 (Theoph., 310.19) by virtue of previously established friendly relations: so V. Beševliev, *REB* 28 (1970), 157 ff.; idem, *Byzantinobulgaria* 5 (1978), 229–36.

Note that V omits the statement, present in L, that the emperor's brother Theodore acted as baptismal "sponsor" to the lord of the Huns.

The date 619, accepted for this incident by many historians, has no other basis than de Boor's marginal notation.

10. Negotiations with Avars. Avar surprise (623)

There are two other sources for these incidents:

(1) *Chr. Pasch.*, 712–13, which gives the following particulars: In the expectation of concluding a peace treaty with the Avars and impressing them by holding chariot races at Herakleia, the emperor went to Thrace on Sunday 5 June, indiction 11 (= 623), accompanied by a number of dignitaries, landowners, clergymen, shopkeepers, and partisans of both factions. The Chagan "with an infinite multitude" drew near the Long Walls. At the 4th hour of the same day he made a sign with his whip, whereupon his men entered the Long Walls, while he remained outside. The Avars who had entered, starting their depredations in the evening of that Sunday, went on as far as the Golden Gate and captured everyone they found outside the city walls. They desecrated and robbed the church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian at Blachernai and that of St. Michael *πέραν* (i.e., north of the Golden Horn) in the district called *τὰ Προμώτου*. All the captives were removed beyond the Danube. There is no mention of the emperor's flight.

(2) Theoph., 301–2, A.M. 6110 (A.D. 619), who records: An Avar incursion into Thrace (not in Nik.); the dispatch of unnamed ambassadors, who obtained a promise of peace from the Avars; the proposed meeting outside the Long Walls. The account of the actual surprise is very short and contains no particular that is not in Nik. It is possible that both used ultimately the same source, as also suggested by the following verbal similarity:

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Nik., 10.24–25: οὐ μετρίως τῷ παραλόγῳ καταπλαγεῖς (not in L)

Theoph., 301.33: ἐκπλαγεῖς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ τοῦ πράγματος

There has been much debate concerning the date of the Avar surprise. The precise and concordant indications of *Chr. Pasch.* cannot be rejected lightly; but if Herakleios was in Thrace in June 623, he could not at the same time have been on campaign against the Persians, so that the beginning of the major offensive against Persia would have to be moved to 624 (as in *Chr. Pasch.*), and that, in turn, raises further difficulties (see below *ad c.* 12). For this reason N. H. Baynes, *BZ* 21 (1912), 110–28, moved the Avar surprise to 617 (when 5 June also fell on a Sunday), and in this he has been followed by several other historians, including Kulakovskij, III, 53.

13 ff. The reference to chariot races suggests that there was a hippodrome at Herakleia, probably attached to the Tetrarchic imperial palace.

20 Long Walls: see esp. C. Schuchhardt, *JDAI* 16 (1901), 107–15; R. M. Harrison, *Archaeologia Aeliana* 47 (1969), 33–38; idem in *Roman Frontier Studies 1969* (Cardiff, 1974), 245–48; B. Croke, *GRBS* 23 (1982), 59–78; M. Whitby, *Byzantion* 55 (1985), 560–83. The discussion of Stratos, I, 365 ff. is vitiated by his ignorance of the correct situation of the Long Walls (cf. his map facing p. 366), which, in fact, protected Selymbria, where the emperor lodged.

28 Note the criticism of Herakleios implied in his “ignominious flight.”

33 Bridge over the Barbysses (at the head of the Golden Horn): presumably the one built by Justinian in 528 (*Chr. Pasch.*, 618). Later called the bridge of St. Kallinikos: *Vita Basilii* in Theoph. Cont., 340, where Βαθύρσου should be corrected to Βαβύρσου. Cf. my remarks in *Studien zur spätantiken und byzant. Kunst F.W. Deichmann gewidmet* (Mainz, 1986), I, 3–4 and below, cc. 13, 25.

38 Captives: the number of 270,000 is incredible. That of 70,000, given by Georg. Mon., though still high, is certainly preferable.

11. Herakleios marries Martina. Alienation of church plate

The marriage of Herakleios to Martina (unfortunately, not mentioned in *Chr. Pasch.*) is generally held to have occurred at the end of 613 or early in 614 on the authority of Theoph., 300, who places it in A.M. 6105, adding that Martina was crowned Augusta by Patriarch Sergios. He records the birth of a Κωνσταντίνος ἕτερος the following year (A.M. 6106) and, under A.M. 6108 says that on 1 Jan., indiction 5 (= A.D. 617) Herakleios Constantine assumed the consulship and “raised to the rank of Caesar his own brother, the little Constantine, who had been born to Herakleios and Martina.” If “the other Constantine” is, as seems probable, Heraklonas (born in Lazica in 626), then Theophanes is in grave error concerning

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the date of his birth. He is also mistaken as regards the consulship of Herakleios Constantine (the future Constantine III), which occurred in indiction 5 of the next cycle (632): cf. V. Bolotov, *VizVrem* 14 (1907), 74–75. It is thus probable that Theoph. also errs in recording the marriage of Herakleios to Martina in 613/4. A terminus ante quem of March 624 is provided by *Chr. Pasch.*, 713–14. Speck, *Dossier*, 35 ff. places the marriage in 622.

8 Fabius (the reading of L) is in my opinion to be preferred to V's Flavius, which is merely a *gentilicium*. It may be recalled that Herakleios' first wife was called Fabia. Fabius seems to have died in infancy.

8 Theodosios was still alive in 629/30. See below, c. 17.

12 ff. This passage has been discussed (badly) by J. V. A. Fine, *ZRVI* 10 (1967), 34–35 and (sensibly) by Cameron, *Circus*, 339–40. The required reading is conveyed by L. The omission in V is due to homoeoteleuton. There remains the redundant *ἐπὶ ταύτῃ* of V. I imagine that Nik. in the process of revision wanted to make it clear that the Blues agreed with the Greens *with regard to the marriage* and, having his eye on *τὴν συναφήν*, added *ἐπὶ ταύτῃ*. He then changed *συναφήν* to *συννοικέσιον*, but forgot to make the necessary adjustment in gender.

21 Alienation of church plate: Theoph., 302–3, mentions it in connection with the Persian campaign of 622. He specifies that Herakleios took money from charitable institutions and melted into coin the *polykandela* and other plate of St. Sophia. Nik. differs in speaking of the sale of plate to pay tribute to the Avars.

12. Persian War. Alliance with Chazars (626)

Nik. (or rather his source) was poorly informed about the conduct of hostilities in the East, with the result that the chronological sequence of this chapter is rather confused.

4 Fall of Jerusalem: This takes us back to 614.

5 Modestos: not strictly true. The bishop of Jerusalem was Zacharias, whom the Persians abducted and who died in captivity. Modestos stood in during the vacancy.

7 Advance on Chalcedon by Shahrbaraz: either in ca. 624 or in 626.

Expedition into Persia: Two separate events appear to be confused. The campaign in question is not the minor one of 622 (known from Pisides, *Exped. persica* and Theoph., 302 ff.) because on that occasion Herakleios traveled across Asia Minor overland and did not make contact with the Chazars, but that of 623 (or rather 624) and its sequel. On the other hand, the entrusting of the government to Bonos refers to 622 (Theoph., 303, who calls him Bonosos), unless the same arrangement was repeated later. *Chr. Pasch.* does not refer to the expedition of 622, but only to that of 624 (assuming it is correctly dated), when Herakleios set out on 25 March

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(15 March according to Theoph., 306), celebrated Easter at Nicomedia, then sent his children back to Constantinople and went on with Martina and the magister Anianos (pp. 713–14). A further difficulty is that in 623 Easter fell on 27 March, whereas in 624 it fell on 15 April. See discussion in Stratos, II, 883 ff., who decides for 25 March 624 on the strength of *Chr. Pasch.* and because he believes that in 623 Herakleios returned from the East not before late February. On the latter point he is, however, mistaken. The campaign of 622 had terminated in August and Herakleios did not winter in Pontos: see N. Oikonomides, *GRBS* 1 (1975), 1–9.

14–16 Birth of Herakleios junior: This is the prince commonly called Heraklonas.

17 ff. Alliance with the Chazars: If Theoph., 314–15 is to be trusted, the meeting with the Chazars near Tiflis occurred in 626.

43 ff. Destruction of fire temples: Theoph., 308.8, speaks of the destruction of the fire temple at Thebarmais in the course of the campaign of 623 (as dated by him). On the astral dome see Christensen, *Iran*, 466 ff.; K. Lehmann, *Art Bulletin* 27 (1945), 24–25.

51 ff. Intercepted letter: A similar story, with different details, is told in many sources, Greek, Syriac, and Arabic. See discussion in Stratos, II, 635 ff. and my remarks in *TM* 9 (1985), 107 ff. According to Theoph., 323–24, the letter was addressed to Kardarigas (second in command of Persian forces at Chalcedon) ordering him to put Shahrbaraz to death. It was intercepted in Galatia and delivered to the emperor's son (Constantine), who showed it to Shahrbaraz. The latter concluded an accord with the Romans and withdrew from Chalcedon. Practically the same story is told by Mich. Syr., II, 408–9 and, with some confusions, in Agapios, 461–62. A different account in *Chr. Seert*, 540–41.

13. Siege of Constantinople by the Avars (626)

1 ff. Treaty with the Avars: briefly mentioned by Theoph., A.M. 6111, who alludes to tribute, but gives no further details. Cf. Theod. Synk., 5.30 ff.

5 John/Atalarichos (note the Gothic name): cf. below, c. 24.

6 Stephen: Martina's half-brother. Cf. below, c. 21.

9 ff. The siege: For the events see esp. F. Barišić, *Byzantion* 24 (1954), 371–95. The account of Nik. is independent. The other main Greek sources are:

(1) *Chr. Pasch.*, 716 ff., not an integral part of the Chronicle, but a separate, contemporary document. Note that at 724.9 there is a lacuna caused by the loss of one leaf, between *περάσαι πρὸς τοὺς* and *ἐπόντισεν*, on which see G. Mercati, *JTS* 7 (1905/6), 409. The lacuna corresponds to the incident on which Nik. lays most stress, namely, the destruction of the Slav flotilla.

(2) A very short account in Theoph., 316.

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(3) Pisides, *Bell. avaricum*, a panegyric recited soon after the siege, allusive and imprecise. See P. Speck, *Zufälliges zum Bell. avar. des Georgios Pisides*, Misc. byz. Monac., 24 (1980).

(4) The homily of Theod. Synk., probably delivered in 627.

22 The Pteron: discussed by Speck, op. cit., 34 ff. with plan, whose conclusions I do not entirely share. The Pteron may have been the same as the feature called *βραχιάλιον* in *Chr. Pasch.*, 719.15 (cf. military sense of Latin *bracchium*), which I take to have been an outwork covering the juncture between the land walls and the walls along the Golden Horn, thus preventing access to the stretch of beach outside the latter. I remain unconvinced by the thesis of B. C. P. Tsangadas in *Essays in Memory of B. Laourdas* (Thessaloniki, 1975), 165–75, who locates the *brachialia* on either side of the valley of the Lykos.

40 ff. Extension of Blachernai walls: cf. *Chr. Pasch.*, 726: ἐκτίσθη τὸ τεῖχος περὶ τοῦ οἴκου τῆς . . . Θεοτόκου, ἔξωθεν τοῦ καλουμένου Πτεροῦ. The wall built by Herakleios is usually identified with the stretch running NW from the Greek church of St. Demetrios Kanabou and turning round in the direction of the so-called Prison of Anemas. See esp. Schneider, *Landmauer*, 100 ff. and 156 ff. (sources); Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 301.

14. Duel with Razates (627)

The battle of Nineveh (12 Dec.) is described in more detail by Theoph., 318–19, who does not have Razates challenge Herakleios to a duel: it is Herakleios who comes forward and strikes Razates, then a second Persian. A third Persian strikes him with a spear and wounds his lips, but Herakleios kills him. Then, in the fray, the emperor's horse is wounded in the thigh.

15. Death of Chosroes (628). Peace negotiations

Chosroes died on 29 Feb. 628.

Theoph., 325–27 describes in detail how Chosroes intended to bestow the crown on his younger son Merdasan and how the eldest, Siroes (Shiroe), made a plot with the help of Herakleios. In the end Chosroes was bound with fetters and imprisoned in his treasury, εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ σκότους, ὃν αὐτὸς ἀχύρωσεν ἐκ νέας κτίσας (surely a borrowing from Pisides). He was then slowly starved and made to witness the execution of Merdasan and his other children. Five days later he was shot to death with arrows. The only common ground with Nik. are the reported words of Siroes, τὸν χρυσὸν φάγη, ὃν συνήγαγε μάτην, δι' ὃν πολλοὺς ἐλιμαρχόνησε καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἠρήμωσεν.

12 ff. Exchange of letters: *Chr. Pasch.*, 735–37 preserves the mutilated text of the *hypomnestikon* of Siroes (an ἴσον, hence an official copy) and a small fragment of the reply of Herakleios. New edition by N. Oikonomides, *Byzantion* 41

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(1971), 269 ff. The letter of Siroes expresses the intention of releasing Roman prisoners and the wish to live in peace with the Romans and all other neighbors. It also asks for the release of Persian prisoners held by the Romans. Herakleios is addressed as “brother,” i.e., an equal. The reply of Herakleios expresses pleasure at the accession of Siroes and, presumably, at the liberation of prisoners, then breaks off. Oikonomides, *op. cit.*, 278, assumes that Nik. had access to the complete text of *Chr. Pasch.*, and that, therefore, his indications are accurate, but that is unlikely in view of the fact that he shows no knowledge of *Chr. Pasch.* elsewhere. There is thus no confirmation of his statement that Herakleios addressed Siroes as “son” (i.e., as an inferior) and of the further particulars he furnishes.

The corresponding passage in Theoph., 327.10 ff., is very brief and incorrect in stating that Siroes released Patriarch Zacharias and returned the True Cross. Independent account in Sebeos, 86, who names the Roman envoy, Eustathios, perhaps the same as is mentioned in *Cer.*, 629.

25 ff. L's ἀπερ αὐτῷ κατάφορα γένοιτο is defensible (such of the ξύλα as would be accessible to him). The end of the paragraph seems to lack a verb, unless one adopts de Boor's expedient of placing ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο . . . γένοιτο in parentheses and changing ὡς in line 26 to ὡν. In line 28 Oikonomides' emendation of αὐτόν to αὐτόν (with reference to the second invasion of Persia in 627) is palaeographically attractive, but does not take into account the fact that Nik. shows no awareness of two successive invasions.

16. Succession of Persian kings

Nik. is greatly confused on this topic. Seiroes and Kaboes were one and the same person (Kavadh II Shiroe), who was succeeded by his infant son Ardashir III. Synkellos, 442 and Theoph., 329 give a more correct sequence:

Siroes, son of Chosroes, 8 months (no length of reign in Theoph.)

Adeser, 7 months

Sarbarazas (-zes, -xas), 2 months

Borane, daughter of Chosroes, 7 months

Hormisdas, who was expelled by the Saracens.

Fuller list in Mich. Syr., II, 410. The accepted sequence (Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* [Leiden, 1879], 432 ff.; Christensen, *Iran*, 497 ff.) is:

Kavadh II Shiroe, 25 Feb.–Sept. 628

Ardashir III, Sept. 628–27 April 630

Shahrbaraz, 27 April–9 June 630

Boran, summer 630–winter 631

Various and Hormizd V, 631–32?

Yazdegerd III, last king, 632/3–651/2.

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The authenticity of the letter to Herakleios is accepted by V. Bolotov, *VizVrem* 14 (1907), 86, who thinks it was sent by Shiroe in Aug./Sept. 628 and concerned his son Ardashir.

17. Negotiations with Shahrbaraz (629). Shahrbaraz king of Persia (630).

Dynastic arrangements

2 According to Sebeos, 88, Shahrbaraz came from Alexandria.

5 The required meaning is that Shahrbaraz sought leave to present himself before Herakleios in the guise of a slave. This is conveyed by L: *καὶ παραγενέσθαι ὡς αὐτόν* (to Herakleios) *ἐξήγησε καὶ ὡς δούλον παρίστασθαι*. In revising, Nik. may have wished to avoid the repetition of *ὡς* (in two different senses), but left *αὐτόν*, which now ought to refer to Shahrbaraz. In my text I have followed L, but it would be equally possible to give preference to V with the slight correction of *ἐαυτόν* or *αὐτόν* for *αὐτόν*.

7 I prefer L's *ἦκεν* to V's *ἦκειν*. The meeting, not mentioned in any other Greek source, took place at Arabissos in Cappadocia: *Chr.* 724, 114; cf. Sebeos, 88.

10 It was Ardashir (Shiroe's infant son) who was eventually put to death by Shahrbaraz: *Khuzistan Chr.*, 25; *Chr. Seert*, 556; Strategios Georg., 54.

15 Return of True Cross: see c. 18.

16 ff. Dynastic arrangements: On Niketas, son of Shahrbaraz, and the marriage of his sister Nike to Theodosios see my remarks in *TM* 9 (1985), 105 ff. The marriage of Constantine III to Gregoria (who was presumably brought from the Libyan Pentapolis) could not have occurred later than Feb. 630, seeing that their son, Herakleios, was born on 7 Nov. of that year (Theoph., 335). The date of the death of the patrician Niketas (Gregoria's father) is not known, and the oft-repeated statement that after the loss of Egypt to the Persians he served as exarch of Africa is open to doubt: see my remarks in *Sitz. Österr. Akad.* 432 (1984), 36.

18. First Arab incursions. Children of the imperial family. Restitution of the True Cross

1 Aithribos, Yathrib = Medina. The incursion in question may refer to the unsuccessful raid of Zayd b. Harithah to Mu'ta (E of the S end of the Dead Sea) in A.H. 8 (629): see Elias Nisib., 62, and Donner, *Conquests*, 101, 103. The same event described by Theoph., 335.14 ff.

4 ff. These details about Eudokia and the four children (two sons and two daughters) who died while Herakleios was in Persia (hence in 624–28) are not found elsewhere. According to a marginal note in V (above, p. 23) the four children were both born in Persia and died there, but it may be doubted that the scholiast had any independent information at his disposal. Fabius may well have been one of those who died; the others cannot be identified.

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9 ff. Return of the True Cross to Jerusalem: Various dates have been advanced for this event (628, 629, 630, 631, the last by V. Grumel, *Byz. Forsch.* 1 [1966], 139–49). The one most solidly attested by contemporary sources is 21 March 630, as demonstrated by Kulakovskij, III, 367 ff. The fiction that the Cross was returned inviolate also occurs in Strategios Georg., 55, and must, therefore, have been deliberately circulated at the time. This has been rightly stressed by A. Frolov, *REB* 11 (1953), 88–105, whose explanation of the *mise-en-scène* is, however, unconvincing. Modestos was not patriarch at the time of the restitution: he was ordained in indiction 4, i.e., after 1 Sept. 630: Strategios Georg., 55.

17 ff. This passage raises considerable difficulties. The date of indiction 2, which Nik. must have taken from his chronicle source, corresponds to 628/9. We have seen, however, that the Cross was returned to Jerusalem in 630. It was not conveyed thither via Constantinople, since we are told that it was brought from Persia by the Roman general David to Hierapolis (Mabbug), where Herakleios took possession of it before transporting it to Jerusalem: Mich. Syr., II, 427. Furthermore, it is said to have remained at Jerusalem until Herakleios abandoned the East in 636: Sebeos, 118; Theoph., 337.9. It may be that soon after (as implied by Nik.'s *εὐθύς*) its restoration to Jerusalem the Cross was taken on a triumphal tour to Constantinople, but that would require emending the numeral 2, to say, 5 (631/2), i.e., $\bar{\text{B}}$ to $\bar{\text{E}}$. Furthermore, such a tour is not recorded elsewhere.

According to cod. *Sabat.* 366, fol. 22', the "exaltation" under Herakleios corresponded to the liturgical commemoration of 1 Aug., which in the published *Menaia* (vol. VI, [Rome 1902], 277) is called *πρόοδος τῶν τιμίων ξύλων*, and elsewhere the "immersion" (*βάπτισις*) of the True Cross: *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise*, ed. J. Mateos, I (Rome, 1962), 356; *Synax. CP*, 860.21. For the office see A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskikh rukopisej*, II (Kiev, 1901), 165–66. If such, indeed, was the origin of the liturgical commemoration, the "exaltation" may be thought to have occurred on 1 Aug. 629.

19. Triumphal return of Herakleios to Constantinople. Consulship of Constantine III (632)

Theoph., 327–28 describes the emperor's return to Constantinople (but with no mention of a triumph), where he was met at Hieria by his son Constantine, the patriarch, and the people; the following year he proceeded to Jerusalem to restore the True Cross. That would suggest that Herakleios returned to Constantinople in 629, as also argued by Bolotov, *VizVrem* 14 (1907), 94. The same date is accepted by Kulakovskij, III, 112 (after the interview at Arabissos, July 629) and 370–71. A. Pertusi, on the other hand, in his edition of Pisides, 233–34, believes that Herakleios came to Constantinople before 1 Jan. 629 and remained there until the spring, but he is wrong in connecting this visit with the processions described in *Cer.*,

628–30, which must be dated 1 and 4 Jan., indiction 12 (639), not indiction 2 (629) in spite of the reading of the MS. Pertusi may be right, however, in saying that the Novella of 21 March 629, *De clericis conveniendis* (ed. I. Konidaris, *Fontes minores* 5 [1982], 84–94) implies the emperor's presence in the capital.

We have it on the contemporary evidence of *Acta Anastasii Persae* (ed. H. Usener, [Bonn, 1894]), 12–13, that from Jerusalem Herakleios proceeded to Mesopotamia. The monk who undertook to retrieve the saint's relics from Persia accompanied the imperial party as far as Constantina (Tella). After reducing Edessa, Herakleios went to Hierapolis, where he met the Monophysite Patriarch Athanasios (early 631): Mich. Syr., II, 412; cf. Kulakovskij, III, 128–30. A little later he received at Aleppo an embassy from Queen Boran headed by the Persian Katholikos Išo'yahb: *Chr. Seert*, 557f.; Thomas of Marga, trans. E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of Governors* (London, 1893), II, 124–26. Thus, the return to Constantinople could not have occurred before the middle of 631.

It is possible that the triumphal *adventus* described by Nik. is distinct from that in Theoph.

9f. Consulship of Constantine: 1 Jan. 632, as shown by Bolotov, *op. cit.*, 74–75. Theoph., 301 also gives 1 Jan., indiction 5, but mistakenly places it fifteen years too early (A.M. 6108).

20. First Arab successes in Palestine (633–34)

It should be noted that Nik. recounts only the first stage of the Arab advance into Palestine. He is silent about the decisive battle of the Yarmūk (636), the capture of Jerusalem (638), and the conquest of Syria. What he does say in this chapter, which does not shine by its clarity, may be summarized as follows:

(1) Herakleios with his wife and younger son proceed to the East, i.e., from Constantinople.

(2) Theodore (the emperor's brother) is dismissed from his command and replaced by his namesake, Theodore Trithyrios.

(3) A certain Sergios *kata Niketan* (who is not described as having fought a battle) is put to death by the Arabs, that is, the "Roman" Arabs, for denying them their customary commercial dues.

(4) An unnamed subordinate of Theodore Trithyrios, disobeying orders, engages the Arabs at Gabitha and is defeated.

Pace M. V. Krivov, *VizVrem* 43 (1982), 218–25, the above information cannot be easily reconciled with what is known from other sources about an extraordinarily confused sequence of events.

1ff. The Saracens of Arabia could hardly have penetrated to the region of Antioch by this early date; perhaps a local tribe of Arabs is meant. Herakleios is recorded as having resided at Edessa in 633–34: see Kulakovskij, III, 131, 146.

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4ff. It is generally believed that Theodore (the emperor's brother) was destituted after he had been defeated by the Arabs at Gabitha (presumably in 634) and fled to the emperor at Edessa, and that he was succeeded in his command by Baanes and Theodore the *sakellarios*: so Theoph., 336–37, A.M. 6125 (after the accession of 'Umar and the conquest of Bostra). Similar story in Mich. Syr., II, 418, who does not specify where the battle was fought.

11 ff. The transition is very brusque and the γάρ in line 11 is left hanging in the air. A lacuna may be suspected. Theoph., 335–36 also mentions, but with reference to A.D. 631, a financial dispute: the (Roman) Arabs, who used to guard the approaches of the desert, demanded their customary dues, but were rudely dismissed by the imperial paymaster, an unnamed eunuch, as a result of which they joined their fellow-nationals. No trade is, however, involved here.

Sergios *kata Niketan*: For the form of the name, which indicates that Sergios had been in the service of a Niketas (the emperor's cousin?), see A. Cameron in *Glotta* 56 (1978), 87 ff. He should probably be distinguished from the commander Sergios, who tried to oppose the Arabs with a small contingent from Caesarea, but was defeated and killed, presumably in 633: Theoph., 336; Mich. Syr., II, 413 (who calls him a patrician and says that in fleeing he fell off his horse three times and was finally put to the sword). The slaying of Sergios (called a *candidatus*, no doubt more correctly) is mentioned in *Doctr. Iacobi*, 86, thus yielding a terminus ante quem of July 634.

14 L's ἀπειλειμμένος can be corrected either to ἀπειλημμένος (from ἀπολαμβάνω) = "shut up" or to ἀπειλημένος (from ἀπειλέω) = "brought into straits," the latter used by Hdt., II.141, VIII.109.

21 Θεόδωρος, presumably the original reading of V, appears preferable to Θεοδώρω (L, V²) because it is picked up by ὑπ' αὐτὸν στρατηγός, which I understand to mean a commander subordinate to Theodore Trithyrios rather than subordinate to the emperor (an unnecessary qualification). Since, in either case, the order not to engage the Saracens emanated from the emperor (τὰ κατὰ γνώμην τῷ βασιλεῖ), the difference in meaning is very slight.

23 νεώτερα: cf. Hdt., I.210: εἰ δέ τις . . . ἀπαγγέλλει παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν νεώτερα βουλευεῖν περὶ σέο.

27 Gabitha: As we have seen, Theoph. equates the battle of Gabitha with the defeat of Theodore, the emperor's brother. Mich. Syr., II, 420 places the battle of Gabitha (on the Yarmūk) in 635 and distinguishes it from the principal battle of the Yarmūk the following year. See also the Syriac fragment, ed. Th. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 29 (1875), 77, which speaks of Gabitha with reference to the battle of the Yarmūk in 636. The Arabic sources do not mention Gabitha and speak instead of the battle of Ajnādayn.

On the above events see P. Mayerson, *TAPA* 95 (1964), 155–99; Donner,

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Conquests, 112ff. (whose statement, p. 144, that Theoph. is dependent on the Arabic tradition is, however, open to doubt).

21. Ransom of hostages held by the Avars

No other source.

For the hostages see above, c. 13. Anianos, *domesticus* and *magister*, is mentioned in *Chr. Pasch.*, 714.7 as accompanying Herakleios on the Persian campaign of 624. Judging by this passage, he may have acted as head of government while Herakleios was in the East.

22. Koubratos throws off Avar yoke

No other source. Cf. above, c. 9 and below, c. 35.

There has been interminable debate concerning Koubratos (Kubrat or Kuvrat), chief of the Bulgarian Onogurs (Onogundurs) and his identity or otherwise with the Kurt of the Bulgarian Princes' List, the Chrobatos of *DAI*, 30.65 (also contemporary with Herakleios, but dwelling in Dalmatia) and the Kouber of *Mir. S. Demetrii*, II.5. The thesis of their identity, most clearly stated by H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 17 (1944–45), 88ff., has been generally rejected. See, most recently, Beševliev, *Protobulg. Periode*, 149ff., 511ff.; P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des Miracles de S. Démétrius*, II (Paris, 1981), 143ff.; idem, in 'Αφιέρωμα στὸν Ν. Σβορώνο (Rethymno, 1986), I, 51–58; J. Werner, *Der Grabfund von Malaja Pereščepina und Kuvrat*, *Abh. Bayer. Akad.*, N.F. 91 (1984).

A further difficulty is posed by Nik.'s statement that Koubratos, who presumably dwelled near the Sea of Azov, rebelled against the Avars, since there is no evidence that the authority of the latter extended that far East in the thirties of the seventh century.

1–2 Note that L has *Κούβαρος* and 'Αργανᾶ.

5f. The reading of L, *φυλάξει* (sic) and *αὐτοῦ* (instead of *ἑαυτῶν*) would imply that Koubratos kept or promised to keep the peace until the end of *his* life. This makes little difference inasmuch as he died after Herakleios.

23. Arabs in Egypt

This chapter as well as the passage concerning the disgrace of Kyros in c. 26 raise considerable difficulties. In the first place, it is generally held that Herakleios departed from Syria in 636 after the battle of the Yarmūk; hence the appointment of John of Barkaina would pertain to that year at the latest. Yet the Arab invasion of Egypt is believed to have started only in Dec. 639. Another point that does not seem to have been noticed concerns Kyros' alleged plan to offer Eudokia in marriage to 'Amr. The acclamations recorded in *Cer.*, 630 for 4 Jan. 639 name all the members of the imperial family, but omit Eudokia, thus implying that she was no longer alive at the time.

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The story told by Theoph., 338, A.M. 6126, if true even in part, would offer some confirmation of the version of events in Nik. Theoph. alleges that, on learning of the Arab advance, Kyros offered to pay a tribute of 200,000 dinars (the passage, lacking in the Greek MSS, is supplied from the Latin trans. of Anastasius, *ducenta milia denariorum*: de Boor mistakenly prints $\iota\beta'$ $\mu\upsilon\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\delta\alpha\varsigma$). In this way he kept Egypt untroubled for three years, i.e., from 636 or 637 to 639. Kyros was recalled by the emperor and replaced by the Armenian Manuel as *augustalis*. Manuel refused to pay the tribute, etc. Practically the same story is found in Mich. Syr., II, 425 (and other Syriac chronicles), which proves that Theoph. obtained it from his Syriac source (as also shown by his apparent use of the term *dinars*). Severus of Eschmounein, 229, also speaks, if rather vaguely, of tribute paid to the Muslims for three years.

Butler, *Conquest*, 207–9, 481–82, categorically rejects the accounts of both Theoph. and Nik. In his view the only offer of tribute on the part of Kyros was made during the siege of Babylon (Oct. 640) and this was misconstrued into the story of tribute paid prior to the conquest to purchase immunity from invasion (*ibid.*, 261–63). If so, however, it remains to explain why Nik. and Theoph. = Mich. Syrus, not to mention Severus, being as they are independent sources, converge on the payment of tribute (or the proposal to pay it) in c. 636/7.

2 John of Barkaina: a general by the name of John, who was defeated and killed by the Arabs, is mentioned by John of Nikiu, Charles, 178–80, 184. He seems to have been an imperial appointee, since his body was recovered, taken to Babylon, and thence sent to Constantinople. His identity with John of Barkaina is uncertain. Cf. Butler, *Conquest*, 222 note 1.

4 Marinus, presumably *mag. militum per Thracias*, not recorded elsewhere.

7 Marianos *cubicularius*: A Marianos, who was destroyed by the Muslims, is mentioned by Severus of Eschmounein, 230.

12 Ambros: 'Amr ibn al 'Aṣī.

15 The emperor's daughters: In addition to Eudokia, these were Augustina and Anastasia. On Kyros' matrimonial schemes see the somewhat questionable study by F. Nau, *Le Muséon* 45 (1932), 1–17. Butler, *Conquest*, 264 rejects the story.

24. Herakleios withdraws to Hieria. Plot against him

No other Greek source. The story of the plot is told in greater detail, but with some confusion of the persons implicated, in Sebeos, 93–94. It involved a number of Armenian noblemen. For the probable date (late in 637) see Stratos, III, 231, note XXIV.

2 Hieria: outside Chalcedon, at modern Fenerbahçe, where Justinian had built a palace. See J. Pargoire, *IRAİK* 4 (1899), 9–78; Janin, *CP*, 148–50; *idem*, *Grands centres*, 35–36.

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10 Theodore *magistros*: mistakenly called the son of Herakleios by Sebeos. He must have succeeded Anianos (above, c. 21) and been followed by Eustathios, attested in 639 (*Cer.*, 629). Theoph., 344.23, 345.1 mentions another son of Theodore (the emperor's brother), viz. Gregory, who was held hostage by Muawiya and died at Heliopolis.

15 Gaudomelete: the island of Gozzo near Malta, mentioned in the Acts of Sts. Peter and Paul, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, ed. R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, I (Leipzig, 1891), 178.2, 181.13. Cf. R. A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, II/1 (Braunschweig, 1887), 305.

25. Herakleios returns to Constantinople. Heraklonas crowned emperor (638)

9 For the bridge of the Barbysses see above, c. 10.

11 Heraklonas was crowned on 4 July 638. His brother David was made Caesar the same day. The occasion is described in *Cer.*, 627–28.

26. Death of Patriarch Sergios and ordination of Pyrrhos (638). Disgrace of Kyros

1 Death of Sergios: 13 Dec. 638 according to *Cer.*, 630–31, which specifies that he died on a Sunday. The day in question was, however, a Saturday, so the indication may refer to his funeral rather than to his death. On the other hand, Nik.'s *Χρονογραφικόν*, de Boor, 118, gives him a reign of 28 years, 7 months, 21 days. He was ordained on 18 April 610 (*Chr. Pasch.*, 699, where η' should be corrected to ιη'), which would place his death on 8 or 9 Dec. This is accepted by Grumel, *Chronologie*, 435 and Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 51.

3 ff. Pyrrhos: ordained on 20 Dec. 638. See Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 58. Nik.'s *Χρονογραφικόν*, loc. cit., calls him presbyter of St. Sophia, monk, ἄρχων τῶν μοναστηρίων, and abbot of Chrysopolis (i.e., of the monastery founded by Philippikos) and gives him a first tenure of 2 years, 9 months, 9 days.

3–4 ὡς ἡνίκα . . . ἐδέξατο: This has usually been interpreted to mean that Pyrrhos was the godfather of Herakleios' sister, which from the point of view of chronology appears implausible. See A. Pertusi, *AnBoll* 76 (1958), 19 note 3. The Greek can, however, be understood the other way round, as pointed out by Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 57 note 1, who places a comma after ἐφωτίζετο.

5 συνδιαυτώμενον implies that Pyrrhos had been Sergios' *synkellos*, a fact that is not otherwise recorded.

6 ff. This passage appears to be saying that the disgrace of Kyros took place at about the same time (τηνικαῦτα) as the ordination of Pyrrhos and that he had been recalled to Constantinople a few years previously. Yet Kyros is known to have been at Alexandria in Nov. 638 (Grumel, *Regestes*, 293) and in 639/40 (PLond 113, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, I, ed. F. G. Kenyon [1893], 222–23). It is generally believed that Kyros went to Constantinople in about Nov. 640 to obtain

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imperial consent for his treaty with ḲAmr, was temporarily banished, and returned to Alexandria only after the death of Herakleios, in Sept. 641: so Butler, *Conquest*, 262 ff., Kulakovskij, III, 162–63, and others.

27. Consulship of Heraklonas (639). Death of Herakleios (641)

1 ff. Consulship of Heraklonas: presumably 1 Jan. 639. See *Cer.*, 628–29, which describes a *πρόκενσος* on that date. David had actually been made Caesar on 4 July 638 (above, c. 25), whereas Martinos was named *nobilissimus*, not Caesar, as appears from the acclamations for 4 Jan. 639 (*Cer.*, 630): these are for Herakleios senior and his wife Anastasia Martina, Constantine and Herakleios (Heraklonas) Augusti, Augustina and Anastasia Augustae (daughters of Herakleios), David Caesar and Martinos *nobilissimus*. It is not clear whether Anastasia (daughter) was also called Martina or whether Nik. (or his source) confused her with her mother.

13 ff. Nik. implies that Herakleios died on 11 Feb. 641 (counting from 5 Oct. 610), and this has been accepted by most historians. Theoph., 341 gives a March date after a reign of 30 years, 10 months (*recte* 5 months), while the *Chr. Altinate* has 11 Jan. The last has been accepted by P. Grierson, *DOP* 16 (1962), 48. February is, however, confirmed by John of Nikiu, Charles, 184–85, as pointed out by Butler, *Conquest*, 300 note 2. See also Stratos, III, 162 and 231–32, note xxv.

The sarcophagus of Herakleios was placed in Justinian's mausoleum and was of white Dokimian marble, resembling onyx (*Cer.*, 644). It is possibly one of those exhibited in front of the Istanbul Archaeological Museum: see my remarks in *Istanbul Arkeol. Müzesi Yıllığı* 15–16 (1969), 307–9.

Herakleios was presumably afraid of being buried alive, as had allegedly happened to Emperor Zeno, who, for three days, is said to have cried for help from his tomb: Kedr., I, 622; Zonaras, III, 132–33.

28. Opposition to Martina (Feb. 641)

No other source.

For the significance which some historians have attached to this incident see Introduction, p. 8.

16 f. It is not clear what is meant by *τὸ ἐαυτῆς παλάτιον*. Martina would normally have resided in the Imperial Palace next to the Hippodrome rather than in a private palace of her own.

29. Reign of Constantine III (Feb.–May 641)

At his accession Constantine was about twenty-nine. He had married his relative Gregoria in 629/30 and had two sons, Herakleios (born Nov. 630) and Theodosios.

17 Valentinus is mentioned by Sebeos, 103-4 as an Arsacid and commander of forces in the East. Nik.'s statement that he was the adjutant of Philagrius is not clear. For the suggestion that he was *comes obsequii* see Haldon, *Practories*, 174.

21-22 Kulakovskij, III, 175, assuming that each soldier would have received a donative of 5 solidi, calculates that the army numbered nearly 44,000 men. The sum of money is incorrectly given as 50,000 plus 16,000 solidi by Stratos, III, 192 and Kaegi, *Unrest*, 155. John of Nikiu, Charles, 192 also says that Valentinus distributed to the army a large sum of money that he had taken from the treasury of Philagrius, but implies a later context. Unfortunately, the sequence of his narrative appears disturbed at this point.

25f. If Herakleios died on 11 Feb., Constantine must have died on 24 May, and this date has been generally accepted. Theoph., 341.14 gives Constantine a reign of four months. The *Chr. Annate* makes him die on 20 April after a reign of 120 days. See P. Grierson, *DOP* 16 (1962), 48-49 and Stratos, III, 196-97. Note that Nik. does not accuse Martina of having poisoned Constantine and represents his death as having been natural. The allegation that she did so was officially propagated by Constans II (Theoph., 342) and is found in most historical sources, both Greek and Oriental. Pyrrhos is often accused, surely without reason, of having been her accomplice.

30. Accession of Heraklonas. Negotiations with Valentinus (spring-summer 641)

No other Greek source. Brief mention in Sebeos. The account in John of Nikiu, Charles, 191, 196 is fuller, but, unfortunately, confused. He informs us that Heraklonas brought to Constantinople the army of Thrace, a move that enabled him to exile Philagrius to Africa, "where Pyrrhus had previously been in banishment" (see c. 31); that this caused an uprising against Martina because Philagrius was "greatly beloved"; that Valentinus brought his army to Chalcedon and that Heraklonas, accompanied by the clergy, crossed the Bosphoros to appeal to him for peace, promising to associate his nephew (Herakleios) to power and to recall Philagrius. For these events see Stratos, III, 200 ff.; Kaegi, *Unrest*, 155 ff.

6 Kyros returned to Alexandria on the feast of the Holy Cross (14 Sept. 641; John of Nikiu, Charles, 192. See Butler, *Conquest*, 536 ff.

31. Coronation of Herakleios (Constans II). Forced departure of Pyrrhos (Sept. 641)

1 ff. The anxiety of the people of Constantinople about their vineyards on the Asiatic side of the Bosphoros may indicate an incipient ruralization of the urban economy.

4 ff. Coronation of Herakleios: probably in Sept. Cf. E. W. Brooks, *BZ* 4 (1895), 440 note 2, who points out that the Lateran Council of 5 Oct. 649 is dated to the 9th year of Constantine (Mansi, X, 864D).

14ff. Departure of Pyrrhos: 28/29 Sept. John of Nikiu alleges that Pyrrhos had been banished a first time to an island in the west of Africa (Charles, 185), was brought back on the advice of the Senate (p. 191), and then banished for the second time to Tripoli (p. 197). The first banishment is rejected by T. Kaestner, *De imperio Constantini III*, Diss. Jena (Leipzig, 1907), 14, whereas Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 67 is prepared to see in it some kernel of truth. Quite apart from providing a justification for such a move, it is difficult to find a sufficient time span into which a first banishment could have fitted.

25-26 The words attributed to Pyrrhos are interpreted by Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 74 as giving the substance of his resignation document (*libellus*). Note that they echo those of Martyrios of Antioch, who was forced out of office by Peter the Fuller: κλήρω ἀνυποτάκτω. καὶ λαῶ ἀπειθεῖ. καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐρρυπωμένῃ ἀποτάττομαι, φυλάττων ἑμαυτῷ τὸ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀξίωμα (Theodoros Anagnostes, ed. Hansen, 110; Theoph., 113.32), thus underlining the unjust treatment of Pyrrhos. A. N. Stratos, *Βυζαντινά* 8 (1976), 11-19 argues that Pyrrhos did not resign.

28ff. Disputation with Maximos: July 645 (PG 91, 288). Cf. V. Grumel, *EO* 26 (1927), 30. See also Introduction, p. 14.

32. Concessions to Valentinus. Ordination of Paul II (Sept.--Oct. 641)

5 Valentinus' appointment as *comes excubitorum* is confirmed by a seal: Zacos-Veglery, *I/1*, No. 1087.

8 Coronation of David: exact date unrecorded.

10 Ordination of Paul II: 1 Oct. See E. W. Brooks, *BZ* 6 (1897), 45-46; 7 (1898), 37. Theoph., 342.2, like Nik., gives only the month.

It should be noted that the account of Nik. stops abruptly without rounding off the story: nothing is said about the deposition and mutilation of Martina and Heraklonas, the fate of Valentinus, etc. See Introduction, pp. 14-15.

33. Murder of Constans II (668)

For the circumstances see Theoph., 351-52.

The omission of the reign of Constans II may be explained either by the loss of a folio in the archetype of V and L or by the supposition that Nik. had no materials for the period in question. See Introduction, pp. 14-15.

34. Accession of Constantine IV. Naval attacks on Constantinople (671?-677).

Peace treaty with the Arabs

Nik. abridges the same source as that followed by Theoph., A.M. 6164, 6165, and 6169 without giving any additional details. As a result of compression, the peace treaty is attributed to the failure of the Arab attack on Constantinople, whereas The-

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oph., 355.10 connects it with the incursion of the Mardaites into Lebanon. Note that Theoph. does not preserve the complete text of the source, since the imperial ambassador John Pitzigaudes is described as ὁ πολλαχῶς λεχθεὶς πανεύφημος ἀνὴρ (355.29), whereas he had been mentioned only once before.

14 It is now generally held that the “siege” of Constantinople lasted not seven years, but five (674–678) and that the two Greek chroniclers (in fact only one) reckoned from the capture of Kyzikos in 670 (Theoph., A.M. 6162): so, e.g., G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J. Hussey (Oxford, 1968), 124 note 1. In reality, however, there was neither a siege nor a blockade of the capital, merely a succession of engagements in its immediate vicinity. The latest treatment of the subject, by A. N. Stratos, *JÖB* 33 (1983), 89–107, is not entirely satisfactory. For the Arabic sources see E. W. Brooks, *JHS* 18 (1898), 185 ff. These are disappointingly vague and mention Constantinople only under A.H. 54 (673/4) and 56 (676/7). See also Lilie, 75–76, who argues that the Arabs occupied Kyzikos in 671.

30–31 Amount of tribute: the same figures in de Boor’s text of Theoph., 355.24, although some MSS read 365,000 (τξε’ instead of τρεῖς) pieces of gold, as in the later treaty between ‘Abd al-Malik and Justinian II (Theoph., 363.9–10). The sum of 3,000 pieces of gold (unless pounds are meant) appears too low: cf. Bury, *LRE*, II, 312. The quotation from Theoph. in *DAI*, 21.15–16 gives 800 (instead of 50) prisoners and 50 horses.

35. The Bulgars settle near the Danube

The account of Theoph., 356.19 ff., which also includes a short geographical excursus (omitted by Nik.), is fuller and closer to the original.

1–2 Οὐννων καὶ Βουλγάρων: Seeing that the Onogundurs were a tribe of the Bulgars, V. Beševliev, *REB* 28 (1970), 153–59; *Βυζαντινά* 13/1 (1985), 48–49, is historically correct in wishing to emend the text to Οὐν(ν)ογουνδούρων Βουλγάρων (as in Theoph.). That Nik. should have written so does not, however, prove that he actually did.

2 ἀρχῆς: I have translated “origin” rather than “dominion” or “empire” in the light of Theoph.’s ἀρχαιότητος.

6 Κοβρατὸς τις: Nik. forgets that he had already spoken of Κούβρατος at 22.1.

15 μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο: E. Honigmann, *Nouv. Clío* 4 (1952), 290 note 1, remarks that this comment must come from a contemporary document, viz. the “Chronicle of 713,” the alleged direct source of L, which he attributes to Traianos Patrikios. Whether the lost source was or was not by Traianos we have no means of knowing (cf. Introduction, pp. 16–17); but we must resist the suggestion that Traianos is more or less equivalent to L for the simple reason that the Bulgarian

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passage is preserved in a fuller version in Theoph., who also has *μέχρι τῆς δεύρο* (357.21) and, further down (358.11), says that Batbaian continues paying taxes to the Avars *μέχρι τοῦ νῦν*.

18 *τῆ νῦν ὑπὸ Ἀβάροις κειμένη*: Theoph., 357.24 has *εἰς Πανονίαν τῆς Ἀβαρίας*. We cannot determine whether *τῆ νῦν* (or something like it) was in the source or was added by Nik. Cf. Introduction, p. 8.

20 Pentapolis: For the circumstances and the western sources concerning these events see A. Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'Empire byzantin au VII^e siècle* (Rome, 1969), 102–3.

23–24 *Ὀγγλον τῆ σφῶν καλούμενον φωνῆ*: a classicizing embellishment, which should not prejudice the derivation of the name Onglos. Concerning the latter commentators are divided: some derive it from Old Slavonic *oglŭ* = “corner,” others from Turcic *ayul'aul* = “court,” “fortified enclosure.” See Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, s.v. *Ὀγγλος* and *αὐλή*; N. Bănescu, *Byzantion* 28 (1958), 433–40; M. Vasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka*, I (Moscow, 1964), 229–30; IV (1973), 145. Theoph., 357.28 ff. makes it clear that the Onglos was to the north of the main course of the Danube. See V. Beševliev, *BZ* 27 (1927), 35, who convincingly transposes the text of Theoph. to read: *τὸν Δάναπρω καὶ Δάναστριν περάσας βορειοτέρους τοῦ Δανουβίου ποταμοὺς καὶ τὸν Ὀγγλον καταλαβὼν, μεταξὺ τούτων κᾶκείνων [οἱ κᾶκείνου?] ᾤκησεν*. According to Moses of Chorene, Asparuch established himself on the island of Peuke, i.e., in the Danube delta. See A. Maricq, *Byzantion* 22 (1952), 343.

27 *τὰ δ' οὖν ὀπισθεν κρημνοῖς ἀβάτοις τετειχισμένα*: a confusion. As Theoph., 358.3–4 explains, the Onglos was marshy “in front” and surrounded by rivers (i.e., the Prut, Dniestr, and Danube) on all other sides. The cliffs presumably refer to the second dwelling place of the Bulgars near Varna, described by Theoph., 359.10–12 as being protected at the back by the Danube and on the near side as well as laterally by mountain passes (*διὰ κλεισουρῶν*) and the Black Sea.

29 Bersilia: northern Dagestan. Cf. Simok., VII.8.3 (*Βαρσήλητ*) and Mich. Syr., II, 364 (“le pays d'Alân qu'on appelle Barsália”). See Artamonov, *Istorija*, 128, 130–32.

31–32 The text is corrupt and requires radical emendation. Theoph., 358.7–9 has *ἔξῆλθε τὸ μέγα ἔθνος τῶν Χαζάρων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνδοτέρου βάθους Βερζιλίας τῆς πρώτης Σαρματίας καὶ ἐδέσποσε πάσης τῆς περατικῆς γῆς μέχρι τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης*. We may tentatively suggest: *(ἔξῆλθε) τὸ τῶν Χαζάρων φῶλον . . . πλειστής (τε) ἀδείας ἐντεῦθεν (ἐπιλαβόμενον) [omit ἐπέτρεχον as a gloss on κατέδραμον], τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα κατέδραμον χωρὶα τῆς ὑπὲρ Πόντον τὸν Εὐξείνου γῆς [with a further gloss τῆς θαλάττης πέραν]*.

33 We have emended *ποιησάμενος* to *ποιησάμενον* to agree with *φῶλον*,

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but note that Theoph. has the ungrammatical ἔθνος . . . καταστήσας. It would appear that Nik. had difficulty in paraphrasing this passage and left several corrections or alternative versions in his MS, thus inducing copyists into error.

36. Failure of Byzantine expedition against the Bulgars (681)

Corresponds to Theoph., 358.11–359.21, who gives a fuller and more precise account. Note that Nik. omits both the derogatory epithet applied by Theoph. to the Bulgars (“the foul nation”) and the critical references to the “pusillanimity” and “disgrace” of the Romans (358.26, 359.21).

The expedition is dated 680 or 681 by Kulakovskij, III, 249. Beševliev, *Protobulg. Periode*, 176–77, 182, places it in 680 and the installation of the Bulgars in the Varna region in 681. The crucial piece of evidence is the intervention of the presbyter Constantine of Apamea at the 16th session of the Sixth Council (9 Aug. 681). Having tried to gain a hearing from the start of the Council (7 Nov. 680), he claimed that if he had been heard, “we would not have suffered what we suffered this year (ἐφέτος), i.e., the things we suffered in the Bulgarian war” (Mansi, XI, 617). This surely suggests that the Byzantine defeat occurred in 681.

7 ὀχυρώματα, cf. 14 ὀχυρώματα: It has been suggested that these refer not to the Onglos as such, but to a line of earth ramparts in South Bessarabia. They are described by C. Uhlig, *Prähistorische Zeitschr.* 19 (1928), 197–202; G. Fehér, *Les monuments de la culture protobulgare* = *Archaeologia Hungarica* VII (Budapest, 1931), 8–12 and fig. 1 on p. 19. See also Beševliev, *Protobulg. Periode*, 177 and note 17.

23f. Neighboring Slavonian tribes: These are the seven tribes mentioned by Theoph., 359.14, on which see I. Dujčev, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, I (Rome, 1965), 55–56, 67–82; Beševliev, *Protobulg. Periode*, 179–80.

37. Sixth Ecumenical Council (Nov. 680–Sept. 681). Death of Constantine IV (685)

Corresponds to Theoph., A.M. 6171 from p. 359.25 to the end; 6172 (recording only the Sixth Council); and 6177, p. 361.15–16. Nik. omits the reference to Sergios and Pyrrhos as heretics, the number of bishops present (namely, 289), and the identity of the presidents (emperor and bishops). He adds: (1) a short theological development (τέλειον αὐτὸν ἐν θεότητι . . . παραπέμψασα); (2) the statement that Constantine IV was buried in the church of the Holy Apostles. We can be more precise: he was buried in Justinian’s mausoleum in a sarcophagus of green Thesalian marble: Leo gramm., 162. Cf. P. Grierson, *DOP* 16 (1962), 50.

The exact date of Constantine’s death is uncertain: the *Chr. Altinate* gives 10 July (Grierson, loc. cit.), the *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, I, 366, early Sep-

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tember. V. Grumel, *AnBoll* 84 (1966), 254–60, has argued for 3 Sept. on the strength of the commemoration of the “new” or “younger” emperor Constantine in the *Synax. CP*, 12.6, differing from F. Halkin, *Byzantion* 24 (1954), 14–17, who refers it to Constantine, son of Basil I.

2 *ἐκρατύνετο*: not strictly correct. The heresy was in decline at the time.

38. Accession of Justinian II (685). War with Slavonians and Arabs

This paragraph does not add anything to Theoph., who gives much more information spread over several years. The correspondence is as follows:

Justinian assumes power in his sixteenth year: cf. Theoph., 363.26–27, A.M. 6178.

He upsets the treaties concluded by his father; breaks off peace with the Bulgars; conveys cavalry to Thrace: cf. Theoph., 364.5–9, A.M. 6179.

Advances to Thessalonica; takes Slavonian captives, whom he transfers to the theme of Opsikion: cf. Theoph., 364.11–15, A.M. 6180. Note that Nik. omits the statement, which must have come from the same source, that Justinian was ambushed by the Bulgarians on his way back.

Enlists 30,000 Slavonians and names them “The Peculiar People”; Romans defeated at Sebastopolis: cf. Theoph., 365.30–366.20, A.M. 6184. The statement that Justinian broke the treaty that had been concluded by his father (38.14–15) overlooks the fact that the same treaty had been ratified by Justinian himself at the beginning of his reign: Theoph. 363.6ff. The reference to the transfer of the Mardaites (“the armed men who from olden times had been lurking in the mountains of the Lebanon”) is misplaced: it resulted from the aforesaid peace treaty (Theoph., 363.14–20; 364.4–5) and was a concession to the Arabs rather than a hostile act against them. Nik. omits the massacre of the remaining Slavonians in Bithynia (Theoph., 366.20–23).

The Arabs intensify their attacks against the Romans: cf. Theoph., 367.1–2, A.M. 6185 (misplaced in Theoph.).

7 ff. The expedition to Thessalonica took place in 688–9. The date is confirmed by an inscription, now lost, discovered in 1885 under the pavement of the church of St. Demetrios. See J. M. Spieser, *TM* 5 (1973), 156–59; P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des Miracles de S. Démétrius*, II (Paris, 1981), 189–90.

16 The Mardaites: On the controversial problem of their identity see, most recently, H. M. Bartikian in *Byzantium: Tribute to A. N. Stratos*, I (Athens, 1986), 17–39, who considers them to have been Armenian.

17 The engagement at Sebastopolis probably took place in 692/3: it is dated A.H. 73 by Elias Nisib., 73. Among several towns called Sebastopolis the best known was in Armenia I (or II after Justinian’s reform), modern Sulusaray, NW of

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Sebasteia (Sivas). See *Studia Pontica*, II by F. and E. Cumont (Brussels, 1906), 201 ff.; Ruge, *RE*, Sebastopolis 3. The battle probably took place there. Mich. Syr., II, 470 says it was near Caesarea of Cappadocia. Theoph., 366.6 is mistaken in specifying ἐν Σεβαστοπόλει τῇ παρά θάλασσαν. The attempt by E. W. Brooks, *BZ* 18 (1909), 154–56, to discover a maritime Sebastopolis in Pontos has been shown to be vain by A. Maricq, *Byzantion* 22 (1952), 350–54.

39. Justinian's cruel ministers

Cf. Theoph., 367.15–29, who gives a fuller story.

2–3 ταμίας τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων = σακελλάριος.

3 τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα: This refers to the workmen and their supervisors who were laboring on Justinian's new buildings in the Imperial Palace.

5 ἐν σχήματι: These two words may have been introduced into the text from a marginal scholion drawing attention to the “figure” of speech. Theoph. has παιδικῶς δι' ἀβηρῶν μαστιγῶσαι.

10 τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτόν: This refers to διοικηταί, i.e., collectors of taxes.

Theoph. mentions a third cruel minister, namely, the city prefect. Curiously, Nik. omits two items of local interest, viz. the reconstruction of the Palace and the destruction of the adjacent church of the Virgin Mary τῶν μητροπολίτου, which occasioned a famous witticism on the part of Patriarch Kallinikos.

40. Overthrow of Justinian by Leontios (695)

Similar account in Theoph., 368.18–369.30, A.M. 6187, with further details. Nik. adds three particulars: that Leontios was a native of Isauria (1–2), that he spared Justinian's life because of his affection for the latter's father (34), and that Stephen and Theodotos were executed against his wishes (39).

2–3 τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ . . . στρατεύματος = τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν.

8 Monastery of Kallistratos: at Constantinople, exact situation unknown. See Janin, *Eglises*, 275–76.

10 Monastery of Florus: see Janin, op. cit., 495–96.

17 Praetorium: seat of the city prefect cum prison, on the main street (Mesē), between the Hippodrome and Constantine's Forum: Janin, *CP*, 165–69.

19 τοῦ πραιτωρίου ὑπαρχος: The correction is hardly satisfactory but is preferable to the MS reading τοῦ πραιτωρος, since the only official at Constantinople bearing the title of praetor was the relatively minor πραιτωρ τῶν δήμων, instituted by Justinian and not attested after Maurice. See Bury, *Admin. System*, 72. Of course, Nik. cannot be referring to the praetorian prefect, an office that was defunct at the time. He certainly means the city prefect, and Theoph., 369.7 has simply τοῦ τημικαῦτα ὑπάρχον, identical with the anonymous ἑπαρχος at 367.30. There may, therefore, be some justification for bracketing τοῦ πραιτωρος.

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22 Φόρον: Constantine's Forum.

25–26 τὸν λουτήρα: not the baptistry, but the atrium of the church in the middle of which was a fountain. Cf. J. Ebersolt, *Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople* (Paris, 1910), 5.

28 κατελθεῖν: From the Patriarchal Palace situated at the gallery level of St. Sophia.

41 τοῦ Βοὸς ἀγοράν: see above, *ad* 1.47.

41. Operations in Africa. Leontios overthrown by Apsimaros (698)

Cf. Theoph., 370.6–371.8, A.M. 6190. Apart from the statement that Leontios was in the 3rd year of his reign when he was dethroned, the only particular in which Nik. diverges from Theoph., except by omission, is at 14–15, καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα παραλαμβάνει πάλιν καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν πολίσματα πάντα, whereas Theoph. merely says that the Arabs laid siege to Carthage.

The conquest of Roman Africa is known largely from Arabic sources, which are late and generally unreliable. See Ch. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine* (Paris, 1896), II, 563 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Romäern*, Nachr. Kön. Ges. d. Wiss. Gött. (1901), 434–36; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*¹, art. Tunisia (R. Brunschvig), IV, 848; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane* (Paris, 1946), 29–35; Ch.-A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*², II (Paris, 1952), 11 ff.; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², art. Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān al-Ḡhassānī (M. Talbi); Stratos, VII, 88 ff.

10 στρατὸν ὀπλίτην = Theoph.'s ταξιαῖωνα.

11 Σαρακηνῶν βασιλεύς = πρωτοσύμβουλος ('Abd Al-Malik).

18 βουληθεῖς: a confusion. As made clear by Theoph., John had decided to return to Constantinople for reinforcements. It was the army officers who were unwilling to come back, fearing punishment for their failure.

21–22 Κουρικιωτῶν . . . δρογγάριον: cf. H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, 50. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Etudes d'histoire maritime de Byzance*, 85, 96 note 5, supposes that Apsimaros commanded a contingent of men from Korykos (which was no longer within the empire) stationed in the region of Kibyra. For the designation Κουρικιωτῶν πόλις cf. F. Halkin, *AnBoll* 72 (1954), 7.

23–24 Plague: According to Theoph., this was caused by the cleansing of the Neorion harbor.

28 Wall of Blachernai: more precisely designated by Theoph. as τοῦ μονοτείχους Βλαχερνῶν, i.e., the single wall built by Herakleios after the siege of 626 to protect the church of St. Mary. Cf. above, *ad* 13.40.

33 Monastery of Delmatos (or Dalmatos): the oldest monastery of Constantinople founded in the late fourth century by St. Isaac in the Psamathia quarter. See Janin, *Eglises*, 82–84.

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42. Justinian II regains the throne (705)

Corresponds to Theoph., 372.26–374.8, A.M. 6196; 374.16–23, A.M. 6197; 375.3–28, A.M. 6198, with a number of omissions (of barbarian and other proper names, geographical details and, most notably, the dramatic episode of the storm in the Black Sea). As usual, Nik. classicizes some geographical names (Φαναγουρία to Φαναγόρη, Δανούβις to Ἴστρος), but Δόρος is correct instead of Theoph.'s erroneous Δαρᾶς. The following statements, many of them explanatory, are not in Theoph.:

Doros, “which lies in the country of the Goths” (7).

The placing of a Chazar guard “to make sure that he would not escape” (19).

Unnamed archon (Theoph.'s Papatzys) “who was on friendly terms with Justinian” (21).

Tomis, “a coastal place” (29).

Justinian, on his return to Constantinople, “demanded the inhabitants of the City to receive him as emperor” (45–46).

He entered the aqueduct “at night,” (47) possibly a substantive addition.

Herakleios, “the brother of Apsimaros, who was *strategos* of the Anatolic army” (στρατοῦ) (50). Theoph. says elsewhere (371.9) that Herakleios was appointed by his brother μονοστράτηγος πάντων τῶν ἔξω καβαλλαρικῶν θεμάτων and sent to Cappadocia with orders to watch the passes. We may suppose that he was later made *strategos* of the Anatolics.

Apsimaros and Leontios “kept in prison” (54).

The treatment of Tervel (58–64), which Theoph. omits.

Patriarch Kallinikos, “who had cursed him [Justinian] at the proclamation of Leontios” (65).

Kyros foretold to Justinian his second reign “when he [Justinian] was passing through those parts (ἐκεῖσε),” i.e., Amastris (68).

Persons promoted to magistracies and then killed (ἀνῆρει) (71).

24 τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκετῶν: Nik. forgets that Theodora was the Chagan's sister, not his daughter. Curiously, the same mistake occurs in Mich. Syr., II, 478.

34 Βαρασβακούριον: All the MSS of Theoph. have Βασβακούριον, which de Boor emends to Βαρισβακούριον on the strength of “Barisbacurium” in the Latin trans. of Anastasius. On his extant seals he is styled Barasbakourios, patrician and *comes* of Opsikion: Zacos-Veglery, nos. 3080A, 3081. Presumably the same as the Georgian prince Varaz-Bakur described as ex-consul (or proconsul) and patrician: see C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington, D.C., 1963), 421–22, 424–25, 427.

49 Palace of Blachernai: Attached to the famous church of St. Mary, this imperial residence dated back to the second half of the fifth century. See Janin, *CP*, 123 ff.; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 223, with further bibliography. The aqueduct must have entered the city, as it still does, near the Adrianople Gate.

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57 Kynegion: the disused Roman amphitheater between the Seraglio Point and the region of the Mangana. For its condition in the early eighth century see *Parastaseis*, c. 28.

58–64 The conferment on Tervel of the title of Caesar is confirmed by a seal, Zacos-Veglery, I/3, no. 2672 (Θεοτόκε βοήθει Τερβελλίου καίσαρος). The memory of his “having sat” at the Basilica and received a great amount of tribute lingers on in the *Parastaseis*, c. 37. An obscure passage in the *Suda*, s.v. Βούλγαροι (Adler, I, 483) has been linked with this episode. See Zlatarski, 230; V. Beševliev, *VizVrem* 16 (1959), 8–13. The passage reads: “Ὅτι ἐπὶ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ Ῥινοτμήτου ἤκμαζεν ὁ Τέρβελις, ὁ τῶν Βουλγάρων ἀρχηγός· καὶ ὁ αὐτός Ἰουστινιανός καὶ Κωνσταντίνος, ὁ Ἡρακλείου υἱός, ὑπόφοροι τούτῳ ἦσαν. τὴν γὰρ ἀσπίδα, ἣν εἶχεν ἐν πολέμῳ, ὑπτίαν ἔθηκε καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μάστιγα, ἣ ἐχρήτο ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ ἕως οὗ ἐσκέπασεν ἀμφοτέρα, χρήματα ἐνετίθει. καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἐν τῇ γῆ παρεκτείνας μέχρι τῶν περάτων καὶ ἐς ὕψος πολὺ σηρικὴν ἐσθήτα ἐτίθει, καὶ κιβώτια πλήσας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυρίου τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδίδου, τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν χρυσοῦ πληρῶν, τὴν δὲ λαίαν ἀργυρίου. That is: “Terbelis, the chief of the Bulgars, was in his prime at the time of Justinian Rhinotmetos. The same Justinian and Constantine, son of Herakleios [Constantine IV], were tributary to him. Indeed, he laid on its back the shield he carried in war and the whip he used on his horse and piled up coins until he had covered both of them. Laying on the ground his spear, he placed silken cloths upon it from one extremity to the other [reaching up] to a great height. He also filled chests with gold and silver, which he distributed to his soldiers, filling his right hand with gold and his left with silver.”

Assuming it was Tervel and not Justinian who did those things (as the sense, if not necessarily the grammar, seems to demand), we may note that the passage refers to a specific occasion that was witnessed by (or reported to) a Byzantine observer. It may be that Tervel, after being admitted to Constantinople and receiving rich gifts, staged such a demonstration outside the walls in the presence of his troops. It would be interesting to know where the passage comes from. Although clumsily worded, it aims at an elegant style (note, e.g. the ἐς), which we do not associate with the common source of Nik. and Theoph.

43. Justinian defeated in Bulgaria (708)

Does not add anything to the fuller account of Theoph., 376.13–29.

For the events see Beševliev, *Protobulg. Periode*, 196.

44. Siege and fall of Tyana (707–8). Arab raid reaches Chrysopolis

1–18 corresponds to Theoph., 376.31–377.14, but with notable differences.

According to Theoph., the Arab commanders were Masalmas (Maslama) and Abas (Al-ʿAbbas, son of Caliph Al-Walid); the attack was launched in retaliation for

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the slaughter of Maiouma's army by Marianos (not mentioned previously in Theoph.: the person in question was Maimum the Mardaite); the partial destruction of the walls of Tyana is omitted; the commanders sent by Justinian are named as Theodoros Karteroukas and Theophylaktos Salibas (the same who had taken part in the Cherson episode, 373.19) and they quarrel among themselves; the lack of provisions applies to the Arabs, not to the besieged; Tyana remains uninhabited "until now" (which probably refers to the date of the source rather than to the time of Theoph.'s writing).

For the events see E. W. Brooks, *JHS* 18 (1898), 192; Stratos, VI, 156–58; Lilie, 116–18. Cf. also the account of Mich. Syr., II, 478, who dates the fall of Tyana to March 708 after a siege of nine months.

18–24 The raid on Chrysopolis is not in Theoph. or any other source. Theoph., A.M. 6202 records an invasion led by Abbas, but does not specify its destination. Cf. Lilie, 118 note 43, who believes that Nik. is in error.

45. Punitive expeditions against Cherson. Downfall of Justinian (711)

Cf. Theoph., 377.22–381.6, with the following differences:

Theoph. mentions a second commander of the armament, namely, the patrician Mauros (who reappears in both Theoph. and Nik. in connection with the third expedition).

Theoph. omits the unlikely figure of 100,000 men. Nik. appears to have misunderstood the source: as may be deduced from Theoph., the ships, great and small, were requisitioned from (or collected with the help of contributions by: ἀπὸ διανομῆς) senators, shopkeepers, ordinary citizens, and various dignitaries—these men were not sent on the expedition.

Bardanes is mentioned at a later point by Theoph. (378.24). He had been banished to Kephalaria by Apsimaros on suspicion of aspiring to the throne (372.7, A.M. 6194).

Theoph. adds that Toudounos was the Chagan's representative and that Zoilos was first citizen by reason of his descent; but he does not qualify as administrators of other towns (21–22) the 20 men who were drowned in a boat.

Theoph. omits the indication that the drowned bodies were washed up between Amastris and Herakleia (Pontica).

In naming the commanders of the second expedition Theoph. specifies that George was logothete *tou genikou*. He adds a third name, that of Christopher, turmarch of the Thrakesians.

Theoph. explains that Toudounos died while he was on his way to the Chagan and that the Chazars killed the turmarch (Christopher) and the three hundred soldiers εἰς δόξαν αὐτοῦ, i.e., in his honor. Nik. is guilty of a nonsense in implying that Toudounos was killed by the Chazars.

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Theoph. omits the statement (probably a mere elaboration) that the Indian cook was ugly (56).

Theoph. adds that Mauros was a Bessos (Thracian) and that he was equipped with siege engines, with the help of which he threw down a tower of Cherson called Kentenarion and another tower called Syagos.

Theoph. omits the recourse to the Bulgarian Tervel and the mention of Damatrys as the point of concentration (which he names later at 380.9, 13, 31), but adds to the Opsikians a part of the Thrakesian army. Instead of the obscure village Gingilissos he names Sinope.

Theoph. has more detail about the death of Justinian and his son Tiberios.

4 [εἰδότης]: de Boor's conjecture *ιδιώτας* can hardly be right, since, according to Nik., the men in question included both soldiers and senators, who could not have been described as "ordinary people."

11 *δορυφόρον* = *σπαθάριον*. Also at 93.

16 Toudounos: a Turcic title (*tudun* = viceroy), not a proper name. See Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, s.v.

19 *σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ* renders Theoph.'s *συνφάμιλους* (378.6).

20 *ὄβελοις* renders *σούβλας* (Theoph., 378.8).

37 *ἐν αὐτοῖς*: I have corrected to *ἐν αὐταῖς* to agree with *τῶν χωρῶν*, but Nik. may have had *τῶν κάστρων* in his source (as in Theoph., 378.21) and so inadvertently used the neuter.

42 *Ἡλίαν*: Nik. forgets to explain that Helias had turned traitor (Theoph., 378.24).

51 *δυσφημήσαντες καθύβριζον* = *ἀνέσκαψαν* (Theoph., 379.13).

57 Mauros: Theoph. 379.18 calls him a Thracian (Bessos). Probably the same as the Bulgarian chieftain Mauros, who hatched a plot to seize Thessalonica, was prevented from doing so, and finally joined the emperor at Constantinople and was given a title: *Mir. S. Demetrii*, II.5. According to Lemerle, the date of this incident falls between 678 and 685, perhaps in 682–4. The identity of the Bulgarian Mauros and Mauros the patrician is established by a seal, Zacos-Veglery, no. 934. Other seals of Mauros the patrician *ibid.*, nos. 1552, 2168. See Lemerle's commentary on *Mir. S. Demetrii*, vol. II, 152 ff.

65 *ἀπηναίνοντο* = *ἀνέσκαψαν* (Theoph., 379.28).

100 *τοῦ ὑπερκειμένου τείχους πυλῖδα*: Theoph., 380.25 has *ἐπὶ τῷ ἄνω τῶν Καλλινίκης παραπορτίῳ*. The text of L helps to resolve a small topographical puzzle. Following a suggestion of Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (Lille, 1892), 37, no. 60, accepted by A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (London, 1899), 173–74, and, apparently, by Janin, *CP*, 286, the postern of Kallinikos (sic) was the same as the Xyloporta, known from fourteenth–fifteenth-century sources, the latter being an opening in the short wall connecting

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the north extremity of what is usually regarded as the Heraclian Wall to the shore of the Golden Horn. The Xyloporta was destroyed in 1868: A. G. Paspatis, *Βυζαντιναὶ μελέται* (Constantinople, 1877), 61, who says that its ancient name had survived to his days. It is, however, evident from our text that the postern was “in the wall that rises above,” which can only refer to the old Theodosian Wall. The latter evidently passed a short distance east of the church of Blachernai and remained standing (on higher ground than the church) after the Heraclian extension had been built. Regarding the name of the postern, it evidently had nothing to do with St. Kallinikos, for in that case it would have been called τοῦ ἁγίου Καλλινίκου. If Theoph. preserves the correct form (in the fem.), it may have been called after the Blachernai Virgin, τῆς καλλινίκου (or -ης) in memory of her “victory” over the Avars in 626; but if Nik.’s τῶν Καλλινίκων is to be preferred, it may have adjoined a church dedicated to certain saints who “brought victory.”

102 Church of the Anargyroi (Kosmas and Damian): This is the famous church at Kosmidion, on which see Janin, *Eglises*, 286–89, who fails to note the fem. form of the name, τῶν Παυλίνης, both in Nik. and Theoph.; elsewhere τὰ Παυλίνου. If τῶν Παυλίνης is the correct form, the church had nothing to do with Paulinus (*mag. off.* in 430), the well-known companion of Theodosios II and alleged lover of the empress Eudokia, as stated in the *Patria*, 261, c. 146 (note that all the MSS of the *Patria* but one read Παυλίνης).

46. Philippikos revives the Monothelete heresy

Combines the source of Theoph., 381.20ff., A.M. 6203, and 382.10–21, A.M. 6204 (much fuller) without introducing any further information.

1 ἀσέμνως καὶ ῥαθύμως: cf. Theoph., 381.29, ἀσέμνως καὶ ἀνικάνως.

5 Ἰωάννην τὸν τηρικαῦτα: This is misleading. Nik. neglects to say that John VI was the new emperor’s appointee (ordained in Dec. 711). The word τηρικαῦτα applies in Theoph., 382.16 to Germanos. For the circumstances see Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 166ff.

6 Germanos: Nik. does not explain that he was the future patriarch of Constantinople.

7 “Other priests and many senators”: Some of them are named by Theoph. (Andrew of Crete, the quaestor Nicholas, Elpidios deacon of the Great Church, Antiochos the chartophylax).

47. Bulgarian and Arab raids

Corresponds to Theoph., 382.22–30, A.M. 6204. According to Agathon the deacon, Mansi, XII, 193B, the Bulgarian raid was in reprisal of non-payment of tribute.

2 The addition of κατὰ is not imperative, since ἐπεισπίπτω can govern the acc. as in Euripides, *Herc.*, 34.

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4 *τέρψεως καὶ ἡδυπαθείας*: Theoph. is more specific in saying that the Bulgars, who had come by way of Philea (Derkos), surprised many inhabitants of Constantinople, who had crossed the Golden Horn (*περαματιζοντας*) to celebrate sumptuous wedding parties *al fresco*. This explains the reference to silver vessels.

10 *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα*: perhaps an arbitrary addition. It need not imply that the Arab raid was actually subsequent to the Bulgarian one. Tabarī records in A.H. 93 (Oct. 711–Oct. 712) the capture of Samastiyya by Al-^sAbbas: Brooks, *JHS* 18 (1898), 193 note 3. Cf. Lilie, 120.

48. Fall of Philippikos (June 713)

Cf. Theoph., 383.5–21, who has more detail, but omits the reference to the Bulgarian danger in Thrace, which is also mentioned by Agathon the deacon, Mansi, XII, 193B. Cf. c. 42, where Theoph. omits the honors bestowed on Tervel.

There can be little doubt that Philippikos was deposed on 3 June 713, which corresponds to the Saturday before Pentecost Sunday. The date is confirmed by Agathon the deacon, *loc. cit.* Theoph., 386.14 must, therefore, be in error in assigning to Philippikos a reign of 2 years, 9 months instead of 1 year, 9 months: see Brooks, *BZ* 6 (1897), 52; G. V. Sumner, *GRBS* 17 (1976), 287–89. There remains a difficulty as regards the circus games on the “birthday of the city,” i.e., 11 May. Kulakovskij, III, 312 states that the games were held on the emperor’s birthday, but that is surely incorrect. Now, Nik. implies that the games and the insurrection took place on the same day, whereas Theoph. is somewhat more ambiguous. He says that after the victory of the Greens at the *γενέθλιον ἵππικόν* Philippikos decided (*ἔδοξε τῷ βασιλεῖ*) to make a ceremonial procession to the baths of Zeuxippos on Whitsun Saturday, which does not mean that the procession was to be the same day as the games. It is a little odd, however, that he should have wished to celebrate the victory of the Greens on 11 May by a procession three weeks later. The difficulty cannot be resolved by shifting the year to 714, as does P. Grierson, *DOP* 16 (1962), 51–52, when Pentecost Sunday fell on 27 May, quite apart from Agathon’s testimony. Whatever the solution of this little puzzle, Nik. has certainly obscured in his paraphrase the sequence of events.

Irrespective of the above, the precision of the dates in Theoph. (“birthday” games, Saturday before Pentecost, Pentecost Sunday, the following Saturday, the Saturday after that) suggests a contemporary account.

As already noted in the Introduction, above, p. 6, the termination of L at line 15, in the middle of a connected narrative, must be considered accidental.

3–4 *ὑπνον . . . μεσημβρινόν: μεσημβρίζειν* in Theoph., indicating the practice of the afternoon siesta.

6 *τοῦ Ὀψικίου στρατοῦ ἡγούμενος*: renders *κόμητος τοῦ Ὀψικίου* in Theoph.

8 *γνώμη*: Theoph., probably rightly, says that the coup was launched at the

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instigation of *both* George and Theodore Myakios (or rather Myakes). The latter had been an attendant of Justinian II: Theoph. 373.23.

9–10 τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινα: renders πρωτοστράτωρ τοῦ Ὀψικίου.

13–14 πρὸς τὸν τοῦ ἵπποδρομίου χῶρον instead of the more precise εἰς τὸ ὄρνατώριον τῶν Πρασίνων.

15 δεύτερον ἔτος . . . διάγοντα: more accurate than Theoph.'s διετοῦς δὲ χρόνου . . . παραδραμόντος (383.5–6).

18–19 γραμματέα . . . ἀσηκρήτις: πρωτοασηκρήτης in Theoph.

22 τοῦτον: according to Theoph. both men were exiled to Thessalonica.

49. Anastasios prepares to withstand Arab attack

Cf. Theoph. 383.29–384.14, A.M. 6206, who is more specific.

3–5 The text, as given by V, if a little awkward, is grammatically defensible. It would mean, however, that the caliph, on learning of the emperor's preparations and wise appointments, decided to launch an expedition against the Romans; thereupon, the emperor (the subject of ἀποστέλλει) sent Daniel on an embassy. Comparison with Theoph. shows that the source must have said the opposite, namely, that Anastasios, on becoming aware of Arab preparations, dispatched a peace mission to Syria. I have emended accordingly. The possibility remains that Nik. misunderstood his source and that the V text should be maintained.

12 It is noteworthy, as already pointed out by de Boor, that both Nik. and Theoph. should present at this point the same small lacuna, a lacuna, furthermore, that could easily have been filled from the context, as was done by Anastasios, who in his Latin translation of Theoph. adds *tum ille praecipit*. Hence the lacuna must have been in the source, and it appears likely that both Nik. and Theoph. had before them the same MS of it. If Theoph. was copying the source more or less mechanically, his inadvertence may be excused. It is rather more surprising that Nik., who was paraphrasing the source, should have paid so little attention to its sense as to leave out the verb.

14 Repair of sea walls: ascribed to Apsimar in *Parastaseis*, c. 3.

50. Operations at Phoenix; Theodosios proclaimed emperor (spring 715)

Cf. Theoph. 385.5–24, A.M. 6207.

2 Phoenix: This could have been the Phoenix of the Rhodian Peraea (modern Fenaket) opposite Symi rather than the better-known Phoenix (Finike) on the south coast of Lycia. On the former see F. Durrbach and G. Radet, *BCH* 10 (1886), 246 ff.; T. A. B. Spratt, *Archaeologia* 49 (1886), 359–60; P. M. Fraser and G. E. Bean, *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands* (Oxford, 1954), 58.

4 στρατόν: renders ταξάτους, Theoph. 385.7.

4 χῶρας: renders θέματος, Theoph. 385.8.

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9–10 *ὑπάρχοντα . . . καθιστάμενον*: This explanatory amplification is not in Theoph., who does, however, have *τὸ τηνικαῦτα λογοθέτην γενικὸν ὑπάρχοντα*. The pleonastic *ὑπάρχοντα*, which seems to have crept in from the source, should perhaps be deleted.

15 *δεδοίκεσαν: οὐ κατεδέξαντο* in Theoph. 385.16.

16 *ἔδυσφῆμον* renders *ἀνέσκαψαν*.

19 Adramyttion: On the coast of Asia Minor, opposite Lesbos. The spelling *ἸΑδραμύντιον*, if it is not due to corruption, is peculiar. It cannot be explained as a more classical form, since Adramytt(e)ion (Atramyteion or -tteion) occurs in Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, etc.

21 *πράκτορα: ἐκλήπτορα*, Theoph. 385.21.

21 *ἀπράγμονά τινα καὶ ιδιώτην τυγχάνοντα: ἀπράγμονά τε καὶ ιδιώτην* in Theoph. Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 620c, *βίον ἀνδρὸς ιδιώτου ἀπράγμονος*. The precise connotation of *ἀπράγμων* in this context is not immediately clear. It may mean “fond of quiet,” “uninvolved in politics,” hence a positive characterization (*ἀπραγμοσύνη* being a virtue) or possibly “out of service.” The same uncertainty applies to *ιδιώτης*: is it a judgment (“an ordinary fellow”) or does it mean a private citizen? If the latter, Theodosios must have been a retired tax collector. He was later represented as a gentle emperor, *Θεοδόσιος ὁ πρῶτατος βασιλεὺς* in *Epist. ad Theophilum*, PG 95, 357, and his tomb at Ephesus, in the church of St. Philip, was believed to work miracles: Kedr., I, 787–88; *Chr. Altinate*, 109 (*in templo Sancti Phylippi, in antiqua urbe iuxta portum*). For his role in oracular literature see my remarks in *RSBS* 2 (1982), 312–13.

G. V. Sumner, *GRBS* 17 (1978), 291–92 argues that Theodosios was the son of Apsimaros. This theory does not appear entirely convincing.

51. Downfall of Anastasios (715)

Cf. Theoph. 385.24–386.13, A.M. 6207, who is more coherent.

4 *τοῦ Ὀψικίου στρατόν: τὸ θέμα τοῦ Ὀψικίου καὶ τοὺς Γοτθογραίκοις* in Theoph. 385.28–29. On the latter see Bury, *LRE*, II, 344; Kulakovskij, III, 414ff.

7 *ἐφ' ἐκάστου: καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν*, Theoph. 386.1. Nik. fails to explain that the fleet of Anastasios was first stationed at St. Mamas, on the European shore of the Bosphoros, and then moved to the Neorion, thus enabling Theodosios to cross over to Thrace.

9 Neorion harbor: on the Golden Horn, near modern Galata bridge. See Janin, *CP*, 235–36, 396–97.

13 Wall of Blachernai: see above, *ad* 13. 40 and 41.28.

16 Germanos: ordained on 11 August 715 (Theoph. 384.20). G. V. Sumner, *GRBS* 17 (1976), 290–91, suggests this may have happened on 11 Aug. 714 be-

cause in Aug. 715 Constantinople was under naval blockade, which would have impeded the transfer of Germanos from Kyzikos to the capital. This would not have been necessarily so, since the engagements were taking place in the Bosphoros.

52. Arab invasion. Abdication of Theodosios (716–7)

No corresponding passage in Theoph., who has instead (A.M. 6208) a detailed account, clearly due to an eyewitness, of Leo's maneuvers in Asia Minor in the face of the advancing Arabs, with whom he evidently had a prior understanding. Another interesting account in Mich. Syr., II, 484–85. For the Arabic sources see Brooks, *JHS* 19 (1899), 19ff.

3–4 ἡ τῶν λόγων ἠφανεύετο παιδείους: Theoph. 405.12–14 tendentially connects the decline of education with the iconoclastic measures of Leo III.

11 1,800 ships: same figure in Theoph. 395.25 (under the command of Sulayman).

17 ὑπεχώρει: for the abdication cf. also *Vita Stephani un.*, PG 100, 1084B; *Epist. ad Theophilum*, PG 95, 357C.

17 ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα: rounded off (from c. Nov. 715 to March 717).

18 εἰς ψῆφον ἐληλυθότων: if there was a ballot, it must have been purely pro forma, since Leo was already holding hostage Theodosios' son and had advanced to Chrysopolis.

21–22 Leo's entrance through the Golden Gate is not mentioned elsewhere. The date was 25 March 717 (Theoph. 412.24–25).

53. Fall of Pergamon (winter 716–7)

Corresponds to Theoph. 390.26–391.2, A.M. 6208, with trivial differences. *Chr. 846*, 177, A.G. 1027 and Mich. Syr., II, 483, state that Sardis and other towns were also captured.

7 ἐπὶ λέβητος renders ἐπὶ κακκάβον.

9 χειρίδας renders μανίκια.

10–12 αἱ γὰρ χεῖρες . . . ἀμαχητί: probably a rhetorical amplification.

54. Constantinople besieged by the Arabs (717–8)

Corresponds to Theoph. 395.15–396.10, 21–23, 24–397.15, A.M. 6209, with many omissions. The only addition made by Nik. is that the siege lasted thirteen months: yet, according to Theoph. 395.18, 399.6, it started on 15 Aug. and ended on 15 Aug., hence continued for exactly one year.

For the sources and the events see Brooks, *JHS* 19 (1899), 19–31; M. Caillard, *Journal asiatique* 208 (1926), 80ff.; R. Guiland, *Etudes byzantines* (Paris, 1959), 109–33; Lillie, 128–32. A homily by the patriarch Germanos on the deliverance of Constantinople is edited by V. Grumel, *REB* 16 (1958), 183–205. The

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source of Theoph. and Nik. appears to be due to an eyewitness, who was in Constantinople during the siege and so was unaware of what was happening beyond the Arab camp. Note that Theoph. does not mention any fighting along the walls. This is confirmed by Germanos, who says that the Arabs never used their siege engines and never shot an arrow against the city (ed. Grumel, 194, 196). The explanation is provided by Mich. Syr., II, 485: the Arabs were continually harassed by the Bulgars (cf. Nik. c. 57), whom they feared more than the Romans and in fact found themselves surrounded in their own camp. That is why the Arabs suffered from famine and why, in the end, their expedition failed. Cf. Beševliev, *Protobulg. Periode*, 200–201.

4 *χάρακα*: Theophanes speaks of a ditch and a breastwork of dry stone; Mich. Syr. of a double ditch, one facing the city and another in the rear to guard against the Bulgars.

7–8 According to Theoph., the fleet under Sulaymān (b. Muḥād) arrived on 1 Sept. and put in at the Hebdomon. Two days later, when a south wind blew, it sailed past the city and up the Bosphoros.

24 *Σοφιάμ*: *Σουφιάμ* in Theoph. (Sufyān). This and the following commander do not appear in the Arabic sources: Canard, *op. cit.*, 83 note 3, 90.

28 *Ίξιδος*: *Ίξίδ* in Theoph. (Yazīd).

33–34 *λέμβους τῶν νηῶν; κατηνῶν σανδάλους* in Theoph. 397.6–7.

55. Revolt in Sicily (718)

Corresponds to Theoph. 398.7–399.4, A.M. 6210, with some omissions and the following differences:

The *strategos* Sergios has the title protospatharios in Theoph., that of patrician in Nik.

Nik. implies that Paul was patrician before being sent to Sicily, whereas Theoph. (probably correctly) says that he was the emperor's chartulary and was given both the title of patrician and the office of *strategos* of Sicily at the time of his dispatch.

George (line 16) probably corresponds to the anonymous *μονοστράτηγος* in Theoph. 398.29.

1 *Τούτω τῷ χρόνῳ*: *Τούτω τῷ ἔτει* in Theoph. Note the retention of a "chronicle" entry. The expedition to Sicily took place before the departure of the Arabs from Constantinople, in the spring or early summer of 718.

2–3 *καὶ οἱ τὰ ἐσπέρια . . . ἀπογνόντες*: an amplification.

4–5 *τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινα: ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῦ* in Theoph.

8–9 *ἄτε πιστόν . . . ἔμπειρον*: an amplification.

11 *Λογγουβάρδους*: *Λογγιβάρδους* in Theoph.

12 *γράμματα: τῆς σάκρας* in Theoph.

56. Birth of Constantine V. Arabs shipwrecked on their homeward journey (718)

Theoph. records the withdrawal of the Arabs under A.M. 6210 and the birth of Constantine under A.M. 6211, i.e., in reverse order. He was baptized on 25 Dec. (400.2). Nik. omits the insulting epithets applied by Theoph. to Leo and Constantine as well as the famous incident of the fouling of the baptismal font.

6 "as far as Cyprus": not in Theoph. The miraculous destruction of the Arab fleet is also mentioned by Germanos, *REB* 16 (1958), 197. The fiery "hail" and the boiling of the sea must have been due to volcanic activity in the Aegean, which culminated in the eruption of Thera (c. 59).

57. Artemios attempts to regain the throne (719?)

The account of Theoph. 400.18--401.3, A.M. 6211, is shorter and presents notable differences. The initiative for the plot is ascribed to Niketas Xylinites, who writes to Artemios at Thessalonica urging him to go to Tervel and ask for Bulgar help. Artemios does so and obtains an army and 5,000 lbs. of gold. With this force he comes to Constantinople, but is not admitted by the inhabitants of the city. The Bulgars surrender Artemios to Leo, are rewarded by him, and return home. Leo beheads Artemios and Niketas and confiscates the latter's estate. The Bulgars have in the meantime beheaded Sisinnios Rhendakis (who had accompanied Artemios), and they deliver to Leo the archbishop of Thessalonica, who is likewise beheaded. Other conspirators who are executed include Isoes, patrician and *comes* of Opsikion, Theoktistos the *protoasekretis*, and Niketas Anthrax, commander of the Wall.

For once, the account of Nik., though omitting a few details (the mention of Tervel, the 5,000 lbs. of gold, etc.) is both fuller and appears more coherent. Since it is unlikely that two separate sources are involved, we must conclude that Theoph. abbreviated the source in an absentminded manner. We have seen on other occasions (above, c. 42, 45) that he was reluctant to speak of events that showed the empire as being indebted to the Bulgars, perhaps as a reaction to the disasters of 811 and the years following.

There is also a chronological difficulty. If Sisinnios was sent to Bulgaria to obtain help against the Arabs, this must have happened well before the withdrawal of the latter in Aug. 718. Indeed, Mich. Syr., II, 485 reports that when Maslama had crossed the Dardanelles and was marching through Thrace to Constantinople (June/July 717), he was harassed by the Bulgars, "que Léon avait engagés." Hence the mission of Sisinnios must have taken place in the spring of 717 at the latest. Perhaps he remained in Bulgaria (as also suggested by Nik.'s *διατριβουρα*), being unable to return to Constantinople. The advance to Herakleia was certainly after Aug. 718 and may have occurred in 719 if Theoph. places it in the correct year, but presumably before the death of Tervel, the date of which is uncertain.

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For these events see G. Cankova-Petkova, *BSL* 24 (1963), 41–53, who argues that the Bulgarians in question were not the Danubian ones, but those settled near Thessalonica, and that Tervel was no longer alive at the time; Kaegi, *Unrest*, 211–12; Beševliev, *Protobulg. Periode*, 201–2. P. A. Giannopoulos, *ΕΕΒΣ* 39–40 (1972–73), 579–93, wishes to identify Sisinnios Rhendakis with Sisinnios *strategos* of the Anatolics in ca. 683/4, mentioned by Georg. Mon., 737, Leo gramm., 175, and the *Epist. ad Theophilum*, PG 95, 357. The Rhendakis/Rhentakios family appears here for the first time. We find it established in Boeotia in the ninth and tenth centuries. Other officials of the seventh/eighth centuries named Sisinnios include the commander of the imperial fleet (*στρατηγὸς τῶν καράβων*), who was sent to Thessalonica, perhaps in 682–4, and a Sisinnios, patrician and *magistros*, whose seal is published by W. Seibt, *Die byzant. Bleisiegel in Österreich*, I (Vienna, 1978), no. 78. Cf. *ibid.*, no. 136 and Zacos-Veglery, no. 2370. See also P. Lemerle's commentary on *Mir. S. Demetrii*, vol. II, 154–55.

A seal of Niketas, patrician and *magistros* (presumably Xylinites) is published by Zacos-Veglery, no. 437.

12 *πρώτιστον τῶν βασιλικῶν γραμματέων = πρωτοασκηρήτην.*

13–14 *ἄρχοντα τειχῶν: τειχίου* (sing.) in Theoph., 401.1. This is the earliest attestation of the office, named *κόμης* or *δομέστικος τῶν τειχέων* (or *τοῦ τειχούς*) or simply *ὁ τειχιώτης* in the ninth–tenth centuries. See Bury, *Admin. System*, 67–68, who is probably mistaken in connecting this command with the Anastasian Long Walls (which appear to have been no longer operational in the eighth century); R. Guiland, *Byzantion* 34 (1964), 17–25. Oikonomides, *Listes*, 336–37 believes that the count (or domestic) was initially in charge of the palace walls and that in the ninth century he was mainly responsible for the prison of the Chalke Gate.

58. Coronation of Constantine V (720)

Cf. Theoph. 401.9–12, A.M. 6212, who gives Easter day, indiction 3. Easter fell that year on 31 March, so that Nik.'s 25 March is incorrect.

59. Volcanic eruption in the Aegean (726)

Cf. Theoph. 404.18–29, A.M. 6218, with the date of indiction 9. Nik. adds the explanation that Thera and Therasia lie in the Cretan sea as well as the last sentence (the sea water was too hot to touch).

60. Beginning of Iconoclasm. Revolt in Greece (727)

1–7 Cf. Theoph. 405.1–2, A.M. 6218, who, however, places in the previous year, i.e., A.D. 725/6, the beginning of Leo's pronouncements against icons (404.3–

4). There has been much discussion as to whether there was or was not an iconoclastic edict in 726. The case against is stated by G. Ostrogorsky, *Mélanges Ch. Diehl*, I (Paris, 1930), 238–42; the case for by M. V. Anastos, *ByzF* 3 (1968), 5–41.

8–18 Revolt of the Helladics: cf. Theoph. 405.14–24, with the exact date of the arrival of the rebel fleet before Constantinople, 18 April, indiction 10. Theoph. is more precise: he specifies that the expedition was commanded by Agallianos, turmarch of the Helladics, and that many rebels were drowned *περὶ τὸν λάκκον*, whatever exactly that may mean. A vague memory of the turmarch Agallianos survives in *Patria*, 257.

61. Nicaea besieged by the Arabs (727)

Cf. Theoph. 405.25–406.2, A.M. 6218, who has more detail and adds a story about one Constantine, *strator* of Artabasdos, who threw a stone at an icon of the Virgin and was killed. The Arabic sources do not mention the attack on Nicaea. *Chr. 1234*, 241–42 dates the siege A.G. 1040 (729) and says it lasted forty days. Misdated A.G. 1042 by Mich. Syr., II, 501. The failure of the Arabs is mentioned in an inscription of the walls of Nicaea put up in the reign of Leo III, ed., e.g., A. M. Schneider and W. Karnapp, *Die Stadtmauer von Iznik (Nicaea)* (Berlin, 1938), 49, No. 29 and pl. 50.

3 *Ἄμερος*: *Ἄμερ* in Theoph. (‘Amr), not mentioned in the Arabic sources. *Μαυίας*: Mu’awiya b. Hisham, named as the leader of numerous raids into Byzantine territory from 725/6 onward: Brooks, *JHS* 18 (1898), 198 ff.

62. Iconoclastic silention (January 730)

Cf. Theoph. 408.31–409.14, 19–21, A.M. 6221, who is fuller and gives the exact date of the meeting, namely, 7 Jan., a Tuesday, indiction 13.

1 *ἀθροίζει πλειστον λαόν* renders *σελέντιον . . . ἐκρότησεν*.

2 *περὶ τὰ βασιλεία* instead of the more specific *ἐν τῷ τριβουναλίῳ τῶν ἰθ’ ἀκουβίτων*.

3–4 *συγγράφειν κατὰ τῶν εἰκόνων: ὑπογράψαι κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων* in Theoph. The words *τῆς καθαιρέσεως*, which I have bracketed, probably entered the text from a marginal title like *περὶ τῆς καθαιρέσεως τῶν εἰκόνων*.

6 *ἔγγραφον πίστιν οὐκ ἐκτίθεμαι*: Nik.’s paraphrase misses the point and shows a surprising lack of understanding of ecclesiastical terminology. Of course, Germanos was entitled to present a written declaration of (correct) faith without recourse to a council. What he is reported to have said was quite different, namely, “If I am [another] Jonah, cast me in the sea. For without an ecumenical council I find it impossible to change (*καινοτομῆσαι*) the faith (or doctrine), O Emperor.”

7 *πατρικὸν οἶκον*: Theoph. adds that his ancestral house was at a place

called Platanion, which later tradition identifies with the monastery of Chora. See *Passio X martyrum* (composed after 869), *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. II, 441B: ἀπελθὼν ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Πλατωνίῳ, ἧτοι ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῇ νῦν καλουμένῃ Χώρα, ἐκεῖσε ἡσύχασεν. The *Synodicon vetus*, c. 147, ed. J. Duffy and J. Parker (Washington, D.C., 1979), 122, has two stages of confinement, first in his house, then in the monastery of Chora, where the emperor allegedly had him hanged. Three stages in the *Vita Germani*, cc. 27, 31, ed. L. Lamza, *Patriarch Germanos I. von Konstantinopel* (Würzburg, 1975), 232, 238: Germanos withdraws to his house; the emperor exiles him; he is recalled and placed incommunicado ἐν τῷ Πλατωνίῳ . . . τῇ χώρῃ (sic). The *Vita Stephani iun.*, PG 100, 1085B, says he became a monk after his deposition. He seems to have lived on after 733, the date usually given for his death. For scholarly opinion concerning the latter see Lamza, *op. cit.*, 178–79.

8 Anastasios, who had been *synkellos*, was ordained patriarch on 22 Jan. (Theoph., 409.11).

63. Marriage of Constantine V (732). Earthquake (740)

1–4 Cf. Theoph., 409.30–31, who, for once, is more “classical” in referring to τῶν Σκυθῶν δυνάστου. Theoph. adds that the princess was made a Christian, renamed Eirene, and that she lived in piety.

4–16 Cf. Theoph., 412.6–16, who gives the exact date (26 Oct., a Wednesday, in the 8th hour, indiction 9) and more detail, but omits the damage to St. Eirene and the statement that people left Constantinople and dwelt in huts. According to Theoph. various towns in Thrace as well as Nicomedia, Prainetos, and Nicaea were also devastated.

9 St. Eirene: Most of the upper part of the structure, as it stands today, was rebuilt after the earthquake. See W. S. George, *The Church of Saint Eirene at Constantinople* (Oxford, 1912), 5–6, 70; U. Peschlow, *Die Irenenkirche in Istanbul* (Tübingen, 1977), 212–13.

11 ff. Column of Arkadios: On this monument, which survived until the eighteenth century and whose pedestal is still extant, see, e.g., G. Becatti, *La colonna coclide istoriata* (Rome, 1960), 151 ff.

64. Accession of Constantine V (June 741). Usurpation of Artabasdos

1–3 Death of Leo III: cf. Theoph. 412.24–26, 413.1–4, A.M. 6232, giving the exact date (18 June, indiction 9 after a reign of 24 years, 2 months, 25 days), but not naming the disease.

4–42 Cf. Theoph. 414.18–415.22, A.M. 6233, with similar details but a tendentious interpretation. The story told by Theoph. is as follows. On 27 June, indiction 10 (742) Constantine set out against the Arabs and came to Krasos in the Opsikian theme. He sent word to Artabasdos, who was encamped with his army at

Dorylaion, to convey to him his two sons (his own nephews), pretending to be anxious to see them, but in fact intending to keep them as hostages. Driven to despair, Artabasdos raised a rebellion and killed the “Saracen-minded” patrician Beser, who had come forward to meet him (the looting of Constantine’s camp is not mentioned). Constantine found a saddled horse and escaped to Amorium, where he was well received by Langinos, *strategos* of the Anatolics. He also obtained the support of Sisinnakios, *strategos* of the Thrakesians. A civil war ensued. Artabasdos, using as messenger the *silentarios* Athanasios, wrote an account of what had happened to Constantine’s *locum tenens* at Constantinople, the patrician and *magistros* Theophanes. The latter, who was sympathetic to Artabasdos, gathered the people in the gallery of St. Sophia and convinced everyone that Constantine had been killed. The news was received with joy, even by the “false” patriarch Anastasios, and Artabasdos was acclaimed emperor. Thereupon Monōtēs (the same as Theophanes) instructed his son Nikephoros, who was *strategos* of Thrace, to muster his troops so as to guard the city. He secured the gates and imprisoned Constantine’s supporters. Artabasdos entered Constantinople with the Opsikian army and set about restoring the icons. Constantine, meanwhile, advanced to Chrysopolis with the Anatolics and Thrakesians, but being unable to achieve anything, returned to Amorium for the winter.

For an exhaustive discussion of the events described in cc. 64–66 see Speck, *Artabasdos*.

4 Theophanes writes Ἀρτάβασδος, which is also the spelling of the contemporary Nicaea inscription (above, *ad c.* 61). He was married to Leo’s sister Anna (Theoph. 414.1).

6–7 Niketas and Nikephoros: named later by Theoph. (417.23–25).

8–9 Nik. makes it clear that Artabasdos rebelled as soon as he had heard of Leo’s death, i.e., in June 741, not the following year as stated by Theoph. This is confirmed by Chronicle 2 in *Die byzant. Kleinchroniken*, ed. P. Schreiner, I (Vienna, 1975), 47. See Speck, *op. cit.*, 72ff.

13 Krasos: Clearly close to Dorylaion (Eskişehir), but apparently not identified.

17 Βίσηρος: Βησήρ in Theoph. A. Syrian(?), who had allegedly converted to Islam, this man is identified as Leo’s evil genius: Theoph. 402.9–15, 405.3–5. Cf. L. Bréhier, “Beser,” *DHGE* 8 (1935), 1171–72; P. J. Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 235 note E; S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III*, CSCO, Subs. 41 (1973), 189–98.

20–21 τῆ ἡχώρᾳ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν = τῷ θέματι τῶν Ἀνατ. (Theoph. 414.29).

23–24 ὡς μέχρις αἵματος . . . κίνδυνον: probably an amplification.

25 Σισίννιον: Σισιννάκιον in Theoph. 414.31.

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29–30 τὴν βασιλέως χρείαν . . . ἀποπληρῶν = ἐκ προσώπου ὄντα ἐν τῇ πόλει (Theoph. 415.3).

35 ὑπηρετῶν: corresponds to τοὺς φίλους Κωνσταντίνου (Theoph. 415.16).

39–40 ἐπίνειον . . . διακείμενον: an amplification. Nik. forgets that he had already explained the situation of Chrysopolis (44.22–23).

65. Civil war. Reverses of Artabasdōs (743)

Cf. Theoph. 417.23–418.11, A.M. 6234, with more detail and exact dates: Artabasdōs sets out for Asia in May, battle of Modrine August, indiction 11.

2 στρατηγὸν . . . τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων: in Theoph., probably correctly, he is said to have been appointed μονοστράτηγος, i.e., supreme commander in Asia Minor, and sent to the theme of the Armeniacs. Cf. Speck, *Artabasdōs*, 88.

7–9 τὸν τε ὑπόντα λαόν . . . εἰσποιησάμενος: not in Theoph.

9–10 Theoph. 417.31 also has the words τὴν Κύζικον καταλαβών.

12 Modrine: east of Nicaea, modern Mudurnu. It was a bishopric, subject to Nicaea. Cf. Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr.*, 459–60; *RE*, Modra (W. Ruge).

14 Among the killed Theoph. mentions the patrician Tiridates, cousin of Artabasdōs.

14–20 The moralizing comment, differently expressed, is also in Theoph.

66. Constantine regains the throne (743)

Cf. Theoph. 419.7–421.6, A.M. 6235, who is much fuller and provides dates: Constantine crosses to Thrace in Sept., indiction 12 (743), captures Constantinople on 2 Nov. The following particulars are not in Theoph. or are given differently:

Theoph. does not say that some inhabitants of Constantinople threw themselves down from the walls and others bribed the guards; not does he say that Constantine received them with open arms. Instead, he says that some disguised themselves as women or monks and so were able to slip away.

Markellinos is described by Theoph. as a *curator* and former bishop (ἀπὸ ἐπισκόπων κουράτορι), not as metropolitan of Gangra.

Theoph. omits the flight of Artabasdōs to Nicaea and his recruiting of soldiers there(?).

The blinding of Artabasdōs and his sons is placed by Theoph. immediately after their capture and before their exhibition in the Hippodrome.

Theoph. does not say that Sisinnios hatched a plot. Instead, his blinding is represented as an act of gratuitous wickedness, the more so as he was Constantine's cousin and had done so much to help him. This is another example of tendentiousness on the part of Theoph.

16–18 A difficult passage. Note that the MS reading is οἴκοι, which is not

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impossible. Artabasdos may have announced at Nicaea that he was going to recruit soldiers “at home” or “in his own country” and, after surrounding himself with a force “there” (ἐκεῖ), would come back. The alternative, reading ἤκοι, would be that Artabasdos announced that he was on his way to raise a contingent, presumably at or near Nicaea, which would further imply that the Opsikians he had with him at Constantinople did not constitute the totality of the locally available manpower. The lacuna, indicated by Speck and accepted by us, makes it impossible to decide on the correct interpretation. Cf. Speck, *Artabasdos*, 93 ff. and 306 note 67 with further references as regards recruitment.

20–21 ἀπόμοιραν . . . ἐκπέμψας: not in Theoph. Possibly supplied from the context.

27–29 Theoph. does not explain what happened to Artabasdos after his blinding, except to say that he was buried in the monastery of Chora and that thirty years later his wife (Anna) was obliged by Constantine to dig up his bones and throw them in the charnel pit called *ta Pelagiou*. The *Life of St. Michael Synkellos*, ed. F. Šmit, *IRAIK* 11 (1906), 251, says that Artabasdos, Anna, and their nine children were banished to the monastery of Chora and were buried there.

67. Capture of Germanikeia. Plague at Constantinople (747–48)

1–4 Capture of Germanikeia: cf. Theoph. 422.11 ff., A.M. 6237, who adds that Constantine took the city by capitulation; that he found there his maternal relatives, whom he transferred to Constantinople along with many Monophysite Syrians, who were settled in Thrace. Cf. Brooks, *JHS* 18 (1898), 207.

4ff. Plague: cf. Theoph., 422.29 ff., A.M. 6238, who specifies that it started in Sicily and Calabria and moved by way of Greece and the islands in the course of indiction 14; reached Constantinople in indiction 15 (de Boor mistakenly prints 5), and attained its peak in the spring/summer of indiction 1 (748). Theodore the Studite, *Laud. Platonis*, PG 99, 805D, says that the climax of the plague (of which Plato’s parents died) lasted two months. For further details see above, Introduction, p. 10. Spread of the plague to Syria and Mesopotamia: Mich. Syr., II, 506, 508.

10 Cruciform markings: “oily” crosses in Theoph., 423.7 and Theodore Studite, *op. cit.*, 805C.

12 Doors and door posts: not in Theoph.

16 ξένους τισὶ συνοδεύειν καὶ εἰδεχθέσω ἀνθρώποις: ξένοις τισίν, ὡς ἐδόκουν, καὶ βριαροῖς προσώποις συνοδεύειν Theoph., 423.17.

19–21 Phantastic apparitions: cf. Procopius, *Bell.* II.22.10 (concerning the plague of 542); *Mir. S. Demetrii*, c. 37.

20 ξίφεσιν ἀλλήλους τινὰς βάλλοντας: a clumsy paraphrase. Theoph., 423.16–17 is clearer: the apparitions entered houses and either killed the inmates or wounded them with a sword.

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24–25 *σεσαγμένοις . . . ζώοις: διὰ ζώων σαγματουμένων* Theoph., 423.22.

31 *τὰς ἀνύδρους τῶν δεξαμενῶν: κινστέρνας ἀνύδρους* Theoph., 423.26.

33 *κῆποι*: Theoph., 423.28 specifies that these orchards were within the “old,” i.e., Constantinian walls.

36–37 One year’s duration and abatement: not in Theoph. except by implication.

68. Repopulation of Constantinople. Naval victory off Cyprus

Repopulation: The corresponding passage in Theoph., 429.22ff., is placed several years later (A.M. 6247). He specifies that the new settlers were brought from Greece and the islands together with their families.

Naval victory: cf. Theoph., 424.3ff. (same year as the plague). He states that the Arab fleet was surprised in the harbor *τῶν Κεραμαία* whose mouth the Byzantines occupied; and that of 1,000 Arab ships only three escaped. The situation of Keramaia is unclear: see Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, I (Cambridge, 1940), 262 note 5.

69. Birth of Leo IV (January 750). Earthquake in Syria

Cf. Theoph., 426.14ff. Leo was born on 25 Jan., indiction 3.

Earthquake: The account in Theoph. shows a close verbal similarity to that of Nik. with the following slight differences: Theoph. has *ζῶον μουλικόν* without indication of sex, and has it foretell *ἔθνοϋς* (unnamed) *ἐπιδρομὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου κατὰ τῶν Ἀράβων*, without any mention of the slaughter caused by it. This passage appears to be based on vague reports exploited by imperial propaganda, and has no exact equivalent in the eastern sources. Cf. Mich. Syr., II, 507, A.G. 1056 (earthquakes in the desert of Arabia; mountains move closer together; villages swallowed up); 509–10 (earthquake damage in Syria/Palestine; a village near Mt. Tabor shifted four miles without damage; a source of water near Jericho displaced by six miles).

70. Coronation of Leo IV (Pentecost 751). Capture of Melitene. Death of Augusta Maria

Coronation of Leo IV: cf. Theoph., 426.26ff., who gives exact date (Pentecost, indiction 4) and specifies it was performed by Patriarch Anastasios.

Capture of Melitene: Theoph., 427.14ff., A.M. 6243, records briefly the taking of Theodosiupolis and Melitene, without referring to a siege, captives, or booty. Arab sources place the capture of Melitene, by capitulation, in A.H. 133 (9 Aug. 750–29 July 751). See Brooks, *EHR* 15 (1900), 731; 16 (1901), 88 and

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note 204, arguing that the siege of Melitene took place at the latest in autumn of 750. Mich. Syr., II, 518 has it in A.G. 1063; likewise *Chr. 1234*, 263.

Death of Maria: not in Theoph. Maria must have been Constantine's second wife, since the first was certainly the Chazar Eirene (above, c. 63) and the third was Eudokia. She appears to have died childless after a very short marriage. Cf. Bury, *LRE*, II, 458–59; A. Lombard, *Constantin V*, 102–3, and my remarks in *AnBoll* 100 (1982), 407–8. Mich. Syr., II, 517 must be mistaken in stating that Eirene died in A.G. 1063 and that Constantine remained celibate three years after her death. *Chr. 1234*, 262 records the death of an unnamed wife.

71. Celestial prodigy

Theoph., 435.5 ff. records it in one sentence in March 764; date confirmed by Chronicle 2 in *Die byzant. Kleinchroniken*, ed. Schreiner, I, 48. The prodigy was considered to presage the end of the world. For the corresponding passage in the *Megas Chronographos* (where it is made contemporary with the birth of Leo IV, i.e., 25 Jan. 750), see above, Introduction, p. 17. Mich. Syr., II, 507–8 records various celestial signs in A.G. 1056–58.

If Nik. is indeed speaking of the phenomenon of 764, his chronological error would be hard to explain.

72. Death of Patriarch Anastasios. Iconoclastic council (754)

Cf. Theoph., 427.25 ff., who is more specific: Anastasios died of a disease of the guts, vomiting excrement through his mouth; the council, held in the palace of Hieria (modern Fenerbahçe) was presided by Theodosios of Ephesos (son of Ap-simar) and Pastillas of Perge, without representation from other patriarchates; it lasted from 10 Feb. to 8 Aug.; the new patriarch of Constantinople (Constantine II) was appointed in the church of Blachernai; a public proclamation was made in Constantine's Forum on 27 Aug.

The Definition (*horos*) of the council is preserved. See M. V. Anastos in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Prof. A. M. Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, 1954), 177–88.

15 George of Cyprus: hero of The Admonition of the Old Man concerning the Holy Images, written in 750–54 by his disciple Theosebes. Ed. B. M. Melioranskij, "Georgij Kiprianin i Ioann Ierusalimljanin," *Zap. Ist.-Fil. Fak. Imp. St. Petersb. Univ.* 59 (1901). Cf. Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 11–12.

73. Syrians and Armenians transferred to Thrace. War with Bulgaria

1–9 Transfer of population and Bulgarian reprisals: cf. Theoph., 429.19 ff., A.M. 6247, who states that the new settlers caused the spread of the Paulician

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heresy; that the Bulgarians demanded tribute with respect to the *kastra* that had been built; when their emissary had been dismissed insultingly, they invaded Byzantine territory, took many captives, and returned safely home. The construction of fortifications in Thrace was considered a great achievement: Nik., *Antirrh.* III, PG 100, 512B.

8 Long Walls: see above, c. 10.20.

9 ff. Bulgarian war: Nik. appears to be speaking of two distinct operations: (1) a successful punitive raid; (2) some time later (*μετ' οὐ πολὺ*) an important expedition by land and sea culminating in a victory at Markellai. The first appears to correspond to Theoph., 430.21–22, A.M. 6250, who says it was directed against the Slavs “and others” in Macedonia. With regard to the second, Theoph., 431.6 ff., A.M. 6251, speaks of a defeat at the pass of Verigava, where the Byzantine army was surprised and suffered heavy casualties. The disagreement between Nik. and Theoph. is discussed by Lombard, *Constantin V*, 43–45, who suggests that the defeat at Verigava was a minor episode of a war that ended in the victory of Markellai. Beševliev, *Rev. ét. sud-est europ.* 9 (1971), 363–67; *Etudes Balkaniques* 7/3 (1971), 5–9; *Protobulg. Periode*, 209–10, argues that Nik., as distinct from Theoph., is here following the “official” version put out by the organs of imperial propaganda. He dates the second campaign to 760.

17 Markellai: a fort on the Byzantine-Bulgarian border, situated near the valley between Goloe and Diampolis (Jambol) according to Anna Comnena, ed. Leib, II, 105. Identified by K. Škorpil with Karnobatski Hisar, whose ruins are described by him, *IRAİK* 10 (1905), 513–14, 564; pl. cxiii, 4–5. See also I. Dujčev, *Rev. ét. sud-est europ.* 4 (1966), 371–75. Markellai was rebuilt by Constantine VI: Theoph., 467.28.

74. Severe winter (763–4)

Cf. Theoph., 434.6 ff., who gives more precise geographical indications and dates: the cold started in early Oct.; the ice split in Feb., indiction 2.

10–11 *τὴν ὑπερπόντιον τοῦ Εὐξείνου θάλασσαν* corresponds to *τὴν ἀρκτῶαν τοῦ Πόντου παραλίαν*, Theoph., 434.9.

14 Medeia: modern Midye.

31 Daphnousia: A small island off the northern coast of Asia Minor, west of the mouth of the Sangarios. See Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr.*, 182–83, 196; *RE*, II/xi (1936), 718–20, s.v. Thynias 2 (K. Ziegler).

45–46 Fort of Galata: first mentioned in connection with the siege of 717–8 (Theoph., 396.2), the *kastellion* of Galata served as the northern point of attachment of the chain that barred the mouth of the Golden Horn (Leo Diaconus, 78–79). The *Patria* (p. 265, c. 157) ascribes its construction to Tiberius, but that may

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be fanciful. Its vaulted undercroft is occupied by the Ottoman Yeralī (or Kurşunlu Muhzen) Camii, a short distance east of Karaköy bridge. See A. M. Schneider and M. I. Nomidis, *Galata* (Istanbul, 1944), 6, 31–32.

49 ἐνθένδε ἀπηλλάσσοντο corresponds to οἴκοι ἀνέκαμπτου, Theoph., 435.4.

A difficulty is posed by the personal aside in Theoph., 434.23–25: “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.” Since Theoph. himself was about four years old at the time it is unlikely that he would have been allowed to climb on an iceberg with a band of other boys. If the reminiscence derives from the common source of Theoph. and Nik., and assuming that its subject was about ten years old in 763–4, we would have to conclude that the common source could hardly have been written before c. 780. It is not impossible that the aside is due to George Synkellos, who provided Theoph. with most of the latter’s historical material.

For the freezing of the Black Sea cf. P. de Tchihatchef, *Le Bosphore et Constantinople*² (Paris, 1866), 268 ff.

75. Migration of Slavs

Cf. Theoph., 432.27–29, A.M. 6254, who omits the number of the Slavs and their crossing of the Euxine.

1 Nik. appears to be mistaken in stating that the migration took place several years after the winter of 763–4. Theoph. connects it with the usurpation of Teletz, which, according to Zlatarski, I, 276, occurred late in 761. Constantine’s Bulgarian expedition described in the next paragraph is, in any case, firmly dated to 763.

4 The accuracy of the figure is defended by Ostrogorsky, *History*, 168 note 2, against P. Charanis, *Byzantion* 18 (1948), 76–77, who considered it exaggerated. B. A. Pančenko, *IRAİK* 8 (1903), 35 had argued that it applied only to men able to bear arms, excluding women and children.

76. Teletz, ruler of Bulgaria. Battle of Anchialos (763)

Cf. Theoph., 432.25–433.14, who gives exact dates: Constantine marches into Thrace on 16 June; battle of Anchialos on Thursday, 30 June, indiction 1, from the 5th hour of the day until evening. Theoph. omits the following details: (1) Thrace overrun by Teletz; (2) Byzantine fleet sent to the Danube; (3) capture of prominent Bulgarians; (4) Bulgarian prisoners handed over to citizens and members of the circus factions; (5) the Sicilian basins.

14–15 “Many of the enemy fell on both sides” is, of course, nonsense, unless Nik. understood πολέμιοι to mean “belligerents,” which is not its classical

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connotation. Theoph., 433.7 has *κόπτουσιν ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ πολὺ*. In his *Antirrhet.* III, PG 100, 508B Nik. refers to the heavy casualties suffered: the bones of the fallen could still be seen in the plain round Anchialos.

77. Sabinos, ruler of Bulgaria (763). Feigned peace

1–9 Cf. Theoph., 433.14ff., who is more precise: Sabinos is described as the *γαμβρός* of former King Kormesios; he flees to Mesembria and is succeeded by Paganos. All of this before the winter of 763/4. Sabinos appears to correspond to Vinekh of the Bulgarian List of Princes: J. B. Bury, *BZ* 19 (1910), 143–44; Beševliev, *Protobulg. Periode*, 212 note 3.

9–11 Not in Theoph. The subject of the sentence is presumably Constantine.

11–18 Cf. Theoph., 436.9ff., 21 ff., A.M. 6256, who gives the following sequence: (1) Paganos, the lord of Bulgaria, seeks and obtains an interview with the emperor; feigned peace concluded. Note verbal overlap: *ὠνειδισε τὴν ἀταξίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ κατὰ Σαβίνου μῖσος* (436.13); (2) emperor sends agents to Bulgaria and kidnaps Sklavounos, chief of the Severoi, and Christianos, chief of the Skamaroi; (3) emperor makes a sudden attack on Bulgaria while the passes are unguarded. He sets fire to the Bulgarian *ἀύλαί* and returns home. Constantine's success won by taking advantage of dissension among the Bulgarians is mentioned by Nik., *Antirrhet.* III, PG 100, 508C. For these events see Beševliev, *Protobulg. Periode*, 216–17.

78. Birth of Niketas. Arab attack on Sicily

Not in Theoph.

1 The chronological indication (indiction 1 = 762/3) need not apply to all the events described in c. 77.

2 Niketas, third son of Constantine and Eudokia, made *nobilissimus* on 2 April 769 (below, c. 87). Mentioned in Edirne inscription: C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, *BZ* 65 (1972), 385, 390.

2ff. Attack on Sicily: An attack is recorded in A.H. 135 (752/3). See M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, ed. C. A. Nallino, I (Catania, 1933), 299–301; E. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland* (Berlin, 1966), 38–39.

79. Expedition into Bulgaria (765)

Not in Theoph., but presumably refers to the raid mentioned by him at 436.21 ff. (above, c. 77).

3 Oumaros: Oumror is mentioned in the Bulgarian List of Princes with a reign of 40 days: Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II, 353.

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4 Toktos: not mentioned elsewhere. It is not altogether clear whether Baianos is the same as Theoph.'s Paganos or whether the latter is to be identified with Nik.'s Kampaganos. Beševliev, *Protobulg. Periode*, 219, 505 ff. opts for the second alternative and explains that Kampaganos was a title, not a name. He believes that Toktos was the senior and Baianos the junior khan.

80. Iconoclastic persecution intensified

Not in Theoph., but perhaps merely a rhetorical expansion of 436.27, ἐκμανῆς γενόμενος ὁ δυσσεβῆς καὶ ἀνόσιος βασιλεὺς κατὰ παντὸς φοβουμένου τὸν θεόν. Note that Nik.'s father Theodore, who was *asekretis*, was banished at about this time: Alexander, *Nicephorus*, 55–56.

81. Martyrdom of St. Stephen the Younger (Nov. 765). General persecution

1–17 Cf. Theoph., 436.26–437.9, who gives the date as 20 Nov., indiction 4. This has generally been preferred to the chronology of *Vita Stephani iun.*, which dates the martyrdom to 28 Nov. in the saint's 53rd year, i.e., 767 (PG 100, 1177D). See G. Huxley, *GRBS* 18 (1977), 97–108; M.-F. Rouan, *TM* 8 (1981), 421. The erroneous date 764 often given to this event is due to Ch. Diehl, *CRAI* 1915, 147 ff.

10 Prison: the Praetorium in which, according to the *Vita*, 1160B, 1164B, Stephen was confined for eleven months.

12 τῶν βασιλικῶν . . . περιβόλων: Theoph., 437.4 says more accurately that Stephen was dragged from the Praetorium to ta Pelagiou. Similarly *Vita*, 1176B.

13–14 The *Vita*, 1177A specifies that at the Forum Bovis a tavernkeeper split the saint's skull (he had already died). The situation of ta Pelagiou has been the subject of debate: Janin, *CP*, 405, maintains that it was the same as the area called Krisis in the western part of the city, whereas P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *AnBoll* 64 (1946), 157 ff. denies this. I believe Janin is right, or nearly so, because *Vita Stephani*, 1177B makes it clear that the saint's body was dragged along the main street from Forum Bovis past the nunnery τοῦ Μονοκιονίου before being thrown in the charnel pit called ta Pelagiou. The nunnery in question, probably named after the Exokionion, may well have been the same as the church of St. Andrew en Krisei (Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii), in which case ta Pelagiou should be sought some distance to the west of it. Janin, *Eglises*, 396–96 points out that there was no St. Pelagios (as stated in the sources) and believes that the place was named after St. Pelagia. On the analogy of other Constantinopolitan toponyms it is more likely that the area was called after a former owner Pelagios, e.g., the one recorded as patrician in 490: *PLRE*, II, Pelagius 2.

COMMENTARY

17 ff. Cf. Theoph., 437.9–15, who adds that the emperor persuaded Patriarch Constantine to eat meat and listen to music at table.

82. Disaster of Byzantine fleet (766)

Cf. Theoph., 437.19–25, who specifies that the expedition set out on 21 June, indiction 4, and that the emperor returned on 17 July. Details not in Theoph.: (1) that Constantine encamped near pass of Verigava; (2) that the fleet was ordered to approach Mesembria and Anchialos; (3) that the Bulgarians sued for peace.

3–4 Pass of Verigava: probably the Riš Pass. The name is Thracian, not Slavonic according to V. Beševliev, *Recherches de géographie historique* = *Studia Balcanica*, I (Sofia, 1970), 69–75; *Protobulg. Periode*, 180 and note 28.

8 Anchialos: Theoph. has εἰς Ἀχελόν, presumably a popular form of the name. Cf. N. Bănescu, *BZ* 26 (1926), 114–15 and already T. L. F. Tafel, *De Thessalonica* (Berlin, 1839), 485–86, who point out that the famous battle of the Achelōs (in 917), as it is called in our classicizing sources, must have been fought near Anchialos, not on the river in Aetolia.

12 ἀλίμενος applies not to the coast between Mesembria and Sozopolis, but to that between Mesembria and Varna. See Beševliev, *Protobulg. Periode*, 222.

83. Monks ridiculed. Conspiracy against the emperor. Patriarch Constantine deposed (Aug. 766)

1–8 Monks ridiculed: cf. Theoph., 437.25 ff., who gives the date as 21 Aug., indiction 4. He says that each monk was made to hold a woman (not a nun) by the hand.

8–21 Conspiracy: cf. Theoph., 438.2 ff., who says that nineteen dignitaries were paraded in the Hippodrome on 25 Aug. He names eight of them, starting with Constantine Podopagouros, patrician and logothete of the course, and his brother Strategios, *spatharios* and domestic of the excubitors. The two of them were considered the leaders of the plot. Theoph. names Antiochos in third place and describes him as former (γεγονώς) logothete of the course—correctly, because the office was then held by Constantine—and *strategos* of Sicily. Theophylaktos comes fifth and is described as *protospatharios* (not patrician) and *strategos* of Thracē.

21–28 Deposition of Patriarch Constantine: cf. Theoph., 438.26 ff., with the date 30 Aug., indiction 4. He was exiled first to Hieria, then to the island of Prinkipos.

τῆ ὕστεραία: presumably after the execution of the conspirators for which Theoph. does not give an exact date.

28 Appointment of Niketas: 16 Nov. 766 according to Theoph., 440.11, who calls him ἀπὸ Σκλάβων εὐνοῦχος, but omits to say that he was a presbyter of the

church of the Holy Apostles. For his other titles see F. Fischer, "De patriarcharum Const. catalogis," *Comment. philol. jenenses* 3 (1884), 290. The appointment is mentioned here out of sequence in order to round off the story without regard to the August date (line 31).

84. Execution of ex-Patriarch Constantine (Oct. 767)

Out of sequence with regard to next paragraph.

Cf. Theoph., 441.5–442.12 with much fuller detail and the dates 6 Oct. for the scene in St. Sophia and 15 Oct. for Constantine's interrogation by the patricians and(?) his execution.

1–2 It seems that Nik. began by writing down the date, then decided to omit it for stylistic reasons.

4 *τινά . . . τῶν βασιλικῶν γραμματέων = ἀσηκρήτης.*

8 *καθαίρουσι*: not clear seeing that Constantine had already been deposed. Theoph., 441.17 says that he was made to give up his omophorion, which suggests that he had retained the episcopal dignity.

8–9 Why was the new patriarch reading the same accusations in a low voice? Theoph., 441.14–15 has simply *ἐν τῷ συνθρόνῳ καθεζομένου καὶ θεωροῦντος.*

85. Drought. Aqueduct of Valens repaired (766–7). Artificial abundance of foodstuffs

1–12 Cf. Theoph., 440.14 ff., who is more detailed, but omits the reference to the workmen's allowances (lines 10–11).

12–21 Cf. Theoph., 443.18–22 under the year 767–8. New Midas: see above, Introduction, p. 10. Theoph. omits the important indication of prices.

86. Birth of Anthimos (768–9). Repairs of St. Sophia. Captives ransomed

1–2 Birth of Anthimos not in Theoph. Anthimos is mentioned on the Edirne inscription, but his title is unfortunately lost: C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, *BZ* 65 (1972), 385, 391.

2–8 Work in St. Sophia: cf. Theoph., 443.22 ff. (under the year 767–8), who has no mention of repairs but records with greater precision the removal of mosaics and frescoes. For the identification of the two *secretæ* and the archaeological evidence for the destruction of their earlier decoration see C. Mango, *The Brazen House*, 53; idem, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1962), 94; R. Cormack and E. J. W. Hawkins, *DOP* 31 (1977), 200 f., 205 ff.

8 *κηροχύτου ὕλης = ὕλογραφίας.*

8–15 Ransom of prisoners not in Theoph.

COMMENTARY

87. Coronation of Eudokia (1 April 769)

Cf. Theoph., 443.28 ff., who adds that Constantine was married for the third time; gives the venue as the Tribunal of the Nineteen Accubita; specifies that the children were Eudokia's and supplies additional details about the ceremony.

6–7 *ὑπατείαν ἐποίησαν καὶ . . . χρήματα διένειμαν* is a tautology. Theoph. specifies that the coins distributed were *τριμίσια καὶ σημίσια καὶ νομίσματα καινούργια*.

88. Eirene crowned Augusta (17 Dec. 769)

Cf. Theoph., 444.15 ff., who is more detailed: Eirene arrives from Athens by way of Hieria on 1 Nov.; betrothal on 3 Nov. in the church of the Pharos; marriage and coronation on 17 Dec. in the palace hall named Augusteus and the chapel of St. Stephen of Daphne.

INDICES

- CP = Constantinople
emp. = emperor
patr. = patriarch
+ indicates words and names restored
by emendation
[] indicates words and names
bracketed in our edition

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All entries pertaining to Constantinople (but not its suburbs) are listed under *Κωνσταντινούπολις*, although Nikephoros seldom uses that name, preferring *Βυζάντιον* (q. v.) or various periphrastic locutions.

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