CORPUS FONTIUM
HISTORIAE BYZANTINAE

CONSILIO SOCIETATIS INTERNATIONALIS
STUDIIS BYZANTINIS PROVEHENDIS DESTINATAE
EDITUM

VOLUMEN XIII

NICEPHORI PATRIARCHAE CONSTANTINOPOLITANI
BREVIARIUM HISTORICUM

EDIDIT, ANGLICE VERTIT,
COMMENTARIO INSTRUXIT
CYRILLUS MANGO

SERIES WASHINGTONIENSIS
EDIDIT IHR ŠEVČENKO

In aedibus Dumbarton Oaks
Washingtoniae, D.C.
MCMXC
NIKEPHOROS
PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE
SHORT HISTORY

TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND COMMENTARY

by

CYRIL MANGO

Dumbarton Oaks
Research Library and Collection
Washington, D.C.
1990
accordance with the rules adopted by the International Cor
for the Edition of Sources of Byzantine History,
the text and translation of this volume have been verifi
by Ihor Ševčenko
CONTENTS

Preface ................................................................. vii
List of Abbreviations ............................................... ix
Introduction .......................................................... 1
List of Signs .......................................................... 31
Text and Translation ............................................... 33
Initial Section of the London Version, cc. 1–11 ............. 165
Commentary ......................................................... 173
Indices ................................................................. 227
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
PREFACE

communicating to me the text of the *Refutatio et eversion*, 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* (IOIKIAA 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
A.M.: Anno mundi
Anastasius: Anastasius Biliotheccarius, Historia tripetita, ed. C. de Boor in vol. II of his ed. of Theophanes
AnBoll: Analecta Bollandiana
BCH: Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BMGS: Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BNJ: Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher
BSl: Byzantinoslavica
Bury, LRE: J. B. Bury, A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene (London, 1889)
ByzF: Byzantinische Forschungen
BZ: Byzantinsiche Zeitschrift
Cameron, Circus: A. Cameron, Circus Factions (Oxford, 1976)
Cer.: Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, De cerimoniiis 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. 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 orientialium


DHGE: Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique


DOP: Dumbarton Oaks Papers

EEBΣ: Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταπερίος Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν

EHR: *English Historical Review*

Elias Nisib.: *Eliae metropolitae 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


Ioann. Ant.: Joannes Antiochenus

IRAIK: Izvestija Russkogo Arkheologičeskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole


JDAI: Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

JHS: *Journal of Hellenic Studies*

JÖB: Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik

[x]
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS


*JTS*: *Journal of Theological Studies*


Kedr.: Georgius Cedrenus, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838–39)

*Khuzistan Chr.: Chronicon anonymum*, trans. I. Guidi, *Chronica minora*, I, CSCO, Scr. syri 2 (1903)


Leo gramm.: *Leonis grammatici Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1842)


Mansi: J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*


Nik.: Nicképhoros


Patria: *Patria Konstantinoupolis*, ibid., II (Leipzig, 1907)

PG: J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia graeca*


[xi]
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS


*PO*: Patrologia Orientalis

*Ramsay, Hist. Geogr.*: W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London, 1890)

*RE*: Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopdie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*

*REB*: Revue des études byzantines

*RSBS*: Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi


*Simok.: Theophylacti Simocattaes Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1887)


*Speck, Dossier*: P. Speck, *Das geteilte Dossier*, ПОИКИЛА БЬЯЗАНТИНА 9 (Bonn, 1988)


*Suda*: Suidae Lexicon, ed. A. Adler (Leipzig, 1928–38)

*Synax. CP*: Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, ed. H. Delehaye, Propylaenum ad Acta Sanctorum Nov. (Brussels, 1902)


*TAPA*: Transactions of the American Philological Association


*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, Ἀναλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυνολογίας, IV (St. Petersburg, 1897), 126–48


*VizVrem*: Vizantijskij Vremennik

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Zlatarski, Istorija: V. Zlatarski, Istorija na Būlgarskata dūržava prez vekove, 1/1 (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. 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 (enkylkios 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

---

1Nikephorus.
INTRODUCTION

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 'Άγιά θου, 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, 493D ff.) 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 Ἰστορία σύντομος or Breviarium, edited here; and
2) the Χρονογραφικὸν σύντομον, of which a few words ought to be said.

² Analyzed 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 Andrew\textsuperscript{3} 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\textsuperscript{4} and of the four oldest Greek manuscripts, which are:

1) British Library, Add. 19390 of the early tenth century, which also contains the Breviarius. It is limited to items a–d and h, and, as regards the Χρονικά, 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

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

INTRODUCTION

part of the Chronicle of Synkellos (from Julius Caesar to the end) and the Chronicle of Theophanes. 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. 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). 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). 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.

---

*See Synk., pp. xii–xiii.
*For a description of the MS, see N. G. Wilson, DOP 26 (1972), 357–58.
*See L. G. Westerink, Byzantion 42 (1972), 197, 199, 204.
*Ed. A. Schoene, Eusebi 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 BREVARIUM

THE NATURE OF THE BREVARIUM

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. 30v, corresponding to the marriage of Herakleios to Martina, the second from 30v to the end), which Nikephoros later copied. 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 historiography 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 claimed that the termination of L with the overthrow of Philippikos

---


12 The 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. lxviii ff.) has been disproved by M.-A. Monégier du Sorbier, Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite de la Chronique de Georges le Moiné, Thesis, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (Paris, 1985), 483 ff.

13 This was first stated by Burchhardt, op. cit., 468 because of the scribe's pious formula at the end of L and the fact that fol. 55v 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
INTRODUCTION

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 τὴν ἐπαναφοράν, 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 τελειοσάντοι δόξα και 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 Shahin’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. 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. In the final part, on the other hand, individual chronicle entries are barely disguised. 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 Patrikios) 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 codl. nss. 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.

He changed Δομινητάλος to Δομεντάλος, Βουνόσος to Βούνόσος (c. 1), Βεζούλινος to either Βεζούλινος or Βεζούλινος (c. 4). I am not sure whether the change of Φάβλιος to the incorrect Φάβλιος (c. 11) is deliberate or scribal.

Down 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).

Cc. 78, 79, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88.
THE NATURE OF THE BREVIARIUM

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. 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 observed 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 text 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, epistology, 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 ἵνα (prep.), not always confined to cases where the object is a person (also frequent in Simok.); ἢδη = "abodes of men" (as, e.g., in Herodotus); ἰαμακά = "by name" (as in Xenophon, etc.), which V² studiously altered to ἱαμαρτά. On the rhythmic structure of Nikephoros' prose see W. Hörandner, Der Prosarchrhythmus 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.
INTRODUCTION

THE DATE OF THE BREVIARIUM

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 (τῇ νῦν ὑπὸ Ἄβαρων κελμένη). 20 Alexander suggested that it was earlier than 787, “as the author shows no knowledge of the official restoration of image-worship.” 21 Ohnsorge 22 and Speck 23 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 Nikephorus, 162.
22 Saeclum 14 (1963), 225–26; repr. in Konstantinopel und der Okzident (Darmstadt, 1966), 57–58.
24 To be more precise, in the second decade of the 9th century: VizVrem 3 (1950), 421.
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 s t r i d e n t l y s o t h a n Theophanes. But then there is reason to believe that his source was also anti-iconoclastic. 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. 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) and the Refutatio et eversion (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 (δῶν τὰ περιτώματα καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δι- ἤρκεσαν ἐπιχρόνισαντα): Antirrh. III, 493D; cf. Refut., Cod. Paris. gr. 1250,

26E. E. Lipšic, VisVrem 3 (1950), esp. 97ff.
27Nicephorus, 188.
INTRODUCTION

fol. 195v. Not in the Breviarium, but corresponds loosely to Theoph., 443.1ff., 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., 422.29ff., who is fuller than the Breviarium. Only a brief reference in the Refut.


4) Falling stars (Brev., c. 71; brief mention in Theoph., 435.5): Antirrh. III, 497A adds that this happened in winter, χειμώνος ὥρα (March in Theoph.). Cf. Refut., fol. 196v in terms similar to Brev.: καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει τοὺς ἄστερους ἀπαντάς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐν ὃ ἐπετήγεσαν, χώρων ἀπορρηγημένους βρογδαίς κατὰ γῆς φέρεσθαι.

5) Famine (not in Brev.), no less severe than any recorded in olden times or the one that is prevailing today: λιμῷ γὰρ ἤν ὁ δεινότατος . . . οὕτε τῶν νῦν ἐπιτιθέν ἐναρξαμένου, οὕτε τῶν πάλαι μνημονευμένων . . . ἐλαττούμενος: Antirrh. III, 500B.

6) Raid into Armenia (Melitene), Brev., c. 70; Theoph., 427.14ff. 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.


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 Mithas, 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” τρίον ἔγαγεν.

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
THE DATE OF THE BREVIARIUM

whom were still alive (Antirrh. 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 Antirrh., 496A Nikephoros explicitly refers to historical writings of eyewitnesses (τῶν τότε παρόντων των, εὐκαίρως καὶ εἴς δέον χρώμενοι, ἱστορίᾳ παραδοθέναι ἄξιον φήσασαν 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 (καθά γε ἦμων ἐκ τῶν γεγραμμένων αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνυπνισμένους κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ἀναλεξαμένους ἐγνωσαν). 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 attention 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 Monothelite 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 Monothelite 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 Breviariun" (as in note 10 above), 544–45.
INTRODUCTION

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 Breviariwm 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,\(^{*}\) that Nikephoros made use of certain lost

\(^{*}\)The London MS, 11–12.
poems by George of Pisidia and has preserved disiecta membra of iambic verse has little to recommend it. Phrases such as καὶ ἱππικοῦ δέωνος ἐπιπεδευμένου or ἐν μέσως τῶν δημόταις or Νικήτα τοῦ στρατικοῦ 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, namely, one series of extracts imbedded in the Exc. de virtutibus et vitis, another, and more important, in the Exc. de insidiis, plus one truncated fragment in the Exc. de legationibus. 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 (ἀλωμότης)." 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 ιστορίας Ίωάννου μοναχοῦ
τερι ἄρετης 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, 313; Hunger, Hochsprachliche Lit., I, 326–28. Add A. Markopoulos, 'Ἡ Χρονογραφία τοῦ Ψευδοσμήδων καὶ οἱ πηγές τῆς, Diss. (Ioannina, 1978), 66ff. 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.
34 Ed. C. de Boor (Berlin, 1905), 58–150.
35 Ed. C. de Boor (Berlin, 1903), 6.
INTRODUCTION

well as many conspiracies. The final note in the *Exc. de virtuibus* 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.
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 ὄνω... "Constantine, therefore (or indeed), was treacherously mur-
SOURCES OF THE *BREVIARIUM*

dered by his own servants," i.e., in 668. The presence of the adverb οὖν led Lily and Speck to suppose that one folio had dropped out at that point. Personally, I would not have placed so much emphasis on the οὖν, 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 δὲ (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 *BSL* 45 (1984), 31 note 22.
37 *Dossier*, 205.
INTRODUCTION

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 pertinentes."

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, he lived at the time of Justinian II, wrote a χρονικόν σύντομον, πέντε θαυμάσιον, 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

\[\text{S.v. Τραϊάνος, ed. Adler, IV, 582.}\]
SOURCES OF THE BREVARIUM

says that the Scythians are called Goths in their native language. 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. 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. 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. 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 ὕπο τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Κοσμωνίμου τοῦ ὑστερόν χώρου ἐδόκουν οἱ ἀδέρες πάντες μετακινεῖται καὶ καταφέρεται δὲ ἄλλα τῆς νυκτός: οἱ δὲ περίγειοι γινόμενοι ἀθρόον διελύουσε. φανεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ ἄτι διὰ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐξαίτιον διεδείκνυτο δέαμα.

As I have pointed out elsewhere, 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, 1, Traianus 2.
40 Hermes 17 (1882), 489–92.
42 “The Breviarium” (as in note 10), 547–48.
INTRODUCTION

*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 *BREVARIUM*

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) 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.

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), considered by some scholars to be of south Italian origin. The author of this word list was not a good hellenist: he explains ἄμφιλωθη by ἄμφιοπτέρωθε δόση, ἐσκεναγώγουν by ἐδωροφόρουν, εὐδόκουν by ἀνδρέουν, etc., and even finds it necessary to gloss ἁγιον (πόλιν), ἁγιῶν (πολίτων), and ὑπερθεν (ὑπάνωθεν).

---

43So A. Markopoulos, *Σώμμακτα* 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.


[18]
MANUSCRIPTS

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 Ἱονόμμητος, πυρείον, 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 Brevarium 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 τῆς... βέρβαρος, and by his reference to Heracleios' 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

MANUSCRIPTS

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', Dialogue between Philosophy and History; 2'–10', Title and table of contents; 11 ff. text). On fol. 184' 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: Brevarium of Nikephoros. The original scribe left

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

INTRODUCTION

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. 93v (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 exceptors 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. 204v, 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 λαύρας, 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
MANUSCRIPTS

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 ὅνομα to ὁνόματι 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 τοῖς ὧλεῖς V: V² adds the redundant ἕωστον, which is supported by L.

13.12 V and Georg. Mon. have the correct τὰ τῆς Ἀσιάτιδος μοῖρας: τὰς V²L.

15.14 ἡσυχάζειν V: ἔφε ἡσυχάζειν L: ἔφε' 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 ἐπηθιάτο correctly in V: ἐπαυθιάτο V²L.

28.6 διελογίζετο V: διελέγετο V²L.

35.18 τῆν νῦν ὑπὸ Ἀβάροις κειμένη edd.: τῆς . . . κειμένης L: τῆς . . . κειμένης from τῆς . . . κοιμένως V³.

36.19 περαιωθέντες δὲ τῶν Ἰστρον edd.: περαιωθέντϊς[ων] δὲ τῷ[ο] Ἰστρ[ον], the endings being written in by V²: περαιωθέντων τῶν Ἰστρον L.

V²'s marginal addition at 66.27–29, πλείστας δὲ πληγαῖς . . . κατεδικασθέντας, is also deserving of note. De Boor's contention (Praefutio, 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 σωμαχήσαντας Ἀρτανάσδῳ τῶν προνόχων ἀνέκλει, ἀναρχήσατος δὲ ἐπύρλωσεν, καὶ ἄλλους ἕχειροκόπησε 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 Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Φωκᾶ ἀναδείξεως
        1.20 Περὶ Κρίστου
        1.35 Περὶ Φωτίου
        1.43 'Αναίρεσις Φωκᾶ
        1.48 Περὶ Δομηντώλου
        2.7 'Αναγόρευσις Ηρακλείου

[21]
INTRODUCTION

2.58 Περί Φιλιππικοῦ
8.3 Σημ(eiwsai) ὅτι ἡ Ἱρακλείου ἡ Ἀγνωστος τῇ μεγαλοπόλει ἐπεστίτευεν
9.1 Σημ(eiwsai) τα περί Οὐνων
10.1 Σημ(eiwsai) τα περί Ἀβάρων
37.5 The numeral 5 referring to the 6th General Council
46.2 Περί τῆς 5 συνόδου
46.6 Σημειώσα) περί τοῦ θείου Γερμανοῦ
48.14 Σημειώσα) τύφλωσις Φιλιππικοῦ
48.18 'Αρτέμιος ὁ καὶ 'Αναστάσιος
50.23 Σημειώσα) with reference to the elevation of Theodosios
51.3 Θεοδοσίου
51.16 Περί Γερμανοῦ
52.13 Παραίτησις Θεοδοσίου βασιλέως
52.19 Λέων ὁ Ἰσαυρος
53.1 Σαρακηνοῦ τῆς Πέργαμον
56.1 Περί Κωνσταντίου καὶ Ἀγνώστου ἔτε with reference to the birth of Constantine V and the departure of the Arab armament from Constantinople on 15 August 718
57.1 Περί 'Αρτεμίου
58.1 Περί Γερμάνου (sic) καὶ Κωνσταντίου βασιλέως
59.1 Περί Θηρας καὶ Θηρασίας
60.4 Περί καθαρέσεως τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων
62.3 Περί Γερμανοῦ
63.2 Περί Χαζάρου
64.1 Λέων τος ἡδρίως θάνατος
64.4 Περί 'Αρτεμιάζου
80.4 Σημ(eiwsai) οία κατά τῶν μοναχῶν ἔδρα ἁδεος Κωνσταντῖνος
83.22 Σημ(eiwsai) τα κατά Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως
83.26–28 Σημ(eiwsai)

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 Ήρακλείου βα(σιλέως)
15.9 Χοιρίου διὰ λημοῦ θάνατος καὶ ἀνάρρησις βα(σιλέως)
16.1 Σεβόου τελευτή καὶ Καβόου ἀναγόρευσις θάνατος τε τούτου καὶ Ὁρμίσδα ἀναγόρευσις
17.9 ἀναίρεσιν νιὸς Ὁρμίσδα βασιλέως Περσῶν καὶ προβολῇ παρὰ Ήρακλείου Σαρβάρου ἐπὶ τὸ βασιλεύειν Περσῶν

[22]
MANUSCRIPTS

18.7 ὁτι διὰ γενοντις ἤν Περσίδι παῖδες ἔγενεν 

νηθης αὐτῶ ἐξ ἔν ἐπελευνήσαν ἐκεῖσε ὥρ(ει) 

μὲν β’ καὶ θηλείαι δὲ δύο. This adds an item of information 

to what is in the text. See below, Commentary, ad 18.4.

British Library, Add. 19390

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 occa-

sional 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 an-
other 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, ac-
cording to a note on fol. 55' (+εἰσι τη(ς) βιβλου τοι(ς) φυλ(α)ς στε') con-
tained 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' 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 μονής τῆς Θ(εοτό)κου.

Contents:

1) Fol. 1: (Pseudo-) John Damascene, De dormantibus in fide (PG 95, 
248 ff.). Marginal scholia in a later (11th/12th century) hand, among them the fol-
lowing one (fol. 9): 'Ἀπὸ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ παρήλθον πολλοί βασιλεῖς, καὶ πάλιν 
μανθάνομεν ὅτι δ ικονομάχους Θεόφιλος ἤξιοθῆ ἐλέους. ἀλλὰ καὶ τινὰ 
ev'εὶξεν δ ὁ Τραϊανός προτερήματα ὃς καὶ δ ἑικονομάχος Θεόφιλος.

2) Fol 17: Χρονογραφικόν ὁπὸ Ἀδάμ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος, being part of 
the Χρον. σύντομων ascribed to Nikephoros, ed. de Boor, 81—101.16. List of Ro-
man emperors ending with Theophilos, whose length of reign, ἔτη ψβ', 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 μήνας γ' ἡμέρας κ' and continued the list of

---

*Catalogue of Additions in the Years 1848—1853 (London, 1868), 228; Palaiographical Society 
(Original Series), I, 231.
INTRODUCTION

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

Fol. 23: Ἐν Πατριαρχῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως = de Boor, 114.10–120.4, inc. Μητροφανής ἔτη ν' 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 ὀ λεγόμενος Καισάρης 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), Πολύσυκτος ἔτη blank ὅτε καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ κυρίου Ρωμανοῦ ἐν 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,31 which may well have been so, although he is said to have also visited the libraries of Jerusalem, Mount Sinai, and other centers.

---

31 This 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), 36ff. as proof of the genuineness of all his MSS. The Bodleian Library copy I have consulted (No. 25796.a.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 Ὀρος (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 Esphymenos (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, Erzählungen über den Simonides-Dindorfchen Uranios (Leipzig, 1856), who also states (pp. 56, 59) that Simonides’ MSS came from Mount Athos; the unsigned article (by D. Chaviaras) in Σ. I. Vouyrias, Λεξικόν Ἑστορίων καὶ γεωγραφιῶν, VII (Constantinople, 1889), 580–83; A. R. Rangabes in Παλαιόρας i (1850–51), 551–55, 595–602; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ΒΖ 14 (1905), 268–69; and Ch. A. Kalliga, Τὸ πατριαρχικὸ σπήτο τῷ Κ. Σιμωνίδη ἐν Ἑπόμενα ἀρχαία ὁμών τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας, Εθνικό [24]
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:

(Author’s second autograph)

(Author’s first autograph)

Μεταφάσεις Πολυτεχνείο, Σπουδειατήριο Ιστορίας της Αρχαιοκολοσκής (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. 46 of the Gregoriou monastery, as shown by S. P. Lambros, A Collation of the Athos Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas (Cambridge, 1988), 5–6.

[25]
INTRODUCTION

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 reconstruction\(^\text{51}\) 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:

M
--- (Material used by Nik.)

N
--- (MS of Nik. with marginal notes)

ω
--- (incorrect disposition of marginal notes; other mistakes; lacuna at dB 31.28)

χ
--- Georg. Mon.

L
--- Mutilation at dB 49.16

V

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.

\(^{51}\)Dossier, 195ff.
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: έκπερ αὐτῷ κατάφορα γέ-


17.11 ἐξήτει L: ἐξαυτεί V
18.12 ἐπέγνωσαν L: ἐπεγνώσκον V
22.5 φυλάξει L: ἑρυλαξαν V
23.19 γάρ L: δέ V
26.2 ἐπειθῇ δὲ Πύρρῳ προσέκειτο Ἡράκλειος L: ἐπειθήπερ προ-


26.2 ἐπειθῇ δὲ Πύρρῳ προσέκειτο Ἡράκλειος L: ἐπειθήπερ προσ-


26.15 ἄλλῳ ἀλλοις ταύτα ἐπαυτιάτο L: ἀλλοις τε ταύτα ἐπητιάτο V
(ἔπαυτιάτο V²)
26.16 περὶ τούτων L: ύπερ τούτων V
34.8 ἀντιπαραστάστεται L: ἀντιπαραστάττεται V
34.27 πρὸς τὰ Σαρακηνῶν ἥθη γενόμενος L: πρὸς τὰ τῶν Σαρ. γεν.


35.4 λεγομένη L: καλουμένη V
36.11 κατασχεθεὶς L: συναχεθεὶς V
37.13 ἀποτίθεται L: κατατίθεται V
38.2 ἐκκαθάρισησθαι του (sic) L: ἐκκαθάρισει V
38.7 κατὰ τῶν Σκλαβίνων ἐθνῶν ὀρμήσην L: κ. τ. Σκλαβηνῶν εὐ-


38.16 ἐκστρατεύσας L: ἐκστρατεύει . . . καὶ V
44.13 θαρραλωτέροι L: θαρραλωτέροι V
44.15 πρὸς βραχὺ ἀπειρόντες L: τῶν πρὸς μάχην ἀπειρόντες V
45.7 Στέφανον τῶν πατρίκιων 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 vulgicism (42.75 ἀπὸ 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 ᾧ μα καὶ στολήν βασιλικήν VL: στολὴ βασιλικὴν edd.
12.31 τοὺς . . . ἄρχουσι VL: τοὺς . . . ἄρχομας edd.
12.32 παρ᾽ ἐκείνῳ VL: παρ᾽ ἐκείνον edd.
13.7 Εὐτρόπιον VL: Εὐτροπίον edd. Admittedly, this mistake could have been easily overlooked.
13.11 ἐκάτερος VL: ἐκάτερο edd.
13.33 εἰς μέσονς VL: εἰς μέσον edd.
28.11 καὶ τὴν ἥλικιαν VL: κατὰ τὴν ἥλικιαν edd.
29.6 διωδομένην VL: διωδομένην edd.
35.29 ύπο . . . λεγόμενον VL: ὑπὸ . . . λεγομένην edd.
35.31–32 Corrupt passage in VL
36.23 VL read τῶν ἐγγίσκοντων πανωκημένων (sic), followed in V by Σκλαβηνῶν ἔθνων, the latter two words being omitted in L. Editors print [ἐγγίσκοντων] παρουκημένων Σ. ἔθνων and note that Theop. has παρακεκλημένων. Whatever may be the origin of the corruption of παρουκημένων to πανωκημένων, it is a near synonym of ἐγγίσκοντων.
38.11 στρατευεὶ ἄχρι καὶ ἑώς τριάκοντα χιλιάδας (χιλιάδας V) λαὸν VL: ἄχρι καὶ εἰς edd. It appears that ἑώς was meant to be an alternative reading.
39.10 τοῖς VL: τοῖς edd.
40.23 σκεδαιμόμενοι VL: σκεδαιμόμενοι edd.
40.38 Θεοδόσιον VL: Θεόδοσιον edd.
45.77 αὐτοῖς VL: αὐτοῖς 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:

18.5 κατεγγυήσας VL: κατεγγυήσας edd.
18.6 ἀνωρθότα VL: ἀνώρθωτο edd.
36.16 συντόμως VL: συντόμως edd.
40.19 προϊστὼρος VL: προϊστώριον edd., admittedly, not an entirely satisfactory emendation.
45.61 ἐπιπεσόντων V, ἐπεισεπεσόντων L: ἐπιπεσόντος edd.

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

12.6 μέχρις
30.9 τὰ
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:

```
    ω
   / \    \
  ψ   χ
  /  \  /
 Λ   (ψ) (minuscule)
    \  |
     V  (expanded and edited by Nik.)
      \ /  \\
       V²   mutilated?
```

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


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

LIST OF SIGNS

MANUSCRIPTS

$L = \text{cod. Londinensis, Add. 19390}$
$L^1 = \text{manus prima}$
$L^2 = \text{manus secunda}$
$V = \text{cod. Vaticanus graecus 977}$
$V^1 = \text{manus prima}$
$V^2 = \text{manus secunda}$
$\text{Sab} = \text{cod. Sabaiticus 366, fol. 22}^v$
gloss. Barocc. = glossae quae in $\text{cod. Barocc. 50}$ continentur (vide p. 18)

EDITIONS

$B = \text{coniecturae Bekkeri}$
$db = \text{coniecturae Caroli de Boor}$
$Or = \text{correctiones Oroszii}$
$P = \text{coniecturae Petavii}$
vulg. = correctiones editionum tacite factae

* lacuna
[] secludenda. In apparatu autem critico uncis quadratis includuntur quae a $V^2$
in lacunis vel rasuris codicis addita sunt.
⟨⟩ addenda
† locus corruptus

See also Abbreviations, pp. ix ff.
The apparatus as a rule is negative.
ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ
ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ
ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ
ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΣΥΝΤΟΜΟΣ
ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΜΑΥΡΙΚΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ

1. Μετά τὴν Μαυρικίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναίρεσιν Φωκᾶς, ἑπεὶ ταύτην διειργάσατο, τῆς βασιλείου ἀρχής ἐπιλαμβάνεται· οὐ δὴ ἄρα ἐπί τοσοῦτο κακώς ἔστην Χριστιανοῖς ἡμῶν τὰ πράγματα ὡς παρὰ πολλοῖς ἤδεσθαι ὅτι Πέρσαι μὲν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐκτὸς κατεπτήμαινον, Φωκᾶς δὲ ἐνδοὺ χείρι τούτων ἐπρατή. ταῦτα οὖν ἀνέκτα Ῥωμαίοις ἐγίνετο· διὸ οἱ περὶ τὴν Διβύνην τυρικάτα ἤγεμονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τό μεγίστω διαστῆμα τὸ βαρσέιν ἤχοντες καὶ ἀμα παρὰ Μαυρικίου τὰ τῆς στρατηγίδος ἀρχὴς ἐγεκεχειρισμένοι (διὸ δὲ ἦσαν ἄδελφοι, Ἱάκλειους καὶ Γρηγόριος), οὕτως καὶ ἑκατοντάρμανοι τοὺς νικῶν πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐκπέμπουσιν ἡμῖν, ἄλλους εἰσινεύουσιν ὡς τὸν προφήτασαν τούτων τῆς βασιλείας, εἰ δύνατο, ἐπιλήψεσθαι. καὶ Ἱράκλειον μὲν τὸν Ἱρακλείου παῖδα πλεῖστοι καθοπλίσαντες στόλῳ ἐκ (τὲ) τὸν Ἀφρών καὶ Μαυρουσίων ἀνδρῶν πληρώσαντες πλοῖο ἐξέπεμπον, Νικῆταν δὲ τὸν Γρηγορίου νῦν ἵππῳ στρατίῳ πολλῇ περιβαλόντες διὰ τῆς ἤπειρος ἀπέστερρον. δεξιὰ δὲ τῆς χρησάμενος Ἱσραήλ· καὶ πνεύματος ἐκπυρωσθείστως ἀναχθεῖς φθάνει Νικῆταν εὐπλοίατας εἰς Βυζάντιον, καὶ ἤδη τῇ πόλει προσευχηκὼς ἐπέλαξε. Κρίστος δὲ (τὸν Φωκᾶ) δὲ ἦν οὕτως γαμβρὸς, ὃς τυρικάτα τὸν τοῦ ὑπάρχον τῆς πόλεως θρόνον διέπεσεν ἐλαχίς, καὶ μεγάλα ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις δυνάμενοι, ἐπεὶ ἀπεκμαίνον Φωκᾶ ὡς δὴ περιβρισμένος ὑπ’ ἐκεί·

---

1: 2 διειργάσας * το ex diieirγάσατο V2 una littera deleta in dieirγάσατο fort. ut mutetur || 11 post νίκει V2 add. ἕκατον || 14 πλειάσιον . . . στόλων στὸν DB || τε addidi ex L || 19 εὐπλοίασις V1 ex εὐπλοίασις || 23 υπ’ ἐκείνου valg. 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.
νον τιγχάνων τής οἰκείας εἰκόνος καθαρίζεσθαι ἑνεκεν, ἣν
ποτε οἱ τῶν ἀνθιθέτων χρώματων δημόται τῇ τοῦ Φωκᾶ συμ-
παρέγαγοι εἰκόνι, δόλω αὐτῶν μετήρχετο, καὶ ποιεῖν μὲν
ὕπερ αὐτοῦ πλαττόμενος ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ἡράκλειον ἐπὶ ἀπωλείᾳ
εἰστι ήκεν ἄποιχρήζετο, συνήργει δὲ ὡς Ἡρακλείῳ καὶ
τῷ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπραττεν. οἱ οὖν περὶ
30 Φωκᾶν θεασάμενοι καὶ δοὺν πολιτικὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐστασίαιν
(ἡδα γὰρ οἱ τοῦ πρασίνου χρώματος δημόται τοῖς περὶ τῆς Καβ-
σαρίου τῷ πύρ ψῆφικ τοῦ αὐτῶν Βασίλεα ἀνευσφή-
μου), ἐπικειμένους δὲ αὐτοῖς καρτερώτατα καὶ τοὺς ἑκ τῶν
Ἡρακλεόν στρατευμάτων εἰσιδόντες, καταλυόμενες αὐτὸν
ἐφ᾽ ἐαυτοῖς γίνονται. Φωτίους δὲ τις Τούνομα, δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ εἰς
35 τὴν σύνυξιν ἐπιβυθεῖται ποτὲ καθυβρίζετο, εἰς τὰ βασί-
λεα σὺν πλήθει στρατιωτῶν ἐπιστὰ Φωκᾶν αὐτίκα κατέσχε,
καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐτῶν ἀπαμφίεσας ἐσθῆτος, περίζωμα μέ-
λαν αὐτῷ περιβέμενος, τὰς χεῖρας περιγεμένας εἰς τούπωσι
ἀποδοσίμηται καὶ πλοῦς ἐμβαλὼν πρὸς Ἡράκλειον δεσμώ-
την ἀπῆγαγεν. ὡν ἴδιων Ἡράκλειος ἔφη "οὕτως, ἄνθηλε, τὴν πο-
λιτείαν δυσκόμτης;" ὁ δὲ "τῷ μᾶλλον" εἶπε "κάλλως διοικεῖν
μέλλεις". εὐθὺς οὖν αὐτοῦ τὸν δία ξίφος ἔτι πρὸς τῷ πλοῦς
ὅντος καταφηρίζεται βάναυσον, ἐπειτὶ ἀκροτηριάζεται, χε-
50 ροῖν τε δεξίων ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ ὠμαίου ἀρθροῦ ἐκκόπτεται
καὶ τῶν αἰείων ἐκτέμνεσθαι καὶ κοινοῖς ἀναρτᾶσθαι, οὕτω
τε τὸ σώμα συνέν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Βοίς λεγομένην ἄγοραν τῷ
πυρὶ καταστράπθαι, Δομεντίλου τοῦ τῶν Φωκᾶ ἀδελφῶν
καὶ Βούνστατο καὶ Λεόντων τῶν τῶν βασιλείων χρήσιμῶν τα-
μῶν τῶν αὐτῶν τῷ Φωκᾶ συνθειαρέως κίνδυνον προσέτατε.
καὶ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτως ἀπέβανεν.

2. Σέργιος δὲ αὐτίκα ὁ τῆς πόλεως πρόεδρος καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς
tαυτῆς ὁμολόγων σὺν πάσῃ εὐγνωμοσύνῃ Ἡράκλειον ἑνὸς εἰσ-
dέχεται. καὶ αὐτὸς Κριστὸν εἰς τὴν βασίλειον ἀξίαν προὐ-
τρετε: μηδὲ γὰρ τῆς βασιλείας ἑνεκεν αὐτὸς ἐληλυθείναι
ἐφάσκε, τίσασθαι μᾶλλον Φωκᾶν τῆς εἰς Μαυρίκιον καὶ τὰ
Μαυρικίου τέκτα παρανομίας. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέχετο. τέλος ὑπὸ
tῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Ἡράκλειος βασιλεὺς
ἀνακηρύσσεται καὶ τὸν βασιλείον παρὰ τοῦ προέδρου περι-

(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 Domentiologos, 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 Κρίστου δὲ στρατηγῶν ἀποστέλλει χει-
ροτονήσας τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐκστρατευμάτων. ἔπει δὲ ἡ
φήμη διήθεν ὡς Πέρσαι ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίον στρατεύσωσιν, Ἡρά-
κλεος ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀρας παρὰ Κρίστου κατὰ τὴν Καισα-
ρος πόλιν τηρήσας τυχάνωντα προσπορεύεται ὡς δὴ αὐτῷ
[περὶ] τῶν κοινῶν ἔνεκεν βουλευσόμενος, καὶ ὡς μὲν νοσεῖν
προσπορεύεται καὶ τὸν βασιλέα συχνὸσ παραχθοῦσόμενον ἐν
σχήματι ἄρρωστον κατακληχοῦσόμενος ἀθῆδα καὶ μόλις ἐδέ-
χετο εἰτὰ ἥκοιτο ὡς καὶ διελοιθοῦσέ αὐτῷ. Ἡράκλεος δὲ τὸ
δράμα συνήκη καὶ τὴν ὑβρίν ὁμοῖα ἤγεικε καὶ ἰδὴ ἐκαυροφυ-
λακεῖ. ἀλλ᾿ ἐδόθη τῶν γνησίωτέρον πως διαλέγεσθαι περὶ
tοῦ δεῦν ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων τῆς πολιτείας χάριν. ὃ δὲ οία
ἔπισταθὼν ὅν ἐξόν βασιλεὶ ἐφάσκε καταλληλοῖν βασι-
λεία καὶ ταῖς πόρρω ἐπιχαριάζει δυνάμεως. ἐν τούτοις τί-
kτεται παίς τῷ βασιλεὶ Ἡράκλεος, ὅτι καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον
ἀνόμασε. τότε δὴ παραγίνεται καὶ Νικήτας ὁ τῆς ἀξίας πα-
τρίκιος πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέων ἄστιν. διὰ τούτο Ἡράκλεος εἰς τὸ
Βυζαντίον ἐπάνεσαν καὶ Νικήταν σὺν τῳ μὲν μεγίστῃ καὶ περι-
φανείᾳ ὦσπερ ἀδελφόν γνήσιον καὶ ὁμότιμον δέχεται, καθὰ
ἡν αὐτὸς ἢδη συντεταγμένον ἐκ λιβύης ἀπαρνοῦσιν καὶ Κρί-
στος δὲ εἰς Βυζαντίον ἤκεν ὡς τῇ εἰσόδῳ Νικήτα συνηθη-
σόμενος. σκῆπτεται δὲ Ἡράκλεος τῷ θείῳ λυτρῷ τῶν νῦν
καθαγχίζων, νιὸθετεῖθα δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Κρίστου. ὃ δὲ ἐπὶ
tούτους εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὰ βασιλεία. Ἡράκλεος δὴ ἀθρο-
ίσαντα τούς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βούλης ἀπαντᾷς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
πλῆθος τοῦ ἄστεως ἄμα τῷ προέδρῳ Σεργίῳ εἰπεῖν λέγεται
πρὸς αὐτόν χίνο νῦβριζόν τίν προσκορβύεκ; τοὺς δὲ
φάναι “τῷ τείᾳ τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτὸν βασιλέα”. καὶ Κρίστου
προτρέπει, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸ δοκοῦν ὀρθῶς τὸν
dὲ ὅνι εἰόθη τὸ δραματούργημα λέξεις μηδὲ φιλανθρώπον τυχεῖν
dίκης τῶν ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ ἀλώτα τολμήσαντα. καὶ τὸν βασιλέα
ἀναμμυνόμενος αὐτὸν οἶα ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ κατ-
εσχηματίσετο, καὶ ὡς τὸ τῆς βασιλείας κατενεκλίξειν ἀξί-
ωμα ἤτε, καὶ ὡς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀρχὴν προτρέπει. καὶ
ἀμα λαβόντα τῶν κατὰ κόρρής τοῦτον παιεῖαν, καὶ ἐίθα λέ-
γετα “ὡς γαμβρὸν οὐκ ἐποίησας, φίλον πῶς ἐν ποιήσεις;”
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
εὐθὺς δὲ ἐπιτρέψαι εἰς κληρικοῦ σχῆμα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἄπο-
κείρασθαι, καὶ τὸν ἱεράρχην τὰ νενομοσμένα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποκάρ-
σει ἐπιφθέγξασθαι. ἐξελθόντα δὲ αὐτῶν τοῖς μετὰ Κρίστου
στρατιῶταις ἐπὶ λέεις δὲ εἶπεῖν "ὁ πατὰς Κρίστος ὑπονο-
γοὺς ὑμᾶς ἐως τοῦ ψν ἐἰχεν, ἥμεις δὲ σήμερον οἰκειωκοῦς
τῆς βασιλείας ύπηρέτας". προσθέσων δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ δὲ ἔθους
συμπέσσον, πρῶτοι τε καλείσθαι καὶ ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς
tάγμασιν αὐτοῖς τε ἀσμενεστατα δεξαμένους τὸν βασιλέα
ἐπενεφημήσαι ἀμα τῇ ἀλλη πληθυ. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Κρίστου
εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον τῆς Ἀμαρας περιείρχαθα σεμνείν, ὁδ ζήσας
ἐνιαυτὸν αὐτοῦ ἐτελεύτησεν. Ἡ Ἐπάκλειος δὲ Θεόδωρον τὸν
ἐαυτοῦ ἀδελφόν, τὸν μετα βασιλέα πρώτην ἄρχην κεκτημέ-
τον (κουροπαλάτην δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ περὶ τὰ βασίλεα καλεῖν
eἰώθαιν), ἔτι καὶ Φιλιππικὸν τὸν Μαυρικίου τὸν βασιλέας
γαμβρὸν ἐν ἄδελφῃ γεγονότα, τηροῦτα δὲ εἰς κληρικοῦ
σχῆμα ἀποκεκαμμένον τὴν κόμην, ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὑπὸ Κρίστου
πρώτην ἱκνομένην ἅρχης δέξημεν. Φιλιππικὸς δὲ ἐπιβιοὺς
χρόνον ὑστερὼν ἐτελεύτα, καὶ πρὸς τῷ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δωμηθέντι
περικαλλεί ἄγαν καὶ σεβασμὸν ἱερὸ τῷ κατὰ Χρυσότολον
ὅτι ταῖς παραδίδοται.

3. Ὁλγοῦν δὲ χρόνον διππεύσαντος νόσψ επιληψίας ἢ
tοῦ βασιλέως γαμετῆ Εὐδοκία λῃσθεῖτα ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐν ὦ
δὲ τὸ ταύτης σώμα εξεκομίζετο, καὶ πολλῶν ὡς τὸ εἰκός ἔτι
τῇ θέᾳ συμπόντων, συνέστες κόρην τινὰ ὑπέρθεν τῶν ὑπε-
ρόων διακύφασαν (θεράπαινα δὲ ἡν αὐτὴ τῶν ἀστῶν τινός)
ἀποπτύκισαν ὅσ τὸν ἄερα ἄφυλακτα καὶ τὸ περίπτωμα κατὰ τῆς
πολυτελοῦς ἐκείνης ἐσθῆτος περιενεχθῆναι ὁ τὸς βασι-
λίδος νεκροῦ περίστελελεν ἐφ’ ὃ εἰς τὴν ἐκφορὰν περι-
οργεῖς γενόμενοι συλλαμβάνουσι τὸ αὐτήν καὶ τὸν διὰ πυρὸς
κατεδίκασαν θάνατον, ἐντάφιοι οὐκ εὐαγγεῖς, βαρβαρικὴ νόμῳ
χρησάμενοι, τῇ ἐκδημίᾳ τῆς βασιλισσῆς ἀθέσμως συμπα-
ρατέψαντες οἱ ἀνόητοι. περιεξήσαντο δὲ ὡς καὶ τὴν δέσποτα-
νὰ τῆς οἰκείωσίς, ὡς καὶ αὐτὴ τὸν ἱπον διάθεσε κίνδυνον. ὦ
δὲ δήποτε αἰσθημενη τὸν ὀλεθρόν διαπέφυγεν, οὕτω ὀραθεῖσα
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
3, 4, 5

eἰς τὸ ἔπειτα πόστοτε. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἀμφὶ τὰ βασίλεια ὧδέ τως ἐσχε.

4. Τὰ δ', αὖ ἐτέρωσε ὡς ἐτελεῖτο οὔτω συνεβαίνειν. ἐν τινὶ τῶν† ἐπιχωρίων† (χώρα δὲ ἦτος ποτὲ ἐστίν, οὔδαμὴ ἐς τὸ νῦν παραδεδοται) ἦν τις (τῶν) ἐν ἐκείνῃ περιφανείᾳ κομῶντων εὐπορίας τε βίου λαμπρός, οὐ τὸ ἐπώνυμον Βουτηλίνος ἐτύγχανε, τὴν δὲ ἀξίαν ἦν κανδιδάτων Ἀρώμαιος κικλήσκειν ἔδος.

5. τοῦτο γυνὴ τις χήρα ἐν γειτόνων διωκημένη χαλεπῶς ἐφερε τὸ γειτόνημα· ἀμφιβαθησίως γὰρ αὐτοῦ μεθορίων γῆς ἐνεκεν συμβαινοῦσθι ὃ Βουτηλίνος τοῖς παις τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐνεκέλευν μάχη ἐπίεναι τοῖς ὁμορώση, καὶ οὖν ἐποίηκε ἕνα τῶν τῆς χήρας νῦν ἀναιροῦσιν. αὐτὴ ἀνελομένη τοῦ ἡδη τεθυκτὸς νῦν ἡμικύκλεων τὸ ἀμφὶν ἐς Βυζάντιον ὡς Ἡράκλειον ἕκετο, καὶ ἐπεὶ προούντα εἴδε, εἰσδραμοῦσα τοῦ χαλινοῦ τοῦ ἱπποῦ ἐρ' οὐ ἐποικείτο ἐφάπτεται, καὶ ἄμα τὸ τοῦ παιδός ἐσθήμα ἐπιδεικνύοις σὺν βοή πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνεφέδρογ-γέτο “οὔτω γένοτο τοῖς σοῖς τέκνοις, ὃ βασιλεῖ, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀίμα τοῦτο, ὃ σου διεκνιμένα ἀντικα ἐνδίκως τιμωρήσειασ”.

10. τῶν δ' οὖν περί τῶν βασιλέα δορυφόρων ἐπίστευσα πλήθεις ἠπείγοντο· βασιλεῖς δὲ διεκάλυσε, καὶ τῇ γυναικι μηκέτι τολμᾶν προσενέα παρηγήγησεν, ἐπεξέλει δὲ τὰ τῆς δίκης ὀπημίκα ἀν αὐτῷ δεδομέμενα εῇ, ὃ οὖν εὐθὺς μὴ δίκης τυχόν ὀλολύζον τὸ γύναιον. χρόνος δὲ διτήρχετο, καὶ δὴ ὁ τὸν φόρον ἐπιτρέψας, δεδώκα τιν ηματικία τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνημερημένου εἰνεκεν βασιλεί βεβαλαλείν, ταύτῃ τοῖς εἰς Βυζάντιον εἰσευρίκα καὶ δὴ ἐς τὸ δημοτικόν ἐκατομμύρινα, καὶ ἦπικου ἔγωνος τελομέμενον τοῦτον βασιλείς ἐν μέσοις δημοτίκων καταδύον τῷ ὑπάρχῃ ἐπιτρέπει τῆς πόλεως φοροῦμεν καθαρτιστάνει τὸν ὑπότομον. εἰτέ τὸ γύναιον μετατρέπεται καὶ τἀ τῆς μακροφυίας ἀσφαλείστερον ἀντιτίθεναι. κελεύει τοῖς τῶν Βουτηλί-νον ὑπὸ τῶν παιδῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἱστην ὑποσχεῖν τῷ ἀνημερημένῳ τῇ τιμωρίᾳ, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ὁσατός κτείνεσθαι.

15. Ἡράκλειος δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ Ἡράκλειον, ταὐτὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν Κωνσταντῖνον (διώνυμος γὰρ ὃν ἐτύγχανεν), παρὰ τὸν ἱεράρ-


[42]
the palace.

4. As to what happened elsewhere, here is an account of it. In a certain rural district\(^2\) (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, \(^5\) 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 straightway 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

---

\(^2\) Or perhaps “in a village of Thrace”; see Commentary.

\(^3\) Classicized from L’s Bizoulinos.
χων τῷ θεῷ λοντρῷ καθαγνίσας ἀγκάλαις (ἐκ) τῆς ἱερᾶς κοινωνίας ἡδίδεστο. αὐτίκα δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείου ἀδίκης τὰ σύμβολα τάλα τε καὶ τὸ διάδημα περιθέμενος ἐταυνισθε καὶ βασιλέα ἀνέβη. τὴν θυγατέρα δὲ Γρηγορίαν τὸν Νικήτα τοῦ τὴν ἄξιον παρακολούθησα εἰς γαμητῇ νυμφηγήσειν· ὅπερ δὴ καὶ ταύτη τῷ βασιλεῖ βεσίνων οἰκουμένως τὸν ἀνδράν τε κεχρυσσάμον καθυπερβε θλίων ἐρίπτον κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Φὸρου λεγομένην ἄγοραν ἀνεστησεν. καὶ οὕτω μὲν ταύτα ἐπράπτετο.

6. Χισρώθης δὲ ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς στρατιὰν ὡς πλείωτην ἀθροίσας ἐπὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξέπεμψεν, ἤγερμοι τῶν Περσικῶν Σάιτων χειροτονήσας δυνάμεις. οὕτως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐφορμηθεὶς ταύτην ἀνά κράτος εἰλε καὶ τὴν ὅλην Αὐγούστων ἡμερόταξε καὶ τῆν ἔφοι ἀπασον μοιρὰν κατεβήκας καὶ δορικάλωσας ὡς πλεῖστος ἦγε καὶ ἀλλος ἀνήρει, οὐδεμιὰς ὕθεοι εἰς αὐτοὺς ἤρωμεν. ταύτα τούτων οὕτως διαθέμενοι εἰς τὸ ἐπεκτα παντριταῖς κατὰ τὴν Χαλκηδόνος πάλιν ἢ καὶ περικάθητο ταύτην ἱερὸν ἐπὶ συχνῶν, ἦσιν τὸ βασιλεῖα εἰς ὅμιλίαν οἱ λόγοι ἱκέσθαν. καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς εἰσήκουσεν καὶ ὡς αὐτῶν διεπισκοπῆσε, βασιλικὴ δορυφορία τε καὶ ποιμήν ἄρωμεν. καὶ αὐτῶν ίδίων Σάιτων ἐξενέστη τε ἡ τῆς καθήδρας καὶ πρὸς τοῦθας ἑαυτῶν ἀπορρίψις προσεκύνει· αὐτὸς τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἄκατου ἐν οὗ ἐπέπλενε, τὸ χαῖρε αὐτῷ προσφοραὶ καὶ δοραίς ἡμείσθης. ὦ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Σάιτως ἐλέες ἔδει μὲν, ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοὺς Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν βασιλείας μὴ τις διάστασεν ταῖς γνώμαις μηποτούς ἀλλοίως ἀντικαθίστασθαι, ἐς φιλίαν τε καὶ συμμάχους ἰέναι ὡς προθματούρα τε καὶ εὐχαριστρώτους τοῖς πάλαι καὶ νῦν τυχόνει ἐπανεῖν ἀτρεῦτον ἀτρευτοῦ τις εὐθείας καὶ εὐνοομημένης αἰετάτατον) καὶ τῷ περιόμοντὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας συμπαραμένει καὶ τῷ τῆς συμμάχους μέγεθος. καὶ γὰρ ιζέναι ὡς ἠκοίτα ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ἄρα τούτας ἐφαύλισε πολτεία φανεῖ ἃν πώστε. οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον, παρόν ἐπιφυσικῇ καὶ

dB10

V187

5: 3 έκ add. db cf. L || 5 ετενέως V ετενέως· gloss. Barocc. f. 298v corr. vulg. || 7 Νυκήτα τῳ... πατρικίων P coll. 17.19 Νυκήτα τῳ... πατρικίων V || 8 ταύτην V corr. vulg.


[44]
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

---

4Shahin: see Commentary.
25 εὐβουλία χρωμένους τὸ εὖνοι καὶ φίλου εἰς ἀλλήλους κρατούσατε, ὦτα καὶ ἀλλήλους αἰρέσθαι καὶ πημαίνειν οὐκ ἐν δική καὶ κακοῖς τὸ ὑπήκοον. ἐξ ὧν τὸ συμβαίνει; εἰ μὲν τὸ ὁμόγνωμον καὶ εἰρημικὸν θήσεσθε, ευδαιμόνα τε ἐκάτερον ὑμῶν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ὑπάρξει, ξηλωτοὺς τε καὶ ἀξιογάντων ἐς τὸν ἀπαντα βιον δεικνύσεις. εἰς το τὸ ἀμο- χθόν καὶ εὐθύμων ὁ πόνος ὑμῖν καὶ ἡ φροντίς περιτηθεὶται. εἰ δὲ οὔ γε ταντὶ μεθέμενοι καὶ ἥλικος οὐκ ἄγαθον τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκπολούσιν ποιήσασθαι ἔλαβότε, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅτι ὄντισθόρον λο- γίσασθαι ὑμῖν οἶνον, δυσμένειν δε τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸ ἐξεκυτόν ἀνθίζησινείν, ποιέωμεν μὲν ὡς πλείστων, ὀπερ ἀπο- χές καὶ ἀπώμονον, παραήτας γενήσεσθε, ἱδρυτάς τε καὶ πόνους ὡς τὸ ἐκεῖς ἀνελέσατε μεγίστους, πολλά δὲ σώματα προϊσθεμεν διαπερσέτε χρημάτων τε ἀνάλωσις ὡς πλείστην ποιήσεσθε καὶ ἀπαξίπλωσ εἰς μέγα κακοῦ τοῦ πολέμου ὑμῖν πέρας ἤξει. οὐκετὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν ὃν πάντως, ἀφ᾿ αὐτὸν ἐγὼνε εἰς τὴν Ἔρωμαῖν εὐβαλών γῆν, τὰ δεινότατα εἴδε καὶ πεποιθεῖτε. ἔνθεκεν οὖν λελειφθημεν τὰ τῶν πολυτειῶν οἰκτρό- τατα καὶ ἀθλιώτατα διακείσθεσθαι. ταῦτα διώμυντο λέγων αὐτός καὶ ὡς ἐν σπονδῇ τίθεσθαι τὰς πολείας Ἐρωμαῖν τε καὶ Περσῶν εἰς τὸ τὰ συμβαθῆρα ἤκειν. ταῦτα ἐπιτελῆ ποιήσεων ὡς ὑπηγερτοῦ, καὶ ὡς τῶν ὄμωμοσμένων τὰ πιστὰ δοθῇ προσέφερεν, ὦ γε δὴ ταῦτα καὶ Χοσρήββαυ λουμένων [αἰρετέα] εἴη. "εἰ τι οὖν μοι" φησί "πείθεσθαι ἔχουτε, αὐτίκα δὴ μᾶλα τῶν ὡς Χοσρήββαυ προσβεβευμένους τούτων ἔκατι ἄμα ἐμοὶ ἐκτέμποτε. πειθοῦσσα δέ οὐ μοι καὶ αὐτός, εὑ ὁδόν, εἰς τοῦτο γνώμης καθιστάμενος σπείροσθαι μεθ᾿ ὑμῶν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον βεβαιῶν τε καὶ ἀκρωφίαν καταστήσεσθαι".

7. Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰράκλεως, ἐπεὶ τούτῳ οὖν ἐπέπιπτο, τῷ προσηγεῖ σαρκικὴν τῶν λόγων συνηρμόμενός τε καὶ κατα- κλομένος, ὑπέσχετο εἰς ἀπαντα πράσσειν ἐτοιμότατά τε καὶ σπονδαῖαια. καὶ οἶς ἑβουληθέντες τούτων πέρα συνεπραττό- το τίμαλιστα καὶ συνήρουν ὁ ἰερομύσης τε καὶ οἱ ἐν τέλει.
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 priest³ and the dignitaries. The ambassadors

³I.e., the patriarch Sergios.
καὶ ὁτι τάχιστα οἱ διαπρεσβευσόμενοι ἔξελέγοντο, ὦ Ὀλύμπιος μὲν ὁ τήν τῶν ὑπάρχων τῶν πρακτορίων διέπων ἀξίαν, Δεώντιος δὲ ὁ τῆς πόλεως ὑπαρχός, Ἀναστάσιος τε ὁ τῆς ὠικονομίας τοῦ μεγίστου ἱεροῦ, ὦ Σοφία ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἐπώνυμος, τῶν πραγμάτων πεποιητευμένοις, τούτους παραλαβὼν Σάιτος καὶ ᾧρας ἐκ Χαλκηδόνος ὅπισώ ἀπήλαυνε καὶ πρὸς τὰ Περσικὰ ἡπέρει· καὶ ἔως μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπέβαλε γῆς, διὰ τιμῆς ἤγε καὶ θεραπείας ἥξιον, τῇ Περσικῇ δὲ ἐμβαλὼν πέδαις τὰς ἐκ σιδηρῶν αὐτοῖς περιθέμενοι δεσμώτας παρὰ Χοσρόην ἐκόμματε. Χοσρόης δὲ ἐπεί ἐγὼ ὦς Σάιτος Ἡράκλειον ὡς βασιλέα εἰδέ τε καὶ τετιμηκέν, ἀλλ’ οὐ δομάλατο ἐκὼ ὡς αὐτοῦ ἤγαγεν (ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἐπίθεος ἀνεπορολείτο καὶ ἐκεῖτο), μεγάλα τε ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἠγανάκτησε καὶ τέλος ἐκ ἀσκών αὐτῷ ἀπέδειπε τὴν δοράν, πυκνὸν αὐτῷ καὶ βιασὺν καταστήσας τὸν θάνατον. Ῥωμαίων δὲ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἠδίκησε τελειότερος ὡς ἐκατον φρουράς ἀσφαλειστάταις ἀπέθετο καὶ ἐκάκον τὰ μέγιστα.

8. Ταῦτα οὖ μικρῶς ἤνιοι τῶν βασιλεᾶ καὶ ἐπετάραττεν, ἐφ’ οἷς καὶ λιμὸς την καύται γ῎ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐπεφύη βαρύτατος; οὐ γὰρ ἡ Αἴγυπτος αὐτοῖς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπεστίζει, εἴ τοι καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν βασιλείων ἐπελελοίπει συνθεσίων. ἐν τούτοις καὶ νόσος λοιμώδης τοῖς ὑπ’ τῇ πόλει ἐνκυψάσας βανάτῳ τα πληθῆ τά ἐν αὐτῇ διεφθείρεν, διὸ ἀπάντων ἐνεκεν πολλῆς δυναμικῆς καὶ ἀπορίας τῇ κρατοῦντι περιεκχόμεν, καὶ οἰχεθεῖται διὰ ταῦτα πρὸς Λιβύην βουλομένον ἦν. καὶ αὐτῷ χρήματα τέως πλείστα χρυσὸν τε καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ λίθων τούς τυμωνάτοις προκεκακεύς ποῦ ὦ όλοι διαφημοῦσα κλύδων μεγάστω περιπποτάκη καὶ τοῖς ποντικοῖς ἐρέθρους βρύχων γέγονε, ταῦτα τούτων τῶν πολιτῶν αἰσθόμενος, ὡς δυνατὰ ἦν αὐτοῖς, διεκώλυσεν. ὁ γὰρ ἱερὰρχης ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦτον καλέσας ἀρκουν ἐνταῦθα περιδιδόμεθα τῆς ἤκιστρας τῆς βασιλευοῦσης δεξιότατοι, οἰς εἴχας τὰς μὲν παροῦσας τήχας ἀπαλοφύρετο, τὰς δὲ γνώμας τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ όλα ἐθελούσης ἐκστέρηβε.

9. Χρόνος δὲ τις περάφετο, καὶ ὁ τῶν Ὀὔννων τοῦ ἐθνοῦς κύριος τοῖς ἀμφι αὐτῶν ἄρχοντι καὶ δορυφόροις ἀμα εἰς Βυ...

---

7: 9 πι ὧν  corr. vulg. || 15 Σάιτος ex Σάιτον V1
8: 8–12 cf. Sudam s.v. Βρύχος
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. 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

*He was in other words oikonomos of St. Sophia.*
ζάντιον εὐητῇ, μνείσθαι δὲ τὰ Χριστιανῶν βασιλέα ἐξῆτει, ὁ δὲ ἀσμένος αὐτὸν ὑπεδέχετο, καὶ οἱ Ἠρωμαῖοι ἀρχοντες τοὺς Οὐνικούς ἀρχοντας καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων γαμετάς αἱ τούτων αὐτῶν τῷ θείῳ λουτρῷ ἐπεκνώσαντί σύζυγοι. οὕτω τα τὰ θεία μυνθείσι δόρους βασιλικοὺς καὶ ἀξιώματις ἐφιλοτιμήσατο τῇ γὰρ ἄξιᾳ τοῦ πατρικίων τῶν ἡγεμόνα τούτων τετίμηκε καὶ πρὸς τὰ Οὐνικά ἤθη φιλοφρόνως ἐξέπεμπτε.

10. Μετὰ δὴ ταύτα καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀβάρων τοῦ ἔθους ἡγεμόνας ἐπὶ συμβάσεσιν ὡς Ἡράκλειον ἐπικηρυκεῦεται. ἐφ’ ὃ λίγαν ὑπεργούμενοι δόροις αὐτῶν ἡμείβετο καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐσπερῆτον ὡς αὐτὸν ἀγγελούγομενον ἐπήγγελτο, ὡς φίλος εἰς Ἁρωμαίοις, καὶ ἤκου ὡς βασιλέα ἐπὶ σπουδαῖς ἐπήγγελτο. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀναζεϊώσατος τὰς τῆς εὐνόιας ἐκείνων ἔνδηκα βασιλεῖ ξέγοιον, οἳ ἄγων ὑπερηδόμενοι βουλεύεται εἰς τὴν πόλιν Ἡράκλειον, καθ’ ἂν αὐτός συγκειμένου, τῷ Ἀβάρῳ συμβαλεῖν, τὴν θυμελικὴν σκέψιν προύπεμπτε, καὶ ἐπικήν ἐγγυνίαν ἐπὶ τῇ δοκῇ αὐτῷ τελεῖν εὐπρέπειε, στολὴν τῇ αὐτῷ ἀμάρτου καὶ τοῖς συνομορτόσιν ἐκάμψειν. εἶτα κατὰ τὴν Σηλυμβρίαν τὸν ἄρχονταν νηλίζετο. τρισὶ δὲ ὑστερον ἡμέραις ὁ χαχάνος σὺν πληθεὶς πολλῷ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἡράκλειαν παρῆκε. ἀποδοσμὸν δὲ των τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων, οἱ ἄλλοι τε καὶ μαχητῶν δεῖ γέγοιν, ἀπολεξάμενοι, κατὰ τὰ ὑπερκείμενα τῶν Μακρῶν ληγομένων Τειχῶν λοχμᾶθει τε καὶ ἀμφιλαχή ἐκέπεμψε, σκεδάσαντο κρύβθην κατὰ τῶν ἐκεί ὁρῶν χωρήσει τὰ λάστα, ὡς ὁ Κατὰ νότου τοῦ βασιλέως γενόμενος, αὐτὸ τε μέσον καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτόν ἀποληψάμενον, σχοίνευ εὐχείρωτος, τούτους Ἡράκλειος αὐτόμενος καὶ οὖ μετρίως τῷ παραλόγῳ καταπλαγεῖς, τῷ ἀλουργῷ ἀπαμφιένυται ἐσθημα μικρὸν δὲ τι καὶ πεινώρον, ὡς ἀν ὑδατῆς τοῖς ἐνενυσμένοις φαίνοντο, περιβαλόμενος ἐνίκαιον τοῖς τε στέ-
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

7 Or possibly “for himself,” if we make the slight alteration of ωὐτῷ to εὐτῷ.
φανον τον βασίλειον την ἀλένην περιαψάμενος, ἀγεννώς παραχρήμα εἰς φυγήν ἐπάπετο καὶ μόλις πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον διεσώζετο. οἱ δὲ Ἀβαροὶ σὺν θυμῷ κατὰ τὴν διώξειν ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ πρὸς τὸ πεδίον τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ὁ Ἐβδομον καλούσιοι καταλαβώσιν ἱδρύσαντο, ἐνθάνει τὸ σκεδάζονται ἄχρι καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Βαρβύσου ποταμοῦ γέφυραν καὶ τὰ τῆς χωρίας πικρὸς κατελήφθησι καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὠμολόγων ἐκεράζον, τὴν τε βασιλικὴν ἐσθήτα καὶ τὰς στολὰς παραλαμβάνοντο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ θυμελικὰ ὅργανα καὶ τοὺς διακομιζοντας ἀποστάς. πλείοντο δὲ δὸν λαὸν ἀνδραποδισμένου δοράλωτον ἄγωντες πρὸ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἀπεκομίσαν εἰς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας χιλιάδας ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ γυναικῶν, καθάπερ ἑνὸς τῶν ἀλόντων διαδράματες ἀλλήλους συνώδα ἐφασάν, ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν ἀπάσ τὸν οὐνεκτο.

11. Ἡρακλεῖον δὲ, καίτοι τῶν κοινῶν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο διουσχερείας καὶ ἀνωμαλίας ἰκάντων, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα εὑς θέσαι φροντίς ἑγεγονέω, ἀλλ’ ὤγε πρὸς πράξειν ἀθεσμον καὶ ἤν Ῥωμαίων ἀπαγορεύουσι νόμοι ιδών, τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀνεψιῶν Μαρτίνων ἁσπάσατο κήδος. θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Μαρίας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιαν ἀδελφῆς, πατρὸς δὲ τριάντων, ἢ Μαρία πρὸς Εὐρώπιον γαμήσετο ἐκκύκτητο. καὶ ἤ δύο νεῖς εξ αὐτῆς τίκτει, ἄν τὸν μὲν Φλάνιν τὸν δὲ Θεοδόσιον προσηγορευτεῖν. ἡ δίκη δὲ ἔθριάμβησεν τὸ ἄθεμον, καὶ τοῦ μὲν προσβατέρου παρεμείνον ἐδίκητο τὸν αὐχέναι ὡς μηδ’ ἐπέρεθεν ἐπιστρέφοντο οἰον τε εἰναί, τοῦ δ’ αὐν νεφελήν τὴν ἀκουστικὴν ἀφρήνην αἰώθησι καὶ κωφῶν ἤδη ἀπέφασεν. δηλεγχον δὲ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα τὸ αὐσμοῦν συνοικίσιον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἱππικαῖς ἀμίλλοις καὶ οἱ τοῦ πρασίνῳ δημῶται χρώματος, ὃ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοκειμένου χρώματος συνήνουν τε [ἐπὶ ταύτῃ] καὶ συνέπραττο. Σέργιος δὲ τὸν Βυζαντίων ἵππαρχον γράμμασιν αὐτῶν λιπαρῶς ἑγκείμενος ἐνουθετεῖ τὴν πρὸς τὸ γύναιον τοῦτο κοινωμαν αἰνήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτῆς ἀπελογεῖτο ὡς “εὐ ἡμᾶς ἔχει τὰ παρὰ σοι λεγόμενα· ο γὰρ σοι χρόνος ὡς ἄρχιερει καὶ φίλω, ἦδη ἀποδέδωκας· ἕφ’ ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν κείστεται τὰ τῆς

28–29 περιαψάμενος ἀγεννώς, παραχρήμα interpunxit V || 39 χιλιάδας o’ Georg. Mon. 669.19

11: 5 post θυγάτηρ V² in mg. add. γάρ || 7 γαμετή V corr. vulg. || 7–8 ὦ γαρ V corr. vulg. || 14 ἐκι οὗ δέ... χρώματος additi ex L. || 15 ἐπὶ ταύτῃ seclusi: v. comment. || 19 ἔχει B ἐξαί V

[52]
10, 11

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 Hebdemon, 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 Flavius* 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 even* by the partisans of the Green color, (and those of the opposing color") 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

---

*Recte Fabius, as in L.
*Because Herakleios was a supporter of the Greens.
*"I.e., the Blues.
πράξεως". κατά δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καυρὸν διεπιπράσκουστα τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησίων κεμήλια καὶ εἰς ὑπαγωγὴν φόρων τοῖς ἐπαρχοῖς ἐξενεμήθη.

12. Ἀδύθης οὖν ἐπιστρατεύει Χοιρόμας ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς κατὰ Ἀρμαῖοι, Σάρκαρον ἡγούμενον τῆς στρατιάς ἔκπεμψα, δὲ κατεδόθην πᾶσαιν τῇ ἀνατολικῇ χώρᾳ. καταλαμβάνει δὲ τῶν ἀγίων τόπων τὰ ζωοτοικία ξύλα τῶν σωματίων σταυροῦ, Μωδέστου την καθά τα Ιεροσολύμων προεδρεύοντος. παρεσκευάζοντε δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ ἤπειρον μέχρις ἐλθεῖν εἰς Χαλκηδόνα. οὐ καὶ Ἰράκλειοι ἐκ τε Περσῶν καὶ Ἀβάρων θυρεομένους ἁμά καὶ λιμῷ πιεζομένης τῆς Ἁρμαϊκῆς πολιτείας καὶ λωρίας τανάτῳ φευρομένης, προεκαλεῖτο Σέργιον τε τῶν τῆς πόλεως πρόεδρον, ἐπὶ τε καὶ ἄρχοντας καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ λαοῦ μέρος, καὶ παρατίθεται αὐτοῖς τοὺς πάρασιν καὶ Βώνων τὸν πατρίκιον ἐγχειρίζει τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων διοικήσεις, καὶ ἀπάρας διὰ τοῦ Εὐζείνου ἐπειράτο διὰ Λαξείης εἰς τὴν Περσικὴν εἰσβαλεῖν καθ' ἦν τίκτεται αὐτῷ νῦν ἐκ Μαρτίνης τῆς γυναικὸς (μεθ' ἐκατον γὰρ ταύτην ἡγεύτο), δὲν καὶ ἐπινώμασεν Ἰράκλειον. ἐντεύθεν ἀποστέλλει διὰ τούς τῶν Τούρκων κύριους, ἐπὶ συμμαχίας τῇ κατὰ Περσῶν συγκαλούμενος. οὐ δὲ δεξαμενὸς υπέσχετο συμμαχήσεως, ἐν τούτῳ ἠσθεὶς Ἰράκλειος ὄρμησε καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν, κάκεινος τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως παρουσίαν ἀκήκωσις σὺν πλῆθει Τούρκων πολλὴ τῷ βασιλεὶ ὑπηρετεία, καὶ ἀσπασίες τῷ ἔποιο τῷ βασιλεὶ κατὰ γῆς προσκυνεῖ. ἐποίητο δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ πᾶς ὁχλος. οὐ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ υπερβάλλων τῆς τιμῆς θεασάμενος ἔδηλον αὐτῷ ὡς εἰ τὰ τῆς φιλίας αὐτῷ βέβαια εἰς, καὶ ἐποχούμενον πλήσασθαι, καὶ ἄμα τέκνον ἐδομένα ἀποκαλών, ὡς τὸν αὐτὸς ἀσπάζεται τῷ βασιλεῖ κ. ὁ δὲ ἔν τε περισσεύουσα τῆς κεφαλῆς λεύκων ὡς τοῦ Τούρκου κεφαλής περιεκτεῖ, συμποσίας παρὰ αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ συμποσίου σκεύη ἀμα καὶ στολὴ βασιλικὴ καὶ ἐνδιάτικος ἐκ μεριγμάτων κεκοσμημένος διωρεῖται αὐτῷ. ὡς αὐτὸς

[54]
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 ac-
cepted (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 pres-
ence, 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 ὀμοίωσις ἐνωτίοις αὐτο-
χειρὰ ἐκόσμης. εἰτα δεδώση μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Ἀβάρῳ καὶ παρ' ἐκεῖνον πείτεται, ἐπικρατέστερα δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς συμβά-
σεως ἀπεργάζεται, παραδείκτουν αὐτῷ τῆς θυγατρὸς Ἐὐδο-
κίας εἰκόνα ὧν τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦς "ἡμῶν ἡ θεός, σὲ τέκνον ἐμὸν ἀπεδείξειν. ἦδον δὴ αὐτῇ θυγάτηρ μοῦ ἐστί καὶ Ῥωμαίων Ἀὐγοῦστα. οἱ οὐν συναίρεις μοι καὶ βοηθεῖς κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, εἰς γνωσία διδωμί σοι αὐτὴν". ὁ δὲ τῷ κάλλει τῆς εἰκόνος καὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτὴν κόσμῳ τρωθεὶς ἔρωτι τοῦ ἄρχο-
του ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῇ συμμαχίᾳ ἐπέκειντο. εὐθὺς οὖν ἄρ-
χοντα καὶ πλῆθος Τούρκων τῷ βασιλεῖ παραδίδωσιν σὺν αὐ-
τοῖς τε εἰς τὴν Περσικὴν εἰσβάλων τὰ πόλεις καθῆκε καὶ τὰ πυρεῖα διέστρεφεν. ἔρ' ἐνὸς δὲ τούτων εὑρηταί, ὡς Ἑσσρής ἐπανεισπύρησεν εἰς τῇ τούτῳ στήγῃ ἐπανου καθήκοντος ὡς ἐν ὀὐρανῷ ἀνεστήλωσεν, ἀστραὶ καὶ ἠλιὸν καὶ σελήνην συν-
κατασκευάσας, καὶ ἀγγέλους περιεστώτας αὐτῷ, καὶ βρον-
tὴν διὰ μηχανής τουεί καὶ δὲν ὅποτ' ἄν θελήσειν τούτο τὸ ὄδεμιμα ἔσχεν ήράκλειος εἰς γῆν κατέγρω καὶ ὡς κοινορθὸν διέλυσεν. Ἑσσρής τούτων ὄκοινας τὰ τῇ ἄλλα πάντα καὶ ὡς Τούρκων συμμαχοῦσιν Ἑράκλειος, δῆλα ἐποίει πάντα διὰ γραφῆς τῷ Σαρβάρῳ, καὶ ὡς ταχέως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίικης ἀναζευγνώσαι καὶ Ἑράκλειον ἀμώνασθαι μυθὲ γὰρ δύναμι τῷ πλήθει τῷ ἐκείνων ἀντικαθίστασθαι. οὐ τοῦ ἑράκλειοι εὐχερεῖται. ὁ δὲ τούτῳ ἀνωσομασκαντα μὲν ἤξηρανεῖσθαι, ἔτεραι δὲ γραφῆν ὡς ἀπὸ Ἑσσρώνον σκηφάμενος τῷ Σαρβάρῳ ἐκτίθεται, τῇ ἐκείνου σφραγῖδι σημιτάμενος, ἔχουσαν οὕτως "ὁ Καύσαρ Ρωμαίων φιλίαν μετὰ Τούρκων ἐσπείσατο καὶ εἰσῆλθε μέχρι τοῦ Ἀδρ-
βαδιγάλου καλουμένου τόπον, καὶ ὁτι πέμβας στρατιῶν κατ' αὐτὸν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς Τούρκους διώλεσα, οἱ δὲ περιλυθθέ-
νες ἔφυγαν. οὐ οὕτω ἀπάρρηκτι ἐκ τῆς Ρωμαίων γῆς, ἀλλὰ τῇ Χαλκηδόνι προσέβρενε. Ρωμαίων αἵμαλατους καὶ ληθές-

---

31 τοῖς ... ἄρχοντας VL corr. P || 32 δεδώσης L || τὰ αὐτῷ L || Ἀβάρῳ prima littera in rurs. ex bap-
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. Straightway 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". καὶ Σάρβαρος μὲν τὸ γράμμα δεξάμενος τῆς προσεδρίας εἶχετο.

13. Οἱ δὲ Ἀβαροὶ ἔτει τὰς σπουδὰς διέλυσαν (καὶ γὰρ Ἰηράκλειος πρὶν πρὸς Πέρσας ἐκστρατεύσαι δῶροι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ταῦτας ἐβεβαιοῦν, ὑποσχέμενος παρέχειν αὐτοῖς νομισμάτων μυριάδας εἰκοσι, ὁμῆρους αὐτοῖς δεδωκὼς ἔνα τῶν νῦν Ἰοάννην τούτον, ὥστε καὶ ᾿Ασαλάριχον ἐκάλεσε, νόθος δὲ ἦν αὐτὸ ἐκ παλακῆς, καὶ Στέφανον ἀνεψίαν αὐτοῦ, νῦν Μαρίας τῆς ᾿Αδελφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ᾿Εὐτροπίου, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ᾿Ιοάννην ἔτερον, νῦν Βώνου τοῦ πατρικίου, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ παλακῆς αὐτῷ γεγονότα, | καὶ ἄντω ἐκστρατεύουσιν τῷ τεῖχει τοῦ Βυζάντιου πελάξουσιν, εὐθὺς τε πάντα ἐνεπιπρόν τὰ προσάστεια. καὶ ᾿Αβαροὶ ἀναμερισάμενοι ἐκάτεροι τῶν ῾Ορακ-κόνων Βόσπορον Πέρσας μὲν τὰ τῆς ᾿Ασιάτιδος μούρας καθῆρον, ᾿Αβαροὶ δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ ῾Ορακεὶς διεφθείρον χώρον. ᾿Αλλήλοις τε λόγοις οἱ βάρβαροι συνετίθεντο συμφωνῆσαντες ἐλεύθερα τὸ Βυζάντιον. οἱ οὖν ᾿Αβαροὶ μηχανήματα τειχομάχα ἐπέκαθεν πύργοι δὲ ἦσαν ἐξίλινοι καὶ χελωνίαν τὰ κατασκευάζαντα. καὶ ἔτει προσήτεσαν τῷ τείχει τὰ ὄργανα, θεῖα δύναμις ἐξοπλισμοῦ ταῦτα διέλυσαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς τῶν ᾿Αβάρων μαχητάς διώσεσσεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ᾿Σκλαβηνὴ πλῆθε οἱ ᾿Αβαροὶ ἐπέφημον καὶ εἰς συμμαχιάν ἐξόντω, δεδώκασαν δὲ αὐτοῖς σημείων ὡς ἡμικ ἀν ἱδεῖν πυρσοὺς ἀναφέρεται εἰς τὸ ῾Ολοχερών προτείστεςα, τὸ καλούμενον Περόν, εὐθὺς ἀμα τοῖς μονοχύλους ἁκάτιοι κακεῖνοι ἐπεξειδον, ὡς πλούσιοι ἀναφανέντες τὴν τόλμην κραταιῶς θορυβήσωσιν nonprofits εἰς τῶν | χώρων ἐν ὧ τὸ σημείου ἐδέδωκαν καθοπλίστας προσώρμησεν,

63–64 προσεδρίας Λ προσεδρίας Ψ


[58]
(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 Bosporos, 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
όσατος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέρα ἀκτὴν τὰς διήρεις ἐπέλασεν
διαφυκτωρεῖταί τε εὐθέως ἐπέτρεψεν. ὅπερ δῆ ὦ Σκλαβοὶ
θεασάμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ καλομένου Βαρβύσσου
ἀφώμων καὶ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἦσαν. αἱ δὲ ἐπεκδραμοῦσαν
καὶ εἰς μέσον αὐτῶν ἀπολαμβάνον ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως ἐκτεινον,
καὶ ἀκμαὶ πολλῷ τὸ θαλάσσιον ὄψω ἐφοινίσσετο. ἐν τοῖς
πτώμασιν οὖν τῶν ἀναρεθέντων καὶ γυναικεῖς Σκλαβηναί
κατεφαίνοντο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀβαροὶ θεασάμενοι καὶ τῆς
προσεδρίας ἀπεπνότης πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν ἀνεξεύγυνον. ὁ δὲ
ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς πόλεως σὺν Κωνσταντίῳ τῷ βασιλείῳ εὐχαρι-
στηρίους λυτὸς τῷ θεῷ προσέφερον ἐν τῷ νυμῷ τῆς θεομή-
τρος, τῷ ἐν Βλαχέρναις ἱδρυμένῳ ἀφικόμενων τείχος δὲ εὐθὺς
δωμησάμενοι τοῦ Ιεροῦ ἕκεινον νοοῦ φρούριον κατέστησαν.
καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἀβαρῶν οὖν τῇ ἔσχε.

14. Μαθῶν δὲ Χοσρόης Ἡράκλειον πλησιάσαντα τοῖς
βασιλείων Περσῶν ἐκκέμπει κατ’ αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν τίνα
Ῥαζάτην ὄνομα, γενναίον ὡς καὶ ἐξετεροῦ τὰ πολέμια.
οὕτοι ἐθάντω τῷ βασιλείῳ παρατάσεσται, καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἀφο-
μῶν φάλαγγος μόνος | πρὸς μόνον προνυκλαίει διαμάχεσθαι.
Ἑράκλειος δὲ ἔπει οὐδένα τοῦ οἰκείου στρατοῦ προσβομοῦ-
μεν ἐπεγινώσκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔξημε κατὰ τὸν βαρβάρον. ὁ δὲ ὡς
τὴν τοξικὴν ἐξετεροῦ ὄστον ἠφείς καὶ ἄκρων χειλέων τοῦ
βασιλεῶς καθῆπτετο εἶτα καὶ ἅλλον ὄστον ἐξέπτεμμε καὶ τὸ
σφυρὸν τοῦ ποδὸς ἐπέξυμεν. αὐτὸς δὲ Ἡράκλειος τῷ ἅπερ
ἐπηκεί, καὶ τις τῶν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρων προφθάσας τὸν ὄμοι
Ῥαζάτου εἶφε ἀπέτεμε, καὶ αὐτὸν πεσάμενα ὁ βασιλεὺς κατ-
κάνετο καὶ εὐθὺς τὴν τούτου κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμεν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ
νίκῃ ταῦτῃ προβλημάσθη ὁ τῶν Ρωμαίων στρατὸς πληθεῖς,
ἀισθάμενος τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως παρρησίας, κατὰ Περσῶν ἔξω-
ροις συντονωτάτα, καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος ἦττηθέντας ἐδιοκῶν καὶ
πλήθος αὐτῶν πολυ ἀπέκτεινον.

14: 3 Ἡράκλειον V γενναίαντα V corr. V2 || 5 πρὸς μόνῳ V || 7 δέξει L || 8 ὄστον . . . χειλῶν
L. || 9 πολλῷ ρωμ. εἶτα αὐτ. L. || 10 L. τοῦ V || 11 σφύρῳ εἰς σφυρῶν V2 || 12 Ἡράκλειον V || 12—13
κατηκὼστηκε V || 13 ἔτη V || 16 κράτος L

[60]
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 Barbyses 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 bodyguard, 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 ἀρχοντες ἐπεὶ διεγνώκεσαν ὡς ὁ τῶν Ρωμαιῶν βασιλεὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ πολιτείας τῆς οἰκείας ζωῆς κατεφρόνησε, μετὰ Σειρόνος τοῦ υἱοῦ Χοσρόου βουλεύοντα Χοσρόνθ ἀνελεῖν, μέγα περὶ τῆς οἰκείας πολιτείας καταφρονήσατα. τούτου οὖν ἐφ᾽ ἐνι τῶν βασιλικῶν οἰκῶν κατέκλεισαν, καὶ τροφὴν μὲν οὖν ἐδίδοσαν, προφθηκαν δὲ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ λίθον πλεῖστον λέγοντες "τούτων ἀπόλαυσα οἷς κατεμάνης καὶ ἀπερ ἡγάτης καὶ συνήγαγες", καὶ οὐνα λιμώτωτα ἐπελθόντες ἀνέλειαν, Σειρόνθ δὲ τὸν τοῦτον υἱὸν Βασίλεια Περσῶν ἀνγορέσαν οὖς εὐθὺς πρὸς Ἡράκλειον διαπροσβεβίστα τῷ ἐξετεμπίσαν ὡς σπείρεσθαί ταύτη, γράφει δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ έννοισαν τοῖς ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ πολιτείας καὶ εἰρήνην παρὰ θεοῦ ἀπαξέβασαν, ὡς ἐκάστην καθ᾽ ἐαυτὴν ἐφισάμενον. οὐ άντιγράφα καὶ Ἡράκλειος, τέκνον τοῦ Σειρόνθ καλῶς, καὶ ὡς οὖν ἣν αὐτὸ ποτὲ κατά γνώμην βασιλέα τῆς έαυτοῦ δόξης ἐκπεπτωκέναι διὸ οὐδὲ Χοσρόνθ. "ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ πλέιστα καὶ κάκιστα Ρωμαιῶς καὶ Πέρσας ἐπέδειξαν, εἴπεσαν ἐνν, ἐφασκε, "περισσωθέντα, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπικρατέστερος ἐγνόμην, εἰς τὴν έαυτοῦ ἀποκαθιστῶν βασιλείαν. θεοῖς δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου πρόβεσιν ἡγικός μετήλθην αὐτῷ ἀξιάν τὴν δίκην, ὡς μὴ τῶν πολλῶν γενέσθαι κατάλυσαν, ἡμῖν τῶν τὴν ἐνώσιν παρασχόμενος". περὶ τε τῶν ζωτικῶν ξύλων ὃν εἰς Σάμβαρος έξ Ἡροσολύμων λατρῶν ἐπέκειντο ἐπιμητήσατο· οὗ δὲ ὑπεσχετο δῶς, εἰπὲ αὐτῷ κατὰφωρα γένοντο· περὶ τε τῶν προσβεβηντῶν οὖς Σάιτος περὶ Χοσρόνθ ἀπήγαγε δόλω, (ἐφασκεν) ὡς Λεώνιας μὲν κοινῷ θανάτῳ ἐνελεῖτο, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Χοσρόνθ | ξύλως ἐκτεινει, αἰσθόμενος τὸν Ἡράκλειον εἰς τὴν Περσικὴν εἰσβάλλοντα.

16. Εὐθὺς οὖν Σειρόνθ ἐνελείτα, κρατεῖ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας Περσῶν Καβόθης, ὡς τοὺς μετὰ πολὺ τέθηκε. μεθ᾽ ὦν

15: 1 ἐπειδὴ ἐγκώπησαν L ἃ 3 Σειρόνος εἰς σειρόν L2 4 περὶ ἐκατοῦ φρονήσεσας καὶ τῆς ὡς οἰκείας incerta manus in mg. V7 6 τροφῆς V2 ex τροφῆς μὲν om. V7 ἐδίδοσαν L ἃ 7 λίθον ex ποιν V1 19 λιμώτωτα L 11 12 πετάσασθο L 13 ὃν εἰς αὐτοῦ V2 ex ἐν τά αὐτοῦ 14 ἀπήγαγεν V1 ἐφ᾽ V2 superscr. 18 ἐφασκεν om. L 19 ἐγνόμην L 20 αὐτῷ V 21 μετήλθην αὐτῷ ἀξιά τῆς δίκης τῆς coni. db cf. 1.26 24 λειπαρὸς L 24 25 δασὺν ἀπερ αὐτ. κατάφωρα γένοντο L κατάφωρα etiam V 26 δόκατι l. in ras. scripta L2 altera rasura post w ἐφασκεν addidi: v. comment. ἀς ὑπερ coni. db 28 τῶν scripsi αὐτῶν VL αὐ τὸν N. Oikonomides, Byzan. 1971 278 n. 1 29 εἰσβάλλοντα L

16: 2 ὡς τοὺς V2 om. εἰς L ὡς (ἐν) L2 (οὔ) L οὔτος V2 πολυ V2
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 Ὄρμισδας, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς διαπρεπεῖται πρὸς Ἡράκλειον, τὸν τε Ἰδιων ύδιν σὺν χρήματι καὶ δῷροις πολυτιμῆτοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλεν. ἵστημαι δὲ διὰ γραμμικῶν τάδε ἄν πρὸς τὸν Ἰδιων ύδιν καὶ τὸν δώρον τῷ Ἐρμίδου Συμεών ἐτὶ τὰς ἀγάλλας, στὸς καὶ τὸν δῶρον σὺν τῶν Ἰδιων μου δίδουμε εἰς τὰς χεῖρας σου. γνωῖτες δὲ τὸς ἔννοιο τὸν σφήξ, ὃς ποιήσας αὐτὸν". ὃ δὲ δεξαμενος μεγάλως ἐτίμησε, καὶ ἐτατελεύητας Ὄρμισδου βασιλέα Περσῶν ἐτίμησεν.

17. Σάρβαρος δὲ ἀκούσας ὅτι Χασρόης καὶ Σερφίρι, Καβρόης καὶ Ὅρμισδας ἐτατελεύητησαν, ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἵππεις στεί χώρας, γράψει της ἀπολογίας πρὸς Ἡράκλειον, ὃς ὑμῖν ἐκώς ἄλλα γνώριμο τοῦ ἀποστείλων ἐπιτράπτες ἄπερ εἰς Ῥωμαίους πετοῦσθε, καὶ παραγενέσθαι όσ᾿ αὐτὸν ἐξήγησε καὶ ώς δώλου παριστασθαί. λόγους τε πιστεύως παρὰ βασιλέως βεβαιωθείς ἢκεν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ χρηματα ἐκ Περσίδος διδόναι ὑποξειτεί, δι᾿ ὧν πάλιν κανίζουσα ὁτα ἁν αὐτὸς ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Ῥωμαίοις καταστρέφοντο. ἐν τούτοις ἐπιβουλεύσαι καὶ ἀναφεραῖς ὃν Ὁρμίσδου, καὶ Σάρβαρος παρὰ βασιλεύτης την Περσῶν ἄρχην ἐξαιτή, ὃ δὲ θείδου, καὶ ἀλήθεις συνετίθηντο πάντα τὰ ἐκ Ῥωμαίων ὑπὸ Πέρσων γενόμενα Ῥωμαιοῖς ἀνασωζέσθαι. εἰρήνης τε βραβευθείσης εὐθὺς τὴν τε Λίγνυπων καὶ πάσαν τὴν ἀνατολικὴν γῆν Ῥωμαίους ἀποδίδωσι Σάρβαρος, τοὺς ἐκεῖσε Πέρσας ἐξελῶν, τὰ τέ ζωποια ἕκλα πρὸς βασιλέα στέλλει. Ἡράκλειος δὲ Νικήτα οἱν Σάρβαρον πατρικίου ἀξίως ἐτίμησε, Νικήτας τε τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Θεοδωσίᾳ τῷ Ἑκ Μαρτίνης υἱῷ αὐτοῦ γαμηθῆ πετοῦσθαι. Προχρονίαν τε τὴν θυγατέρα Νικήτα ἐκ Πενταπόλεως ἐνέγκας Κωνσταντῖνι τῷ βασιλεῦ Ῥωμαίους ἐγίνοντα ἦν δὴ καὶ προμηθευσάμενος ἦν περίοντος ἐτὶ τοῦ αὐτῆς πατρὸς.

18. ὥς το δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καυμῶν ἐκ τοῦ Αἰθρίδου λεγομένου

5 ἀπέστειλεν καὶ ἵστημαιν αὐτός ἐν Συμεών Ἐρμίδου L || 7 Συμεών ὉΡΜΙΣΔΑΣ L || οὕτως ἐν οὕτως V² || 8 σου V σου L ||
9 σέβης . . . ποιήσαις ἐν σέβη V² || 10 καὶ om. L

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 διεισαίνοντο (χώρα δὲ τοῦτο τῆς εὐδαιμονοῦ Ἀρα-βίας) καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖθεν χωρία προσπελάζοντα λήξεσθαι ἐπι-εχείρουν. Ἡράκλειος δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα Εὐδοκίαν τοῦ Βυζαν-τίου ἐξέναι ἔπετρεφθεν ὡς τῷ Τούρκῳ ταῦτην κατεγγυνήσας· καὶ ἔπειδη ἡγυστὸ ὅτι σφαγῇ ὁ Τούρκος ἀνήρυτο, ταῦτην ὑποστρέφειν ἐκέλευεν. ὑπάρχοντες δὲ Ἡράκλειος ἐν τῇ Περ-σικῇ ἐκτελεσθήσαν αὐτῷ δύο ὕδαι καὶ θυγατέρας δύο. ἂν αὐτὸς δὲ λαβὼν τὰς ζωοποιὰς ἑξῆλθαν ἐσφραγισμένα, καθάπερ ἐλή-φθησαν διαιμέναντα, πρὸς τὰς Ἱεροσολύματα ἁφίκετο, καὶ Μο-δέστα τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ κλήρῳ ταῦτα ὑπεδείχθη. οὐ δὲ τὴν σφαγὴν σώον ἐπεγινόσκον· καὶ ὡς ἀνέσπαρα καὶ ἀθάνατα βεβήλως καὶ μιαμφόνοις χερσὶ τῶν βαρβάρων δι-ετηρήθησαν, εὐχαρίστημιρίῳ ὑδὴ τῷ θεῷ ἀνέθεσαν. τὴν τε κλείδα τῆς ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἱεράρχης μεῖώσασαν παρ' αὐτῷ ἰκανεὶ, καὶ ἄνοιγοι προσκομισθοῦν ἄπαντες. ὑψιστῶν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖστε εὐθὺς εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξέσπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ Σέργιος τοῦ Βυζάντιου ἱεράρχης ἐκ Βλαχερνίων (ἰερὸν δὲ αἱ Βλαχέρναι τῆς θεομήτορος) λιτανεύων ὑπεδέδεκο καὶ πρὸς τὴν μεγίστην ἐκκλησίαν ἰγαγῶν ταῦτα ἀνύψωσε. δευτέρα δὲ ἦν ἰδικτιῶν ἧνικα ταῦτα ἐπράπτοντο.

19. Μετ' οὗ πολὺ δὲ καὶ Ἡράκλειος πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐχώρησε, ὑπὸ πολλῆς εὐφημίας καὶ δόξης ὑπερβαλλούσης παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖστε δεχθῆς. τέσσαρας δὲ ἦγεν ἔλεφαντας, οὓς δὴ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἵππους ἀγώνας ἑθραμβεύειν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς πό-λεως τέρψει, ἡμέρας τε ἐπισυκίους ἐπὶ εὐφροσύνης παῖσι δω-ροῖς φιλοσυμμόυμενοι ἑπτέλει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦν ἐκὼ ὑδῶν τῆς ὑσύας τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τα-μιείου ἀυτῇ τε καὶ τῷ κατ' αὐτὴν κλήρῳ ἑὐχήσθαι χρήματα.
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
παρέχεσθαι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παρασκευάζει Κωνσταντίνον
tὸν υἱὸν ὑπατεύουσα, ἦ Ῥάκλειον δὲ τὸν ἀπὸ Μαρτίνης Καὶ-
σαρα προχειρίζεται.

20. Οὐ πολύς δὲ χρόνος ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ Σαρακηνὸς τά
περὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατέτρεχον. εὐθέως δὲ ἦ Ῥάκλειος σὺν
Μαρτίνη θυγατέρι καὶ ἦ Ῥάκλειοι τῷ παιδὶ πρὸς τούς τῆς
ἀνατολῆς χωρίως ἐπεζεύξατο. αὐτόθι δὲ γενόμενος Θεόδωρος τῷ
ἀδελφῷ ὄργιζεται· ὑπεψιθυρίζετο δὲ τισὶ λυοδορείθαι αὐτὸν
tῷ βασιλεί Μαρτίνης ἓνεκεν, λέγοντα ὅτι "ἡ ἁμαρτία αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς". καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀποστέλ-
λει, γράφας τῷ νιῷ Κωνσταντῖνῳ τούτων ἐπὶ ἀθροισμάτος
λαοῦ ἀπιμωσάται ὡς ἐν φρουρᾷ κατέχειν. στρατηγὸν τε ἀνα-
tολῆς ἐκτέμπει Θεόδωρον, τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων τομίαν,
tὸ ἐπίκλημα Τριθύρων. Σέργιος γὰρ ὁ κατὰ Νικηταν τελευτᾷ
τρόπῳ θαυμάζει. κάμπην οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ἀποδείχθησαν τούτων
ἐγκατακλείουσι τῇ δορῇ καὶ ἀπέρραπτον. τῆς βύρωσθαὶ ὁν
κατασκευήναι συναπεξηραίετο καὶ ὁ δυνὸς ἀπειλοῦμενος

15 ἀνθρώπων, καὶ οὕτως ἀπομαραθεῖς πικρώς διώλετο. αὐτίνας δὲ
αὐτῷ ἐπῆγαν ὡς αὐτὸς πορευόμενος ἦ Ῥάκλειον μὴ συγ-
χωρεῖν Σαρακηνὸς ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαϊῶν γῆς ἐμπορεύεσθαι τὰς
(τὴν) συνήθει παρεχομένας αὐτῶς τρικάτοιχον χρυσῶν λίτρας
dὲ ἐμπορικῆς ἀμοιβῆς ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς πολιτείας ἐκτεμ-
ὲνεγείραν τε αὐτοῦ ἁρχαὶ τῇ Ῥωμαιῶν λιμανίσθαι
χώρα. ἐκ τούτων παραγηγεῖ Θεόδωρος μὴ συμβάλλειν πρὸς
μάχην Σαρακηνόν, ὁ δὲ ὅτι αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν τὰ κατὰ γνώ-
μην τῷ βασιλεί οὐκ ἔπραττεν, ἐπεῖ νεωτέρα αὐτῷ βουλευ-
σίμενος ἦν, καὶ ἐπεὶ παρήγαγαν πολεμεῖν ὡς ἀνελπίστων

20 περιέσθησαν τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ συνεργῶν ὑπελάμβανον τὴν
νῖκην τῆς κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπαναστάσεως. ἔτι τοῦν ἐν
τῷ τόπῳ καλουμένῳ Γαβίθα ἑγκαταστάσθησε Σαρακηνὸς. οἱ δὲ

V192
L36

10 δὲ ἦ τε L Suda

[68]
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

---

12 See Commentary.
προλεγόμενα καὶ ὅλιγοι τυχὺν ἀκροβολισμένοι Ὀρμαῖοι ὑπῆγοντο. εἰςπίαντον δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐνερδῶν ἐξετασται, καὶ μέσον ἀπολαβόντες πολλοὺς ἐκείναν στρατιώτας τε καὶ ἀρχιτας.

21. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καὶρὸν ἐκείνον Μαρία ἡ ἀδέλφη Ὁρακλείου χρήματα πρὸς τὸν χαγάναν Ἀβάρων ἐπέμψε καὶ τῶν νῦν Στέφανον ἀπέλαβε. τοῖς δὲ τοιούτοις ὄροις ἡσθεὶς ὁ Ἀβάρως ἠρέθησεν Ἀναλοῦν τὸν μάγιστρον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς πέμψας δόρα ἀπολήψεται καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ῖπιστεκέν ὁμήρους. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.

22. Ύπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶρὸν ἐπανέστη Κούβρατος ὁ ἀνεφίς Ὅργανα ὁ τῶν Οὐνογούνδουρών κύριος τῷ τῶν Ἀβάρων χαγάνῳ, καὶ ὥν εἶχε παρὰ αὐτοῦ λαον περιβρύσας ἐξεδίωξε τῆς οἰκείας γῆς. διαπρεσβεύεται δὲ πρὸς Ὁρακλείου καὶ στέφεται εἰρήνην μετὰ αὐτοῦ, ἢπερ ἐφύλαξαν μέχρι τέλους τῆς ἑαυτῶν ζωῆς δόρα τε γαρ αὐτῷ ἐπεμψε καὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρικίου ἀξίας ἐπιμήσεν.

23. Ἐφ' ὁ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς μέρεσι διετριβέν Ὁρακλείου, Ἰοακίμη τοῦ Βαρκαίνης στρατηγὸν προχειρίζεται καὶ πέμπει κατὰ Σαρακηνῶν τῶν ἐν Λιγύπτων ὡς συμβαλῶν πέπτει καὶ αὐτὸς. ἐπὶ καὶ Μαρίνος ὁ τῶν Ὁρμακίων ἐκστρατευόμενος ἡγεμόνας συμμίχας αὐτοῖς ἤττήθη, πολὺς τις στρατῶν ἀποβαλὼν καὶ αὐτὸς μόλις διασώζεται. μετὰ ἐκείνου προβάλλεται στρατηγὸς Μαριανὸν κουβικούλαριον παρὰ Ὁρμακίων τὴν ἄξιαν καὶ πέμπει ἐκείσε, παραγγείλας ὡς ἀνακοώνυσαν Κύρος τῷ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐβεράς, καὶ ὡς ἐν κοινῇ βουλεύσουσι (καὶ) τα πρὸς τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς διάθυματο. Κύρος δὲ ἦν διδήλωκος βασιλεὶς σπείρεται ἐπὶ τελεσμασι Ἀμβρω τῶν Σαρακηνῶν φυλάρχως, ὁ δὴ καὶ ὑπέχει δὲ ἐμπολάιον συνεισφοράς ἐσήμανε, τὰ δὲ τῷ βασιλεὶ παρεχό-

28 ἀκροβολισμένω L || 29 ὑπήγονον LV2 ὑπετέγονο V || δὲ V υ L || 29–30 ἐξαπατρισμῶν VL

21: 2 χαγάνων V || 6 ὀμιρίους καὶ δὴ οὕτως εγένετο L

22: 1 Κούβρατος L || 2 Ἀργανα... Οὐνογούνδουρων L || 3 περιβρύσας L || 5 μεθ’ εκαντοῦ L || 6 ἑαυτῶν V αὐτοῦ L | γάρ om. L

23: 5 τα L δὲ V || 10 κοινῇ L βουλεύσουσι secl. DB || καὶ addivi || 11 Κύρος V || 13 ἐμπολάλεον... ἐσήμανεν. τάδε L τῷ βασιλεὶ ex τῶν βασιλείων VI
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 em-
bassy 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 de-
feated: 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 cubicarius, 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-
μενα | ἐδιἀπτετα μένειν· κατεγγυθήναι δὲ αὐτῷ Εὐδοκίαν
15 τὴν Αἰγυπτιάν, [ἡ] μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς ἐνετεῦθεν καὶ τῷ θείῳ λουτρῷ βαπτισθησομένῳ καὶ Χριστανῷ χρηματίσωσθι. ἐπείπετο γὰρ Ἅμβρος τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ ὁ τούτῳ στρατός· καὶ γὰρ ἥγατον αὐτὸν λιαν. καὶ τούτων Ἡρά
16 κλεος οὐδενὸς ἢψεῖτο. ἐπείδη δὲ καὶ Μαριαμὸς ταῦτα ἐξηπιστάτο, διότι τῆς τοῦ Κύρου γνώμης, καὶ συμβαλόν Σαρακηνοὶ πίπτει τε αὐτὸς καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατός ἰκανός.

24. Τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀνέζευξε πρῶτά ἢ οἰκεία Ἡράκλεους καὶ ἡλιξητο ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ τῆς Ἰερίας· ἔδειξε γὰρ ἐπιβήναι θαλάσσης, πολλὰ τε ἐξεισένες οἳ τε ἀρχιεῖ καὶ οἵ τε πόλεως ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰσελθεὶν ἐπείθων οὐ-
δαμώς. ἔν δὲ τοῖς ἐστραγάλοις μόνοις τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐξέπεμπε, καὶ οὕτω ἐπιτελοῦντες ἐν τῷ ίερῷ τὴν θείαν λειτουργίαν εὐθὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξέβησαν. ὡς οὕτως καὶ τοὺς ἰππικους ἀγώνας ἰδία ἐκδείχνοντο, πάλιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀπεχώρησαν, ἐν ὑ αὐτῶν ἐξετάζεται αὐτῷ ὡς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῷ Ἰσαάκρο-
χος καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ τὴν ἀξίαν μάγιστρος, Θεόδωρον τῶν βασιλέως ἀδελφοῦ υἱῶς, σὺν ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ ἰμέλλον καὶ τοῖς μπινισοῦ πιεσθεὶς| τοῖς τάς ἔξως καὶ
tάς χεῖρας ἐξέτεμε, καὶ Ἰατερίχου μὲν εἰς τὴν νήσου τὴν
15 λειψάνην Ἰηρίκιππου ἐξόμηθαν ἐπεμψε, Θεόδωρον δὲ πρὸς τὴν νήσου Γαυδομελέτην προσαγορευμένην, ἐπιτρέψας τῷ ἐκεῖδε δουκῇ, ἰδία πρὸς αὐτὸ τοῦτο οἱ καταλάβαται, καὶ τὸν ἐπειφί
tῶν ποδῶν ἀφελεῖται. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς συγγνώντας αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἑτμωρήστατο.

25. Χρόνου δὲ ἰκανοῦ διελθόντος παρασκευάζουσιν οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄρχοντες τοῦ ἐπαρχον ὡς συναγαγεῖν πλείστα πλοῖα καὶ ἑξόμενα ἀλλήλοις ἐξάψας ἀκόμη γεφυρώσει τοῖν

---

15 ἢ secl. Ῥίχανικο ἢ μια L || 16 τῷ ομ. L || 17 Ἰούλιοι L accentu a corr. add. || 19 de V γάρ L || 20 τοῦ Ἰούλιοι V ex τούτων

24: Ιερίας. ἔδειξεν Λ τὰ Ἡράκλειος s.v. Ἡράκλειος || 3 θαλάσσης V || 5 τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐξέστησσεν L. || 6 οὕτωι L αὐτοὶ V || 7 ἐξέστησαν, ὡς οὕτως δὲ καὶ L || 8 θάνειον VL corr. vulg. || 10 μάγιστρος VL || 11 ἀδελφοῦ υἱῶς ομ. L || 12 ἰμέλλον . . . πιεσθείς L || 14 Πρίγιπος VL corr. vulg. || 16 τὸ ἐπεισόδιον L || 20 τοῦτον coni. dB || συγγνώντας L.

25: 2—10 Cf. Sudam s.v. Ἡράκλειος || 2 ἐπαρχῶν τῆς πόλεως L ὑπαρχον Suda || 2—3 συν-
αγαγών . . . 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
πορθμόν τοῦ καλουμένου Στενοῦ, κλάνοις τε δένδρων καὶ
φυλλάσιν ἐκατέρωθεν διατειχίσθειν, ὡς μηδὲ ὤρασθαι παρ-
ίνητι τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ δὴ τὸ ἔργον εἰς τάχος προωχώρει,
καὶ ὁ βασιλέας ἵππες διὰ θαλάσσης ὠσπερ διὰ τῆς ἱππείρας
cατὰ τάς ἀκτὰς τοῦ λιγομένου κόπτων Φιδαλείας ἐπεραιώτο, οὐ
tε τὸν παράκτιον χώρων παραμείψας διὰ τῆς γεφύρας τοῦ
Βαρβάσσου ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον εἰσέβη, καὶ μετὰ
tαῦτα Ἡράκλειον τοῦ Καϊσαρα στῆθει βασιλέα.

26. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν δωδεκάτην ἤδικτιόνα ἐτελεύτα Σέρ-
ymος ὁ τοῦ Βυζαντίου πρόεδρος. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τετρατα
Ἡράκλειος Πύρρος, ἀδελφὸς τε ἐκάλει, ὡς ἴνα τὶς τρεῖς
λοιπὰ ἑφώτιστο ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφή δερείν ἐδέξατο,
καὶ ἀμα ἄκουσόμενον Σεργίῳ καὶ συνιδαιμώτωμι ἐγνώσικέ,
tοῦτον ἀρχιερέα τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀνηγόρευσεν. ἦδη χρόνοις τοῖς
πρότερον Κύρων τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρεια πρόεδρον μετάκλησαν εἰς
Βυζάντιον ἴνα πεποιηθῶς, καὶ ἐν αἰτίας μεγάλης εἴχεν ὡς τὰ
tὰς Αἰγύπτου πάσης Ισαακίνης καταπροέμενοι πράγματα.

την κατά δὲ περὶ τῶν αἰτιωθέντων ἐπὶ | πλείστου ἀθροισθέν-
tος τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεξέχει δήμου. ὁ δὲ ἀπελογεῖτο ὡς ὀδα-
μώς τῶν ἔνοχος καθεστήκει, ὡς εἰ ἡ βουλὴ αὐτοῦ προω-
χώρει καὶ τοῖς Σαρακκίνος διὸ ἐμπόλης τὰς τῆς φορολογίας
παρέχει καὶ ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῖς ἴππαξαξον, καὶ τὰ τῶν βασιλεῖ παρεχό-
μενα οὔ καθοπτερίζοιτο. ἀλλοῦ τε ταῦτα ἐπηρηματο πράξειν,
καὶ αὐτῶν μάτην ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐγκαλομένου ἵσχυρίζετο.
ὁ δὲ ἐλληνικόν τὸν Κύρων ἀπεκάλει ἡ ἐλληνικής καὶ
θεομάχως καὶ κατὰ Ἐρυθαιων φρουρῶν τῷ Ἀμβρω τῶν
Φιλάρχῳ συμβουλεύοντα τὴν τοῦ βασιλείου κατεγυρνηθήμαι
dB27

θυγατέρα. ἐν τούτοις οὖν ἀγανακτήσας καὶ ἀναι-

V193'

L38'

4 πόρμων VL || κλάνοις VL, corr. B || 5 ψύλλων L || 8 Φιδαλέας scripsi cf. Hesych, Preger 8,7;
14,14: Ἐφεδρίας V Φιδαλέας Suda om. L || 9 οὗ τὲ Ἑρακλέους ὁτὲ V οὗτος L || 10 Βαρβάσσου
Suda || εἰσείν L

26: 1 ἤδικτιόνα L || 2 καὶ om. L || 2–3 ἐπειδὴ δὲ Πύρρου προσέκειτο Ἡράκλειος L Ioco
Πύρρος, Σεργίῳ V || 5 οὐκακημένον ex οὐκακημένοιν V2 οὐκακημένοιν L || 6 τοῦ Βυζαντίου om. L ||
ἡδη δὲ χρ. τυφεῖν L || 7 Κύρων VL || 8 ὀπὸ t.v. add L || 9 καταπροειμένων V in
lac. καταπροέμενοιν L || 11 ἐπειδὴ L || 12 καθιστήκην L || 13 ψυλλέων ex ψυλλείων V1 vel V2 || 14 παραρρέοντε sugg. dB || ἵππαξαξον vulg. ἵππαξαξον V

15 ἄλλα ἰδιοὺς τοιᾶς ἐπαινεῖτο Λ ταῦτα dB ἐπαινεῖτο ex ἐπαινητίῳ V2 ||
16 αὐτῶν VL corr. vulg. || υπὲρ V peri L || 17 Κύρων V
as to bridge the straits called Stenon, 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). Avoiding the coastal area, he reached Byzantium by the bridge of the river Barbyses. After this he crowned emperor the Caesar Herakleios.

26. In the 12th indication 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-

---

13 The Bosporos.
14 The Golden Horn, so named after the wife of the mythical Byzas.
ρήσεων ἀπειλῶν, τῷ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ὑπάρχω ὡς αἰκισομένῳ παραδίδομαι.

27. Μετὰ τούτῳ ἐδικαίων τῶν ὕδων Ἦρακλεοῦ ὑπατεύσα, Δαβίδ τε καὶ Μαρτίνον τοὺς ὕδως αὐτοῦ Καισάρας ἀνηγόρευσεν, Ἀγαυστίναν δὲ καὶ Μαρτίναν τάς θυγατέρας Αὐγούστας, χρόνου δὲ | διελθόντος νόσφο ύδερική περιπτέπει, καὶ ὁ ὅτι τὸ πάθος δυσάτον — ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ ἐπετείνετο ὡς καὶ ἥνικα ἀποχεῖν ἡμελλε σανίδα κατὰ τὸ ἤτρον ἐπετείθεν ἐστρέφετο γὰρ αὐτόν τὸ αἰδοῖο καὶ κατὰ τὸν προσώπον ἀυτοῦ τὰ ὦρα ἐπεμπεί. ἔλεγχος δὲ ἦν τούτῳ τῆς παρανομίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, ὑπὲρ ἂς ταύτην δίκην ὑστάτην ἐξέτατο τοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀνεφώνων τῆς οἰκείας γάμου. διαθήκας οὖν ἔξετίθει, ὅστε Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ Ἦρακλεοῦ τοὺς ὕδως αὐτοῦ βασιλείς ἐστίμους εἶναι, καὶ Μαρτίναν τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα τιμᾶσσαι παρ’ αὐτῶν ὡς μητέρα καὶ βασιλίσσαν. ἐκ τούτου λοιπὸν ἐτελεύτα ἐξῆς ἢτι καὶ ἐξήκοντα, ἢν δὲ τῇ βασιλείᾳ διανύσας ἢτι τράκμως μήρας τέσσαρας ἡμέρας ἢς. θάπτεται δὲ ἐν τῷ λείψῶν πανευφήμων ἀποστόλων, καὶ τρισὶν ἡμέρας ἀσκεῖταις, ὡσπερ ἢν διακόμισαν ἢτι περὶ, τὸ ὑποδεξάμενον αὐτοῦ σώμα διετέλει μνῆμα, περικαθημένων αὐτὸ εὐνοῦχων ὑπηρετῶν.

28. Μετὰ τούτῳ Μαρτίνα ἡ Αὐγούστα προσκαλεῖται Πύρρον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἐκκλησιάσσα καὶ τὸν πρὸ τῷ Βυζάντιῳ λαὸν, τὰς τε διαθήκας Ἦρακλειον ὑπεδείκνυ, ὡς περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν τέκνων διάβητο. ὁ δὲ παρών ἢτας δῆμος Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ Ἦρακλεον | τοὺς βασιλείς ἐπεζήτητε. ἢ δὲ ἦγε τούτων, καὶ ἢμα διελέγετο νομίζοντα ἢτε βασιλεύσατα τὰ πρῶτα εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν φέρεσθαι. τώνες δὲ τοῦ συνεστῶτος λαοῦ ἀνεφώνων πρὸς αὐτὴν ὦτι "οὐ
26, 27, 28

censured 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
μὲν τιμήν ἔχεις ὡς μήτηρ βασιλέων, οὕτω δὲ ὡς βασιλεῖς καὶ δεσπόταιν." ἐξαιρετον δὲ ἐδίδουν γέρας Κωνσταντῖνῳ ὡς πρώτῳ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐκ παιδοῦ προχειρισθέντι. "οὔτε γὰρ βαρβάρων ἢ ἄλλων πόρος τὰ βασιλεῖα εἰσερχομένων, ὡς δέσποταιν," ἔφασκεν, "δύνασαι ὑποδέχεσθαι ή λόγους ἀμείβεσθαι μηδὲ δοθῇ θεός ἐν τούτῳ τάξεως τὴν Ἡρωϊκὴν ἐλθεῖν πολιτείᾳ" καὶ κατήρχοντο ἀνευκημονίας τῶν βασιλείων. ταύτα ἀκούσασα πρὸς τὸ ἐαυτῆς ὑπεχώρει παλατίου.

29. Ἐξ ὦ καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος τῆς βασιλείας ἡρχε. προσαγγέλει δὲ αὐτῷ Φιλάγριος, ὡς ἦν τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ταμίας, ὡς ἀσθενόντος τοῦ πατρός Ἡρακλείου χρήματα Πύρρῳ τῷ ἄρχειν παραιτήσεται Μαρτίνῃ τῆς βασιλίσσης ἐνεκεν, ὡς μὴ ποτε αὐτὴ ὑπὸ Κωνσταντῖνος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ προγόνου ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων διωμομένην χρημάτων καθυστερίζοντο. ὃ δὲ Πύρρον μεταστειλάμενος διευπνιθάλετο εἰς οὗτοι ταύτα ἤχοι. Πύρρος δὲ ὑπὸ Φιλαγρίου διελκεχομένου προεδρικὸς δεὶκνυεί καὶ ὑστέλλων τά χρήματα. ἐπει δὲ νόσθης χρυσίς Κωνσταντῖνου συνειχέτει καὶ κυκρασίας αὐτῶν ἐνεκεν ἐν Ἡλικιώτην διέτριβεν ἐν τούτου κτισθέντι παλατίῳ, ἴδων Φιλάγριος ἀρρώστος αὐτὸν διακείμενο, καὶ ἑλπίσας τάχιον ἀποβιωσά, ἐδείξει Ἡράκλειον καὶ Μαρτίναν ὡς αὐτὸν κακωσώτας. ἐκ τούτοις Κωνσταντῖνος συνεβούλευε γράφειν τοῖς στρατευμονισμοῖς ὡς τελευτής συμβασιοῦσας αὐτῷ ἀντιλαβέσθαι τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὴ συγχωρεῖν αὐτῶν μηδὲ τῆς βασιλείας διωθέσθαι. ἐφ’ οἷς ἧσθεις Κωνσταντῖνος Ὀυαλεντῖνος τοῦ Φιλαγρίου ὑπασπιστὴν τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἐργασίαν ἐγχειρίσας πρὸς τὸ στρατευμα ἐξέπεψε, διδακτικῶς αὐτῷ χρήματα συνετελοῦντα εἰς ποσότητα ἀριθμοῦ μιράδων [πέντε] διακοσίων καὶ ἐπὶ μύρια καὶ ἐξάκουσία νομίσματα, ὑποθέμενος πείθειν τοὺς τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ καταλόγου μετὰ τελευτήν Κωνσταντῖνου ἀντι-
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 Philagrius, 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 Philagrius, 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, Philagrius 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 Valentinos, an adjutant of Philagrius, 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

---

15 In the Hippodrome.
καθιστάθαι Μαρτίνη καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς. συμβασιλεύσας δὲ τῷ πατρὶ ἐτέ ὁκτὼ καὶ εἶκοσι, καὶ ἐπιβιοῦς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἔτι ἡμέρας ἑκατὸν τρεῖς, ἐτελευτήσει.

30. Μεθ’ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ τῆς βασιλείας ἀναγορεύεται Ἡράκλειος, ὁ συνελάμβανεν εἰς τά τῆς βασιλείας πράγματα καὶ ἡ μητέρα Μαρτίνα. εὐθὺς οὖν τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς στέφανον, δὲ καὶ συνέθαβαν αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς Κωνσταντῖνος τοῦ ναοῦ ἐξήνεγκε τιμηθέντα μέχρι χρυσοῦ λιτρῶν ἐβδομήκοντα, τῷ θεῷ προσφέρει ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, Κύρον δὲ τῶν προέδρων Ἀλεξανδρείας τῷ οἰκεῖῳ βρόνῳ ἀποκαθίστησι. Φιλαγρίου δὲ ἀποκείσας ἔξωρυστον εἰς τὸ Σέπτα λεγόμενον φρούριον πρὸς ἡλίον δύοντα κατὰ [τά] θάτερα τῶν Ἡράκλεος στηλῶν πρὸς τῇ Δμβή κείμενον παρέπεμψαν. ἔτερον τε πλείστους, οὓς εὑρείς φίλους καὶ ὑπηρέτας αὐτοῦ, πληγαῖς καὶ ἐπέρας τειχίων ἠμέτατο. Οὐαλεντῖνος δὲ ὁ Φιλαγρίον ὑπαστιγμῆς ταῦτα αἰσθάμενος τὸ στρατιωτικὸν κατὰ Μαρτίνης καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς ἐπάρατε· μεθ’ ὁ τῆς Χαλκηδόνας καταλαμβάνῃ ὡς τοῖς τέκνοις Κωνσταντῖνου ἐπικοινώσω, καὶ αὐτὸν διέτρεβε. Ἡράκλειος δὲ τὴν τε πόλιν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεί ἀεί, καὶ πάσιν ἀπελογεῖτο ὡς Ἡράκλειος ὁ υἱὸς Κωνσταντῖνου ἀπήματος διαμένει, καὶ πάσιν ὑγιά καὶ σώον ὑπεδείκνυ τῷ ἰμαὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν περιεῖχετο. καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐπιστρεφόντος ἐν τῷ σωτηρίῳ ἄγαλμας ἀναπαύειν καὶ ἐκκαλεῖσθαι: καὶ διαφορά τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἰεράρχων τῶν ἦπται καὶ διώκοντο ὡς οὔτε δὲ τοῦ ὑπεράθετον τὰ τοῦ Κωνσταντῖνον τέκνα βλαβηθῆσαι. Οὐαλεντῖνον δὲ ἀπειμπουλέον ἐν τῇ ἐπιβουλεύσει πάντων αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπορεύομεν. ὡς δὲ εἰς πλείον ἀπαντᾶς βεβαιώστηται, συλλαβῶν μεθ’ ἐκατον Ἡράκλειον πρὸς Οὐαλεντῖνον περιαύλουται, καὶ πόλιν ἐβουλεύοντο ἰδιώμασθαι καὶ πείθειν αὐτῶν ὡς φιλοστόργῳ διάκειται πρὸς Ἡράκλειον. Οὐαλεν-

26 ἐτή ἡμ. Ῥῆ L

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. Straightway 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 Philagriors, he had him tonsured and exiled him to a fortress called Septai 16 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 Philagriors) he punished by scourging and other torments. Now Valentinus, the adjutant of Philagriors, 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

---

τίνος δὲ οὐκ ἔδεχετο ἀλλ' ἀπέπεμπε, καὶ δὴ ὑπενώστει καὶ διηγεῖτο πάντα τοὺς τῆς πόλεως. οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο καὶ Οὐαλεντίνον ἐδυσφήμον. 31. Τῆς τρύγης δὲ ἐπιλαβοῦσας, οἱ τῆς πόλεως αἰσθο- μενοὶ ὡς ὁ μετὰ Οὐαλεντίνου στρατὸς τοὺς τε ἀμπελώνας αὐτῶν διαφεβέρει κάκεινους οὐ συγχωρεῖ ἐκείσε περαιοθ- σθαί, συνήσταται Πύρρο βοώντες στέφειν Ἡράκλειον τὸν Κωνσταντίνον τίον. Πύρρος δὲ τὴν ταραχὴν καὶ τὴν στάσιν τοῦ λαοῦ περιαπήρησα ἀπελογείτο ὡς οὐ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ στα- σίαζοντο, ἀλλ' Οὐαλεντίνῳ | τὴν βασιλείαν περισσοποιοῦντα. ἔτι οὐν ἐπικειμένον τοῦ ὠχλού δὴλα πολεί βασιλεὶ ἀπαντα. οὐ δὲ συναλαβόμενον τὸν ἄνεψιον Ἡράκλειον εὐθέως ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔχωρει καὶ ἀνέρχεται ἄμα Πύρρῳ ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνι καὶ προτρέ- πεσαι στέφειν Ἡράκλειον. οἱ δὲ ὠχλοι τὸν βασιλέα ἐβιασθοντο τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπιτελεῖν. οὐ δὲ λαβὼν ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ τοῦ πα- τρός Ἡράκλειον στέφανον τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπιπλῆρος, εὐθὺς οὖν τὸν στεφθέντα Κωνσταντίνον οἱ ὠχλοι μετονομάζουσι. τὸ οὖν ἀχυ- ράδες καὶ ἀγροκοκδέστερον τοῦ λαοῦ κατὰ Πύρρου τόσος χείρας ὀπλίζον, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν γενόμενοι αὐτὸν μὲν οὐχ εὑρόν, κατὰ δὲ τὸν καυρὸν τῆς τοῦ λυχνικοῦ συναξίως εἰςερχοῦνται ἐπαγόμενοι Ἔβραιῶν καὶ ἄλλων κακοθέων ἀμιλοῖν ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐνδυτὴν διαρρηγνύσα, καὶ τὸν ἵερον χῶρον | αὐχρως κατερρύπανον, τὰς τε κλεῖς τῶν πυλῶν λαβόντες ἐπὶ κοντοῦ ἀνήρτων, καὶ οὗτο τὴν πόλιν ἀθέσμως περιήσαν. Πύρρος δὲ τοῦτα μαθὼν τῇ ἐπιτυχή νυκτὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ παραγίγνεται καὶ πάντα τὰ ἱερὰ ἀστάξεται καὶ τὸ περικείμενον αὐτῷ ὁμόφορον περιελών τῇ ἱερᾷ | ἀποτίθεται τραπέζῃ, φήσας “τῆς ἱερωτυνής μὴ ἀφιστάμενος ἀποτάσσο- σμαι λαῷ ἀπειθεῖ”. ἐκείθεν ἴστηκε δὲ ἐξελών παρὰ μίαθεο- σεβιστάτη γυναικὶ κρυφῇ κατήγετο καὶ καιρὸν εὐθύτευτον λα- βόμενον πρὸς τὴν Χαλκηδόνα ἀπετίθελε. οὐ τὴν ἔλευσιν τῶν μοναξίωντων ἐκείσε ἀκηκοότες περὶ τῶν ἐκτεθέντων παρὰ

29 δὴ V δὲ L


[82]
him and sent him away; so he returned and told the story to the inhabitants of the City who believed him and cursed Valentinos.

31. When vintage time had come, the citizens saw that the army accompanying Valentinos 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 Valentinos; 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 straightaway 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

---

17 Chalcedon in the text, but the confusion between the two names is frequent in Byzantine texts.
τοῦ πάλαι Ἦρακλείου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Σεργίου τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἱεράχου, ἐνεκεν τῶν δύο ἐπί τοῦ σωτήρος Χριστοῦ θεολόγων καὶ ἐνεργεῶν ἀνηρεύνων, ὅν προασπισται ἐν χανοῦ Μάξιμου καὶ Θεοδόσιος ὄντες ἐν Ἁφρικῇ. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πύρρων οὖν πως ἑσχέν.

32. Ἐπεὶ οὖν τοὺς περὶ Οὐαλεντῖνος ἢ Χαλκηδῶν εἴχεν, ἀναγκαιοφέρως (ἔσχον) Ἦρακλείου καὶ Μαρτίνα, ὃς μὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖον τὰ εἰκάτερα προστεία βλάπτοτο, ἐνωθήναι τοῖς αὐτῷ καὶ ορκοῖς τὰ πρὸς ἅλλους θέσθαι καὶ αἴξει αὐτῶν ἐπιμετανῇ ἣν Ῥωμαίοι καλοῦσι κόμητα ἐξουσιωτέρων, καὶ μὴ δὴ ὅλως ἐγκαλεῖσθαι περὶ ὄν παρὰ Κωνσταντῖνον ἐδέξατο χρημάτων, φιλόσωμεθαι δὲ χρῆματι τὸς συνελθόντων αὐτῷ στρατιῶτας, στερθήναι τε καὶ Δαβίδ τὸν Καισαρα καὶ μετονομασθήναι Τιβέριον, | καὶ τούτων οὖν τελεσθέντων προ- χειρίζεται Παύλος, ὀλικόμονος γεγονὼς τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, ἀρχιερεὺς Κωνσταντῖνουπόλεως, κατὰ τὸν Ὄκτωβριον μήνα τῆς πεντεκαιδεκάτης ἑοδικίου.

33. Κωνσταντῖνος οὖν ἐν Σικελίᾳ υπὸ τῶν ἄδικων ὑπηρετῶν δόλῳ φουνεθεὶς ἐν τῷ λαοῦρῳ, ἤδη ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ εἰκοστῶν ἐβδομῶν ἁίματα ἐτος, ἐτελεύτα.

34. Μεθ’ ὃν Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ νῦς τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἐγχειρίζεται σκήπτρα. καὶ τούτου ἀρξαμένου εὐθὺς ὃ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἤγουμενοι ναὸς πλείστας κατασκευᾶσας κατὰ τὸν Βυζάντιον ἐκπέμπει, ἠγμόνα τούτων ἐπιστήσας, ἄτε πιστότητα καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἐμπειροῦν, κατὰ τὴν ἐαντὸν διάλεκτον Χαλέβ ὁμομαζόμενον ὃς ἀνασθεὶς προσωρίζετο ἐν προαιρετικῆς τοῦ Βυζαντίου, κατὰ τὸν παραβαλάσσων τὸν καλούμενον "Εβδομον, τούτου αἰσθόμενος Κωνσταντῖνος ἀντιπαρατίθεται καὶ αὐτὸς στόλῳ μεγάλῳ. ὡς ὁ πλείσται ναυ- μαχίαι ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἐγίνοτο, τοῦ πολέμου συγκροτουμέ-
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 Savor. So much for Pyrrhos.

32. Now since the followers of Valentinos 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 Chaleb\(^\text{18}\) (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,

---
\(^{18}\) Χαλέφ in L, Χαλέ or Χάλε in Theoph. Not recorded in the Arabic sources.
νον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ μέχρι φθινοπωρινοῦ καιροῦ. | χειμώνος
dὲ ἐπιγυμνομένον ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν στόλος διαπεραιωθεὶς ἐν
Κυζίκῳ διεχείμιζε, | καὶ πάλιν ἑαυτὸς ἀρχηγός ἐκεῖθεν ἀντι-
anac Archive ὑπό τοῦ διὰ θαλάσσης πολέμου εἰχέτο. ἐπὶ
tὰ οὖν ἔται τοῦ πολέμου διαρκἐσαντος τέλος οὐδὲν πλέον ὁ τῶν
Σαρακηνῶν ἦνυσε στόλος, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς τε ἄνδρας μαχιμῶν
ἀποβαλὸντες καὶ δεινὸς τραυματισθέντες καὶ χαλεπῶς ἡττη-
mένοι ὑπενόστους πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία καταφύγες. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς
πελάξας τοῦ Συλλαίον γενόμενοι ὑπὸ χιλιάριον πνεμάτων
καὶ θαλασσίον κλίδωνος καταληψθέντες παντραπτικὸ διώ-
κοντο. ὁ δὲ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν βασιλεὺς τὸ τοῦ στόλου ἀκοῦ-
σας δυστύχημα πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλει πρὸς Κωνσταντῖνον δὲ
σπευσάμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τελέσαμας ἐναισχύνσις. ὁ δὲ
τούτων δεξάμενος καὶ τὰ δηλωθέντα ἄκηκος συνεκπέμπει
αὐτοῖς Ἡσαῦνη τῶν πατρίκων, τὸ ἐπίκλην Πατζγιανόν,
πολυπερὶκας καὶ φρονῆσει διαφέροντα, ὡς τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ εἰρή-
νη διαλέξης ἐκμένον πρὸς τὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν γενόμενος ἡθη
συμβαίνει τε αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν εἰρήνην βεβαιωμένος ἐπὶ
tρίκοντα ἔταις, ὅτε παρέχεσθαι Ἐρμαῖοις ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρα-
κηνῶν ἀνὰ ἐτὸς συνότητα χρυσοῦ τερίς χιλιάδας ἄνδρας τα
ἀλμαλώτους | πεντάκοντα καὶ ἔπους πεντάκοντα. ταῦτα
ἀκηκόστε καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὰ ἐστέρια οἰκούντες μέρη, τοιτέστων
ὁ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἡγεμῶν καὶ οἱ ἐπέκεινα ἀρχηγοὶ τῶν πρὸς
dυστὰν παρακημένοις ἐθνῶν διὰ πρέσβεων δώρα τῷ βασιλεῖ
στείλαστε εἰρήνην ἐξήρθησαν· ἐφ’ ὀλὴ εἰς ἀνθέοντο τῷ βασιλέως
εἰρήνη τὸ λυπητὸν καὶ γαληνὴ ἐν τοῖς ἐφώοις ἐν τοῖς ἐστε-
ρίοις ἐβραβεύετο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐσχε.

35. Δεκτέων δὲ ἦδη περὶ τῆς τῶν λεγομένων Οὐνων καὶ
Βουλγάρων ἀρχῆς καὶ καταστάσεως αὐτῶν. περὶ τὴν Μαϊώ-
tον λίμνην κατὰ τὸν Κάκιμον ποταμὸν καθίσταται ἡ πάλαι
καλομένη μεγάλη Βουλγαρία καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι Κότραγοι,
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, 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 Pittigaudios, 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, by the river Kophis, lies Great Bulgaria (as it was called in olden times) and

---

19 In 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.

20 The Sea of Azov.

21 Presumably the Kuban: Κούπαν 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*).
35, 36

5 ὁμοφυλοι αὐτῶν καὶ οὐτοὶ τυχάνοντες. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Κωνσταν-
τίνων χρόνοις δικαίως ἐντελεύσατο, Κομβράτος τις ὄνομα
κύριος γενόμενος τῶν φύλων τούτων τῶν βίων μεταλλάξας
πέντε καταλιμπάνει νόις, ἐφ’ οἷς διαστήθηται μὴδαμῶς τῆς
ἀλλήλων ἀποχαιρετίην διαιτής, ὡς ἐν διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἀλ-
λήλους εὐνοίας τὰ τῆς ἄρχης αὐτῶν διασώζοντο. οὕτοι μικρὰ
τῆς πατρικῆς φροντίσαντες παρανέσασθαι ὅλιγον παραχηκό-
τος χρόνου διέστησαν | ἀλλήλουν, ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τοῦ λαοῦ
ἵνων μέρος ἀποστημόμενος. ὃν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος νύσι λεγόμενος
Βαϊανός κατὰ τὰ ἐνταλθέντα αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρός ἐν τῇ

10 προγονικῇ γῇ διέμενε μέχρι τοῦ δεύρου, ὃ δὲ δεύτερος λεγό-
μενος Κόσταργος τὸν Ταϊάνην περαιωθεὶς ποταμών φύκει στού-
τοι ἀντικρῆς, ὃ δὲ τέταρτος τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ποταμῶν διαβὰς ἐν Παν-
νονίᾳ τῇ νῦν ὑπὸ Αβάρως κειμένη αὐλίζεται ὑπὸσποδῶς τῇ
ἐγχώρῳ ἐδείξει γενόμενος, ὃ δὲ πέμπτος κατὰ τὴν Ῥαβέν-
νησίαν Πεντάπολιν ἱδρυσάμενοι ὑπόφορος Ὁρμαιόν ἐγέ-
νετο. τούτων ὁ λοιπὸς τρίτος ἀδελφός ὄνομα Ἰστροῦ τοῦ
Δάναστρου καὶ τοῦ Δάναστρου ποταμῶν περαιωθεὶς περὶ τὸν
Ἰστροῦ οἰκίζεται, τόπων πρὸς οἰκήσει ἐπιστήθειον, Ὅγιον τῇ
σφῶν καλούμενον φωκῆ, καταλαβόμενος, δυσχερῆ τε καὶ

15 ἀνάλωτον πολεμίοις ὑπάρχουσα τὰ ἀσφαλῆς τὰ ὅστις τὰ μὲν ἔμ-
προσεθῇ τῇ τε δυσχερᾳ καὶ τῷ τελεματῶδις εἴναι τυχάνων,
τὰ δ’ οἷς ὑποστεθέν την κρημνοῦν διαχείσφαλεν. οὕτω τοῖς τού
ἐβαρος διαφεβεθέντος καὶ σκεδασθέντος, τὸ τῶν Χαλάρων
φύλο ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐθείου τῆς Ἡρακλείας λεγόμενης χώρας ὡς

20 πλησίον τῶν Σαρμάτων φυκμένου πλειστάς ἀδελφοίς ἐντεθέθη
ἐπέτερχον. τὰ τοιαύτα πάντα κατάδραμεν χωρία τῇ ὑπὲρ
Πόντου τῶν Εὐξείων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐπιρρεάζετο μεθ’ ὧν
καὶ Βαϊανόν ὑπεξούσιον ποιήσαμεν εἰς ὑπαγωγήν φόρων
κατέστησε.

30 Κωνσταντίνως δὲ ἐπειδῆ ἐγνω ὡς τὸ σκηνώσαν

[88]
(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 Tanaïs\textsuperscript{22} and dwelt opposite the first; the fourth went over the river Istros\textsuperscript{21} 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 Ravenna\textsuperscript{23} and became tributary to the Romans. The remaining third brother, called Asparuch, crossed the rivers Danapris and Danastris\textsuperscript{25} 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

\textsuperscript{22}The Don.
\textsuperscript{21}The Danube.
\textsuperscript{23}Between Ravenna and Ancona.
\textsuperscript{25}The Dnieper and Dniester.
(παρά) τὸν Ἰστρόν ἐθνὸς τὰ πλησιάζοντα τῆς υπὸ Ἱερομαίνων ἀρχής χωρία καταθέν διαφιδέρει ἐπεχειρεῖ, στρατὸν ὤπλι· την ἐπὶ τὴν Ὄροκάν διαβίβασας χώραν, ἐτι τε καὶ στόλον ὀπλίσας κατὰ τοῦ ἐθνοῦς ὡς ἀμυνόμενος ὄχετο. οἱ δὲ Βουλγάροι τῶν τε ἵππων καὶ πλούσιων τὰ πλήθη θεασάμενοι καὶ τῷ αὐριφνῷ καὶ ἀνελάστῳ καταπλαγέντες πρὸς τὰ ἐκατέρτων ὄχρωματα ἐφέννον, τέτρασιν ἡμέραις ἐκεῖσε ὑπομείναντες· καὶ τῶν Ἱερομάνων μὴ δινηθέντων αὐτοῖς πολέμῳ συμμεῖζα διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν τοῦ τότου, ἀνελάμβανον τε αὐτοὺς καὶ προθυμοῖτο ἐγίνοντο. οὐ δὲ βασιλεὺς νόσῳ ποδαλγοκη συγχεθεῖται καὶ δευσπάθης τὴν πόλιν ἀπέπλευε θεραπείας ἐκείνην, προστάζας τοὺς ἐρχοντι καὶ τοὺς λαοῖς προσεδρεύειν τὸ ὄχυρωμάτι καὶ δόσα πρὸς ἀμυνῶν τοῦ ἐθνοῦς κατεργάσατο τα. σφίμῃ δὲ τις ἐδέδωσε· τὸν βασιλέα φεύγειν μηνύοντα, δι’ ἡν δορυφορεῖτο οὐδένος διώκοντος συντόνως ἐφέννον. οἱ δὲ Βουλγάροι ἐπιδότες ἐπεδίοκον καρτέρως, καὶ σὸν μὲν τοῦ λαοῦ κατελάμβανοι ἀνήριον, πλεῖστον δὲ καὶ ἐπιμαμάζον. περαιώθησε τὸν Ἰστρόν ἐπὶ τὴν λεγομένην Βάρνιαν πλησίον Ὀδύσσου καὶ τοῦ ὑπερκειμένου μεσογαίου, τὸ ὄχυρον καὶ ἁσφαλές τοῦ τότου πάντοθεν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀγάν δυσχωρίας θεασάμενοι ἐνταῦθα σκήνοισι. κρατοῦσι δὲ καὶ τῶν [ἐγγυόνων] παρακεκμένων Σκλαβηνών ἐθνῶν, καὶ οὐς μὲν τὰ πρὸς Ἀβάρους πλησιαζοῦντα φρουρεῖν, οὕς δὲ τὰ πρὸς Ἱερομάνους ἐγγίζοντα τηρεῖν ἐπιτάττοντον, ἐν τούτοις ὄχυρωμάτων καὶ αὐξηθέντων τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία τε καὶ πολίσσινα καταθήκοιν ἐπεχειρεῖν. τῷ βασιλείῳ δὲ ἀνάγκη ἢ ταῦτα ὀρῶντι ἐπὶ τελέσμασι πρὸς αὐτοὺς σπέρνεσθαι.
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 Odyssoß, 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
5 ταῦτα διαγγέλω Κωνσταντίνος σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν συγκροτεί, ἡ τάς μὲν προλαβοῦσαν | πέντε ἁγίας οἰκουμενικὰς συνόδους ἐκύρωσε καὶ τὰ δύο ἐπὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ θελήματα καὶ δύο φυσικὰς ἐνεργειας, τέλεων αὐτῶν ἐν θεότητι καὶ τέλεων ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι διατρανόσασα καὶ τῷ ἀναθέματι τοὺς τῆς αἰρέσεως ἀρξαντας παραπέμψασα. οὕτως ἐν γαλήνῃ καὶ εἰρημενῇ καταστάσει τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζωῆς διατελέσας τῷ ἐπτακαδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἔπελευσα. καὶ κατατίθεται αὐτὸ τὸ λεῖψανον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείσι τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων μνήματι.

38. Καταλημπάνει δὲ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰουστινιανῶν ἐκκαθέδεκατον ἔτος τῆς ἡλικίας ἁγιώτατα, ὡς τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιλαβόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐνεκεν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πολιτικῆς ἐυταξίας βραβευθέντα διέστρεφε. μεθ᾽ ὧν λυεὶ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Βουλγάρους γενομένην εἰρήνην. ἤσπετα δὲ στρατεύματα πρὸς τοῖς Θράκμοις διαγγαγὼς χωρίους κατὰ τῶν Σκλαβηνῶν εὑθὺς ἀρμήσε. μεχρὶ δὲ Θεσσαλονίκης ἐκδραμομὸν πόλεως, πολλά τῶν ἐκείστε Σκλαβηνῶν γένεται τὰ μὲν πολέμω τὰ δὲ ὁμολογία παραλαβῶν, εἰς τὴν τοῦ Ὁμιλίου λεγομένην χώραν διὰ τῆς Ἀβυδου διαβιβάσας κατέστησεν. εὗ ὧν στρατεύει ἄχρι καὶ ἔς τριάκοντα χιλιάδας λαού, οὐς ἐξοπλίσας λαοῖν ἐκάλεσε περιουσίων, ἀρχοντα αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν εὐγενεστέρων ἐπιστήμης Νέβουλον τοῦνομα. εἰς οὖς διαφέρεσας λυεὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς γενομένην εἰρήνην, μεθίστησε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ὄρει του Λιβανοῦ λαχοῦσας ἐκ παλαιοῦ χρόνου ὀπλίταις. ἐκστρατεύει δὲ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν Σεβαστόπολιν γίνεται. καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐπιστρατεύεσαι πρὸς αὐτοῖς παραγίνοντα καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης φυλάττεσθαι βέβαια παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐφασκοῦν, εἰ δὲ βούλομαι διαστρέφειν Ῥωμαίοις, θεὼν κρῆτη τῶν αἰτίων γίνε-
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,
σθαὶ. Ἰονοστινιανὸν δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς μάχης αὑρομένου, οὗτοι τὸν τῆς εἰρήνης ἐγγραφὸν λόγον ἐφ᾽ ὑπηλοῦ ἀναρτήσαντες σημείῳ προάγειν ἐκέλευσαν, καὶ δὴ κατὰ Ἦρμαιῶν ἐχώρουν. οἱ δὲ εἰς φυγὴν ἐστάπτοντο. καὶ ὁ κληθεὶς περιοῦσιος τῶν Σκλάβων λάος τοῖς Σαρακκνοῖς προστίθεται, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἦρμαιῶν ἄνήρουν. ἐξ οὗ πλεῖον προσκτησάμενοι θάρσος πλεῖονος τῆς Ἦρμαιῶν ἀρχῆς ἐλυμαῖνοντο, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος οὕτω πως ἔσχεν. 39. Εἰς δὲ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς καθίστατα ἄνδρας ἀπηνεῖς καὶ ὅμοιταις, οὐ δὲ Στέφανος | εὐνούχος Πέρσης, ταμίας τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων καὶ πολλά τοὺς ὑπὸ χείρα αἰκιζόμενος ἤχρι καὶ εἰς τὴν μητέρα Ἰονοστινιανὸν τὴν τόλμαν ἐξένεγκε, μάστιγας αὐτῇ [ἐν σχήματι] ὥσπερ τοὺς παῖδας ἰε γραμματιστὶ ἐπιθέμενος. Θεόδοτον δὲ τινα μοιαχόν, ἐγκλειστὸν τὸ πρότερον κατὰ τὰ Θρακία τοῦ Στεφάνου λεγομένον πόρον γεγονότα, τῶν δημοσίων λογιστήν, ὅτι τὸ δημοσίους γενικὸν λογοθέτην καλούσι, κατέστησεν, ὑπὸ ὑπερβολῆς ὁμότιτος οὗ τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν μόνον χρήματα ἐστατε, μετεβάλλος σχοινίους ἀναρτῶν καὶ ἀχύροις περικατινίζων, ἀλλὰ ἣδη καὶ ἐτέρους περιφανεστέρους ἄνδρας δημεύων καὶ ἀφορήτους ποιούσις ἐπιφέρων ἀπέκτεινε. 40. Λεύτηνοι δὲ τινα πατρίκιον ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἰσαύρων δρμώμενον χώρας καὶ στρατηγὸν γενόμενον τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ καλούμενον στρατεύματος, εὐθύγραμμόν τε ἐν τοῖς πολέμως πολλάκις γενόμενον, καὶ αὐτῶν ὑποφοροῦριν τροσι χρόνος Ἰονοστινιανὸς ἐποίησεν. εἶτα τῆς φρουρᾶς λύσας στρατηγοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος προβάλλεται, αὐθημεροῦν ἀναγκάσας τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἄπαρι οὗ δὲ γίνονται φίλοι τυγχάνοντες ἄωρι

---

39: 1 usque ad 40. 12 cf. Sudam s.v. Ἰονοστινιανὸς ὁ Ἦρμαντης || 1 εἰς Suda || καθίσται L καθίστη Suda || αἰσχρὴ L 2 ὁ εὐνούχος/Suda || ταμίας L 3 μάστιγως L || αὐτή V 2 ex αὐτῆς || ἐν σχήματι seclusi om. L 6 γραμματεῖς L 6–7 ἐκελεύσθη Suda || 8–9 γενικῶν L om. V || 10 om. L || τοῖς VL corr. vulg. || 11 περικεπτινίζων L 12 περιφανεστέρους L perifaneostatous Suda || 13 ἀπέκτεινεν Suda

40: 1 Ἰσαύρων L || 3 εν πολλαῖς V || 5–6 στρατ. Ἑλλάδος Suda || 7 ἄωρη B ἄωροι L (ἄωρον) V accentu sec. m. add.

[94]
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, 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. 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

---

26 i.e., sacellarius. Cf. Theoph., 367.15.
27 We have omitted from the translation the words δυ σχήματι which do not appear to yield any satisfactory sense.
τῆς νικτός Παύλος της μοναχοῦ τῶν Καλλιστράτου μονῆς ὑπάρχων, ἀστρονόμος τὴν ἐπιστήμην, καὶ Γρηγόριος μοναχός καὶ ἤγομένος ἐν τῇ Φλώρου μονῇ, Καππαδοκίας τὸ γένος, ὡς προσέπιθοντες. αὐτός δὲ ἠδών ἐνεκάλει λέγων ὡς "μᾶτην μοι τὰς βασιλείας προεμπαντεύσασθε νῦν γάρ ἐνθέντες ἀποχωρήσατε τὸ τέλος με τὴς ζωῆς πικροῦ καταλήψεται". οἱ δὲ τῆς δοῦλο εἴργον, βέβαια παρεχόμενοι ὡς εἰ μὴ ὄκνησεν τῆς ἔξονσίας κρατήσειν. τούτους πειραθεὶς εὐθὺς ἐπικοιμήθων τινώς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἔτι τῆς νικτοῦ ἐνσταμένης καὶ ὅπλα ἀνελόμενος εἰς τὸ πραιτόριον ἄνευσιν ἄσκυψι. καὶ σημανάντων ὡς τὸν βασιλέα παρεῖναι ἐν τοῖς ἐκείσι προβὰ τὰ κατὰ γόμμην, ὁ τοῦ πραιτόριον ὑπαρχός ὑπήντην διανοίγος τὰς πύλας· ὅν αὐτίκα χείρας καὶ πόδας ἐπέδησεν. ἐντὸς δὲ γενόμενοι Λεόντιος πάντας τοὺς καθερμηγούμενος ἠλυσε καὶ ὅπλας ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Φόρον ἕξωρμησε· κάκειθεν σκεδασμούμενος ἀνὰ πάντα μέρη τῆς πόλεως βοή κράζειν ἐκέλευσεν πάντας Χριστιανοὺς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Σοφίας παραγενέσθαι. ἔξ ὧν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος θυρείδησεν σπουδὴ πρὸς τὸν λουτῆρα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡθροίζετο. οὗ δὲ σὺν τοῖς μοναχοῖς καὶ ἔτεροις τῶν φίλων πρὸς Καλλίνικον τὸν ἤτρωσεν ἵππαρχην τῆς πόλεως ἐρχεται, καὶ βιάζεται κατελθεῖν καὶ φωνῆσαι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν "ἀυτή ἡ ἡμέρα ἢ ἐποίησεν ὁ κόρος", τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ᾽Ιουστινιανὸν διδυσφημεί, καὶ οὕτως ἀπαντεῖ ἐπὶ τὸν χώρον τῆς ἐπίστροφος ὡς. ἡμέρας δὲ ἐπιγενόμενης ἐκφέροντο ᾽Ιουστινιανὸν πρὸς αὐτούς. καὶ τῆς πληθὺς βωσείς βασιλέα ξίφος διαδέχεσθαι. Λεόντιος τοῦ αἴματος αὐτοῦ φεισάμενος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Κωνσταντίνου τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀγάπην, τεμὼν τὴν γλώτταν καὶ τὴν ρίνα ἐν Χερσόνῃ τῇ πόλει ἐξώρισε, δεκατὴν ἦτο ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διανύσαστα. Λεόντιος δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν πλῆθος βασιλείᾳ ἀναγορευεῖται. Στέφανον δὲ τὸν εὐνούχον καὶ Θεόδωτον τοῦ μοναχόν, δι' ἢν ὑπέμειναν παρ' αὐτῶν κάκωσιν, καὶ ῥεζοτος τοῦ βασιλέως συλλαβώμενοι καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ἐξαναρτήσατες διὰ σχοινῶν συρέντος

L47' V197' L47' dB39 [96]
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 Praetorium\(^28\) 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 fountain\(^29\) of the church. Together with the monks and other friends of his, \(\langle\text{Leontios}\rangle\) 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 \(\langle\text{Justinian's}\rangle\) 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

\(^{28}\)Not the praetorian prefect, an office that no longer existed at the time, but the prefect of Constantinople, whose seat was at the Praetorium.

\(^{29}\)I.e., the atrium.
πρὸς τὴν καλομένην τοῦ Βοσά ἐγορᾶν πυρὶ παραδεδόκεσαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐν Κονσταντινούπολει οὕτω διέκειτο.

41. Ἡ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀνωτῆν Καρχηδῶν πρόφητη ὑπὸ Ἐρμαίων τελοῦσα τὸτε ὑπὸ χεῖρα τῶν Σαρακηνῶν γίνεται, πολέμω παρὰ αὐτοῖς ληφθεῖσα. τοῦτο διαγωνισμὸς ἀναπαρά τὰ Ἐρμαίων ἐξώπλισε πλοῖα, στρατηγὸν τε ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννην τὸν πατρίκιον ὃς ἔμπειρον τῶν πολεμίων προεξειράμενος πρὸς Καρχηδόνα κατὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐξέπεμψεν διὸ ἐκέιτο παραγενώμενος τοὺς μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν πολέμου ἐτροπώσατο, τὴν δὲ πόλιν Ἐρμαίων ἀνεσώσατο, καὶ τάλα πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖτο πολίσματα τῆς τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπαλλαγάς ἐξουσίας καὶ στρατοῦ ὀπλήτην πρὸς φυλακὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔγκαταλείπασα αὐτῶν διεχείμαζεν. δὲ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν βασιλεὺς ταύτα μεμαθηκὼς πλείονα κατ’ αὐτοῦ ἐκίνησε πόλεμον, δι’ οὗ καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἰωάννην σὺν τῷ περιάντι αὐτῷ Ἐρμαίων στόλῳ ἐξώθησε, καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα παραλαμβάνει πάλιν καὶ τὰ τερπαντηρία στάντα, δὲ Ἰωάννης ἀφορμήσας πρὸς βασιλέα ἀνήγετο, ἐν δὲ τῇ νῆσῳ Κρήτης γενόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἄρχοντων καὶ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ πλῆθους ἠστασάτω, ὡς οὐδ膑ὲς βουλήθης αἰεχθῆναι καὶ δεῖ εἰσεπταχέμονος πρὸς βασιλέα παραγενεσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο Δεοντοῦ μὲν δυσφημοῦντες ἀθετοῦν, ψηφίζονται δὲ Ἀψήμαρος δυναμικος στρατὸς ἄρχοντα τῶν Κορυκωπῶν τυγχάνοντα τῆς ὑπὸ Κυβηρακωτῶν χώρας, ὅπερ γιγάντων Ῥωμαίους καλεῖν ἔθος, Τιβέριον αὐτῶν ἐποιμάσατον. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ νόσου λουκακτῆ | τῇ πόλει ἐπέσκηψε καὶ πλῆθος λαὸς ὠτὶ μησὶ τέρατι διεφθείρων. Ἀψήμαρος δὲ σὺν τῷ συνώντι αὐτῷ στόλῳ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀναχθεὶς ἀντικρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐν Συκαίς λεγομένῳ παραθαλασσίῳ χωρίῳ προσφερμένη, ἐπὶ χρόνον δὲ τινὰ πόλεμον συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, τέλος τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ τείχους Βλαχερνών θρύσους καὶ τοὺς τοῦτον ἄρχοντας ὑποβείρας δόλῳ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν παραλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς εἰσελθὼν

41 παραδέδωκε Λ.
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 was 30 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 Kibyraion 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

---

30Nikephoros 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.
τά χρήματα τῶν πολιτῶν διήρπαξε. Λεόντιον δὲ χειρώσαμενος τρίτον ἐτος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διάγοντα τὴν ρίνα αὐτοῦ ἐξέταμε, καὶ ἐν τῷ καλομένῳ τῆς Δελμάτου μοναστηρίῳ ἡσυχαζέως προσέταξε.

42. Καὶ οὕτως μὲν ταῦτα ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς συνέβαινεν Ἰουστινιανός δὲ ἐπεί πρὸς τῇ Χερσόνεια διετρίβε, συνήντησεν δημηγορῶν ὡς πᾶλιν κρατήσεν τῆς βασιλείας ἐπαρρησίαζετο. οἱ δὲ ἄδε πολίται κυνδυνοὶ ἐπικούρευοι ἐβουλεύοντο αὐτῶν ἀνελεῖν ἡ δεσμώην πρὸς Ἀφίμιαρον ἀνακάμπτειν. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦτο αἰσθάμενος ἐκείθεν διέφυγε καὶ εἰς τὸ φρούριον τὸ λεγόμενον Δόρος πρὸς τῇ Γοτθικῇ κείμενον χώρα ἀποδρασεν. ὁ αὐτὴ τῶν Χαζάρων ἤγεμόνα (χαγάνους δὲ τούτοις αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν) ὡς αὐτῶν παραγενήσατο. ὁ δὲ τῇ αὐτὴν διεξέται καὶ αὐτῶν μετὰ τιμῆς ἐδέξατο, καὶ φιλιωθεὶς αὐτῷ τὴν εὐαυτοῦ ἀδελφὴν Θεοδώραν καλομένην εἰς γυναῖκα ἐξέδοσε. ὁ δὲ τῇ αὐτῶν συνανήσει ἐν Φαναγώρῃ ἐλθὼν σὺν αὐτῇ διετρίβε. ταῦτα διαγιόν τοῖς Ἀφίμιαρος ἐνεκείστω συνήκει τῶν τῶν Χαζάρων ἀρχοντα ἐκλεπτοῦν, πλείοντα δὲ χρήματα καὶ δόρα ὑποχειρείτο, οἱ ζῶντα Ἰουστινιανὸς ἡ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν ἐκτέμπαι. ὁ δὲ τὰς πολλὰς ἔδειξα παρακλήσειν ὑπέσχετο τοῦτο πολὺ πληροῖν. τέμπειν ἂν ἄνδρας εἰς φυλακὴν αὐτῶν καθεστώς, τῷ μὲν προσσχήματι ὡς μή ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐπιβουλεύεται, τῷ δὲτὲ φυλάσσεται, ὡς μὴ ἀποδίασῃ ποτὲ προσφεραμένοις. καλεῖται δὲ τῷ ἀρχοντὶ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν, ἄνευμενὸς δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ ὄντι, ἐτε δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀρχοντὶ τοῦ Βοσσόρου τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἐπιτρεπότα ἡμῖν καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπει ἀνελεῖν αὐτῶν ὡς τάχιστα. ταῦτα δὲ μηνύεται Θεοδώρας παρά τις τῶν τῶν πατρὸς οἰκετῶν ἢ δὲ τῇ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῷ ἄνδρι ἀνετίθεται. καὶ αὐτῶς τὸν αἰκείουν ἐκείου τῶν Χαζάρων καὶ καλέσας καὶ ἀπεδίδοσας μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἀχθείς παρέδωκε, τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ τρόπῳ ἄναρπει καὶ τῷ Βοσσόρου ἀρχοντα. εὐθὺς δὲ Ἰσιο-
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 Bospors 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-

δώραν τὴν γαμετήν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐκπέμπει, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπάρασ εἰς Τὸμῆν καλούμενον παραβαλάγγειον χωρίων κατ- ἴλθε. κάκεισε νηπίας σὺν ἑτέρους τισιν άνδράσι καὶ τοιῶν παραπλεύσασ ἣλθε μέχριν Συμβάλου τῷ πόλει πλη- σιώσασ Χερσώνι. καὶ προσορμίσας τῷ ἐκείσε λιμέν πέμπει ἐνα τῶν ἑταίρων ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει, κάκεισεν ἀγεί πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Βαρασβακούριον καὶ τοῦ τοῦτον ἄδελφον τὸν τι Σαλιβάν καὶ ἑτέρους τισιν ἄνδρας. καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐκπέμπεις, τὰ λεγο- μενα Νεκρόπηλα παρελθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἰστρον ποταμόν παρα- γίνεται. ἐκείθεν ἐκπέμπει τοῖς συνώντων τινα Στέφανον πρὸς Τέρβελιν κύριον οὐτα τινικάτα τῶν ἐκείσε Βουγλάρων, παρακαλῶν συναλβέσθαι αὐτῷ ὡστε τὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἀπο- λήψεσθαι τρόπον, ἀλλα τε πλείστα δώρα ὑποσχόμενος καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα εἰς γυναῖκα αὐτῷ δώσειν ἑπαγεγειλά- νος. ο ἐτο προθύμος ἐν πάσιν ὑπείκει, καὶ Ἰουστινιανῶν τὴν τιμῆ μεγάλη ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἤπαντα τὸν ὑπ’ αὐτῷ λαὸν ὑπλίσας σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεύσαν ὄχετο. | προσεδρευεὶ δὲ τῷ τείχει Βλαχερνών ἐπὶ τρισιν ἡμέραν, ἄξιῶν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως εἰσδεχθήρα αὐτὸν βασιλέα. οἱ δὲ αὐχρός ὑβρίζοντες ὡπ- ἐπεμπον. ο δὲ νυκτὸς εἰσδύεται σὺν ὅλην τισι κατὰ τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἄγων ἄντεθεν παραλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρὸς βραχὺ συνηνύοι ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ Βλαχερνών. Ἡράκλειος δὲ τὸν ἄδελφον Ἄσιμαρον στρατηγὸν τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ στρατοῦ γενόμενον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐχροντας καὶ ὑπασπίστας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐπὶ ξίλου ἀνήρτησε. Ἄσιμαρον δὲ συλλαβῶν ἔβδομον ἔτος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διανύσαντα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Δεωνίου σιδηρος πεδήσας κατέσχεν ἐν εἰρκτῇ μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπικού ἐπιτελέσας ἄγωνα, θάτερον μὲν ἐκ δεξίων θάτερον δὲ ἐξ ἄριστων πρὸς τοὺς ποιεὶν αὐτὸν πατέσθαι ρύθμας ἐπὶ ὃρας βραχείας, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκπέμπει ἐν τῷ καλομένῳ Κυ- νηγῶ τιμῆσθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς. τὸν δὲ Βουγλάρων ἐχροντα Τερέβιλιν ἐξε τείχους Βλαχερνῶν σκηνούμενον πολλὰ φιλο- φρονησάμενος, τέλος παραγεγούμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν χλαυδία τε περιβάλλει βασιλικὴν | καὶ Καίσαρα ἀναγορεύει, καὶ συμ-
mander of the Bosporos. Straightaway he dispatched his wife Theodora to her father and he himself departed to a coastal spot called Tomis. There he boarded a boat together with several men and, sailing by, came as far as Symbolon, 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 Nekropela and came to the river Istrs. 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 Heracleios, 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

---

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


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

[103]
πάρεδρον ποιησάμενος προσκυνείσθαι συν αυτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ἐκέλευσε, καὶ πλείστα παρασχόμενος δώρα πρὸς τὰ ἔαυτοὶ ἐξέππεμπε. Καλλίωνος δὲ τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἱεράρχην,

65 ὃς δυσφημήσαντα αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Δεοντίου ἀναγορεύσει, τυφλώσας ἐν τῇ 'Ῥώμῃ ἐξέππεμψε, Κύρου ἄντ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἱερωθούν προχειρισάμενον τῶν ἐν Ἁμάστριδι ἐγκλειστὸν γενόμενον, προσημάναντα αὐτῷ ἐκείσθαι παρῴητι τὴν τῆς δευτέρας βασιλείας κατάστασιν. πολύν τε φόνον καὶ κά-

70 κώστων ἐν τοῖς ὕπηκοις ἐποιεῖτο· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἀρχοντας προβαλλόμενοι αὐτίκα ἑτέρους ὑποσθεὶν ἐκπέμπων ἀνήρει, ο &[...]

43. Μετὰ τοῦτο λεία τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Βουλγάρους εἰρήνην, καὶ στρατεύμαται πλείστα διὰ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης πρὸς τοὺς Ἰάκοβιοι μέρησι διαγραφῶν πρὸς τήν Ἀγιαλω τὸ πέλει ὡς πο-

5 λέμησιν αὐτοῦ παρασχωμενος ἀφολύκτως δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἐκεῖσθαι πεδία ἐπὶ κομῆδι χόρτου σκεδασμένου ἐπιπίπ-

44. Ἐν τούτοις ὄντων τῶν προγάμων ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν βασιλέως λαὸν πλείστων ὁπλίτην ἐκπέμπω, ἡγεμόνας αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσασα Μασταλμάν καὶ Σολμαν κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν διάλε-

5 κων καλουμένων, ὡς τὰ Τιναντίν πόλιν πολλορκήσουσας. οἱ ἐκεῖ ἐκείσθαι παραγενόμενοι, πολέμους πλείστους συνάσποντες,
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 τεχνομαχίαν ὀργάνων καταβαλόντες καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ἀνύσαται ἵσχυσαντες, ἀποχωρεῖν πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐβούλουστο. ἐν ὡς ἐκπέμπει ὸσυστιουνύος πρὸς τῇ μεσογείᾳ, καὶ πλεῖστον λαον ἄγροικον τε καὶ γεωργικοῦ ἀθρόωσας πρὸς τὰς Τυκαια ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσεν ὡς τοὺς πολιορκομένους ἐπαμμνύομενοι, τούτους ἁόρπλους οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ θαυμάσανοι ὀρμώσατι κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔβρετοι τους δὲ αἱχμαλώτους συνέλαβον. ἔνετεθην ἄρραβελοπόντων διατεθέντες τῆς προσδηρίας Τυκαιῶν εἰγούσα. οἱ δὲ ἀπορίες διαπανημάτων τῶν πρὸς μάχην ἀπειπήντες τῆς τε παρὰ βασιλείας βοηθείας οὐκ εὔπορησαντες, ὡμολογία ἐαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς παρέδοσαν καὶ πρὸς τά τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἥθη ἀπώφυγον. ἦς ἐκείνου λοιπὸν πλείστη τοῖς ἐχθροῖς παρρησία ἔδεσθος ἀδέσδος τός Ὀρμαῖοι καταληξάθηκαί χώρας, οὐδενὸς τούτους Ἰσχύοντος ἀντιτάτεσθαι, καὶ τινα τούτων ἀποδασμόν εἰς τρικόντων ἀνδρας περιστάμενον ἄχρι Χρυσαπόλεως κατελθεῖν (παραθαλασσίων χωρίν ἀντικρι Βυζαντίων πρὸς ἦλιον ἀνίσχυχαν ἰδρυμένου), καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ὀικήτορας ἀποσφάξας, τὰς δὲ πορθμίδας ἐμπρήσαται ναυς.

45. Ὀσυστιουνύος δὲ ἐν μνήμη ἐχὼν περὶ τῆς γενομένης αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀφίμαρον παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερσωνί διαβολής, ναῦς πολὺ πλείστος καὶ διαφόρους συσωζόμενος, ἐμβιβάσατο παρ' αὐτοῦ ἄχρι εἰς ἑκατὸν χιλιάδας ἀριθμῶν ἀνδρῶν, [εἰδότας] ἐκ τε στρατιωτικῶν καταλόγων, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς γεωργικοῦ καὶ τῶν βαναστικῶν τεχνῶν τῶν τε ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δήμου, Ἀνέσχων δὲ τινα παθρίκων τὸ ἐπίλημνον "Ασμίκτου τοῦ τωντοῦ στόλου ἡγεμόνα προβαλόμενος ἔξετέρωμε, προστάξας πάντας τοὺς ἐν Χερσωνὶ καὶ Βοσφόρῳ καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχοντιῶν λαοὺς ἐξεσθεν ἀνθηλοκέναι, Ὅλων δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀνοικτῶν ἀρχοντα

---


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 Asniktos 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
Χερσοῦνος ἔγκαταστήσει. ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βαρδάνων Ἀρμένων ἑγέρσαι ἐξωτερικῶν ἐκεῖνων καταλείψειν. Ἐτέρωσε δὲ διὰ τῆς Ἰουστινανίου πρᾶς τὶ ἐκεῖνη περιποίησιν τὰ πρωτεπαγμένα ἐπάγματα, μεσαία τὰ πάντα ἄλλα τῷ συνώνυμῷ αὐτῷ λαῷ ὡς δήθεν ἀθώμαλτα περιποιηθῆς. Γονδανῶν δὲ τῶν Ἑρμαίων ἕχωμαν καὶ Ζαλίου πρωτοπολείτην λεγόμενον καὶ ἐτέρων ἄνδρων παραπράκτια μετὰ τῶν ἑρμαίιτερων διασχίσσεις εὐδυναμεῖ καὶ πικτεῖ πρῶς Ἰουστινανίου ἐπέμβαιν. ἄλλων τε τῶν πρωτευόντων Χερσοῦνος ἄνδρων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔξω ἀνδρεῖς πρωτεπαγμένα ἐπὶ πυρὸς διασπηρέστε. τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων πρωτεπαγμένως πολλαπλάσιον ἄνδρως ἄχρη καὶ γιός ἐκεῖνο ἑκατὸν ἐμβλήμα τῳ πρωτεπαγμένῳ λίθῳ τούτῳ πλεύστως * τῷ μεθύδιον περισσοῦσιν. Ἰουστινανίου δὲ φιλοτριήριοττόν τοῦ 1.52v

Στέφανπον διατεθέντων μερίς τὰ διατεχαραγμένα αὐτῷ νομίζεται διὰ τὴν τῶν μεσαίων περιποίησιν. τοποδιαγράμματα ἐπανήκουν πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐκείνην, αὐτὸς δὲ κατά τὰ πρωτεπαγμένα ἐκείνην ἀπόφασις μηνὸς Ὄκταβρίου ἑνυπερήμενοι χειρὶς μεγάλῳ καὶ νοςούν περιπλάτεστε, εἰς τρεῖς καὶ ἐβδομηκότα χειρήματα τῶν κατακοιτησθέντων ἐμπληκτών, ὥστε τὰ πτώματα ἡ Ἀμαντρίδος πόλεως μέχρις Ἰερουσαλήμ ἐπερρήπτετο. ἐφ' ὡς οὐ λυστηρεῖς ἄλλα καὶ λίκνι περιχερής γενόμενος ᾿Ἰουστινανίου πόλεως μεταγενέστεροι τῆς ὕπερμερος στόλου, οἱ δὲ τῶν χωρίων τούτων ἄχρως τῆς φήμης εὐδυνάμους ἐκείνους ἄστερον ἀπὸ δυνάμεις ἡττησεικέντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Χαζέριοις διεπραξεθήκατε διὰτε ἐπὶ φυλακὴν τούτων λαῶν ἐπιστρέφαται καὶ περιτόμων τοὺς εἰς αὐτοὺς περιπροσπής. τεῦχε ᾿Ἰουστινανίου μεμελημένος Γεώργιος τῶν πατρικίων ὑποστελλέω καὶ ᾿Ιακώβου τῶν τῆς πόλεως ὑπήρχον στῶν ἑτέρων ἄχρως καὶ τρικάττῳ ἀχρί τρικάττων ἑτέρων. παραδοσιαὶ αὐτῶν Τουδανίων καὶ Ζαλίου, ὡς προκαταστήμαται αὐτῶν τειχειος ἄρχεις. Πλῆθος δὲ αγκυστίων ἀυτοὺς τούτους ἑνεργοῦσαν οἱ τῆς πόλεως μένους Γεώργιος καὶ τοῖς αὐτῷ ἄχρως ἀξιώθησαν εὐτός γενικέφαλα τῆς πόλεως.

12 ἔγκαταστήσεις εἰς καταλαμπέντες. 13 ἐξωτερικῶν καταλαμπέντες τῶν δικαιών. 19-20 ἐπίπεδοι. 23 τοῦτο ᾿Ιουστινανίου. 26 27 ἐπιστρέφαται. 29 πρωτεπαγμένος 30 ἑπίσχυσθαι 31 Ἀρμένων 32 ἐπερρήπτετο 35 ἡττησεικέντο. 36 Χαζέριοι. 40 παραγενομένου τῆς πόλεως. 41 τῶν δικαίων τοῦτος. 43 παραγενομένης ἐκ μαρτυρίας χειρὸς. 98 θελετήν χειρὸς.
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 οὐ γεγονότος τὰς μὲν τύλας | ἐπὶ αὐτοῦς ἐκλεισαν, ἦς ὄργουν 
δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην ἤφελε ἁναρροῦν, τοὺς δὲ ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἀπάλειφθέντας στρατώτας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Τουθόουν καὶ Ζωήλου 
τοὺς ἐκείσε ὑπεστερεῖ προσεδρεύουσι Χαζάρους παραδόντες τῷ χοαγῷ παραπτέμωσαν, οὐσ παραδοθέντες οἱ Χάζαροι κατὰ τὴν ἄδον 
ἐκτενοῦν. οἱ δὲ τῆς πόλεως Χερσονοὺς Ἰουστινιανοῦ μὲν αἰ-
σχρόν δυσφημίζοντες καθοβριζοῦν, Βαρθάνην δὲ τὸν ἐκείσε ὄντα ἔξωστον ὡς βασιλέα εὐφήμονον. τούτων αἰσθάμενοο 
Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ μείζουν θυμὸ δέξασθομένος τὰ μὲν Ἡλία 
τέκνα τῷ μητρώφῳ κόλπῳ φερόμενα ἀνήλικα, τῇ δὲ αὐτοῦ 
γυναίκα τῷ ἐδῶ μακαερίῳ ξευχοῦναι ἡράγκασαν. Ἰανόδι τῷ 
γένει καὶ ὅλω δυσεδεῖ νυκχάροντι. ἔστερον δὲ πάλιν μέγαν 
στόλον ἀποστέλλει, ἱγείσθα τοῦτον προχειροσμένος Μαυ-
ρον τὸν πατρίκιον, προστάξας τῇ μὲν πόλιν Χερσονοῦς κατα-
στραφθῆσαι καὶ ἀπαίτας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ἁφείδεις κατακτῆ-
ναι. οὐ δὲ πρὸς Χερσώνων περαιώθεις τοῦ ἔργου εἰχεται. λεγό 
δὲ Χαζάρων ἐξετυπιαῖος ἐπηπεσώστος ἢ μὲν πόλις περισσώ-
ζετο, Βαρδάνης δὲ ὃς τὸν κύριον τοῦ Χαζάρων φυγῶς ἐχετω. 
Μαύρος δὲ ὁ πατρίκιος πρὸς μὲν τὴν πολυρρίαν | ἁμηχνη-
σας, παλινοπεῖν δὲ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανὸν δειθώ, συμφρονεῖ 
τῇ πόλει Χερσωτῶν. καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸν μὲν ἀπηρναίοντο, 
Βαρδάνην δὲ ὃς βασιλέα εὐφήμονα, Φιλιπτικόν αὐτοῦ 
μετονομάσαντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Χαζάρον διαπρεσβεύονται τοῦτον 
ὡς αὐτοῦς ἀπεσταλκέναι. οὐ δὲ ὅρκους ἐπιπεδοῖ τὸ 'Ῥωμαϊκὸν 
πλῆθος περὶ τῆς Βαρδάνου σωτηρίας χρήματα αὐτοῦ πρα-
ξαμένους, κατ' ἄνδρα ἐκαστὸν νόμισμα εἰληφὼς. Ἰουστινια-
νός δὲ χρόνου παρερχομένου ὑπόπτευεν ὡς καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν 
ἡθετήμενος εἶτε, διὰ τούτο αἱρεῖται Τέρββλην τῶν ἀρχαῖν τῶν 
Βουγάρων καὶ την κακὰ πρὸς αὐτῆς συμμαχεῖν αὐτῷ, οὐ 
δὲ πέμπει πρὸς αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ὡς τρισχυλίους, οὖς 
δεξαμένους συμπεριοῦνται 
αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἁμα τῷ τοῦ Ὀψικίου λεγομένοι ὑπότητὶ εἰς τὸκαυλουρίῳ πεδίον τοῦ Δαματρίῳ ἱδρύσασθαι παρεκέλευσαι. 
αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τὸ ἀρχαῖν θαυμάσει καὶ στρατὸν ὑπόπτην ἔστερον 
παραλαβὼν πρὸς τόσι Ποντικοῖς ἐξέδραμε χωρίς, ἀχρι
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) 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

35 Probably modern Samandra: Janin, Grands centres, 50–51 and map on p. 62.
παραθαλασσόντων κόμης Ἡγγιλίσσου ὁμομαζομένης, ὡστε
άνιμακχαίνειν οἰα τὰ ἐν Χερσώνι ἀυτῷ πεπραγμέντα τὸν.
ἐπὶ χρόνων δὲ των ἐκείνων διάτριβας καὶ θεατήμενως τὸν τοιούτον
υπόλοιπον τῷ | Φιλιππικῆς βασιλέως πρὸς Βυζαντίου καταί-
ρωτά, πρὸς τὸν καταλεφθέντα αὐτῷ λαὸν κατὰ τὸν Δαματρίων
παλινοστεί. Φιλιππικὸς δὲ πολέμου ἑκτός εἰς τὴν πόλιν
ἐσθήσει, καὶ συνικαὶ Ἡλίαν σὺν ὁμία ἱκάτα Ἰουστινιανοῦ
ἀποστέλλει. καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ μὲν συνωτεί Ἰουστινιανῷ πλήθει
ἀπόκοι τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐβεβαιώσει καὶ τὸν τῶν Βουλγάρων
λαὸν σῶσε ἔπαινης ὑπέραχτο, αὐτὸς δὲ Ἰουστινιανῷ τὴν
κεφαλὴν ἐκέμμενει, ὡς ἔτος ἐκτός ἀνώσαντος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ

αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, καὶ πρὸς Φιλιππικὸν ἐκτέτακε τὸ δὲ τοῦ
τῆς διάγραμας πρὸς τὸν ἐπιτραπέζιον τόπους ἄρχει Ὀρμής ἀπ-
έστελλε. Μαύρων δὲ τὸν πατρίκιους καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν βασι-
λικὸν δορυφόρον, ἐπίκλησεν Στρούθιον, κατὰ Τιβερίου τοῦ ὕφος
Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἐξεπεμβείνει, ὃν καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν τῷ 
θυσια-
στρίῳ καταφύγοντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς πανάχυνθον θεομήτορος τοῦ
ἐν Βλαχέρνας ὄντος, ἐν ζωῆς ἐπιτρέψοντας Ἰωάννης ἅρετες τῆς
ἰερατῶς ἐξημέλους τραπέζες, μήτε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστρίου
evλαβηθήσεις μήτε τόσον ἀκμάζουν Ἀπαστασίας τῆς
ἀυτοῦ μάμμας ἐξαιτίας παρῆν γὰρ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ἐγχώνῳ 
συγ-
κυνδυνεύουσαν. καὶ τοῦτον εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἔρημου ὕπαιθρους
πυλίδα | τὴν καλομενήν τῶν Καλλικρίκων ἱπποὺ ἐλέγον δίκην
μαχαίρα ἀποσφάττοντο, ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν θείων Ἀργυρών
τῶν καλομέλοντων τῶν Παυλίνης ταφῆναι προστάξαντες. μεθ' 
ὁν συνελαμβάνονται καὶ Βαρασκαβακοῦρν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς

Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἅρχουσας, καὶ τάννας ἄμαρτον.

46. Φιλιππικὸς δὲ ἀσέμνως καὶ μαθήμας τα βασιλεία
diέστων ἑράτειν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ ἥκτῃ οἰκουμενικῇ συνόδῳ πα-
τέρας ἀναθηματι καθυβέβαις, τά παρ' αὐτῶν ἐνθέους δημο-
tισθέντα δύο τοῦ σωτήρος θελήματα καὶ ἐνεργείας μή ἀπο-
deχόμενος, συνάκτητος εὐρήκων Ἰωάννην τὴν τηρικάτα
τῆς πόλεως ἀρχηγεία καὶ Γερμανῶν τῶν Κυζίκου μητροπολι-
tῆν καὶ ἑτέρων ἱερείς καὶ συνηγκυκτικῶν πλείστων.

79 παραβαλλόμενων L Ἰγγιλίσσου sine acc. V III 83 καταληφθέντα L 84 Φιλιππικὸς ex Φιλιπ-
πικοῦ V II 85 εὐρήκων L 89 ἀπάτοσαν L III 91-92 ἀπάτοσαν L II 93 ἐπίκλων VL cor. vulg.
Στρούθιον ex Στρούθιον V I 99 ἱέρας L ἐκγένος L I 101 πυλίδα om. V

46: Cf. Sudan s.v. Φιλιππικὸς || 2 δὲ] τε Suda || 5 εὐρήκων L Suda εὐγένεσιν V II 7 καὶ
ἑτέρων ἱερείς om. L

[112]
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 bodyguard 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.

\[\text{I.C., spatharios as in Theoph., 377.22.}\]
47. Ἐν τούτοις τῶν Βουλγάρων ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὀμίλιος ἄθρως (κατὰ) τοὺς ἐν τῷ Θράκικῳ Βοσπόρῳ οἰκονομεῖ τὸ ἐπεισπίπτειν καὶ λαοῦ πλείστον τῶν ἐγχώριων καὶ τῶν ἐκ Βυζαντίου διαπερώτων τέρψεως καὶ ἰδιπάθειας ἔνεκεν ἀναμονῆς, ἀλλοὺς τῇ ἡμελώτευσιν καὶ ἀργυρὸν ὡς πλείστον καὶ σκευὴν ὑπὸ ὄλγα παρ᾿ αὐτῶν προσκοπτομένους ἀδείας δὲ αὐτοῖς προσγενομένης καὶ πρὸς τῷ χερσαίῳ τείχι τῆς πόλεως σκεδάννυται, ἄχρι καὶ τῆς Χρυσῆς καλουμένης πυλῆς προεκδραμόντες. ἐκείθεν ὑπονοοῦσαι πολλὰ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία καταλημνοῦται. | μετὰ δὲ ταύτα καὶ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἔθνων τῆς Ρωμαίων κατέβουν χώραν, καὶ τὰ πλείστα μέρη διεκτρέχοντες πλείστην ὄσην βλάβην ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ κτημῶν ἐποιοῦτα, τὴν τε Μισθιαν καὶ ἑτέρα πολίσσματα συμπαραλαμβάνουσι.

48. Φιλιππικοῖς δὲ γενέθλιον τῆς πόλεως ἡμέραν ἐπιτελέσας καὶ ἀμμαλητήριον τῶν ἔπαινων ἠγῶνα ἐπιδειξάμενος, εἷτα τοῖς φίλοις συμποσιάσας εἰς ὑπνον κατὰ τῶν μεσημβριών τῆς ἡμέρας καραυρὸν ἐτράπετο. συμβαίνει δὲ γε αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουληθὲν ἐνεπεθεῖν. Γεώργιος τοῖς νόμοις, τὸ ἐπίκλημα Βούραφος, πατρίκιος τυγχάνων καὶ τοῦ Ὀμνικίου | στρατοῦ ἠγούμενος, πρὸς τῇ Ἡράκλεια την καθαρὰ ἐπιθυμήμων φυλάκης ἔνεκα τῆς χώρας διὰ τῆς τῶν Βουλγάρων καταδρομῆς, γνώμῃ Θεοδώρου τοῦ πατρικίου τὸ ἐπίκλημα Μυκινίου τέµπει τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινά, Ἡρώδουν νόμον, σὺν ὀλίγοις στρατιῶταις πρὸς τὸ Βυζαντῖνον τὰ πρὸς τὴν Φιλιππικοῦ ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπιτελέσαντας· δόσ αὐρωπός κατὰ τὰ βασίλεια ἐπεισπίπτει, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα καθευδότας καταλαβόν τεκανίστης εἰς τὸ ὑπνον καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἰστοριούνν δεξάμενο κάκειτο αὐτῷ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπετύφλωσε, δεύτερον ἔτος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διάγουσα. τῇ ἐπαύρων (ὑμέρα ἣν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἐορτάσμους) ἀκρουσθεῖς ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαν δήμος πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θείου λόγου τέμενος

---

47: 1 ἄθρως L 2 κατὰ add. esse cons. dB 3 ἐπεισπίπτειν οἰκονομεῖ L 4 άσπαιρους L 5 οἰκονόμες... 6 σκευής L 7 προσκοπτομένους L 8 αὐτοῖς vulg. αὐτῶν VL 9 προσγενομένης L 10 πύλης kalouménης L 11 Χρυσῆς L 12 θείου L 13 Mισθιαν ex Mισθιαν L Μήθειων V 14 παραλαμβάνοντες V.

47. At this juncture an armed Bulgarian band suddenly fell upon the inhabitants of the Thracian Bosporos. 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 Misthia\textsuperscript{37} as well as other townships.

48. Now Philippikos, after celebrating the birthday of the City\textsuperscript{38} and putting on an equestrian contest, banqueted with his friends and lay to sleep at midnight. 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 Rouphos 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


\textsuperscript{38}The anniversary of the dedication of Constantinople on 11 May.
ἀναγορεύουσιν εἰς βασιλέα Ἀρτέμιον Φιλιστικοῦ γραμματέα τυγχάνοντα, οίς τῇ Ἰταλῶν φωνῇ καλούσιν ἀστηρῆτις, ἐπονομάζοντες αὐτὸν Ἀναστάσιον. ὅλοις δὲ ἡμέροι διελθοῦσών τυφλοῦσι Θεόδωρον τὸν πατρίκιον, ὦσαύτως καὶ Γεώργιον, καὶ τούτον ἐξόριστον ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ πέμπουσιν.

49. Ἀναστάσιος δὲ δ᾽ ἐπιμελείας τὰ πολεμικὰ πράγματα εἰχὲ καὶ ἁρχοντας ἰκανοὺς πρὸς τὰς τούτων διακήσεις καθίστη, αἰσθόμενος δὲ ἄτι τῶν Σαρακηνῶν βασιλείας βουλᾶς ἐκίνηε ὡς κατὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων χώρας στρατευσόμενος, ἀποστέλλει [δὲ] πρὸς αὐτὸν Δανυλῆ τὸν πατρίκιον ἐκ τῆς Σικωτιώτων ὀρμαμένων πόλεως, ὑπαρχον τηρικοῦντα τῆς βασιλικᾶς ὑπάρχουσα, ὡς δὴ ἔχει τῆς εἱρήνης ἐπικυριεύσαμεν, τῷ ὅτι δὲ διοπτριστῶν σαὶ αὐτοῖς κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξηρτηθέντος ὃς ἐπιτηδεύς ἐπῆγειλε μεγάστην ἐσθεναῖ τοῦ ἐθνοῦς διὰ τε ἑπιτικῶν καὶ πλοίων στρατευμάτων τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς πολιτείας καταδρομῆς, ὃ δὲ ἀκούσας ἔκαστρ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ὡς εἰ τῶν ἄναγκων εὐφύρησαι ἐπὶ τριετὴς χρόνου διαρκοῦντος αὐτῇ, μὲνεν, ὃ δὲ τοῦτων ύστερων οὐ ἐν βουλίον ἀποτρέψειν, τὰ δὲ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ἐπιμελεότερον καυνίζει καὶ τὰ πολεμητηρία ὄργανα διασκεδάζει, πλείστα δεσπανήματα τῇ πόλει ἀποθέμενος καὶ ἐτέρους οἰς ἀνήκε πρὸς πολεμιῶν ἐφοδιά τούτην κατοχυρώσας.

50. Φήμης δὲ γενομένης ὡς ὃ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν στόλος ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸν Φωνίκα παρεγένετο ναυπηγοσύνης ἐνυλής καταστίγμης ἐνεκεν, ἐκλέγεται ἐκάρη ταχυπλοίῳ, στρατὸν τε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγκαταλέγει ἐκ τῶν τῆς χώρας τοῦ καλομέχους Ὀμικίου καὶ πρὸς τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Ῥόδῳ ἀποστέλλει. κάκειτε ἀδροισθῆναι καὶ ἄλλα Ῥωμαϊκά πλοία συνέταξε, τούτους ἡγεμόνα ἐφίστησεν Ἰωάννην διάκονου τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν δημοσίων φόρων λογιστῆν, ὅν λογοθέτην γενεκόν οἴδε καλεῖν ἢ συνήθεια, ὑπάρχοντα ἐμφρονά τε καὶ ἐμπειρον καθιστάμενον, ὅστε τὸν ἀπαντὰ παρέλαβε στόλον. δὲ πρὸς τῇ Ῥόδῳ γενόμενος καὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα

49: 3 καθότερν V corr. dB || ὁ δὲ additi v. comment. || 5 ἔτι seclusi || ὁ δὲ add. dB || 7-8 ἐπικυριεύσαμεν … διοπτριστῶν V corr. vulg. || 12 lacunam verbo διατάττεν suppl. P, verbo ἐπιστρέπει B: v. comment. || 15 καυνίζει V corr. vulg. || πλείστα δὲ V δὲ del. vulg.

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.

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. When a rumor had spread that the Saracen fleet had come from Alexandria to Phoenix\(^{39}\) 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

---

\(^{39}\) Presumably the Phoenix in the Rhodian Peraea, on which see RE, Phoenix 14 (W. Ruge) rather than the Phoenix in Lycia (modern Finkel).

[117]
απογγέλλων καταπεθεῖς εὐρύσκε καὶ προθύμους πρὸς τὸν διάπλουν ὑπάρχοντα τοὺς συνείλεγμένους ἀπαντας. μόνον δὲ οἱ παραγενόμενοι τοῦ Ὀψικίου στρατοῦ τὴν τοιαύτην ὀδοιπορίαν δεδοίκεσαν. στασιάζουσιν οὖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν μὲν βασιλέα Ἀναστάσιον ἐδυσφήμουν, Ἰωάννην δὲ τὸν διάκονον βομφαίαν ἀναλίσκουσιν. ἐντεῦθεν λοιπὸν οἱ στόλοι σκεδάξανται, καὶ πρὸς τὰ οὐκεῖα ἀπέπλευσαν ἐκαστοί. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀνώνυτες καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἁδραμύντιον γενόμενοι ἐκεῖσθε εὐρύσκουσι Θεοδόσιον τινα ὀνόμα, τῶν δημοσίων φόρων πράκτορα, ἀπράγμωνα τινα καὶ ἰδιώτην τυγχάνοντα, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἀξίαν προπέτουσιν. δὲ δὲ φυγάς ἕχετο καὶ εἰς ὄρος κατεκρύπτετο. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπιδράμοντες καὶ βιασάμενοι βασιλέα τε ἀναγορεύουσι καὶ μεθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἀγουσι.

51. Ταῦτα Ἀναστάσιος μεμαθηκὼς τὸ μὲν Βυζάντιον ἤδη προκατοχρώσας εἰς τῇ πόλει Νικαίας τῆς κατὰ Βιθινίαν ἐξέρχεται, κάκεισθε ἑαυτῶν κατασφαλίζεται. ο δὲ μετὰ Θεοδοσίου στρατός συλλαβὼν ἀπαντά τοὺς τοῦ Ὀψικίου στρατόν καὶ πλείστα σκάφη ἐμπορικὰ, [καὶ] κατὰ τὸ ἤδη καὶ πρόσθεν εἰρημένων παραθέλασιν χωρίν Χρυσοσπόλεως παραγύνεται. ἐκείθεν τε ἐφ᾽ ἑκαστόν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πόλεων προσβεβαλεν, ἐπὶ μησὶ τε ἐξ τὰ τῆς μάχης διηρκέσας. καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἀναστάσιον στόλος πρὸς τῷ Νεωρίῳ τῆς πόλεως καλουμένω λιμένι κατήρε, ο δὲ τοῦ Θεοδοσίου στόλος ἀδειὰς ἐπιλαβόμενος διαπορθεῖμεται πρὸς τὰ Θρακία καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησεν. ἐπὶ προδοσία δὲ τῶν ὑποθείηντων διὰ τῆς πύλης τῆς καλουμένης Βλαχερνῶν τῆς πόλιν εἴλου, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπεγενόμενης εἰς τοὺς οἴκους τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσδραμότας μεγίστην αὐτοὺς βλάβην εἰργάζοντο. τοὺς δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ἄρχοντας ἀμα Γερμανίῳ τῷ τηνυκᾶτα ἑράρχῃ τῆς πόλεως ἀποστέλλει ὡς τὰ πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ πυτσωσάμενος Ἀναστασίῳ. ο δὲ τούτους ἱδὼν λόγον ἤττησε ὡς μὴ τι κοκύν πάθη, καὶ τὸ μοναχικὸν περιβάλλομενον σχῆμα πρὸς Θεοδόσιον ἕχετο· ο δὲ ἔτερον μηδὲν βλάψας κατὰ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην ἑξόριστων ἐπεμψεν.
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 cer-
tain 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 pres-
sure, and took him along.

51. When Anastasios had been informed of these things, (he left) By-
zantium, 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 ves-
sels 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 digni-
taries 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 πυκνοὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπαναστάτευσες ἐγένοντο καὶ ἡ τυραννίς ἐκράτει τὰ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς πόλεως καταμελεῖται καὶ διέπυπτε πράγματα, ἔτι μήν καὶ ἡ τῶν λόγων ἡμανικεῖτο παϊδεύειν καὶ τὰ τακτικὰ διειλεύτο. ἕξ

5 οὖν συνέβαινε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατα-

tρέχειν ἀδέως πολυτείας, φόνοι τε πολλοί καὶ ἀπαγωγαί καὶ πολέμων ἀλώσεις. ἐντεῦθεν καὶ ὁ Σαρακηνὸς ὁμοίως κατ’

αὐτὴς τῆς βασιλευούσης, διὰ τῆς ἥπειρος στέλλοντες ἐκ δια-

φόρων ἔθνων τὸν χείρα ἱππικά τε καὶ πεζικά στρα-

tεύματα ἀρμοῦ κρείσσονα. ὡσάυτος καὶ στόλων πολύν ἀπ-

ἑστειλαν ἄχρι καὶ εἰς χιλίας ὀκτακοσίας ναῦς, ἡγεμόνα

tοῦτοι τινὰ καταστήσαντες Μασαλμάν τῇ σφραὶ διαλέκτῳ

cαλομέμενον. τάστα μαθόντες οἱ τε στρατευτικοὶ καὶ πολιτικοὶ

10 ἄρχοντες καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θεοδοσίου ἀπετρίεν, καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἰκανῶς

ἐχει τὸ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀντικαθίσταται, ἐφυάλαθαι

αὐτῷ παρανώντες τῆς βασιλείας παρατίθεσαν καὶ ἀβλα-

βῶς ἤρωταν. καὶ ἀυτὸς ὑπεχώρει, ἐναντὸν ήτα ἐν τῇ βα-

σιλείᾳ διαρκέσας. εἰτα εἰς ἤσπυρον ἠθηλυθῶν τοῦ βασιλεὐ-

σοντος ήμέρῃ Λέων ὁ πατρικὸς, τηροῦσαν στρατηγεῖς ὅν τοῦ

tῶν Ἀνατολικῶν λεγομένου στρατοῦ. καὶ ἡ τῆς ἐνδο-

βασιλεύσα, διὰ προπαμπίαν δοχῆς διὰ τῆς Χρυσῆς καλομέ-

μενῆς πύλης εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον εἰσελθοῦν, καὶ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ

eκκλησίᾳ γενόμενος εἰκεῖσθε τὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἀνεκδήσσατο

στέφανον.

53. Ὡ δὲ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν λαὸς πλείστα τῶν Ῥωμαίων καθελὼν πολίσματα καταλαμβάνει τὴν Πέργαμον καλομέ-

μενην πόλιν, καὶ ἡ ἦδη τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν πολιορκίας εἰχοντο. καὶ

ταῦτα αἱρόντων εἰς αἰτίας τούσδε. ἐκ τῶν δαὐμονάσθης ἐπι

νοιασ οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἐνδον πρωτοτόκων κόρην λαβόντες ἐγκυ-

μονοῦσαν καὶ ἡ ἦδη πρὸς τὸ τεκεῖν ἐγγίζονταν, καὶ ταῦτην το

ἀνέτεμυλ καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ βρέφος ἀραντες ἐπὶ λέβητος ὤδηῃ ἐφοίσασιν, ἐφ’ οὐ οἱ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν τοὺς ἔθνος παρασκευα-

ζόμενοι ταῖς χειρίδες τῶν δεξίων χειρῶν κατεβάπτουσαν. ἐκεῖ-

θεν τε τὰ ἐς ὥργης τοῦ θεοῦ κατελάμβανεν αἱ γάρ χεῖρες

52: 1 πυκνοὶ κατά τῶν Ἡ 5 πολέμους V corr. vulg. || τῆς ex τοῦς V² || 6 πολλοὶ V² πολλοὶ

V || 14 θεοδοσίου βασιλέαμεν ἀπετρίεν coni. dB || 19 εὔρηθη V corr. B

53: 4 εὐροῦσιν V corr. vulg. || 5 πρωτοτόκων V

[120]
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 ἐφάπτεσθαι ὅπλων διείργοντο, καὶ ἀπρακτοῦντων οἱ πολέμιοι τῷ πόλιν ἐλέον ἀμαχητί.

54. Ἕκεδεθεν ἄραντες οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ πρὸς τῷ στενῷ τῆς Ἀβύνου καταλαμβάνοντο καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἀντιπροσώπουν. καὶ πλείστα ταῦτα διόλος πολεμόματα ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἁφίκοντο καὶ χάρακα ταύτῃ περιβάλλουσι καὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐξόντο, τρισκαίδεκαμήναίοι χρόνον ἐν τῇ προσεδρίᾳ διανύσαντες, ἱδέας μηχανήματων ὡς πλείστας προσενεγκόντες. εἰς τούτῳ καταλαμβάνει καὶ ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν στόλος, ὦ ἡγείτο Σολιμάν ὄνοματι Ἀράβων φως καλοῦμενος. ἐν ὧ δὲ τῶν ὕπο τῷ Βυζάντιοι πόρων ἀνήγοντο, αἱ κατά πνεύμα νοεῖται ναδὶ, ὁδέρνα νυσωφυλακοῦσαι καὶ φόρτως πολλῷ βεβαιρομέναι ἐκ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πλήθους καὶ ὄπλων, καὶ ἄμα μικρὸν πνεύματος ἀντιπαραθέσαντος καὶ τοῦ μεθέρου εἰς τοῦ πίσω ἠγείαμεν εἱματῷ, σχολαστόντος ὑπετελεὶν. ταύτας ὁ βασιλεὺς θεασάμενος διήρεσεν ἐπιβάς καὶ διεκάπλων ποιησάμενος πυρί κατέφλεξεν, οὕτος τῶν ἀριθμῶν εἰκοσὶ. ὦ δὲ λοιπὸς ὡς πόλος τῷ Θρακικῷ προσπλεῦσας Βοσπόρῳ τῷ λιμένι τῷ καλούμενῳ Σωσθενίῳ προσορμίζονται καὶ αὐτοῦ διεχείμαζεν. ἐν ὧ συμβεβήκε χειμῶνα μέγιστον γενέσθαι, ὡστε μηδαμῶς γῆν ὀφθήναι ἐκ πληθύνος τῆς κατενεχθείσης χινόνος ἄχρι εἰς τὰς ἐκατον ἡμέρας. ὀδ πολλῆς οὖς ὅλγων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἐπτῶν καὶ καμήλων καὶ λοιπῶν ζώων ἀπέβαλον. ἔκαρος δὲ ἐπιγενομένου ἐπικαταλαμβάνει καὶ ἔτερος τῶν Σαρακηνῶν στόλος πλείστος δὲ Αλγύπτου, ὦ ἡγείτο Σοφράμ ὄνομα ἅρχων, φόρτων ἄχων ἐν τούτῳ ὕπο τῳ πλείστῳ καὶ ὄπλων, ὅλγου δὲ διελθόντος χρόνου καὶ ἔτερος ἐφικτάται στόλος ἐκ τῶν περὶ Ἀραβικὴν ἀναφεδίς, ὑπλών τε πολλῶν καὶ δαπανημάτων καταγέμισι, οὕ ὑπήρχεν ἡγεμόνων Ἰέζους Σαρακηνῶν ὄνομα. ἀντι, ἐς ραςι, τήν ἐκ τοῦ ἐσκεπνομένου παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις πυρός ψυρομένου βλάβῃ, τῶν [ὅτι]

50 Ἡνιαντίον πόρω ἀπογόντως τοῖς πρὸς Βυθυνίαν μέρεσι προσκέχον, ὦ μὲν πρὸς τῶν καλούμενον λιμένα Κάλου ἀγροῦ, ὦ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς ἀκόρος τοῦ ληχομένου Σατύρου. ὦ δὲ ἐν αὐτοὶ εὐπλεόντες Αλγύπτιοι νικότος τοὺς ἐνεπτηκότας λέμβους τῶν νηών εὐσβάτες πρὸς τῷ Βυζάντιων ἥκω καὶ τῶν βασιλέα

54: 9 (διὰ) τῶν cons. DB || 12 αὐτοτοποιώσαντος V corr. vulg. || 17 αὐτῶν vulg. αὐτῶ V (ἐν) αὐτῶ cons. DB || 20 ὅλων B ὅλων V || 24 δομεία V —τὶ superscr. V² item 54.28 || 28 Σαρακηνῶν (φωτὶ) cons. DB || 29 oth punctis supra et infra positis seel. 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 Bosporos, put in at the harbor of Sosthenion 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, the second at the shore called Satyros. Now the Egyptian sailors entered at night the skiffs that were on their ships, came to Byzantium, and acclaimed the emperor. Taking courage

40 Modern Istdnye, halfway up the European side of the Bosporos: Janin, CP, 479.
41 Exact 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.
42 Near modern Boustanc: Janin, Grands centres, 42–43.
35 ευφήμουν. ἔφ᾽ οίς ἀναθαρσήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς πυρφόρος ναὸς κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων στόλων ἐξέπεμψε καὶ πᾶσας αὐτῶν τὰς ναοὺς ἐνεπρήσεν. ἐκείθεν λαμπραγωγήσαντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαιρχόντων αὐτῶς ὅπλων καὶ διαταγμάτων καταφορτισθέντες πρὸς βασιλέα ὑπέστρεφον.

55. Τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Σέργιος ὁ πατρίκιος ὁ τῆς Σικελίας στρατηγὸς καὶ οἱ τὰ ἐσπέρα οικοῦντες, τὰ περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἀπογινόντες τῆς γενομένης τῶν πολέμων χάριν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐφόδου, ἱδιον στέφοντο βασιλέα τῶν ὑπηρετῶν των Σέργιον, Βασίλειον τοῦνομα, ιῶν γεγονότα Γρηγορίον τὸ ἐπίκλημα Ὀνομαγούλου, Τιβέριον αὐτῶν ὄνομασαντε. τούτῳ ἄκρισθος ὁ βασιλεὺς Παύλον τὸν πατρίκιον στρατηγὸν Σικελίας προβάλλεται ὑπὲρ πιστῶν καὶ ὀικεῖον ὑπάρχοντα καὶ τακτικῶν ἐμπειρον, καὶ πρὸς Σικελίαι ἐκπέμπει. οὔτως ἐκέευσε καταλαβόντος Σέργιος φυγάς ἐκείθεν οἰχεῖται καὶ πρὸς Δογγομβάρδους γίνεται, Παύλος δὲ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ λαὸν περιαθροίζασ τὰ βασιλέως ὑπαναγινώσκει γράμματα, δὲ τῶν εἰς πίστων ἐλθόντων τῶν βασιλεᾶ ἐνεφήμησαν καὶ Βασίλειον καὶ τοὺς ἦπ᾽ αὐτῶν προχειρισθέντας ἀρχοντας δεσμίους αὐτῷ παραδεδώκασιν, ὁ δὲ τούτους παραλαβὼν Γεώργιον τινα καὶ ἐπέρους ἀνέειλε καὶ τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἀνέπεμψε, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλὰς σὺν πληγαῖς καὶ ἀκίδίας πολλαῖς, ὃς δὲ καὶ τὰς ῥίνας ἐκτεμών, ὑπερορισά ταράπεμψε. Σέργιος δὲ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίᾳ λόγῳ αὐτής πρὸς τὸν Παύλον ἐκομίσθη. ἐντεύθεν τὰ τῆς ἐσπέρας πράγματα ἐν εἰρήνῃ | καὶ ἣσυχίᾳ κατέστη.

56. Μετὰ τούτο τίκεται νῦν τῷ βασιλεί, ὃν ἐπενοίμασε Κωνσταντῖνον, παντεκαδεκάτη τῇ τῶν ἐπεισόδων μηνὸς Ἀυγούστου πάντα τὰ τὸ ἱππικά καὶ πλοία τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐκστρατεύματα τῆς βασιλευούσης ἀπεχώρων, πλείστας ναοὺς ἀποβαλόντες ὑπὸ τὰς ζάλης καὶ ἀνέμων ἀγρίων καταληφθεῖσας, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν εἰς τὰς νήσους ἄχρι καὶ εἰς τὴν Κύπρον

55: 6 ἐπίκλων V corr. vulg. || 10 Σεργίων V corr. vulg. || 13 εὐφημήσασ V corr. vulg. εὐφημήσατε, Βασίλειον coni. db ||

56: 5 ἀποβαλόντες ex καταβαλόντες V2 || 5–6 καταληφθεῖσας 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
σκεδασθείσων, ἐτέρων δὲ καὶ αὐτάνδρων τῷ βυθῷ παραδοθεισῶν.

57. Ἀρτέμιος δὲ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ ἐξόριστος ὁ̑̃ πάλιν πειράται τῆς βασιλείας ἐπικρατήσεως, καὶ ἐπεχειρεῖ τοιάδε πράττειν, γράφει πρὸς Σισιννίου πατρίκιον τὸ ἐπίκλημα Ἑνδάκιον, πρὸς τῇ τῶν Βουλγάρων διατρίβοντα χώρα παρὰ βασιλέως τημικαῦτα ἀποσταλέντα ὡς ἄν συμμαχίαν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν κατὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν λήψωτα, ὅπως αὐτῷ τοῖς κατὰ γνώμην συμπράξειν, ἀναπείστε δὲ καὶ Βουλγάρους συνεργήσειν αὐτῷ, ὁ δὲ τούτο ὑποθέσετο. γράφει δὲ καὶ πρὸς Νικῆταν τὸν μάγιστρον τὸ ἐπίκλημα Συλινίτην, εἰς Κωνσταντινουπόλει ὑπάρχοντα, ἐτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἰσώνην πατρίκιον καὶ τοῦ λεγομένου βασιλικοῦ Ὀφικίου ἡγεμόνα, καὶ Θεοκτίστου τὸν πρῶτον τῶν βασιλικῶν γραμματέων καθ᾽ οὓς ἐβασίλευσε χρόνους γενόμενον, καὶ Νικῆταν ἐπίκλημα Ἀνθρακα ἀρχοντα τειχῶν, παλαιὰς φυλίας ἀναμιμνησκούσαι, καὶ ἐτοιμοὺς εἶναι συνυπρέχειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοιγόνυαι καὶ ὡς βασιλέα ὑποδέχονται. τὰ γραφέντα οὖν εὐθὺς τῷ βασιλεὶ διαγγίσκεται, καὶ τοὺς τὰ γράμματα δεξαμενοὺς χειροῦνται καὶ πληγαῖς αἰκίζεται, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὀμολογοῦσιν, καὶ Νικῆτα μὲν τῷ τῆς ἀξίας μαγιστρῷ καὶ Θεοκτίστῳ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐξ- ἐτέμε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους οὐ μικρῶς αἰκίσαμενος καὶ δημεύσας ἐξορίας ἀπεπιθυμήσειν. Ἀρτέμιος δὲ ἐμα Σισιννίῳ τῷ πατρικίῳ καὶ τοῖς Βουλγάροις μέχρις Ἡρακλείας καταλαμβάνει, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ ἄπερ ἤγον ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης ἄκοιτας· μονόξυλα δὲ αὐτοῖ προσαχωρεύσωσιν. γράφει δὲ Βουλγάροις ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς τὴν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἀσπάσωμα καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς προ- δοεῖν. οἱ δὲ εἰς ἀπολογίαν κατέστησαν συγγνώμην αἰτή- σαντες καὶ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην ὑποχνοῦμενοι, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀρτέμιον σὺν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ Ἰεωνολόνικης καὶ ἄλλους πλεί- στους δεσμώτας πρὸς βασιλέα πέμπουσιν, καὶ Σισιννίῳ τοῦ πατρικίου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκτεινόντες ὡς αὐτῶς στέλλοντος, οὕτω τε πρὸς τὴν ἔαυτον ἄπεχώρουν. Ἀρτέμιον δὲ σὺν τῷ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ παραλαβῶν ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Κυνηγίῳ ἀπ- ἐτέμεν. Ἀπεκτηθή δὲ ἀμιλλαν ἀπετελέσας τῶν ἲπτωμιθέντων τὰς κεφαλὰς διὰ τοῦ ἱπποδρομοῦ ἐπὶ κοινῷ ἀνηρτημένας

57: 3 ἐπίκλημα V || 9 μαγιστρὸν sive ecc. τὸ ἐπίκλημα V || 11 Θεοκτιστὸν P (cf. 57,19) Θεοδό- σιον V || 13 ἐπίκλημα V || 18 Νικῆταν V corr. vulg. || 25 ἀσπάσαμαι coni. DB || 32 κυνηγίῳ V corr. vulg. || 34 ἐπὶ κοινῷ 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. 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.
δεξιόπομπεν. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πάντας αἰκισάμενοι καὶ τὰς ρίνας αὐτῶν ἐκτεμών καὶ δημεύσας ὑπερορίας κατεδίκασε.

58. Ταῦτα οὖν καταστραφήμενοι προσκαλεῖται Γερμανοῦ τὸν τηνυκαίτα ἀρχιερέα πέμπτη καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ Μαρτίου μηνὸς τῆς τρίτης ἕνδεκτός, τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναστάσει, ἐν (τῇ) τῷ Τριβουνιάλι λεγομένῳ δεκαεικέννεα ἀκούσει τήν τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου εἰς βασιλεία.

59. Οἶον δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους ἐκείνους περὶ τὰς νήσους τῆς τό Θήρας καὶ Θηρασίας καλουμένας συμβέβηκεν, αἱ πρὸς τῷ Κριτικῷ πελάγει κεῖναι, παραδραμεῖν οὐκ ἔξων, θέρους ὥρας ἐνεσθηκνιάσας συμπήρετο τὸν θάλασσάν βυθὸν πλεῖστον διὰ τὴν καπνωθεὶ τῶν ἐξερευνηθεῖ τῇ διὰ τῆς Θήρας καὶ Θηρασίας καλουμένης νῆσος πνεύματος πολυπνοῦμένον τοῦ ἄνεος λίθου, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ τόπου λίθους καταρθώσεις διεκβρασθήναι εἰς πλῆθος μέγιστον, ὡστε εἰς εἰδὸς νήσου τοῦ λίθους συστήμα, ἐνυόμητα τῇ τῆς ἔργα καλουμένης νῆσῳ, ἤν δὴ καὶ αὐτὴν φασὶ τῷ ὁμοίῳ τρόπῳ τοῦ βυθί τοῦ ἀναδοθῆται χώρου, καθαπτέρ τἄς ὑδετισάς λόγος Θήραν καὶ Θηρασίαν νῆσους. τῷ ἀπεριφγεῖ δὲ πληθεὶ τῶν ἀναδιδομένων λίθων ἄνα πάσοιν κατεστορέσσευται τῇ ἐκείνῃ δύσπορα, ἐνθεύνει τῇ ἀφικέσσεις ἄρχεις Ἀβέδου καὶ τῆς Ἀσιατίδος παραβαλασίων, ὑπεκκλησθεῖ δὲ τῷ προπτελαζόν ῥεῖθρον ὡς μηδὲ θυγανείναι αὐτῷ τῷ ἀκανός δεχεῖν.

60. Ταῦτα φασιν ἀκούσαντα τὸν βασιλέα ὑπολαμβάνειν θείας ὑμής εἶναι μηνύματα, καὶ ζητεῖ καὶ τοῦτον θείας διακέπτεσθαι. ἐνέθενεν λοιπὸν κατὰ τῆς εἰσειθείας λιτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἤρων εἰκονισμάτων μελετῆς τῇ καθαρίειν 5 ὡς ἐκ τῆς τοῦτον ἴδρυσιν τε καὶ προσκυνήσεως γεγονότας οἰάμενος τὸ τεράστιον, κακῶς εἰθῶς. ἐκκατασκεύας δὲ τὸν λαὸν τῷ ἐπεξερεύνετο δόγμα. τολμοῖ γοῦν τῆς ἡβραίας τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιλοφύρωστο, διότι δὴ καὶ ὅπως ἡ Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας νῆσους οἰκονύμεσα τρεῖς ἀκούσεις τῶν ὑποστεκόμενοι τῷ δυσσεβήμαта
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 Couches 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,

---

πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα διαστασιάζοντι, καὶ πλείστου στόλου ἀθροίστατης Κοσμᾶν τούνομα ἔφ’ ἑαυτοῖς βασιλεύοντι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἦκον· οἷς συμμισχοῦσιν πολέμῳ οἱ τῆς πόλεως καὶ πολλάς τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ημῶν ἐπέτρησαν. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἠττᾶν θεασάμενοι τῷ βασιλεῖ προσφεύγουσι. τῶν δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν Ἀγαλλιανός ὄνομα, ταῦτα θεασάμενοι καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἑαυτοῦ ἀπογνωσάμενοι, σὺν τῇ πανοπλίᾳ ἑαυτῶν τῷ βυθῷ παραδέδοκε. Κοσμᾶς δὲ καὶ ἔτερος τῶν Στέ-φανος συλληφθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπετιθήσαν.

61. Τῷ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῳ θέρει πάλιν ἵππικα στρατεύματα τῶν Σαρακηνῶν πλείστα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς κατέθεν, ὡς ὑγοῦντο Ἀμερος καὶ Μανίας ὄνομαζον Σαρακηνοὶ καὶ καταλαμβάνοντι πρὸς τὴν προκαθεξωμένην τῆς Βουνίας πόλιν Νίκαιαν καλομένην ἐπὶ τε τῶν χρῶν τῆς πολιορκίας ἐχόμενοι τέλος ἀπρακτοὶ ἀπεφέμποντο.

62. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀθροίζει πλείστον λαὸν τῆς πόλεως περὶ τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ συγκαλεῖ τὸν τότε τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερέα Γερμανίν, καὶ συγγράφειν κατὰ [τῆς καθήσεως] τῶν εἰκόνων τῶν ἄγιων ἡμάγκαζεν. οваться παρητεύον τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἄποβαλε, λέγων ὡς "ἀνευ οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου εἴρησαν πίστων οὐκ ἐκτίθημαι". ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ τὸν πατρικὸν οἶκον γενομένος αὐτῶν τῆς ἑως βιοτεύων διετέ-λεσε χρόνον. κατὰ αὐτῶν δὲ προχειριζότακτο ἀρχιερεία Ἀναστάσιος κληρικόν τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τυγχάνοντα. ἔξ ἐκείνου τοῖν πολλοὶ τῶν εὑσεβεῖσιν, ὅσοι τῷ βασιλεῖφθανος δόγματι, τιμωρίᾳ πλείστας καὶ αἰκίσμους ἐπέμενον.

63. Ἐν χρὴ δὲ οὕτω ταῦτα ἐπράπτετο, ἐκπέμπει ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν τοῦ ἐδῶ τῶν Χαζάρων ἡγούμενον, καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν θυγατέρα μεταπέμπεται καὶ τῷ νῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ εἰς γυναῖκα κατηγγύησε. χρόνου δὲ μεταξὺ παραβίων σεισμὸς ένυσκήπτει κατὰ τὸ Βυζάντιον, μεθ’ οὗ καὶ πόλεως ἐπτέραις καὶ χώραις ἰσχυρώς ἐπιφυτευτα. καὶ ἡδη ἑλλοὺς τε πολλοὺς οἴκους

13 peri αὐτῶν V corr. dB || 15 peri αὐτῶν V corr. vulg. || διαμα Β -τι superscr. V²

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

62: 3–4 τῆς καθαρίσεως seclusi τῆς καθιστάτωσι perperam coni. dB || 7 βιοτεύων V

[130]
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 onward 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

---

45 Or perhaps "at his hands," i.e., those of Anastasios.
καὶ λεροὺς νεοὺς καὶ στοὰς ἄθροις ἔπικαταβάλλειν, ἐκ πρῶτων βάθρων αὐτῶν ἔστιν οὐς τούτων ἀνατρέψας, καὶ τῶν θείων νεῶν ὀν τῆς ἁγίας Εἰρήνης ἐπώνυμον καλοῦντι κατέσωμεν, ὦς πλησιαίτατα τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ὑδρύναμε. μεθ’ ὦν καὶ ἢ Ἄρκαδίου τοῦ πάλαι Ῥωμαιῶν τὰ σχήματα ιδύνοντος ἄνδρας, ὦς κατὰ τὸν λεγόμενον λόφον Ἑπρόλοφον καθόπερθε τοῦ γλυ-φαίου ὑδρύνατο κίονος, κατὰ γῆς ἀνωθεν ἔρριπτο. διέμενε δὲ τὰ τοῦ σάλων ἄχρι καὶ εἰς ἑναυτὸν ἄλοιπον διὸ πλείστοι τῆς πόλεως προϊόντες καὶ ἔξω τειχῶν αὐθάλομενοι ἐν καλύβαις κατέμενον.

64. Λέονδρ καὶ ἡ μετὰ τέσσαρα καὶ εἰκοσι ἐτῆς τῆς βασι-λείας μεταλάττει τὸν βιόν ἱδέρῳ χαλατῆ περιπεσόνων, διά-δοχον δὲ τῆς ἁρχῆς τὸν νῦν Κωνσταντῖνον καταλημάται. Ἄρταβαζός δὲ, ὦς γαμβρός Κωνσταντῖνον ἐπ’ ἀδελφὴ ὑπήρ-χεν, ἀμα τῷ περίοντι λαῷ (στρατηγὸς δὲ τοῦ Ὁσικῆς λαοῦ ἐτύρη), καὶ τοῖς δυνά τις εἶναι, ὄν ὁ μὲν ἐτέρος Νικήτας βάτερος δὲ Νικηφόρος ἐκέκλητο, κατὰ τὸ λεγόμενον τὸ Δο-µυλαίον πεδίον ἐφεξῆσθαι, ἦ δὲ τυραννίδα εὐθὺς κατ’ αὐτοῦ μελετᾶ, τὸν τῶν πενθεροῦ θάνατον πυθόμενος· καὶ ὅρκος τῶν ὑπὸ σείρα κατεδήμας λαὸν αὐτῷ μὲν εὐνοῦν ἐσεθῆσαν, ἔτερον δὲ εἰς βασιλείας μὴ δέχεσθαι. Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ τῆς βασιλείας κρατήσας ἀπόμοιραν τινα στρατοῦ ἐπιλεξάμενος τῆς πόλεως ἐδείξει καὶ τὸ πεδίον ὁ Κρασός προσογραφεῖτα σταλαμβάνει καὶ Ἄρταβαζῶν ἐστήμανεν ἄκρων πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥς ἄρα χράμ-15 ον τῶν πολεμῶν χάριν βουλεύσατο. ὦ δὲ ἡ ἄρμα, οὐ βουλής ἐκενεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ καθαρῆσσιν. Κων-σταντῖνος δὲ τὰ τῆς τυραννίδος πυθόμενος, καὶ Βίσηρον τὴν ἄξιαν πατρίκιον προϋπαντήσαντα καὶ τῷ ἔξω τῶν ἀντι-πᾶλον πεζόντα αἰσθόμενος, καὶ ὡς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐσκεναγω-γοὺς στρατόπεδον εἰσείδων, αὐτὸς πρὸς τῇ χώρα τῶν Ἀπατο-λικῶν καλουμένη φυγάς ἐνεβάλει ἄτιμον τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ περιποίησαντα καὶ αὐτοῖς εὐνοικῶς ὑποδεξάμενοι ἐν-ωμότους αὐτῷ συνήθησις διδάσκασαν ὡς μέχρις αἰματος ὑπέρ αὐτοῦ ἀνελέσθαι τὸν κώδικον, καὶ Ἄρταβαζων αἰχμάρως δυσ-

63: 12-13 γλυφάνου V corr. vulg.

64: 1 μετὰ add. P || ἔτη V || ὁ ᾧ V corr. vulg. || 14 πρὸς signo − superscr. τοῦ πρὸς (sic) in mg. V, ὡς ut vid. loco prōs in textu scribere animo habens || 18 προσπαντήσαντα 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 ψημούντες καθύβριζον, μεταστέλλονται γωνιν καὶ Σισίννουν τὸν πατρίκιον καὶ σύμφωνα καθίσταν ἅμα τῷ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν στρατηγούμενῷ τῶν Ὀρφικήσιων λεγομένῳ λαῷ, καὶ ἀπαντεῖς κατὰ Ἀρταβαζίου ὤμος ἐξώρουν. Θεοφάνης δὲ, ἵνα Μωνώτιον ἐκάλουν, τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου ἁξίαν διέκοψαν καὶ τὴν βασιλέως χρείαν εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀποπληρῶν, Ἀρταβαζίῳ προσέθετο καὶ βασιλέα ἀνεκήρυσσε, καὶ Βυζαντίους ἀνέπειθεν ὡς Κωνσταντίνος τεθνήκει, τὸν δὲ ἦν Ἡκηφόρον τούτοις κατὰ τὴν Θράκην τὸ τέρατον περιτυλοῦσαν μεταπέμπεται καὶ σὺν τῷ περὶ αὐτῶν στρατῷ πρὸς φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐγκαθίστησεν. τῶν βασιλικῶν δὲ ὑπηρετῶν οὕς μὲν ἀντιτύφλου οὕς δὲ καὶ ἔτερους κατηκίζεις. καὶ Ἀρταβαζίους εὐθὺς τῷ συνόντει ἀμα λαῷ τῇ πόλει ἐφισταται καὶ αὐτίκα τῶν ἁγίων ἁνίστη τὰ ἱερὰ ἀπεικονισματα. τούτου δὲ κατόπτων ἡν Ὅσιαντίνου τῆς Χρυσόπολιν καλουμένην καταλαμβάνειν ἐπίνειον δὲ τούτῳ ἀντικρῖ Βυζαντίου πρὸς τῇ Ἀσιάτιδι γῆ διακείμενον. κανταβάθαβρον διατρίβας χρόνον ὑπενθύσει καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἢν Ἂμορίου καλοῦσι δειγμαζέ. 

65. Τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἐπιγενομένῳ ἐναιστῷ τῶν ἐτερον τῶν ὑπὸ Νικήταν στρατηγῶν τὸν καλουμένου τῶν Ἀρμενικῶν στρατοῦ Ἀρταβαζίου ἀποστέλλει, τὸν δ’ αὐτῷ ἐτερον Νικηφόρον εἰς βασιλέα στέφει. ἐπιστρέφει δὲ κατὰ τῆς τῶν Ἀσιανῶν χώρας, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία ἐστινετο πυκρῶς. καθ’ δ’ ἐπιτίθεται Κωνσταντίνου καὶ πρὸς τὰς Σάρδεις ὡνταβέεις, πολέμων τε αὐτῶς συμμίξεις κραταῖως ἐτροπώσατο, τόν τε ὑπόντα λαοῦ δοκουμένω τῆς τὸ ὑπόσχαν αὐτός ἀποσκευὴν εἰσποιησάμενος. Ἀρταβαζίους δὲ ψυγα [πρὸς τῇ] τῆς πόλιν Κύζικον καταλαβῶν κάκειθεν ἀποπλεύσας ἐπὶ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ ἤξετο. Νικήτας δὲ οὗτοι τῶν κατὰ Κωνσταντίνου τῆς ὁμήρη ἐποιεῖτο. δὲ πρὸς τὰς χωρίς αὐτῶς μάχη προσβαλῶν, Μωσιμνῆ τῇ ἐπιχωρῆς διόπτῃ προσαγορευμένεις, | αὐτῶν μὲν Νικήταν ἐτρέψατο, τοῦ δὲ συνόντος λαοῦ πλείστους ἀναμειν. ἐντεθεῖν ἐν μεγάσταις συμφοραῖς τῷ Ἐρωμάιον διέκειτο, ὁποῖας ἡ παρ’ ἐκείνους περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ᾧμιλλα τῶν ἐμφύλιον Χριστιαν.

26 σύμφωνα ιν σύμφωνα μετ. V² || 28 ὁμός V dB corr. vulg. || 36 λαῦ cx τῷ V¹ || 40 βραχψ V corr. vulg. 

65: 5 καθ’ V καθ’ o üy coni. dB || 9 πρὸς seclusi || 12 Μωσιμνῆ eed. || 15 – 16 εἰ παρ’ ἐκείνως περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ᾧμιλλα V corr. P

[134]
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 Asians 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 Modrine 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

---

47 i.e., the ancient province of Asia.
48 In Bithynia, east of Nicaea, probably modern Mudurnu. See RE, Modra (W. Ruge).
νοὶς ἀνερρίπτωσε πόλεμον. οἱ δὲ γὰρ καὶ ὅσα συμβαίνειν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἶνετε τὰ δεινότατα, ὡς καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐαυτὴν ἐπι-
λαυνόντες καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτής ἑστασθαί (καὶ τὸ γὰρ δεῖ ταῦτα λέγειν). πολλοὺς ἂν ἐν πείρας καθεστθηκέναι.

66. Ἐν τούτοις καθυπέρτερος Κωνσταντῖνος γενόμε-
νος πρὸς τὰ Θρηκικὰ περαιώτατα χωρία καὶ τῷ τεῖχῃ προσ-
edρεύει τῆς πόλεως διεκώλυσε τῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων εἰσφο-
ράν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐν μεγάλη ἢν ἡ πόλις ἀνάγκη, ὡστε [τοῦ]
megístaton λιμῶν τούς Βυζαντίους κατατείνοντος πολλοὺς μὲν
συνεβαίνει διαφθείρεσθαι, ἄλλους ύπὲρ τειχῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἑξε
ἵπτευν βιαζομένους. οὔ δὲ καὶ δόρων ἐπειδῇ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν
πυλῶν φύλακας κρυβὸν εξείναι τῆς πόλεως. Κωνσταντῖνος
dὲ ἀπίπτανε εἰμενός ἐδέχετο καὶ περιποιεῖτο μάλιστα. αὕθες
ὁν νικήτας ἐπιστρατεύει καὶ μέχρι Χρυσοπόλεως παρα-
γίνεται. Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ πάλιν αὐτῷ ἐπιτίθεται καὶ κατά
τὴν Νικομήδεως καταλαμβάνει πόλιν, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν χειρο-
σάμενος σιδῆρος ἐδέσμευε. Μαρκελλίνου δὲ τοῦ συνώντος
αὐτῷ ἀρχερέως τῆς Γαγγρηγῶν υπερβόλεως τὴν κεφαλῆν
ἐξεῖμεν. κακέθεν ἐπανελθῶν παραλαμβάνει τὸ Βυζάντιον.

67. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ἄποδρᾶς πρὸς τὴν ἐν Βυζαντίως Νικαιαὶ πόλιν
διασώζεται, καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀνέπειθεν ὡς ἢκοι στρατολογή-
σαν καὶ δύναμιν τών ἐκεῖ περιβαλλόμενος εillé ἄν ὀλίγους
στρατιώτας προσλαβὸν ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον τὸ λεγόμενον Που-


66: 2 peremptóreus V corr. B. || 4 τοῖς seclusi || 5 τοῖς Βυζαντίως V corr. vulg. || κατατείνων,
tοὺς πολλοὺς Βυζαντίους κατατείνοντος τοὺς πολλοὺς vulg. τοὺς del. DB || 7 8 ὀρθοπηδοῦν T V 88 τυλιθῶν in mg.
V || 9 κατάτατ δόξα T (sive T) || 10 καὶ περιβάλλοντο V2 || 54 τυλιθῶν V corr. vulg. || 17 τοῖς V
corr. DB || ὃς T ὄλοι V corr. P sed v. comment. || 18 post περιβάλλομενος lacenum statuit P. Speck,
Ariadasos, 306a.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 Puzoukome near the source of the Sangarios: Belke and Restle, TIB 4, 221, 238.
καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ νῦν τῇ αὐτῇ τιμωρίᾳ ἥκισθησαν, πλείστας δὲ πληγαῖς καὶ τιμωρίαις καὶ οἱ συγγνώμνες αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἐπι-
βουλῆς ὑποβληθέντες ὑπερωρίας κατεδικάσθησαν.

67. Ταῦτα οὕτω τὰ τῆς ἠδίας ἀρχῆς διαθεὶς Κωνστα-
νίνος μετὰ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν κατὰ τὴν χώραν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐκστρατεύειν, ὅν εἰλε πόλιν Γερμανίκεας τῆς Ἐφραστίας χώρας. εἰσπίπτει δὲ κατὰ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν καὶ τὰς κύκλω
χώρας ἀποτελοῦσθαν τὸ φθοροποιοῦ ἐπεφεύγετο πάθος, ὅταν ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐπινεμόμενον διώλυσε τε καὶ ἄρδην ἐξηγοῦντε. διεσώθη δ' ἂν τις θείας πάντως βουλήσει, ὡστε ὡς πορρωτάτω τοῦτον τῶν χωρῶν ἀπέδρα. ἐπετεινετο δὲ τὰ τῆς
φθορᾶς μάλιστα περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον, τεράστια δ' οὖν καὶ δεῖ-
ματα ἐξετινῆς ἔφεστο: (τύποι σταυροειδεῖς ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων στολαῖς καὶ τῶν θείας εὐθυμίας ἐπανατέλλο-
νες, ὥθους τε σωταύτως καὶ τοῖς τῶν θυρῶν σταθμοῖς, ἀὴ δὴ 
φαινόμενα φρίκην μεγάλην καὶ ἀπορίαν πάσην ἐνέτικτεν ὡς παραχρήμα τῶν ὁλοθρεύ μηνύοντα ἔστεσθαι. ὡσπερ δὲ
ἐξεστηκότες τῷ δεῖν ἂν ἀνθρωποι καὶ φαντασιοῦμενοι ἐδόκουν
αὐτοῖς ὡς ἕνοις τοις συνειδεῖν καὶ εἰδεχθέναι ἀνθρώπους,
καὶ εἶτα ὡς γινωρίμοις δήθεν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι προσαγορεύ
νοντες, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν ἀμφιθεῖν ἐτέρως ἔπειτα ἀφ-
ηγούμενοι καὶ ἀλλοι φάσμασι τινών ἐκδειματομενοι ἐωρῶν
ἐξεστηκόται. τῷ δὲ οἷον ταῖς βάλλονται, καὶ δὴ οὕτω τὰ πλείστα δὲ 
ἐξεβαίνειν. οὖθεν δὲ ἄν ἂν τοῖς περισσώροις τῶν ἀπο-
χωρεν ταῖς τῇ παραδίδουν τὰ σῶματα καὶ τὴν ὁδίαν ἐπ 
αὐτοῖς ποιεῖται, ὄλγουτοι μάλα πλείστους ἅγιον ἐκκομί-
ζοντες. διῷ μηχανὰς ἐκ τῶν περιοχών κατεσκεύαξον, σε-
σαγμένους τοῖς ἀχθοφόροις ζωίσας σανίδας ἐπιστραγγίνει
καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα τι χωρίν ἀπευρύνοντες τὸ μηχανήμα, οὕτω τε 
τὰ πλείστα τῶν πτωμάτων ἀκόσμως καὶ ᾧ ἂν ἄτοχον ἐπ 
ετίθεσαν. ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἀμάξαι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρούριον τοῦ πλήθους
τῶν νεκρῶν φοροῦμεν ὑπηρέτους, τῶν ὑποτυγγών αὐτοῖς μὴ

27–29 πλείστας... κατεδικάσθησαν in ms. add. V²

67: 3 Γερμανικίαν V corr. B || 5 post χώρας verba lomós mégaestos vel sim. excidisse videt
28 tur || 8 τοῦτο V corr. vulg. || δε ὡ τί τοῦ V οἱ om. B || 11 καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν coni. DB || 11–12 ἐπανατέλλον
12 ταῖς θ. V corr. DB || 16 αὐτοίς V corr. B || ἐδεχθέναι V corr. vulg. || 19 ἀλλός ex ἄλλοι V² || 20 ἀλλήλους V corr. vulg. || 21 οὖθεν DB énouve ołai te V¹ énouve ołai (accentibus delectis) te V² 
22 ἐνουθεντε δ' vulg. oðhomi B || 23 ἀλλεωτὸ V corr. V || πλείστος V corr. B

[138]
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 ἑπαρκεῖν ἐτί δυναμένων. ἐπιλειτυπταὶ δὲ εἰς ἄπαξ καὶ οἱ τάφοι, ὅστε καὶ τὰς ἀνύδρους τῶν δεξιμενῶν νεκρῶν ἐμπλησθῆναι σωμάταν. ἄφοροι δὲ ἀνετέμυνοντο καὶ ἀμπελώνες διωρύσσοντα καὶ κήποι διεσκάττοντο πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄπειρων σωμάτων ταφῆς καινοτομουμένου. ἑξ ὑπὸ συνέβανεν τοὺς πλείονας τῶν οἰκῶν κατακλείτως τάμπαν γίνεσθαι. παρέτευνε δὲ τὰ τῆς θραύσεως μέχρις ἐνιαυτοῦ, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐνεδιὸν τὰ πλείστα, καὶ κατὰ μικρῶν, ὡσπερ τὴν ἀρχήν ἡδέαν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐλώφησαν ἡ φθορά. ταῦτα ἔκρινεν τοῖς ὅρθᾳ φρονεῖν εἰσόδου ἐκ θείας ἐπισκήπτευτον ἀργῆς, ἤνικα ὁ τότε ἀθέας καὶ δυσσεβῶς κρατῶν, καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῷ συνήκον ὑπὸ ἀθέσμῳ φρονήματι, τὰς χεῖρας ἐπαφεύγαν κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀπεικονιματῶν εἰς ὑβρὶς τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας τετολμήκασιν.

68. 'Εντεῦθεν τοίνυς ἀοίκητον σχεδὸν ἦδη γέγονοισιν τὴν πόλιν ταύτην κατοικίζει έκ τῶν χωρῶν καὶ τῶν νήσου τῆς ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων ἐξουσίας λαῶν πλῆθη μετάγων. ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦτον τῶν χρόνων στόλων ἑκκέμπει κατὰ τῆς τῶν Σαρακηνῶν χώρας, οὐ ἢγετο ο τημνικάτα στρατηγῶν τῶν Κυβυρωτῶν καλομένου | στρατοῦ, καθορμίζεται δὲ ο στόλος κατὰ τὴν Κύριον νήσον. ἐνθα αὐτίκα μάλα κατήρεν ἐκ τῆς 'Αλεξάνδρου πόλεως καὶ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν πλούμον. ὡσπὲρ ὁ στρατηγὸς προαιρόμενο εξαιπόνασι εἰσπέπεται κατ’ αὐτοῦ πυρὶ τε διαφλέξας τὰς ναύς τὰ αὐτῶν σφετερίζεται ἄπαντα, καὶ κατὰ κράτους ἐλῶν τοὺς πολεμίους πρὸς Κωνσταντίνων ὑπενόστει.

69. Μετὰ ταῦτα τίκτεται τῷ βασιλεῖ τινός, ὅπως ἄρετα ἐπωνύμασε. τημνικάτα καὶ ἐν Ὑπαρχεία σεισμὸς μέγας γίνεται καὶ ἕλεθρος εἰκεθήν ἐφώσταται μέγιστος. αἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐκεί πόλεων * ἐπὶ μέγα ἡ γῆ πέρι αὐτῶν ἔχασαν, αἱ δὲ παρὰ μέρος τοῦτο πεπόθθεισαν. ἄλλα τῶν ὑψηλῶν ἀποκινηθεῖσαν χώρων πρὸς τὰ ὑπόκειμενα πεδία σὺν τείχεσιν αὐτῶς καὶ ὀκίμαις σῶι κατεσφύρησαν, μέχρι σημείων ἐξ [καὶ] τῆς

---


69: 4 post πόλεων lacunam statui ὅλαί 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 Kibyraiot 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
οικείας μεταστάσατο ἱδρύσεως, ἡ μικρὰ πρός ἡδη δὲ των ἐφασμάς τὴν γῆν θεάσασθαι τὴν κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν Ἑσσοπο-
ταμίας βοηθείαν ἐπὶ σημείως δύο βύθιον ἐτέραν ἀναβράσας κάτωθεν γῆν ὡσπερ ἀμμάδῃ καὶ λευκοτάτην, συνανακοθήναι δὲ ταύτῃ ἢμιόνων θήλειαν ἀνθρωπείας φωνῇ τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων κατάλυσιν προσαφεροῦσαν. οὐ πολὺ γὰρ τὸ μεταξὺ, καὶ τῆς ὑπερέκεισα ἡμῶν ἑδονῆς ἐπιρρέει πλήθῃ τούτων πολλά ἀμαχὶ
dιεχερύσατο.

70. Ἔπει ἡταντακτινὸν τὸν νιόν Λέοντα ἐνδοελέα καὶ ἑϊθος κατὰ Σαρακηνῶν ἑκτρατεύει. καὶ
γενόμενος κατὰ τὴν Μελιτηναίων πόλιν ταύτην πολυρκίας ἐλε, λαὸν πολὺ δορικάλωτον καὶ πλεῖοτα σκύλα ἐκείθεν ἀπ-
ἐνεγκάμενον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐτελεύτα καὶ Μαρία ἡ Ἀγοῦστα ἡ
αὐτοῦ γαμετῆ.

71. Ὄστε δὲ μετ’ ὅλην συνέβαψε μνήμης ἄξιον, οὐ
παραδραμεῖν δίκαιον. συνονέχῃ γὰρ την καταθήκα δορ-
βερὸν καὶ τεράστων ἐξούν ἐξ ἄρρητον γενέσθαι συμπτώματος, ὁπερ περί λίχημα ἀφές καταρέξαν διὰ τὸ τόα ἐφέστε νυ-
κτός, ἐκπληθῆναι καὶ δόδος μέγα τοῖς θεωμένοις ἐμποτῶν ἀπα-
σεύν. Εὐδόκει τῇ αὐτοῦ ὡς οἱ ἀστέρες ἀπαντεῖς τοῦ τακτικοῦν
ἀυτοῦ ὑμάνιον χώρον παρακοινοῦμενοι κατὰ γῆς ἐφέρουντο. οἱ ὁ ὠπερίθενα γενόμενοι ἀθρόν διελύοντο, ἣκιστα τῇ υἱο-
νοιν βλάβην ποιησάμενοι πότοτε. φασί δὲ πολλοὶ ὡς διὰ τὰ-
σῆ τῆς ὁικομείνης τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐξαίσιον διεδεικνύον 
θέαμα.

72. Καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄστερων ἐν τούτοις ἀρξηθή 
χρόνον δὲ των δισθηρίτος Ἀναστάσιος ὁ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐτελεύτα 
ἰεράρχης. Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ καθ’ ἀπαξ πρὸς τὴν ὑβριν τῆς ἐκ-
κλησίας ἰδὼν καὶ πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἡ δὲ ἀπομακρύνεται, ὡς
καὶ τὸν ἄγαντον αὐτοῦ ἐναντίον πνεύματος κινούμενον, σύν-
οδον ἱερῶν ἀθροίζει ὁκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων τῶν ἄρμιν τυχάνωσαν, (ταυτῆς ἐξήρχεθε Θεοδώρος ὁ τῆς
Ἐφεσίων πόλεως ἀρχιεπίσκοπος) ἀρχιερεῖα τε τῆς πόλεως ἀνακηρύσσει Κωνσταντῖνον τινα τῶν μοναχῶν σχήμα

12 taup'tov V corr. vulg. || avtoV V corr. dv

71: 3 συμπτώματα V corr. vulg.

72: 1 ἀστέρων V2 in lacuna || 6 ἰερῶν] litt. v V3 in ras. || 8 τε ex τῶν V1

[142]
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
περιβεβλημένων, ἐπίσκοπον δὲ τῆς τοῦ Συλλαίον πόλεως γεγονότα. ὁρον δὲ πίστεως ἐκτίθενται, ἐν ὃ ὑπεσημύναντο ἀπαντες κακός καὶ δυστέθας συμφρονήσαντες, τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν εἰκονισμάτων καθαίρεσιν ἐκφρασάσαντες καὶ ὁσπερ νηπιώδεις ἐπὶ ἁγορᾶς ταύτα ἀνεθεμάτιζον. μεθ’ ὧν καὶ Γερμανίων τῶν ἀρχιερέων τοῦ Βυζαντίου γεγονότα Γεώργιον τοῦ τῶν ἐκ Κύπρου τῆς νήσου ὁρμώμενον καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀπὸ Δαμασκοῦ τῆς Συρίας τὸ ἐπίκλημα Μανθώρ.

73. Ταύτα ἐπιτελή ποιήσας Κωνσταντῖνος ἐρέξε δομείσθαι τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης πολίσματα, ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἦσαν Σύρων καὶ Ἀρμενίων, οὕς ἐκ τῆς Μελεημαίων πόλεως καὶ Θεοδοσίου-πόλεως μετακόστας πεποίηκε, τὰ εἰς τὴν χρείαν αὐτοῖς ἀνήκοντα φιλοτίμως διαρκήσαντος. ταύτα τοῖνοι οἱ Βουλγαροὶ δὲ ἐπολίζαντο θεασάμενοι, φόροι ἦτον παρὰ βασιλέως δεξιασθαί. τοῦ δὲ μὴ δεξαμένου οὗ γε στρατεύσαμεν τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία κατέτρεχον καὶ μικρὸ τοῦ Μακροῦ καλομένου Τείγους ἐπεξέθεον, ὃ δὲ ἀντεπέζησε καὶ συμβαλλόμενοι πολέμῳ εἰς φυγὴν ἐπεξέστατο καὶ ἐδιώκετο ἀνὰ χώρας καὶ πλείοσος Βουλγάρους ἀνείλε. μετ’ οὐ πολύ πλοῖ καὶ πεζῆ κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐπολίζετε, οἰ γοῦν τάς ναός ἔχοντες ἄχρι καὶ εἰς πεντακόσιον τῶν ἁριθμῶν συντελοῦσας, διὰ τοῦ Εὐβείου ἐκπελάσαντες καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἴστρο γενόμενον ποταμῷ χώρας τε Βουλγάρων ἐπίμπρασαν καὶ δομιλάτους οὓς ὄλγους ἐλλοῦ αὐτὸς δὲ μάχῃ συμμίζας αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὰς λεγομένας Μαρκέλλας (φρούριον δὲ τοῦτο πλαστασία τα Βουλγάρους κείμενοι) εἰς φυγὴν ἐπεξέστατο καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκτεινεν. ἐντεθυνεν ἐκείνου τὸ ἴδιον ἄπενεγκάμενοι περὶ εἱρήμης διεπρε-σβείοντο ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων τέκνων ὁμήρους προϊέμενοι.

74. Ἔπι πρὸς τούτοις οὖδὲ ἐκείνῳ νῦν παραδραμεῖν ἄξιον. ὥρα ἐνέστηκε φθινοπώρου, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ χειμέριον γίνεται τὸ κοσμίατα καὶ τὸ ὅπιστο κρεῖτον καὶ δριμύτατον, ὡς ξένην τινα καὶ ἐξαίσιον τοῖς την κατα τῷ ὁρώσει ἀποτελέσατι τῆς


[144]
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),\(^{30}\) 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

\(^{30}\) Believed to have been at Karnobadski Hisarluk, SW of Karnobad.
5 ὑγρᾶς οὖσίας ἐκ τῆς περὶ αὐτῆς συμβάσεως πήξεως τῆς θέας, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς γλυκέσων ὤδαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ, τὸ δὴ παραδοξότερον, καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀλμυρᾶς ἴσχυσιν ποιότητος, καὶ ἐν ἄλλους μὲν πλείστοις τοῖς ἀνὰ τῆς ὁλικομένην τοποῖς, οὐχ ἤκουστα δὲ τὰ τε ὑπερβόρεια καὶ προσάρκεια κατατηχήσεις δειμνότατα. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δὲ καταπυκνωτὸ καὶ διεπήγγευν ὡστε τὴν ὑπερποντικόν τοῦ Ἐυθείουν [θάλασσαν ἐπὶ σημείωσις ἐκατόν που ἀποκρυσταλλωθήναι κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος, εἴτε καὶ τοὺς ὑπερκεφαλέους μὲν γεγονός ὦτα καὶ πλεῖστοις ποταμαῖς, καὶ ἔτι τῶν ἐπὶ Μεσήμβρειαν καὶ Μήδειαν πόλιν ἐρχόμενον παράκτιον χώρον τῷ πάγῃ συναπτοπετρωθήναι, διὰ βάθους χωρησάσις τῆς τοιαύτης πήξεως ἄχρι καὶ εἰς τριάκοντα πτέχεις· ἐπὶ τούτους ἀράτον καταρραγείσις χιόνος εἰς ὑψίς διακριθήναι τὸ κρύος ὑπεραναστηκός τῆς ἐπιφανείας μέχρι τηχῶν ποὺ ἀλλω εἰκοσι, καὶ ποὺ συμφυόειν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς μηδὲ διακρίνει ὀρθῶς ποτέρα ἐτέρας ἀποκέρυκται...οὔτω τε ἄπαν τὸ πρὸς ἀρκτόν ἄρρητον ὑδωρ πεζεῦσιν κατὰ νῶτον συνεχώρει τοῖς βουλομένοις, βάσιμάτε τῇ τῇ ἐκείνη ἁπαντα, ὅσα τε ἐν τοῖς τῶν Χαζάρων γῆς μεθορίους καὶ τοῖς πλησιοχώροις Σκιουρίκος ἔθνες, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπως μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ κτήνεσιν καὶ ζῴους ἐτέρους γενομέναν ἀπλωσιν δὲ ἡδί ἐνενεβεν γενόσθαι τῇ Ποντικήν τότε θάλασσαν. ἡμέρας δὲ τοῦ διαπενεύσιας καὶ ὁ ἀπλωσις ἐκεῖνος τοῦ παγέτου ὅλκος εἰς διάφορα συρρήγνυται τημήκατα, ἀπερὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον ὑψὸς ἀνέσχεν ώς ὠρῇ δοκεῖν εἶναι ὑπερίψηλα, τοῦτον ἀπορραγεῖστα μέρη τινὰ καὶ τῇ βίῳ τῶν πνευμάτων συνωθούμενα πρὸς τῇ Δαφνωσίᾳ, φρούρων [δὲν] τῇ τῇ Ποντικής μοῖρας ἐρμηνευτῶν τυγχάνον, ἐξοκέλλουσι καὶ ἀχρὶ τοῦ στοίμου τοῦ Ἐυθείουν κατέρρουσι συσταφάνεντα δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτὰ κατὰ τῶν αὐτόθυ στονό πόρου, τὸν μεταξὺ πορθέν πληρώσασι τὰς ἐκατερωθέν ἡπειρώς, τῆς τῇ Θράκην καὶ τῇ Ἀσιστία, ἀλλήλαις συνήνωσιν, ὧς ἐς ἐκείνας πρὸς ὁποῖαν πεζῆ μάλλου ἀπὸ διαπερασθήσατε ἐξείναι τῷ βουλομένῳ. ἐκείθεν συνωθούμενα ἀνὰ τῆς Προποντίδα μέχρι Αἰβιδῶν ἐξεχύθησαν,
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 congealment 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 Medea\(^1\) 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 Daphnousia\(^2\) (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

---

\(^1\) Ancient Salmydessos, modern Midye.

\(^2\) Ancient Thyatis, modern Kefkenadasi, an island in the Black Sea on the Bithynian coast.
τῇ ἐπερ δή ὡδὲ ἡλάσσα σα εἶναι το λοιπὸν ὑπωπτεύετο. τοῦτον ἐν ἀποστασθή εἰ ἀκροπόλει τοῦ Βυζαντίου προσαράσσεται καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἡμῖν περιέστεισθαι ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἐνδόν ῥέοντα τὸς βάλοντας συμμεταχειν τὸν σάλον. καὶ τοῦτο τρίχῃ διαρθεῖν παρ' ἑκάστη ἡ ἀκροπόλεως τῶν ἄκτας ἐμπίπτει. τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν τῶν τῆς πόλεως τεῖχων ἔπεισθη, δι' αὐτῶν τὸ ὑπὸ ἀκροπόλεως πρὸς τὸ ἄντικρυ, ἐν ὅς τῶν Γαλάτων ἴππων ὕδευ σὺν ὥστιν ἐφορίᾳ πεζῶν, πεζῇ διεπεραιοῦντο. ταῦτα ἐκπληξίνει μεγίστῃ τις τῆς πόλεως ἐνεποίηκε τῷ περαδόξῳ γαρ καὶ ἄδοκήτῳ τῆς θέας ἐν ἀπορίᾳ γενόμενοι θήρνους καὶ διάκρισις πλείστους συνεχόμενοι ἐνθένθε ἀπηλλάσσοντο.  

75. Χρώμων δὲ οὐκ ὄλγων διελθόντων, Σκλαβηνῶν γένε τῆς ἑαυτῶν μεταναστάντα γῆς φυγάδες διαπερήσω τῶν Ἐβραίων. εὐνυτίησε δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἄξιον καὶ εἰς ἂριθμὸν ὄκτω καὶ διακοσίας χιλιάδας καὶ πρὸς τὸν πολιμῶν ὁ Ἀρτάνος καλεῖται αὐτοὶ κατοικίζονται.  

76. Τὰ δὲ κατὰ τῶν Οὐκίνων Βουλγάρων ἐπράττετο τῇ δὲ. οὕτω τὰ πρὸς ἄλλησις συνθέμενοι τους μὲν ἐκ σειρᾶς τὴν κυριακὰ τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν κεκτημένους κτείνουσιν, ἡγεμόνα δὲ ὑπ’ ἑαυτοῖς καθαυτᾶς ἑλάτσιν Τελείστων ὄνομα, ἄνδρα σοβαρόν καὶ τὸ ἴκ νεότοτος θράσος ἄμα ἐπιθεωροῦν τόδε. οὕτω λοις συναγείρας ὑπλίτην καὶ μάχην τὰ πλησιαίτερα τῶν Ἰωμαίων χωρία καὶ φρούρια κατέτρεχε καρπετρῶς, οὗ τὸ θραυσματίζα καὶ αὐθαίρετος Κωνσταντίνος θεασάμενος ναῦς ἔπαιχγων ἄξιον καὶ εἰς τάς ἰκτασθῆσας κατεσκέβασε καὶ ταύτας ἰππικής στρατοφθο πληρώσας διὰ τοῦ Εὐδέκτιον πρὸς τὸν Ἰσχυρὸν ἐξέπεμψε. αὐτὸς δὲ στρατὸν ἔτρεφεν ἐπιθεοῦμεν πρὸς Ἀρχάλλον πόλιν παραγίνεται. καθ’ ὅν τὸν Ἐλεύστης ἐξεχέχεται ἔχων εἰς συμμαχίαν καὶ Σκλαβηνῶν αὐτὸ ὅλγα πληθῆ, καὶ ἴδιοις μάχῃ εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπετο. πλείστοι δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ἄφθοσ ἐκατέρων μέρους πιπτούσι, καὶ ἄλλοι οὐκ ὅλγων καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστέρων ἐξοφρηθῆσαν. οὕτω τε τὸν πολέμου κρατήσας πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον Κωνσταντίνος ὄχετο καὶ οὐς ἐπήγγετο τῶν

39 εἰπὲρ . . . . θάλασσαν V corr. vulg. || 46 διεπεραιοῦσθα V 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 Istris. 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


54 Literally "of the enemy," which is probably what Nikephorus meant, without noticing the contradiction with the phrase "on both sides."
77. Οἱ δὲ Βούλγαροι τὸ δυστυχὲς Τελεσσάγιον βεσσάμενοι τοῦτον τὸ στασιάσαντες κτείνουσι, καὶ κύριον αὐτῶν καθιστώσιν ἐνα τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀρχόντων τυγχάνοντα, ὃ Σαβίνος ὑπήρχεν ὅνομα· δὲ εὐθὺς τὸ κύρος δεξάμενος πρὸς βασιλέα διαπρεσβεύεται, εἰρήνην αὐτῶν αὐτούμενον βεβαιότατα. Βούλγαροι δὲ οὐκ ἔρεικε τὸ πραττόμενον ἀλλοῦτες γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ ἡγχρὸν ἄντελεγον, οἴμενοι ὡς Ῥωμαίοις αὐτίκα δουλωθημένοι. τοῦτος δεδώς Σαβίνος φυγὰς πρὸς βασιλέα ἕχετο. εὐλυκῶν δὲ ἀποστείλας ἀνδρῶν τινῶς τᾶς γυναικάς αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συγγενεῖς κεκρυμμένους εὑρῶν πρὸς Σαβίνου ἔγει. ἐν τούτοις μεταμεληθέντες οἱ Βούλγαροι καὶ αὐτοὶ πέμπουσιν πρὸς βασιλέα τοὺς τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτήσεσαν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέχετο, ἀλλὰ εὐθὺς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξεστράτευσεν, οἱ δὲ τὰς ἰσχυρίας τοῦ περὶ αὐτοὺς ὄρους ἀνέφραττον. καὶ τούτων ὁ κύριος 

78. Τάσσα διεπράττετο κατὰ τὴν πράστην ἡνδικτιόνα. Ἐστὶ καὶ νῦς τίκτεται τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὃν Νικήταν ἀνώμασεν. ὡς δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον στόλος τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐξ Ἀρμενίας ἀπάρασ κατὰ τῆς νήσου Σικελίας παραγίνεται. τὸ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ στρατιωτικῶν γενναίοις ἀντιταξάμενοι τοῦτος, μηδὲν τῆς ἐλπίδος ὑπνοκότας ἀπέπεμψε. 

79. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν τρίτην ἡνδικτιόνα εἰσέρχεται Κωνσταν-

[150]
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. He 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 pro-
posals) and immediately took up arms against them. They, for their part, for-
tified 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 re-
pelled them.

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

---

55Meaning unclear; see Commentary.
τινώς κέν Βουλγαρίως τῷ τῶν ἄρχηγῶν αὐτῶν κατατατηστέα ὑπὸ Σαμβίουν Οὐμαρίων ὅμως τῆς ἄρχης μεταστηται [Βουλγαρίως], ἀνεπερί δὲ ἐν ἀγα Τύκτος οὕτω Βουλγαρίως τοῦ τῶν ἄρχηγων ἄρχηγος εἶπε τῇ ἐπειρήματι κατὰ κτεινώτατα, μεθ' ἁν καὶ οὗ Τύκτος οἶκος τῆς οἰκείας ἐναρέσται κατὰ ἐξομπ. ὀλίγος δ' τοῖς ἄρχηγοις αὐτοῖς, ὧν ὁμολαβῶν ἦσαν Καρποζάγωροι, ἐν Ἀρμίτων προσφυγερίων 1 ως ἐφ' οἷοι προσφυγερίως υπὸ τῶν ἔνσαρ δύναται νεκριθῆτε, τότε ἅμα καὶ Βουλγαρίως ὑπὸ Τυμαίων περικέφαλα ὡς πλείστα χρῶνα γέροντες καὶ διόλους.

80. Ἥδη δὲ ἦν αἰσθήσεως τῶν κρατοῦντες ἐγκατεστηκέναι, καὶ πάσα αὐτεῖς ἐνεργεῖαν ἕκαστος διεβηλέλεται καὶ τῶν εὐβιβασμῶν καὶ θεῷ προσανακείμενοι ὁ βίος ἀλεθείας καὶ δικαιοποιηθήτω, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν μοιχείων τῷ ἐθνῷ ἐκθέματι ἐδώσαμεν τὰς τέκνα, τοῖς γὰρ τοῖς τῆς ἐκκλήσας ἁρματίας φυλακής ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγιασμάτων, διάδοσιν τοῖς ἁγιάζωσιν καὶ ἀνωτέρω τοῖς ἀναστάσιμοι καὶ ἀναπαύσιοι καὶ ἀναπαύσιοι παρεκάθονται, καὶ ὡς μὲν τὸν γενεάδα ἐφευρέτας ἡνεκτήματος ἔφεερεν τῶν τιτάνων τριῶν βίος ἐπιτατιαν νεκρίμενοι, κεφαλῆς δ' ἄλλων τῶν ἀρχῶν πίνακες, ἐν ὧν τῶν ἀγωγῶν τὰ ἐκτυπώματα εἰκεχάρηκατο, διεθράτων περικέπαται, καὶ μέγα τοῖς ἐφευρέτοις τοῖς διαρρυθεῖται, καὶ τοῖς μεθόριων ἐξώθη τοῦ σώματος ἐξέκοπτον ἀπεκεφαλίσθωσιν, οἰς ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐπιτατιαν ἐπιστήμους, καὶ ἐπέπεμφες ὃς ἐπέστη τὸ εὐσεβέστερον διαθέλεται καὶ ἀπολαβήται, καὶ ἄπειρον ἔλλησθαι δευτέρου Χρυστονοῦ ἐπεφεύγατο πέτρα μηχανή κοκουργήσεσα ἐπεισοδεῦτο, δε' ἦσν τοῖς κατὰ θεῶν ἐγισομουράσας ἐπηρεαίωσάν καὶ τημαίως ἀποτελείας, ήδη δ' τοῖς ἐπιφάνειας πρὸ τὸ τῆς ἀικείτων ἀπωλείας καθελλεκτοι βιοτρίμοις * καὶ τῷ δυστιβεία | αὐτῶν εἰσαν θεοτείματε ἢ βίος ἐκλήσεις ἢ ἐπίτετε ὑποσυρμέναι δω θατείας ὑποκλετάρμον καὶ ἀποθεωμένοι * θεοτιμοῦμεν.  

79: 2 τοῦ τῶν vulg., τοῦ τῶν (ex τῶν) V1 || 3 ὅπως εἰς ex ὅμως V2 || 4 μεταστηται ex Βουλγαρίως | 5 Λούστρον ἑν εὐρυχ V μεταστηται Βουλγαρίως, ἀνεπερί vulg., Βουλγαρίως σελ. || 6 Βουλγαρίως V1 corr. V2 cf. 65.9 || 6 ἄφθονον V corr. vulg. || 7 μεθ' ὀν V2 μένων V1 || 9 post Προφαγηνοῖ vulg. || 10 Λακωνίαν δίαβασμα V | 17 πηγαίνει ex V2 | 18 Λακωνίαν statu || 19 ἔφεερεν V corr. vulg. || 21 δεικτικόντων ὑποστήριστοι fil. vel. αἰ. filotiμίας κυνόμενον suppl. esse corr. dB

80: 2 διεβηλέλεται V || 17 πηγαίνει ex V2 | 18 Λακωνίαν statu || 19 ἔφεερεν V corr. vulg. || 21 δεικτικόντων ὑποστήριστοι fil. vel. αἰ. filotiμίας κυνόμενον suppl. esse corr. 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). 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 regimen 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 imperial appointment.

---

56 See Commentary.
57 The term *strateia* denoted not only military, but every kind of imperial service.
80, 81

η δέ τέρας πολυτρόπους τοῦ πονηροῦ μεθοδείας τήν ἐξαπάτην εἰσδεχόμενοι τὸ ἐπάγγελμα τε ἥθετον καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν μεταφρασμένομεν στόλισμα κομῆται αὐτοὶ ἀντί κεκαρμένων διεδείκνυσι καὶ εἰς λαϊκὸν σχήμα εὐθὺς μεθηρμόζοντο, γυναῖξι τὸ ὀμίλειν κατέκεισθαι καὶ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἄστασιν συνοικεῖσθαι. ἐπράττετο γοῦν ταῦτα, ὡς ἢν διὰ πάντων αὐτὸς τοῦ τῶν θεῶν θεὸς τὸ γε ἐπὶ αὐτοὶ ἀτιμάζεται καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καθυβρίζεται τίμια.

81. Ἔνετεῦθεν συλλαμβάνονται Στέφανον τινα, ἄνδρα ὁσίου καὶ θεοφιλῆ τυγχάνοντα, μοναστὴν δὲ τῷ σχήματι καὶ περιμεργένοιν ἐν οἰκίας στενωτάς πάντα ὑπάρχοντα, ὅπως τήν τοῦ μεγίστου ὄρους ἱδρυμέναν ἀκρώριαν, ὁ καλῶς τοῦ ὁσίου Αὐξεντίου λόφων. ἔγκλημα τε εὐσεβείας ἐπάγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ ἀνόσιοι, "ὡς πολλοῖς", φασὶν, "ἐξαπατᾷ διδάσκοντος δόξης τῆς παρουσίας καταφρονεῖν οἶκων τε καὶ συγγενεῖς ὑπεροχὰς καὶ τὰς βαστιλείας αὐλὰς ἀποστρέφουσιν καὶ πρὸς τὸν μονήρηθν βίον μεταρρυθμίζοντες", καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πληγαῖς τε πλείστας αἰκιστάμενοι καὶ διεσμωτήριον οἰκεῖν καταδικάσαντες, τέλος σχοινίοις αὐτὸν κατὰ τοὺς πόδας ἐξάγοντες καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀφορμῆσαντες περιβόλων, μέχρι τῆς λεγομένης τοῦ θοὸς ἀγοράς ἐλκύσαντες διέσπασαν, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ἐν τοῖς καλομένοις τάφοις τῶν Πελαγίου ὡς κακοῦργου οἱ δυσσεβείς ἀπέρριψαν αὐτόθι γὰρ τὰ τῶν ἠθικῶν ἀμυντῶν σώματα καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπηγορευμένως τελευτάτων ἐξεπέμπτετο. πλεῖστος τῶν τῶν ἐν τὸν τοῖς καὶ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ ὑπευθύνων καθωτιώτες, προσκυνοῦντας ἔρεις εἰκόσι καταθέμενου, ὠσπερ ἐπὶ καθορίσει ἀλλότριοι δηθείραν, οὐδὲ μὲν διαφόροις θανάτοις παραδίδοντες, οὗτος ἢ τριμνίας ξένους καθυποβάλλουσας, πλήθη ἐπὶ ἀπελευθερώσαντας παραπέμποντες, ὡς ὁ ὃς ὁρκοὶ βεβαιοῦσιν ἐβολυσάτο ἐπὶ αὐτῶς τὸ ὑπήκοον ὡς τὸ λοιπὸν εἰκόνι μὴ προσκυνεῖν ἄγιον τιμά. φασὶ δὲ ὡς καὶ τὴν τιμικάτα τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερέα θεασάμενοι ὑψόσαντα τὰ ἐρωτηματικά ἔρωμεκέναι μηδενὸν αὐτοῦ εἶναι τῶν προσκυνοῦντων τὰς ἱερὰς εἰκόνας. τοιαύτα τῶν ἀσέβουντων τὰ τομήματα.

22 μεθοδείας V 24 κομῆται V

81: 5 ὁσίον V² in ras. ἀυ'. . . . τ (fort. ἄνθυματος) V¹ 9 μεταρρυθμίζουσιν V 24 ὑπεργ. ἀγη V
10 ὁλὲ ὡς ὁλὲ V oλὲ—sec. m. in ras. scripto ὡς deleta 14—15 κακοῦργον ultima liti. in ν 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 nought, 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.\(^{59}\) 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.


\(^{59}\)Or possibly “to loyalty,” which would be more appropriate to the nature of the charges.

\(^{60}\)In the west part of Constantinople; exact situation unknown. See Janin, CP, 405.
82. Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ ἦτε ἐπιστρεπτεὶς Κωνσταντῖνος κατὰ Βουλγάρων καὶ παραγίνεται σὺν τῷ περιόντι λαῷ ἐγγίτα τῆς Βουλγάρων γῆς καὶ σκηνοῦται παρὰ τῆς λεγομένης ἐμβολὴν Βεργάβων. πλάιον δὲ ἐξοπλίσας συντελοῦν περὶ τὰ διασκίδια καὶ ἐξακοσία σκάφη, ναυτικοὶ δὲ πλήθος καὶ στρατιωτικοὶ ἕκ τε τῶν πλοίων στρατηγιῶν καὶ ἑτέρων χώρων ἐμβαλόν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλεν, ὡστε παραγενέσθαι περὶ τῆς Μεσόμβρειας καὶ Ἀγχίαλον τὰ πολὺς ματα καὶ προσπέλαξεν Βουλγάρων. ἐνέθεθεν οὖν περικτυπηθέντες οἱ Βουλγαροὶ τότε, τὸ ἱππικόν καὶ πλοίου θεσσάμεναι πλήθος, εἰς συμβάσεις τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπτάποντο. ἔπει δὲ τὸ πλοίομα πρὸς ταῖς ἀκταίς τῆς ἐκκείνης θαλάσσης καθωρίζετο (ὅλαμεν γὰρ ὁ τόπος καὶ τοῖς πλέουσι δυσφορώτατος), πυγκα βία καὶ σκληρὰ κατ’ αὐτῆς πυνθάνον (βορέιας δ’ ἦν ἄνεμος) τάς τε ναύς πρὸς ταῖς ἀκταίς περιτρέψας συνετρίψε καὶ πλήθη τῶν εἰσπλέοντων οὐκ ὀλίγα τῷ ῥοθῷ καταπόντισαν. ἐν τούτοις ἄγαν θηριακόν τὸν βασιλέα καλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀρχούτως δικτύου περιβαλέων τὴν βάλασαν, ὡς ἀνελέοθαι τῶν ἀποπνιγμένων τὰ σώματα καὶ τῇ γῇ παραδιδόναι, οὕτω τε πρὸς τὰ βασιλεία ὑποστρέψας.

83. Ἔτι δὲ πυνέω κατὰ τῆς ἐορθείας τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν Ναξηραίων σχήμα καθωρίζετο. εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀγῶνα ἱππικόν ἐπτετήλει, καὶ των τούτων ἐπιτρέπει ἐν μέσῳ τῷ θεάτρῳ διέλκεσθαι καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκατον γυναίκα μονάστριαν παρὰ χείρα φέρειν πολλὰ τε παρὰ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν θεώμενοι ἱπποὺς αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμπυγμῶν, οἷα περὶ τὸ ὀχλώδες καὶ ἀγελαῖον συμβαίνειν εἰσαθε, καταχθέντων οὕτω τὸν ἄθεσμον ἐκείνων καὶ αἰσχρότων δημιουργίαν διάλογον. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἀνδράς των τῷ ἐπιπέρραχαι καὶ ἀξιώματος ἐγκλημάτως βαρυτάτως συνοριαντών ὑπάγει ὡς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶ ἐπιμυθείας πειρωμένους. τούτων δὴ ἦν Ἀρτάχος μὲν ὁ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων τὰς ὑπομηνήσεις αὐτῆς διακομίζων (λογοθέτην δὲ τοῦ δρόμου τὴν ἄξιον οἱ περὶ τὰ βασιλεία καλοῦντα), Ὀθοφίλακτος δὲ ἐν τοῖς πατρικίως καὶ στρατηγοῖς διατηθῶν, ἔτι μὴν

82: 7 παραγενέσθαι dВ γενέσθαι preceedente lacuna V || 10-11 συμβαίν[ες] V || 16 ῥωθίω V || 17 θηριαθείναι B θηριαθθέντες V

83: 1 ἐορθείας V corr. B || 7 καταχθέντων V corr. dВ καταχθέντων vulg.

[156]
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. 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 straightway 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-

---

61 Probably the pass of Rish.
καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀσπιδηφόρων καὶ δορυφόρων τυγχάνοντες, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τούτων ἐκτὸς ἔτεροι. μετ’ οὖν πολὺ τὴν ὁμοίαν ἐπιτελέων ἀμιλλαν δεσμότας ἐνταῦθα περιελκύσας ἐθριάμβευσι: καὶ τῇ ἐξής Κωνσταντίνου μὲν καὶ Στρατηγίου ἀδελφοῦς ὑπάρχοντας βασάνῳ κατεδίκασε, καὶ ἦδη τούτων τὸς κεφαλῆς ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ τῆς πόλεως Κυνηγίων ἀπέτεμεν, ἄλλων δ’ αὐτοῖς ὀρφαλμοῦς ἐξέκοψε. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραιᾷ παρασκευάζει τῶν οἰκείων τινὰς Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερέως ὅρκων κατ’ αὐτοῦ ἐξυφημικαὶ κατηγορίας, διελέγχει δὲ φανερῶς ὡς παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἀκηκοέναι πάντα τὰ παρὰ τῶν περὶ Ἀντίοχου καὶ Θεοφύλακτον μελετῶμενα. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκείνων μὲν ἐξόριστον ἐν τῇ Ἰερίᾳ, οὕτω καλουμένου βασιλικοῦ παλατίου ἀντιπέρα πρὸς εὐρὸν ἀνεμον τοῦ Βυζαντίου κείμενον, παρέπεμψε, Νικήταν δὲ | πρὸς Βύζαμον τῆς τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων ἐκκλησίας εὐνοῦχου προχειρίζεται ἀρχιερέα. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐπράττετο κατὰ τῶν Λύγουστον μήνα τῆς τετάρτης ἤδεικτικοῦς.

84. [Κατὰ δὲ τῶν Ἐκτώβρων μῆνα τῆς ἤδεικτικοῦς] Μετ’ οὖν πολὺ δὲ μεταπέμπεται Κωνσταντίνου καὶ ἀποστέλλει πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν φορεῖς ἐποχοῦμενον. συνεκτέινετε δὲ τῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν βασιλικῶν γραμματέων κομίζοντα εἰς γραμματίων δότα κατ’ αὐτοῦ ἄπερ εἰς ἐπήκουν τοῦ ἀθροισθέντος ἐκείστε λαοῦ ἀνέγυρου, ποιῶν αὐτὸν κατὰ κόρρης ἐφ’ ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν κατηγορουμένων. καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τοῦ δόμων ἀνενέγκαστε καθαρώς, τοῦ νέου πατριάρχου πρὸς τῷ θυσαττηρίῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα αἰτώματα ὑπαναγινώσκοντος. καὶ τῇ ἐξής τὴν συνήθη αὐτῷ ἐπικυκρίων ἐπιτελεῖν ἐπιτρέπεται αὐτὸν ἐπὶ διὸν προστίθηκα, τῆς καθέδρας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ὅπωσθεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ περιτριπείσης, [καὶ] ἐκείστε διελκέσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς δυσφημεῖσθαι τε καὶ καταπτώσθαι. εἰτα μετ’ οὖν πολὺ ἐν τῷ τῆς πόλεως Κυνηγίω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἀποτυμηθήμενοι προστέτασθε, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐν τῷ καλοῦ-


84: 1 v. comment. || 3 φορίω V corr. B || 5 ἐπήκουν B et Theoph. 441.12 ὑπήκουν V || 6 αὐτοὶ V corr. B || 12 καὶ seclusi

[158]
dition to some members of (the imperial) bodyguard as well as a number of others. Shortly thereafter he performed a similar contest 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 Μιλίως ἐξαρτηθεῖσαν μετέωρον φέρεσθαι, τὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ σῶμα σχοινίως διασύρουσιν ἀνὰ τὰς λεωφόρους τῆς πόλεως εἰς (τὲ) τοὺς τῶν Πελαγίων καλομέμνους τάφους εξέρρυστον.

85. Πέμπτη δὲ ὑδρικών ἀβροχίας ἐπικρατούσης αὐχμώδες καὶ ἕρχον γέγονε τὸ κατάστημα, ὡς καὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιλειτούρεις τὴν ἀέριον δρόσων, ἐτὶ καὶ τὰ πηγαία ὑποστελλόμενα νάματα, ἀργὰ τε μένειν ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὰ λουτρὰ τῶν ἐκδοχείων κενῶν ὑπαρξάντων. ἐκ τούτου βουλεύεται Κων-

86. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐβδόμην ὑδρικών τίκτεται οὐδὲς Κων-


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

Milion, 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. 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

---

43 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.
44 I.e., the siege of 626. The aqueduct is usually attributed to Emperor Valens.
κηροχύτου ὑλὴς εἰκονογραφίας ἀπέξυσε. Κωνσταντίνος δὲ (πρὸς) τοὺς τῶν Σκλαβηνίων ἀποστέλλει ἀρχοντας καὶ ἀνα-
καλεῖται τοὺς ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς αἰχμαλωτι-
σθέντας Χριστιανοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ιμβρου καὶ Τενέδου καὶ Σαμο-
θρᾶκης τῶν νήσων, στρικοὶς ἵματις τούτους ἄμελεψάμενος,
tὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντας ἄχρι δισεκατομμύριων καὶ πεντακοσίων, καὶ πρὸς ἐαυτὸν ἄγαγων καὶ μικρὰ φιλοτιμησάμενος ἀπέπεμψε πο-
ρεύσασθαι ὧν ἄν διὸ ὑπολοιπὸ ἔκαστος.

87. Τῇ ἐβδομῇ ἰνδικτιών, κατὰ τὸν Ἀπριλίων μῆνα, τῷ ἀγίῳ σαββάτῳ στέφει Κωνσταντίνος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα Ἑυδοκίαν Αὐγοῦσταν, καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον τῶν νυόν αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν δύο Χριστοφόρον καὶ Νικηφόρον Καίσαρας, Νικήταν δὲ νοβελίζωμον. τῆς δὲ βασιλικῆς προοίμου κατὰ τὸ εἰλθός ἐπὶ τὴν καθολικήν ἐκκλησίαν γενομένην ὑπατείαν ἐποίησαν καὶ τοῖς παρελθόσις χρήματα διένεμαν, ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου ἄρ-
ξάμενοι μέχρι τῆς ἐκκλησίας τούτη ἐπιτελοῦντες.

88. Ὅψην δὲ ἰνδικτιών ἐγεταὶ Κωνσταντίνος εἰς νύὸν Λέοντα γαμητὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Εἰρήνην, καὶ τῷ Δεκεμβρίῳ μὴν ἀρίθμει τε αὐτὴν Αὐγοῦσταν καὶ τῷ νῦν ζευγας τὸν γάμον ἐπιτελεῖ.

9 πρὸς add. esse coni. dB || 12 σεπρωκοῖς V corr. B

87: 1 ἀπρήλιων V corr. vulg. || 3 ἐπὶ καίριον V || τῶν νυόν om. V1 τῶν νυῶν in marg. V2 || 5 δὲκλίσιον 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.
ΧΡΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΩΝ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟΥ
ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ

1. Μετά τῆν Μαυρικίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναίρεσιν Φωκᾶς, ἔπει ταύτην κατεργάσατο, τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιλαμβάνεται· ὡς οὖ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κακώσεως Χριστιανοὶ ἠλάσα τὰ πράγματα· ὥς παρὰ πολλοὶς ἄδεσται ότι Πέρσαι μὲν τῆν Ῥωμαιῶν ἀρχὴν ἔκτος κατετόνου, Φωκᾶς δὲ ἐνδόν χείρῳ τούτων ἔπρωτεν. Διὸ οἱ περὶ τὴν Λιβύην στρατηγοῦντες τῷ μεγίστῳ διαστήματι τὸ θραρεῖν ἔχοντες, ἄμα δὲ καὶ παρὰ Μαυρικίου τὰ τῆς στρατηγείας ἐγχειρισθέντες (δύο δὲ ἦσαν ἄδελφοι, Ἡράκλειος καὶ Γρηγόριος), οὕτως κοινῇ βουλευσάμενοι τοὺς έσωτῶν υἱές πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐκπέμπουσιν, ὡς τὸν προφθάσαντα τούτων τῆς βασιλείας, εἰ δυνατόν, ἐπιλήψεσθαι. καὶ Ἡράκλειος μὲν τὸν Ἡράκλειον παῖδα πλείστῳ καθοπλίσαντες στόλῳ ἐκ τε τῶν Ἀφρον καὶ Μαυροσίων πληρώσαντες, πλοῖ ἐκπέμπουσιν. Νυκήταν δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Γρηγορίου ἐπιτική στρατιά πολλῆς περιβαλόντες διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου ἀπεστελλον. δεξίω δὲ τῆς χρησάμενος καὶ πνευματικαὶ ἐπιφοροτάτοις ἀποκθέος Ἡράκλειος προφθάζει Νυκήταν εὔπλοος εἰς Βυζάντιον, καὶ ἦσαν τῇ πόλει προσπέθαλαζεν. Κρίσπος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Φωκᾶ γαμβρὸς, ὅς ἦν τὴν ἄξιαν τῆς πόλεως ἐπαρχος, μεγάλα ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις δυνάμενος, ἔπει ἄπεσκάτω Φωκᾶ, περιφερεισμένος παρ’ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῆς οἰκείας εἰκόνας καθαίρεσιν, ὥς ποτε δὲ τῶν ἀντιθέτων χρωμάτων δημότα τῇ τῶν Φωκᾶ συμπεριέγραψαν εἰκόνα, δόλῳ αὐτὸν μετήρχετο, καὶ πονεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπεθέλεν, καὶ Ἡράκλειον ἐπ’ ἀπωλείᾳ τῇ ἐσωτηρὶ ἥκειν ἄπισχυρίζετο, συννήργει δὲ Ἡράκλειος καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπράττεν. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Φωκαίν θεα-
σάμενοι ὑπολέγοντο καὶ οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἔστασίαζον — ᾧ ἡ γὰρ καὶ οἱ
tοῦ προσώπου χρώματος δημόται τὰ περὶ τὴν Καισαρείαν τὸ
πῦρ ύψητον καὶ τὸν ἔπηλυν βασιλέα ἀνευφῆμον — ἐπι-
κεφαλέον τὸν Ἀρκαλείου στρατευμάτων, καταλαμπῶντες αὐτοὺς ἀνεχώρουν. Φῶτος δὲ
tὶς ὄνομα, ὁς παρ’ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν σύζυγον ἐπεβουλεύθη ποτὲ,
ἐπελθὼς εἰς τὸ παλάτιον μετὰ πλήθους στρατιωτῶν, κατ-
έσχεν τε αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀπαρματίας δεσθῆτα καὶ
περίξωμα μέλαιν αὐτὸν περιθέμενον, τὰς τε χεῖρας περικερμο-
νοι εἰς τούπισὶ ἀποθήκης, πλοῦς ἐμβαλὼν | πρὸς Ἀρκαλείουν
δεσμώτην ἀπήγαγεν. ὃν ἴδων ἔφη· "οὕτως, ἀθλεί, ἐξοικήσας
tὴν πολιτείαν;" ὁ δὲ· "οὐ μᾶλλον" ἔφη "κάλλους ἔχεις διοι-
κήσαι." εὐθὺς οὖν ἐπιτρέπει ἀποτυγχήναι αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ πλοῖῳ
τῆς κεφαλῆς, τὸν τε ὄμοιν τὸν δεξίον σὺν τῇ χείρι ἐκκοπῆται καὶ
τῶν αἰδοίων ἐκμυθῆται καὶ κοντοῖς ἀναρτηθῆναι, ὡς τε αὐτὸν
συρέντα σὺν Δομινητζίλῳ τῷ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῷ, Βου-
νοῦσῳ τε καὶ Λεοντίῳ, τῷ τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ταμίᾳ,
kατὰ τὴν Βοὸς λεγομένην ἄγοραν πυρίκαυτον γενέσθαι.

2. Μετὰ τούτο εὐγνωμόνων παρὰ τε Σεργίου τοῦ τῆς
πόλεως ἱεράρχου καὶ τῆς λουτῆς πληθύος εἰσδέχεται. καὶ
eῦθυς Κρίστον, εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν προστρέπεται, φάσκων οὗ
tῆς βασιλείας ἔνεκεν ἐκλιπθῆναι, τιμωρήσωταί δὲ μᾶλλον
tὸ Μαυρικίου αἵμα καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων, ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέχετο,
tέλος ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου Ηράκλεως
βασιλέως ἀνακρύσσοντας καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως στέφεται.
Κρίστον δὲ στρατηγὸν ἀποστέλλει τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκία στρα-
τευμάτων, καὶ ἔπει φήμη διέτρεχεν ὡς Πέρσας κατὰ Ῥωμαίων
ἐπιστρατεύσουσιν, Ἡράκλεως τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀπάρακτος πρὸς
Κρίστον ἐν Καισαρεία παραγίνεται, ὡς δὴ αὐτῷ τῶν πολε-
μίων ἔνεκεν βουλευόμενος. δὴ δὲ νοσεῖν προσποιεῖτο, καὶ
tὸν βασιλέα οὐκ ἐδόκει δέχεσθαι, καὶ πάλιν παραγενόμε-
νοι μόλις ἐδέχετο ἐν σχήματι ἀρρώστων ἁνακλωνόμενος· εἶτα
15 ἡκούετο ὡς καὶ διελθοίρειτο αὐτῷ. ὡς ὅτε τὸ πράγμα συνήκε, καὶ τὴν ὑβρίν τέως ἤμεγε, καὶ ήδη ἐκαροφυλάκε. ἀλλ' ἐδοξὲ πως γνησίωτερον διαλέγεσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεῖν πονεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων τῆς πολιτείας χάριν. ὅ ὅτε ἦσσε ἐπιχλεναζὼν ὑπεκρίνετο, ὡς εὔχον βασιλεῖ καταλημπάνειν τὰ βασιλεία καὶ ἐν τοιαύταις ἐκστρατεύεισθαι παραγίνεσθαι. ἐν τούτοις τίκτεται παῖς τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἡράκλειος, ὃν καὶ Κωνσταντίνον ὄνομασε. τότε παραγίνεται καὶ Νικήτας ὁ πατρίκιος ἐν Κωνςταντινουπόλει. διὰ ταῦτα Ἡράκλειος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείασ ἐπεισέρχεται, καὶ Νικήταν μετὰ τιμῆς μεγάλης ὅσπερ ἀδελφὸν γνήσιον καὶ ὁμότιμον δέχεται, ὡς ὁ ἄντις συνεταγμένον ἐκ Διόνυσι ἀπαίρουσι. Κρίστου τοῦ ἐστέρχεται εἰς Βυζαντίων, ὡς τῇ εἰσόδῳ Νικήτα συγχαρισόμενος. σκήπτεται δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς βασιλίσσει τῷ θεῷ λουτρῷ τῶν νιῶν, νόθοκειον δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ Κρίστου. ὃ ὅτε ἐπὶ τούτους εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ παλάτιον. Ἡράκλειος δὲ ἀδραίος τὸν ἐκ τῆς συγκήλητος βουλής καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄμιλον ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἁμα Σεργήῳ τῷ ἱεράρχῃ λέγεται εἰς εἴπειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς· "ὁ ὤμεριὼν βασιλεά τίνι προσκρούει," τοὺς δὲ φάναι· "τῷ θεῷ τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτὸν βασιλεὰ, καὶ πρὸς Κρίστου εἴπεν. ὅσαντὸς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπεφησα τῷ δοκοῦν ὀρθώς. τὸν δὲ οὐκ εἴδοσα τὸ πράγμα λέξαι, οὐδὲ φιλανθρωπίας τοῦ τοιοῦτον ἀξιωθήσησθαι. λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς· "τι σοι ἐπτατα ὃτι καὶ τὴν βασιλείας ξενεύλησας," ἀναμμήνηκα ἡδὴ ἀπέρ ἐν Κασσαρείᾳ ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ ἐδραματουργεῖτο· "οὐχὶ καὶ βασιλεύσαι σε πρότρεψαι;" καὶ ἁμα λαβόντα τόμον. κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τούτων παῖε ἐλεγεν· "ὡς γαμβρὸν οὐκ ἐποίησας, φίλος πῶς ἂν ἐποίησας;" εὖθὺς δὲ ἐπέτρεψε εἰς κληρικοῦ σχῆμα τὴν κεφαλὴν κείρακεν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐπιτίθεια. ἐξελθόντα δὲ αὐτοῦ τός μετὰ Κρίστου στρατιώτας εἰς εἰπεῖν (βουκκελλίριοι δὲ τούτοις ἐπιχωρίῳ διαλέκτῳ ἐκάλουν). "ὁ πατὰς Κρίστου ἔως τὸν νῦν ὑπηρέτας αὐτοῦ εἶχεν ομᾶς, ἡμεῖς δὲ σήμερον οἰκίους τῆς βασιλείας ὑπηρέτας," προσθέτει δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ στηράσιον ἐκλείσεναι καὶ πρῶτος καλεῖσθαι ἐν τοῖς ἐκστρατευμασίν αὐτοὺς τε ἀσμένως ταῦτα δεξαμενόνους τὸν βασιλεά


[167]
50 ἐπευφημήσας ἡμᾶς τῇ ἀλλήλῃ πληθυν. | μετὰ τούτῳ Κρίστου
περιορίζει εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον τῆς Χώρας μονωστήριων, ὡς ξήσας
ἐναπότον ἐπελεύσθης. Θεόδωρον δὲ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφόν,
κοροπαλάτιον ὡσαὶ τὴν ἄξιαν, ἐξαρχὼν ἀνατολῆς ἐξέστησε,
ὁσαιότερος καὶ Φιλιππικὸν τηρικάτης κληρικὸν τυχόντος, δὲ
μικρὸν ἐπιβιοῦν ἐπελεύσα, καὶ ἐν Χρυσοπόλει τάφῳ παρα-
δίδοται πρὸς τῇ παρ’ αὐτοῦ δωμηθεῖσθη ἐκκλησία.

3. Ὁλέγου δὲ χρόνῳ διαπενθαυντὸς νόσῳ ἐπιληψίας ἢ
tοῦ βασιλέως γαμετῆ ἐπελεύσθης. Ἔγερσα, δὲ τὸ ἑαυτῆ ἐκ-
κομίζεται σῶμα, συνεβηκε τῶν παρακυπτόντων τινά ἐπὶ τῇ
θέα βάρβαρον ἀποπτύσαι, καὶ τὸ περίττομα ἐνεχθῆ-

5 κατὰ τῆς πολυτελοῦς ἐσθήτους ἐκείνης, ἢ τὸ τῆς βασιλικὸς
σῶμα περικοκόσμησε. Ἀγνώστων οὖν οἱ περὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν τὴν
κόρην καὶ πυρίκαστον κατὰ τὴν λεγομένην τοῦ θοδό ἀγοράν
ἐπαιτήσαν. περιεξόμενον δὲ καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς κυρίαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτῆς
ὁμολογίας χρήσασθαι. ἦ δὲ αἰσθομένη διέφυγεν, τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ

10 ὀραθεῖται πάτητοι.

4. 'Εν δὲ χώρᾳ τοιῷ τῶν περιφαρακῶν τις ἢ καὶ εὐπορος,
οὐ τὸ ἐπάνων Βιολάντιου, τὴν δὲ ἄξιαν ἢν κανδιδάτος Ρω-
μαίοις καλοῦσι. τούτῳ ἐγείτονεν γυνὴ τις χήρα. καὶ μάχης |

5 αὐτοῖς περὶ μεθωρίων γῆς συμβαίνοντος, ἐπιρρέετε τοῖς δού-
λοις αὐτοῦ ἐπιέναι τοῖς γενοτεύτοις οἱ δὲ ξύλους ἐνα τῶν
ἐκείνης νιῶν ἀναριφοῦν. αὐτὴ λαβοῦσα τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἡμα-
γμένῳ τὸ ἱμάτιον εἰς Βυζάντιον ὥσ Ἡράκλειον παραγίνεται,
καὶ ἐπεὶ προϊόντα εἶδον, εἰσδραμότα τοῦ χαλωνοῦ τοῦ ἱπποῦ
ἐπιλαμβάνεται, καὶ ἄμα τὸ τοῦ παιὸς ἱμάτιον ἐπιδεικνύει

10 φησὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν: "οὔτω γένοιτο τοῖς τέκνοις σου, ἐὰν μη ἡ
tοι ἁμα τοῦτο ἐκδίκησης." τῶν δὲ περὶ τῶν βασιλεία ἐπιδίων
αὐτῆ καὶ πλήθεια ἐπειγομένων αὐτὸς διεκόλυσε, φήσας τῇ
γυναικί μηκέτε τοιμαί προσέπαι, ἐπεξείρεσθαι τε τὸ τῆς δίκης

15 ἡμίκα καὶ αὐτῷ διεγομένων εἰς. ἀπῆλθεν οὖν εὐθὺς μὴ δίκης
τυχὸν ἄλοιπον τὸ γύναιον. χρόνος δὲ διηρχέτο, καὶ ο τῶν

L2

L27

[168]
4, 5, 6

φόνου ἐπιτρέψας ἐδεδίω, ὡς καὶ ἀδύνα τὴν γυναῖκα περὶ τοῦ φόνου τὸν βασιλέα διενοχλεῖν. διὰ τοῦτο εἰς τὸ δημοτικὸν μέρος ἅμαν ἐγκαταστάσει, καὶ ὑπερκοῦ ἐγώον ἐπιτελοῦμένου τοῦ τὸν ἤ βασιλέας ἐν μέσοις τοῖς δημοτίσις διεκάμενοι τῷ ἐπάρχει ἐπιτρέπει φρουρᾶ ἡ παραδίδοθαι. ἀλλὰ τῇ μητέρᾳ τοῦ φονευθέντος παιδὸς μετατείμπεται, καὶ ἐναέρως τὰ περὶ τοῦ φόνου ἐξέστασας κελεύει τὸν Βικολιόν υπὸ τὸν παιδιών αὐτοῦ κύπελλον ἀνασφήνους, ὡστόσο καὶ τοὺς παιδιᾶς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ ἀλλήλους κτείνοσθαι.

5. Ἡράκλειος δὲ τῶν υἱῶν Ἡράκλειον ἕμερα τοῦ ἀρχιερεῖος βασιλεύσεως ἐγκαλίας ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας κολυμβηθήρας ἐδέξατο, στέφει τε αὐτοῦ εὐθύς βασιλέα σὺν τῇ ἀδελφῇ, καὶ τῷ θυσατέρῳ Νικήτα τοῦ πατρικίων αὐτῷ κατηγορήσειν εὖ καὶ στήλην κεκρυστομένην καθύπερθε τοῦ τετρακαιούσνος καθαρότερος εὖ τῇ τοῦ Φόρου ἁγορᾶς τι καὶ ἀδυνάτω τεχνή.

6. Ἑορτῆς δὲ ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεύς κατὰ Ἰωμαίων ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἦγεραν τῶν Περσικῶν ὀρτοκηντρών Σάκιτον ἐπισταῖλας, ὡς ἐκθέσει τῇ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παραλαμβάνει καὶ τῇ ὁλῇ Λίγυστον, καὶ πάσαν τῇ ἀνακαινικῇ μορφῇ κατεδήσε τε καὶ αἰχμαλώτους πλεῖστοις ἔρια καὶ αἰχμαλώτως ἀνήρεια. τῇ Χαλκηδόνῃ οὖν μετὰ ταῦτα κατακαλλιέυσε, καὶ περικαθήτω τῇ χρόνῳ ἱκανίαν ἡγεῖ τῇ τῶν βασιλείας εἰς ὁμιλίαν ὁ παραγγείλατο, ὁ δὲ διερεκείσας τῷ πρὸς αὐτῶν σὺν ἀρχοῦσι τε καὶ θραυτῷ καὶ τῇ βασιλικῇ δορυφορίᾳ, τοῦτον Σάκιτον ἑὼν ἐξανεύστῃ τῇ καθεδρίᾳ καὶ τῇ γῇ προσσάφαις ἑαυτῶν προςκυνεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἁκατών ἐν ὧν ἐπέθει προσε ὁ φώνες αὐτῷ τῷ χιλίῳ καὶ χαράζεσθαι ἡμείοτοτο. Σάκιτον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐλέγετο: "ὡς διέποτα, ἔδει τὸν βασιλέα Ἰωμαίων καὶ Περσῶν μῆτῃ ἐν διακατάγειν εἰκονία ποιήσῃ. ἀλλὰ ὡς ἀδέλφιος γνησίοις ταῖς πολιτείας ἕκατον διώκεινταί ἐκκαθότων οὐδέ γὰρ ἔστι βασιλεία ἐκτέρα ταύτως ὅμοια." ὁ δὲ τῶν...

16 ἐδεδίω L. corr. Or || 18 ἐγκαταστήσασις L. corr. Or || 19 δημώτοισις L. corr. Or

5: 5 κεκρυστομένη L. corr. Or

50 ἐπευφημήσαι ἡμα τῇ ἄλλῃ πληθὺ. | μετὰ τοῦτο Κρίστου περιστρέψει εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον τῆς Χώρας ποικιλότερον, ὅσα ήσας ἐναινετέλητησεν. Θεόδωρον δὲ τὸν ἕαυτόν ἀδελφὸν, κοροπολάτιον ὅντα τὴν ἄξιαν, ἐξαρχον ἀνακολοθή ἔξεπεμψεν, ἡσυχάσας και φιλικού πεπληκάδα κληρικῶν τυγχάνοντα, ὃς μικρὸν ἐπισκοπὸν ἔτελεντα, καὶ ἐν Χρυσοσόλει τάφον παρα- 
δίδοται πρὸς τῇ παρ' αὐτὸν δομηθεῖσθῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

3. Ὅλιγον δὲ χρόνου δισπεύσαντος νόσῳ ἐπιληπτίας ή 
τοῦ βασιλέως γαμητή ἐτελευτήσεν. ἐν οἷς δὲ τὸ ἐαυτῆς ἐκ-
κομίζεται σῶμα, συνέβηκε τῶν παρακαμπτόντων τινὰ ἐπὶ τῇ 
θέα κόρην βαρβαρον ἀποτύπωσει, καὶ τὸ περίττωμα ἐνεχθή-
ναι κατὰ τῆς πολυμελοῦς ἐσθήτος ἐκείνης, ή τὸ τῆς βασιλίδος 
σῶμα περεκόμει. Ἀγουσιν οὖν οἱ περὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν τῆς 
κόρην καὶ πυρικανστὸν κατὰ τὴν λεγομένην τοῦ θῶν ἁγοράν 
ἐποίησαν. περιεβηκόντων δὲ καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς κυρίαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτῇ 
ὅμοιοις χρησάσθαι, ἢ δὲ αἴσθημαν διέφυγεν, τὸ λουπὸν μὴ 
ὁραθεῖσα πώποτε.

4. Ἐν δὲ χώρα τινὶ τῶν περιφράων τις ἦν καὶ εὐπορος, 
οὐ τὸ ἐπώνυμον Βιζουλίνος, τὴν δὲ ἄξιαν ἦν κανδιδάτος Ῥω-
μαίοις καλοῦσι. τούτῳ ἐγείρονε διανυσι τὴν χήραν καὶ μάχης 5 
αὐτοῖς περὶ μεθορίων γῆς συμβαίνοντος, ἐστιρέπει τοῖς δου-
λοις αὐτῷ ἐπιέναι τοῖς γεωτυμοῦσιν οἱ δὲ ξύλοι ἐνα τῶν 
ἐκείνης νόον ἀναιρεῖται. αὐτῇ λαβοῦσα τὸν τεθημικὸτον ἡμα-
γίου τὸ νιώματι εἰς Βυζάντιον ὡς Ἡράκλειον παραγίνεται, 
καὶ ἐπεὶ προϊόντα εἴδην, εἰσδραμώθαι τῷ χαλυβοῦ τοῦ ὑπὸν 
ἐπιλαμβάνεται, καὶ ἀμα τοῦ παιδός ἱμάτιον ἐπιδεικνύσα 
φησί πρὸς αὐτὴν "οὕτω γένοῦτο τοῖς τέκνοις σου, ἐκά καὶ τὸ 
ἀλμα τούτο ἐκδικήσῃ." τῶν δὲ περὶ τῶν βασιλέα ἐπίστων 
αὐτῇ καὶ πλήρους ἐπεγομένων αὐτὸς διεκύλυσε, φήσας τῇ 
γυναικί μηκέτι τολμᾶν προσεῖναι, ἐπεξείλικαι τα τῆς δίκης 
ἡμικα ἂν αὐτῇ δεδογμένον εἶν. ἀπῆλθεν οὖν εἴσης μή δίκης 
10 τυχὸν ὀλολύζον τὸ γύναιον. χρόνος δὲ διεήρχετο, καὶ ὁ τῶν

50 ποίησι L. corr. Or || 56 δομηθεῖσθῃ L. corr. Or

3: 2 έκατῆς L. ταύτης Or ex V

φόνον ἐπιτρέψας ἐδεδίει, ὡς καὶ αὐθινός τὴν γυναῖκα περὶ τοῦ φόνου τῶν βασιλέων διεννυχέὼν. διὰ τούτο εἰς τὸ δημοτικὸν μέρος ἄστρων ἐγκαταμάρτυρον, καὶ ἵππευκὸς ἄγωνος ἐπιτελουμένου τούτου ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν μέσῳ τοῖς δημόταις δεσαμένου τῷ ἑπάρχῳ ἐπιτρέπει φρουρὰ παραδίδοσθαι. εἰτά τὴν μητέρα τοῦ φοβουσθέντος παιδὸς μεταπέμπεται, καὶ ἀσφαλῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ φόνου ἐξετάσας κελεύει τὸν Βεζουλίνον ὑπὸ τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ ἐνλαμβάνει ἀναφεύγοις, ὡσαύτως καὶ τοὺς παιδᾶς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ ἀλλήλων κτείνεσθαι.

5. Ἡράκλειος δὲ τὸν οἰὼν Ἡράκλειον ὑπὸ Σεργίου τοῦ ἀρχιερείου βαπτισθέντα ἀγκάλαις ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας κολυμβήθρας ἐδέξατο, στέφει τε αὐτὸν εὐθὺς βασιλέα σὺν τῇ ἀδελφῇ, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Νικήτα τοῦ πατρικίου αὐτῶ κατηγούσην οὕτω καὶ στήλην κεχρυσωμένην καθύπερθε τοῦ τετρακομίου λεγομένου ἐστησην ἐν τῇ τοῦ Φόρου ἀγορᾶς, καὶ ὦδε μὲν ταῦτα ἔσχε.

6. Χωσρόης δὲ ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς κατὰ Ρωμαίων ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἤγεμόνα τῶν Περσικῶν στρατευμάτων Σάιτον ἐπιστείλας, οὐ ἔλθων τὴν τε Ἄλεξάνδρειαν παραλαμβάνει καὶ τὴν δὴν Λέγιστον, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκαδικὴν μοίραν κατεδήμου τε καὶ αἰχμαλώτως πλείστως ἔγε καὶ ἀλλούς ἀνήρει. τὴν Χαλκηδώνα σὺν μετὰ ταῦτα καταλαμβάνει, καὶ περιεκάθητο ταύτη χρόνον ἱκανόν, ἥξιον τοῦ τὸν βασιλέα εἰς ὀμηλίων λόγου παραγενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ διεσπερώντο πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν ἄρχοντα τε καὶ στρατῷ καὶ τῇ βασιλικῇ δορυφορίᾳ, τούτου Σάιτος ἰδὼν ἐξαιτία τῆς καθίδρας καὶ τῇ γῇ προσφύξης δαυτὸν προσκυνεῖ. ὁ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀκατίου ἐν ὃ ἐπέπλει προσε, ὥσπερ αὐτὸ τὸ χαῖρε καὶ χαρίσμασον ἡμείτε. Σάιτος δὲ αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν “_five_ L28’_ ὁ δέσποτα, ἔδει τὸν βασιλέα Ρωμαίοις καὶ Περσῶν μὴ ἔτρω τὸ διαστάσει εἴναι ποτὲ, ἀλλ’ ὅσον αὐτῷ γυνησίως τὰς πολιτείας ἑαυτῶν διακεῖσθαι ἐκαστοῦ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐστὶ βασιλεία ἐστέρα ταύτας ὁμοία.” ὁ δὲ τῶν

16 εἰς οἷον ΚΤ. ΟΥ || 18 ἐγκαταμάρτυρον ΚΤ. ΟΥ || 19 δημότας ΚΤ. ΟΥ

5. 5 κεχρυσωμένην ΚΤ. ΟΥ

6. 3 ἐπιστείλας || 9–10 συνάχουσι τε ... καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς δορυφορίας ΚΤ. || 11 προσκυνεῖ ΚΤ. ΟΥ || 16–17 τῶν —ον τὸ L¹ in ras.

[169]
λόγων τὸ προσηνέ ἀμειβόμενος ἔση αὐτῷ: "τί οὖν πράσσειν ὀφείλομεν;" ὁ δὲ ἐπομνήμενος ἔλεγεν ὅτι: "καὶ θέλω καὶ σπειδώ τός πολτείας ἐν ἐμῆς καθίστασθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ Χοσρόης οὗτος γε βούλεται, εἰ τι οὖν μοι πείθεσθε, συνεκπέμ-ποτέ μοι ὡς αὐτὸν τοὺς προσβεβευσόμενους, πειθεῖ δὲ ἂν ἐμοὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμῆς διαιωνίζουσιν κρατύναι μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν."

7. Ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο δώσειν, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἐβουλεύετο συνε-ήσουν ὁ τε ἑραρχὴς καὶ οἱ ἐν τέλει. καὶ ἦδη ἐξελέγοντο ὦλυμ-πίους ἐπαρχοὺς πρατηρίων, Ἀναστάτος τε τοῦ τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς μεγάτης ἐκκλησίας οἰκειομός. Λεόντως ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἐπαρχός, οὖς παραλαβὼν Σάιτος ἐκ Χαλκηδόνος ἄρρημεν καὶ πρὸς τὰ τῶν Περσῶν ἡμᾶς ἐνωρεί. καὶ μέχρι μέν τῶν μεθορίων τῆς Ῥωμαίας ἀρχῆς μετὰ τιμῆς ἦγε καὶ διείσδυαν πᾶσαν ἀπένεμεν, τῇ Περσικῇ δὲ εἰςβαλὼν σιδήρους ἔδεσμας καὶ δεσμώτας πρὸς Χοσρόην ἀπήγαγε. Χοσρόης δὲ ἔτη τε ἔγνω ὅτι Σάιτος Ἡράκλειος ὢς βασιλέα ἐπήνησε, καὶ οὐκ ἀιχμάλωτον λαβὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπήγαγεν (ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἐλπί-δος ἐκεῖνο) μεγάλα τε ἡγανάκτες καὶ ἀὐτῷ καὶ εἰς ἀναμένων ἀποδείξας τὸν δορῶν ἔδει, καὶ οὕτως ἀθλίως ἐπελεύνετο, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίων προσβεβευόμενοι ἤδη διαστείλας ἐκαστὸν ἐν ἄφοραις ἀσφαλεστάταις ἀπέθετο καὶ ἐκάκου τὰ μέγιστα.

8. Πολλῆς οὖν δυσθυμία καὶ λύπη τοῦτων ἐνεκτὸ τῶν βασιλέα ἐνε, καὶ διεβουλεύετο πρὸς Λυβίων ἀποίχεσθαι. καὶ προσεπέμπει χρήματα τα πλείστα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρῷ καὶ λίθους πολυτελεῖς ἐκεῖσεν· ὃν τὰ πλείστα καταὶροῦτα, ναυ-αγίῳ περιπεσοῦσα, βρύχημα γέγονεν, οἷς οὐκ ἐπιτίθει αἰσθαμ-μοῦ, ὡς δυνατὰ ἦν, διεκόλλων· ὡς καὶ τῶν ἄρχαρελε Σέργιου ὑπόθεσαν ὅρκους αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐνέγκαντα κατα-δεσμῆσαι μὴ μεθίστασθαι τῆς βασιλευούσης. λιμῶς ἡ γὰρ την κακαία ἐπεκράτει κατὰ τὴν πόλιν (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ Ἀγαπητός αὐτῶς ἐπεισίτελε λοιπῶν) ὃθεν καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν βασιλικῶν στηρεοῦν ἐπεδελοῖσε. ἐν τούτοις καὶ ἀνάτας τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπενέμετο. 9. Ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν Οὔνων | κύριος εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον εἰσῆλθε, καὶ βασιλέα δέχεσθαι αὐτῶν τε καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἤπιστε, καὶ διδόμα τὸ διὰ τοῦ θείου λοιπήν ψωτισμὸν καὶ Θεόδωρος, ὁ τῶν βασιλέως ἀδελφός, ἐκ τῆς

7: 2 οἱ L corr. Or ex V
άγιας κολυμβήθρας ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ ἀρχοντες Ὁρμαίων τοὺς Ὀλυννικοὺς ἀρχοντας, ὡσαυτως καὶ αἱ τούτων σύζυγοι τὰς ἐκεί
νων γαμετὰς. οὕτω τε φωτισθέντες δώρους βασιλικὸς ἐτεμή-
θησαν καὶ ἀξιώματι πατρίκιοι γὰρ τὸν κύριον αὐτῶν πεποί-
ηκε, καὶ πρὸς τὰ αὐτῶν ἀπέτεμπα.

10. Μετα τούτου ὁ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἠγεμών περὶ εἰρήνης ὡς Ἡράκλειον ἐπικτείνυεται. ὁ δὲ σέμπην Ἀβανᾶσιον τῶν πα-
τρικίων, εἰτα μετ’ αὐτῶν καὶ Κοσμᾶν τὴν ἀξίαν κυαστορά,
καὶ αὐτῶν σὺν δώρως πρὸς αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ τὰ πρὸς φιλίαν ὑπο-
κρίνομενος ἔπειθεν αὐτοὺς ὡς φίλος εἰς τὸ βασιλέως. οὕτωι
ἐκεῖθεν ἀναζεύξαντες τὰ τῆς εὐνοίας τοῦ Ἀβάρων τῷ βασιλεῖ
δήλα ἐποίον. ὁ δὲ ἡσθείς βουλεύετα κατὰ τὴν τῆς Ὀρφέ-
κης Ἡράκλεων τῶν χαγάνων δέχεσθαι, καὶ τῇ περὶ θυμελικὴν
σκέψει προβεβόμετο, ἡς καὶ ἱππικὸν ἁγίων ἐπὶ τῇ δοξῇ
ἐκείνον θεάσασθαι· στολήν τε αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς μετ’ αὐτῶν εὐ-
τρέπεσθεν. αὕτης προστέμετε Κοσμᾶν καὶ Ἀβανᾶσιον ἀπαγγε-
λοῦντας χαγάνῳ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἑξόδου. ὁ δὲ ἠσμένειε, καὶ
καὶ συνέπεται ἐν Ἡράκλεώς καταλαμβάνεαν. τοῦ δὲ βασι-
λέως κατὰ τὴν Σηλυμβρίαν γενομένου ἐφιστάται ὁ χαγάνος
τριστὶ ἡμέρας ὑπερου ὑπὸ πλῆθει πολλῷ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἐν
Ἡράκλεώς· δὲν δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς κατὰ τὰ ὑπερκείμενα τοῦ
Μακροῦ Τείχους χωρία διασκεδάζως, κρύβθηκε ἐκεῖθε κατὰ τῶν ὀρῶν χωροῦντας τὰ λάσια, ὡς δὲν κατὰ νότον γενομένου
τοῦ βασιλέως, μέσον αὐτῶν τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποληψά-
μενου χειρώσουντο. οὕς ὁ βασιλεύς αἰσθομένος τὴν στολήν
tῆς βασιλικῆν ἀπαμφητείναται, ἰματίοι δὲ ἀλλότριον περι-
θέμενος καὶ τὸν στέφανον τὸν ἐκατον τῇ ἀληνὶ περιασάμε-
νος, πρὸς Βυζαντίων ἐφευγεν ἀνὰ κράτος, ἐνευθεῖς τὰ χιμα-
θῶν μόλις διεσώζετο. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπετέθεντο, καὶ ἦλιον πρὸ
tῆς πόλεως πεδίου τὸ καλούμενον Ἐβδομον καταλαμβάνουσι, καὶ σκεδάζωνται ἐπὶ τῆς καλουμένης γεφύρας τοῦ Βαρβύσ-
σου ποταμοῦ, πολλοὺς Ὁρμαίων ἀναρροώντες, καὶ τὰ τῆς χωρία
περὶ κορώς κατεδύον, τὴν τῇ βασιλικὴ ἔσθητα καὶ τὰς
στολὰς παραλαμβάνουσι, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ θυμελικὰ δρόμανα,
πάντα τε τοὺς ταῦτα διακομίζονται καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν τοὺς


[171]
11. Κατά δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου ἔγεται Ἡράκλειος εἰς γυναῖκα Μαρτίνην τὴν ἀνεψαί, θυγατέρα Μαρίας ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ γνησίας, ἦν ἔσχεν ἐκ Μαρτίνου τοῦ πρὸ Εὐρυπίου γεγονότος αὐτῆς γαμέτου, ἐξ ἃς καὶ τίκτει δύο γυνῶν, Φάμιου, δὲν καὶ νοβελλήσιμου ἐπούσησεν (αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν βλαμμένος τῶν αὐχένα, ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι ἐπὶ οὐθετέρῳ αὐτόν μέρει περιστρέφειν) καὶ Θεοδώσιον, καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπακόην. διήλεγχον δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν περὶ τῆς ἀνεψίας παρανομίαν ἐφ’ ἵππικου ἄγγος καὶ οἱ τοῦ πρασίνου χρώματος δημόται, καὶ κολύειν τὴν συνεφὴ ἐπειρώσετο τὴν ἀθεσίαν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοκειμένου χρώματος συνήρουν τε καὶ συνεπράττον. [καὶ] Σέργιος δὲ, ὁ κατὰ τὸ Βυζάντιον μυστικοῦ, γράμμασιν αὐτὸν ἐνοθέτει καὶ ἐλεπάρει τὴν πρὸς τὸ γύναιον τοῦτο κοινωνίαν ἀπαρνησθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπέλογετο ὡς: “ἐν μὲν ἔχει τά παρὰ σοῦ λεγόμενα. ὁ γὰρ σοι χρόνος ἠν ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ φίλω, ἡ δὲ ἀποδέδωκας. ἐφ’ ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν κείσται τὰ τῆς πράξεως.” κατὰ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καιρὸν διεισπράσκοι τὰ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν κειμήλια καὶ εἰς ὑπαγωγὴν φόρων τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐξενεμήθη.
COMMENTARY

1. Overthrow of Phokas (610)

In addition to Nik., there are three other basic Greek sources for these events: Ioann. Ant., Exc. de insiditis, 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.

20 ff. 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 η Κασαριον: 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-

[173]
COMMENTSARY

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 ἐπὶ σακέλλαριος, 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).

3ff. 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.

9ff. 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.

24ff. 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 = IRAIK 11 (1906), 21–22.

57 On the title of cuiropalati (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.,
COMMENTARY

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. L. Russu, Die Sprache der Thrako-Daker (Bucharest, 1969), 112. This lends some support to de Boor’s conjecture in line 2 (ἐν των των ἐπὶ Ὄρθος χωρίων). The “improvement” of the name may have been inspired by that of the Alamannic chief-tain 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. Guillard, Études 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
COMMENTARY

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 Menbigj, ed. A. Vasiliev, P0 VIII/3, 450. Cf. my remarks in Αφιέρωμα στον Ν. Σβοράνο (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 induction 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 Shahin Ἐως Καρχηδόνος (surely Chalcedon), adding that he was outflanked by Philippikos, domestic of the Schools, who invaded Persia (ἐστελεθόντος ἐν Περσίδι), whereupon Shahin turned back in an easterly direction. Anastasios, who was serving in the Persian army, proceeded Ἐως τῶν μερών τῆς ἀναστολῆς, i.e., as far as the diocese of Oriens, where he deserted.

It is difficult to explain why Shahin (Σαήν in Chr. Pasch., Σαὶν in Theoph.) should be called Saitos by Nik. The confusion may be scribal (e.g., if Σαὶν was written Σαὶν), or else Nik. may have been influenced by the Arabic name Sa’id.

Historians are divided as to whether Egypt was conquered by Shahin (so Butler, Conquest, 70 on the authority of Tabari) or by Shahbarraz (so, among others, Kulakovskij, III, 44 and Stratos, I, 277–78 on the authority of Mich. Syr. and other Oriental sources). The argument that Shahin 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 Shahin, 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 Shahin 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 Arstruni, History
COMMENTARY

(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. Shahin’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 Shahin

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 (μεγιστάνας ὁ’). On the fate of the ambassadors see below, c. 15.

The punishment of Shahin 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 ἡλιος ἡμαυρωθη, καὶ ἔβρεξε κόνων. 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

[177]
c. 22, whose chief was Organa, uncle of Kuvrat. So, e.g., Gy. Moravcsik, "Byzantine 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 Qetrâdes and Kuernâka: 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, *Byzantinobulgariča* 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 περαποιαν (i.e., north of the Golden Horn) in the district called τὰ Προμοῦτον. 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:
COMMENTARY

Nik., 10.24–25: οὖ μετρίως τῷ παραλόγῳ καταπλαγεῖς (not in L)
Theoph., 301.33: ἐκπλαγεῖς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ 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.


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


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 Α.M. 6105, adding that Martina was crowned Augusta by Patriarch Sergios. He records the birth of a Κωνσταντίνος ἕτερος the following year (Α.Μ. 6106) and, under Α.Μ. 6108 says that on 1 Jan., induction 5 (= Α.Δ. 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
the date of his birth. He is also mistaken as regards the consulship of Herakleios Constantine (the future Constantine III), which occurred in induction 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*, 35ff. 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 *gentilicum*. 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.

12ff. This passage has been discussed (badly) by J. V. A. Fine, *ZRV* 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 ταύτης 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 συνοφρύν, added ἐπὶ ταύτης. He then changed συνοφρύν to συνοικέσων, 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., 302ff.) 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
COMMENTARY

(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.

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

43ff. 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.

51ff. 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 Shahrbazar to death. It was intercepted in Galatia and delivered to the
emperor's son (Constantine), who showed it to Shahrbazar. 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.

9ff. The siege: For the events see esp. F. Barisic, 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 περάσας πρὸς τοὺς and ἐπώνυμεν, 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.
COMMENTARY

(3) Pisides, Bell. avaricum, a panegyric recited soon after the siege, allusive and imprecise. See P. Speck, Züftilliges 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 βραχαμέλιον in Chr. Pasch., 719.15 (cf. military sense of Latin brachium), 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: ἐκτάσθη τὸ τεῖχος πέρι τοῦ οἴκου τῆς . . . Θεοτόκου, ἐξωθέν τοῦ καλώμενου 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 (Shirom), 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, δὲ αὐτὸς ὁχύρωσεν ἐκ νέας κτίσεως (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, δὲ συνήγαγε μάτην, δὲ ὅν πολλοὺς ἐλαμαγχόνησε καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἡρήμωσεν.

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

(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 ἀντί ψα κατάφορα γένοντο is defensible (such of the ἐνφάλα 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 ἀντί ὑπέρσχετο . . . γένοντο in parentheses and changing ὃς in line 26 to ὃν. In line 28 Oikonomides' emendation of αὐτόν to αὐ τόν (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 Shir,o), 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
Hormidas, 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.
COMMENTARY

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


   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: καί παραγενέσθαι ὡς αὐτῶν (to Herakleios) δὲ ἔτησε καὶ ὡς δούλου παρίστασθαι. In revising, Nik. may have wished to avoid the repetition of ὡς (in two different senses), but left αὐτῶν, 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 δούλων or αὐτῶν for αὐτῶν.

   7 I prefer L's ἥκεν to V's ἥκεν. 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.

   16ff. Dynastic arrangements: On Niketas, son of Shahrbaraz, and the marriage of his sister Nike to Theodosios see my remarks in *TM* 9 (1985), 105ff. 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


   4ff. 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.
COMMENTARY

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. Frolow, *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 indication 4, i.e., after 1 Sept. 630: Strategios Georg., 55.

17 ff. This passage raises considerable difficulties. The date of indication 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 Heracleios took possession of it before transporting it to Jerusalem: Mich. Syr., II, 427. Furthermore, it is said to have remained at Jerusalem until Heracleios abandoned the East in 636: Sebeos, 118; Theoph., 337.9. It may be that soon after (as implied by Nik.'s εὐθὺς) 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., Β to Ε. Furthermore, such a tour is not recorded elsewhere.

According to cod. *Sabait.* 366, fol. 22⁴, the “exaltation” under Heracleios corresponded to the liturgical commemoration of 1 Aug., which in the published *Menaiia* (vol. VI, [Rome 1902], 277) is called πρόοδος τῶν τυμιων ξύλων, and elsewhere the “immersion” (βάπτισες) of the True Cross: *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise*, ed. J. Mateos, 1 (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 Heracleios 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 Heracleios 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 Heracleios 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.*, [185]
COMMENTARY

628–30, which must be dated 1 and 4 Jan., indication 12 (639), not indication 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 mini-
nores 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 Meso-
potamia. The monk who undertook to retrieve the saint's relics from Persia accom-
panied the imperial party as far as Constantina (Tella). After reducing Edessa, Her-
akleios went to Hierapolis, where he met the Monophysite Patriarch Athanasios
ceived at Aleppo an embassy from Queen Boran headed by the Persian Katholikos
Iso'yahb: Chr. Seert, 557 f.; 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., indication 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 Yarmûk (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 re-
placed 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, en-
gages the Arabs at Gabitha and is defeated.

Pace M. V. Krivov, VizVrem 43 (1982), 218–25, the above information can-
not be easily reconciled with what is known from other sources about an extra-
ordinarily 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.

[186]
COMMENTARY

4 ff. 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 ἀπείλεω) = "brought into straits," the latter used by Hdt., II.141, VIII.109.

21 Θεόδωρος, presumably the original reading of V, appears preferable to Θεοδόρω (L, V²) because it is picked up by οὖν 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 (τά κατὰ γυνώμην τῷ βασιλεῖ), the difference in meaning is very slight.


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 Gabita (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,
COMMENTARY

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 Chrobats 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), 88 ff., has been generally rejected. See, most recently, Beşevliev, Protobulg. Periode, 149 ff., 511 ff.; P. Lemerle, Les plus anciens recueils des Miracles de S. Démérius, II (Paris, 1981), 143 ff.; idem, in 'Αφιέρωμα στὸν Ν. Σβοράνο (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 Koŭbařoш and 'Αργανά.
   5ff. The reading of L, φυλάξει (sic) and συντού (instead of ἱστοῦ) 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 Yarmük; hence the appointment of John of Burkaina 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.
COMMENTARY

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 υβ' μυριάδας). 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 Eschmounain, 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 Barkainia: 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 Barkainia is uncertain. Cf. Butler, Conquest, 222 note 1.

4 Marinos, presumably mag. militiae per Thracias, not recorded elsewhere.

7 Marianos cubicularius: A Marianos, who was destroyed by the Muslims, is mentioned by Severus of Eschmounain, 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. Heracleios 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, IRAIK 4 (1899), 9–78; Janin, CP, 148–50; idem, Grands centres, 35–36.
COMMENTARY

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.


25. Herakleios returns to Constantinople. Heraklonas crowned emperor (638)

9 For the bridge of the Barbysse 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 η’), which would place his death on 8 or 9 Dec. This is accepted by Grumel, Chronologie, 435 and Van Dieten, Patriarchen, 51.

3ff. Pyrrhos: ordained on 20 Dec. 638. See Van Dieten, Patriarchen, 58. Nik.’s Χρονογραφικόν, loc. cit., calls him presbyter of St. Sophia, monk, ἐρχων 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 ἴνικα... ἐδέξετο: 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.

6ff. This passage appears to be saying that the disgrace of Kyros took place at about the same time (τηρικατερα) 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
imperial consent for his treaty with 'Amr, 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 πρόκεινονς 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 ἐκανής πραλάτινον. 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.
COMMENTARY

17 Valentinos is mentioned by Sebeks, 103 as an Aresaid 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, Prætorians, 174.

21–22 Kulakovskij, Ill, 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, Ill, 192 and Kaegi, Unrest, 155. John of Nikiu, Charles, 192 also says that Valentinos 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. Alinate makes him die on 20 April after a reign of 120 days. See P. Grierson, DOP 16 (1962), 48–49 and Stratos, Ill, 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 otherwise 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.


No other Greek source. Brief mention in Sebeks. 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 Valentinos brought his army to Chalcedon and that Heraklonas, accompanied by the clergy, crossed the Bosporus to appeal to him for peace, promising to associate his nephew (Herakleios) to power and to recall Philagrius. For these events see Stratos, Ill, 200ff.; Kaegi, Unrest, 155ff.


31. Coronation of Herakleios (Constans II). Forced departure of Pyrrhos (Sept. 641)

1ff. The anxiety of the people of Constantinople about their vineyards on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus may indicate an incipient rurbanization of the urban economy.

14 ff. 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 Dielen, 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 Dielen, 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: κλήρον ἑνυποτάκτω, καὶ λαῷ ἐπειθεί, καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἑρμηνεμένη ἑποτάκτωμα, φυλάττων ἐμείου τῷ τῆς ἱερασίας ὑξίωμα (Theodoros Anagnostes, ed. Hansen, 110; Theoph., 113.32), thus underlining the unjust treatment of Pyrrhos. A. N. Stratos, Βιζαντινές 8 (1976), 11-19 argues that Pyrrhos did not resign.


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 Harklomenas, 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-
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 Pitziigades is described as ὁ πολλαχῶς λεγονείς πανεψιφνικός ἀνήρ (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 (674–78) and that the two Greek chroniclers (in fact only one) reckon 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, ὈΘ 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 α.η. 54 (673/4) and 56 (676/7). See also Lillie, 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 (τρης 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 Ὀὔτως καὶ Βουλγάρων: Seeing that the Onogundurs were a tribe of the Bulgars, V. Beşevliev, REB 28 (1970), 153–59; Βουκατανίκ 13/1 (1985), 48–49, is historically correct in wishing to emend the text to Ὀὔτως(ν)ογουνδουρός Βουλγάρων (as in Theoph.). That Nik. should have written so does not, however, prove that he actually did.

2 ἀρχής: I have translated "origin" rather than "dominion" or "empire" in the light of Theoph.'s ἀρχαιότητος.

6 Κοβραστής: Nik. forgets that he had already spoken of Κοβραστής at 22.1.

15 μέχρι τοῦ δεύτερο: E. Honigmann, Nouv. Clio 4 (1952), 290 note 1, remarks that this comment must be derived 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
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 τῆς νῦν ὑπὸ Ἀβάρων κειμένη: Theoph., 357.24 has εἰς Πανονίων τῆς Ἀβάριας. We cannot determine whether τῆς 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. Guillo, Régionalisme et indépendance dans l’Empire byzantin au VIIe siècle (Rome, 1969), 102–3.

23–24 Ὄγγλον τῆς σφέν καλούμενον φωνῇ: a classicizing embellishment, which should not prejudice the derivation of the name Onglos. Concerning the latter commentators are divided: some derive it from Old Slavic oglit “corner,” others from Turcic ayulcaul = “court,” “fortified enclosure.” See Moračevski, Byzantinoturcica, II, s.v. “Ογγλος and αὐλή; N. Bănescu, Byzantion 28 (1958), 433–40; M. Vasmer, Etimologičeskij slovar’ russkogo jazyka, I (Moscow, 1964), 229–30; IV (1973), 145. Theoph., 357.28ff. 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: τῶν Δάνατρων καὶ Δάναστρων περάσας βορειοστέρως τοῦ Δανουβίου ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν Ὁγγλον καταλαβῶν, μεταξύ τούτων κάκεινων [or κάκεινων?] ἐκείσθεν. According to Moses of Chorene, Asparuch established himself on the island of Peuke, i.e., in the Danube delta. See A. Marieq, Byzantion 22 (1952), 343.

27 τὰ δ’ οὖν δπιστε ὁρμημοιὸς ἄβατος τετειχισμένα: a confusion. As Theoph., 358.3–4 explains, the Onglos was marshy “in front” and surrounded by rivers (i.e., the Prut, Dniester, 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 (διά κλεισμοῦ) and the Black Sea.


31–32 The text is corrupt and requires radical emendation. Theoph., 358.7–9 has ἐξῆλθε τὸ μέγα ἔθνος τῶν Χαζάρων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνδοτέρου βάθους Βερζίλιως τῆς πρώτης Σαρματίας καὶ ἐκβάλλοντος πάσης τῆς περατικῆς γῆς μέχρι τῆς Ποντικῆς θαλάσσης. We may tentatively suggest: (ἐξῆλθε) τὸ τῶν Χαζάρων φύλου . . . πλείστης (τω) ἄδειας ἐνεπεθεῖν (ἐπιλαβόμενο) [omitting ἐπετρέπχον as a gloss on κατέδραμον], τὰ τοιοῦτα πάντα κατεδραμον χολία τῆς ὑπὲρ Πόντου τῶν Εὐξεσεων γῆς [with a further gloss τῆς θαλάσσης πέραν].

33 We have emended ποιησάμενος to ποιησάμενον to agree with φύλου,
but note that Theoph. has the ungrammatical ἔθνος . . . καταπτήματα. 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 (διερήτος), i.e., the things we suffered in the Bulgarian war" (Mansi, XI, 617). This surely suggests that the Byzantine defeat occurred in 681.

7 διερήτος, cf. 14 διερήτωσα: It has been suggested that these refer not to the Ongos 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.

23 f. Neighboring Slavonian tribes: These are the seven tribes mentioned by Theoph., 359.14, on which see I. Dujčev, Medioevo bizantino-slawo, 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 . . . παραπέμψεις); (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 Thessalian marble: Leo gram., 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-
COMMENTARY

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 ἐκφαντῶντο: 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. 363.6 ff. 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.).


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
COMMENTARY


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 χείρα: 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 παδικὸς δὲ ἀβηρῶν μαστιγώσατι.

10 τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν: 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 τὸν ἀναστολικόν . . . στρατεύματος = τῶν Ἀναστολικῶν.


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 πρωταρίου ὑπαρχῶς: The correction is hardly satisfactory but is preferable to the MS reading τοῦ πρωταίτωρ, since the only official at Constantinople bearing the title of praetor was the relatively minor πρωταῖτωρ 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 τηρικαίτα ὑπαρχῶς, identical with the anonymous ὑπαρχῶς at 367.30. There may, therefore, be some justification for bracketing τοῦ πρωταίτωρ.

[198]
COMMENTARY

22 Φόρον: Constantine’s Forum.


28 κατελθεῖν: From the Patriarchal Palace situated at the gallery level of St. Sophia.

41 τοῦ Βοῦς ἀγοράν: see above, *ad* 1.47.

41. Operations in Africa. Leontios overthrown by Apsimaros (698)

Cf. Theoph., 370.6–371.8, *L.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.


10 στρατῶν ὅπλιτην = Theoph.’s ταξιτιώνα.

11 Σαρακηνῶν βασιλεύς = πρωτοσύμβουλος (‘Abd Al-Malik).

18 βουληθείς: 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.


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 μονοτελέχους Βλαχερνών, i.e., the single wall built by Heraclius 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.
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 Φαναγώρη, Δανούβις to Ιόστρος), 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" (στρατηγός) (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 (ἐκείνης)," i.e., Amastris (68).

Persons promoted to magistracies and then killed (ἁγνῆς) (71).

24 τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκέτων: Nik. forgets that Theodora was the Chagan's sister, not his daughter. Curiously, the same mistake occurs in Mich. Syr., II, 478.

34 Βαρσαβακούριον: All the MSS of Theoph. have Βαρσβακούριον, which de Boor emends to Βαρσβακούριον on the strength of "Barisbacurium" in the Latin trans. of Anastasius. On his extant seals he is styled Barasbakourios, patrician and comes of Opsikon: Zacos-Vegleyr, 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.
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-Vegleya, 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. Βουλγαροι (Adler, I, 483) has been linked with this episode. See Zlatarski, 230; V. Beševlijev, *ViZvrem* 16 (1959), 8–13. The passage reads: Ὄτι ἐπὶ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ Ρωστμήτου ἠμαζεύον ὁ Τέρβελις, ὁ τῶν Βουλγάρων ἄρχηγος· καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ Καυσταντῖνος, ὁ Ἡρακλεῖον ὦδος, ὑπόφοροι τούτῳ ἦσαν. τὴν γὰρ ἁστίδα, ἦν εἰχεν ἐν πολέμῳ, ὑπῆκεν ἐθηκε καὶ τὴν ἐαυτὸς μόστηγα, ἦ ἐχρώτῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱπποῦ, καὶ ἤδω οὐ δικαστεψαν ἀμφότερα, κρήματα ἐνετίθει. καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἐν τῇ γῇ παρεκτείνας μέχρι τῶν περάσων καὶ ἐς ὅπος πολὺ σηρμεκὴν ἐσθήτα ἐτίθει, καὶ κιβώτια πλῆθος χρυσοῦ καὶ ἄργυρον τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐδίδον, τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν χρυσίον πληρων, τὴν δὲ λαϊκὰν ἄργυριον. That is: “Terbelis, the chief of the Bulgars, was in his prime at the time of Justinian and Constantine. 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 Beševlijev, *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
COMMENTARY

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 Mauro (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 διώκουντο) 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 Kephallenia 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 Heracleia (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, tur-march 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 eis δοξην αυτου, i.e., in his honor. Nik. is guilty of a nonsense in implying that Toudounos was killed by the Chazars.
COMMENTARY

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 Syagros.

Theoph. omits the recourse to the Bulgarian Tervel and the mention of Dama-trys 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 Gingillos he names Sinope.

Theoph. has more detail about the death of Justinian and his son Tiberios.

4 [εἰδότας]: de Boor’s conjecture εἰδὼτας 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 = στραθάριον. Also at 93.

16 Toudounos: a Turcic title (tudun = vicero), not a proper name. See Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica, II, s.v.

19 σῶν γυναιξί καὶ παισί renders Theoph.’s συνφαμίλονς (378.6).

20 ὅβεβλοις renders σούβλας (Theoph., 378.8).

37 ἐν αὐτοῖς: I have corrected to ἐν αὐτοῖς 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 δυσεψιμήσαντες καθύβριξον = 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-Vegelry, 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 ἀπηναίσκοντο = ἀνέσκαψαν (Theoph., 379.28).

100 τῶν ὑπερκειμένων τείχων πυλίδα: Theoph., 380.25 has ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνω 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 Kallininokos (sic) was the same as the Xyloporta, known from fourteenth–fifteenth-century sources, the latter being an opening in the short wall connecting
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, Βυζαντινοὶ 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 ἡγίου 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 Dumian): 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 τῶν Παυλίνων. 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., 381.20 ff., a.m. 6203, and 382.10–21, a.m. 6204 (much fuller) without introducing any further information.

1 ἀσέμνως καὶ ῥᾳθύμως: cf. Theoph., 381.29, ἀσέμνος καὶ ἀνικάνως.

5 Ἴδανυὴ τῶν πτωκοκτόνων: This is misleading. Nik. neglects to say that John VI was the new emperor's appointee (ordained in Dec. 711). The word πτωκοκτόνων applies in Theoph., 382.16 to Germanos. For the circumstances see Van Dieten, Patriarchen, 166 ff.

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, Eppitios 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, 193 B, the Bulgarian raid was in reprisal of non-payment of tribute.

2 The addition of κατὰ is not imperative, since ἐπεισοδητῶ can govern the acc. as in Euripides, Herc., 34.
COMMENTARY

4 τέρψεως καὶ ἠδυπαθείας: 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 (περοματιζοντας) 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. Tabarî records in A.H. 93 (Oct. 711–Oct. 712) the capture of Samastiyya by Al-Abbas: 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 ἵππικον Philippikos decided (ἔδοξε τῶ βασιλεί) 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 . . . μεσημβρινὸν: 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
COMMENTARY

instigation of both George and Theodore Myakios (or rather Myukes). The latter had been an attendant of Justinian II: Theoph. 373.23.

9–10 τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινα: renders πρωτοστράτωρ τού Ὠφικίου.
13–14 πρός τον τοῦ ἱπποδρομίου χώρον instead of the more precise εἰς τὸ ὑπνατώριον τῶν Πρασίνων.
15 δεύτερον ἔτος ... διάγγοντα: more accurate than Theoph.’s διετέος δὲ χρόνον ... παραδραμόντος (383.5–6).
18–19 γραμματεά ... ἀσηκρήτης: 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 Anastasius, 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 Fenakel) 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), 246ff.; 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 ταξίατους, Theoph. 385.7.
4 χώρος: renders θέματος, Theoph. 385.8.
COMMENTARY

9–10 ὑπάρχοντα . . . καθωστάμενον: This explanatory amplification is not in Theoph., who does, however, have τὸ τηρικάντα λογοθέτην γενικὸν ὑπάρ-
χοντα. The pleonastic ὑπάρχοντα, which seems to have crept from the source, should perhaps be deleted.
15 δεδοικεσαν: αὐτὶ κατεδέξαντο in Theoph. 385.16.
16 ἐδυσωφήμουν renders ἕνεσκαλαμ.

19 Adramyttion: On the coast of Asia Minor, opposite Lesbos. The spelling Ἀδραμύττιον, if it is not due to corruption, is peculiar. It cannot be explained as a
more classical form, since Adramyt(e)ion (Aramyeion or –tteeon) occurs in Hero-
dotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, etc.
21 πράκτορα: ἐκλήπτορα, Theoph. 385.21.
21 ἀπράγμονά τινα καί ιδιώτην τυχάνοντα: ἀπράγμονά τε καὶ ιδιώ-
tην in Theoph. Cf. Plato, Rep. 620c, βίον ἄνδρος ιδιώτου ἀπράγμονος. The
precise connotation of ἄπραγμον in this context is not immediately clear. It may
mean “fond of quiet,” “uninvolved in politics,” hence a positive characterization
(ἄπραγμοσύνη being a virtue) or possibly “out of service.” The same uncertainty
applies to ἱδιώτης: 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 πραγματοφορός βασιλεύς 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 templu Sancti
Phylippi, in antiqua urbe iuxta portum). For his role in oracular literature see my

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, λ.μ. 6207, who is more coherent.

4 τοῦ Ὄμικίου στρατών: τὸ δέμα τοῦ Ὄμικίου καὶ τοὺς Γοντυρακίους
in Theoph. 385.28–29. On the latter see Bury, LRE, II, 344; Kulakovskij, III,
414ff.

7 ἐφ' ἐκάστου: καθ' ἐκάστην ἠμέραν, Theoph. 386.1. Nik. fails to ex-
plain that the fleet of Anastasios was first stationed at St. Mamas, on the European
shore of the Bosporos, 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

13 Wall of Blacherna: 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-

[207]
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 Bosporos.

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 ἦ τῶν λόγων ἡμετέρω πείθεσθαι: Theoph. 405.12–14 tendentiously 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 iun., PG 100, 1084B; Epist. ad Theophilum, PG 95, 357C.

17 ἐναυτῶν ἐνα: rounded off (from c. Nov. 715 to March 717).

18 εἰς ψήφου ἐλημονήτων: 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 κακκάβου.

9 χειρίδας renders μανίκια.

10–12 αἱ γὰρ χεῖρες . . . ἀμαχητι: 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. Canard, Journal asiatique 208 (1926), 80ff.; R. Guillard, Etudes byzantines (Paris, 1959), 109–33; Lilie, 128–32. A homily by the patriarch Germanos on the deliverance of Constantinople is edited by V. Grumel, REB 16 (1958), 183–205. The
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 χέρακεα: 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. Mu‘ād) arrived on 1 Sept. and put in at the Hebdemon. Two days later, when a south wind blew, it sailed past the city and up the Bosporos.

24 Σωρίδαμ: Σοριδέα in Theoph. (Sufyān). This and the following commander do not appear in the Arabic sources: Canard, op. cit., 83 note 3, 90.

28 Ιζίδ: Ιζίδ in Theoph. (Yazīd).


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 Τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ: Τούτῳ 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 τῆς ἐπιστέρας . . . ἀπογράφοντες: an amplification.

4–5 τῶν ὑπηρετῶν των: ἕκ τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν αὐτοῦ in Theoph.

8–9 ἄτε πιστῶν . . . ἐμπεπρον: an amplification.

11 Λογγουβιέρδους: Λογγυβιέρδους in Theoph.

12 γράμματα: τῆς σεκρας 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 Opsikon, 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 *διατριβοῦτα*), 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.
COMMENTARY

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 Anatolies 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 (στρατηγός 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 (Vienne, 1978), no. 78. Cf. ibid., no. 136 and Zacos-Vegley, 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-Vegley, no. 437.

12 πρωτιστον τῶν βασιλικῶν γραμματέων = πρωτοσασκηρήτην.
13–14 ἰχώντα τειχῶν: τειχίου (sing.) in Theoph., 401.1. This is the earliest attestation of the office, named κώμης or δομέστικος τῶν τειχῶν (or τοῦ τείχους) or simply ὁ τειχώτης 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. Guillard, Byzantium 34 (1964), 17–25. Oikonomides, Lists, 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–
COMMENTARY

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 Agallanos, turmarch of the Helladics, and that many rebels were drowned περὶ τῶν λάκκων, whatever exactly that may mean. A vague memory of the turmarch Agallanos 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 Ἀμέρος: Ἀμερ in Theoph. (‘Amr), not mentioned in the Arabic sources.
Μουίας: Muwiya b. Hisham, named as the leader of numerous raids into Byzantine territory from 725/6 onward: Brooks, *JHS* 18 (1898), 198 ff.

62. Iconoclastic silence (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 ἐξορίζει πλείστον λαὸν renders σελένιον . . . ἐκρότησεν.

2 περὶ τὰ βασίλεια instead of the more specific ἐν τῷ τριβουναλίῳ τῶν ἀκουβίτων.

3–4 συγγράφειν κατὰ τῶν εἰκόνων: ύπογράφαι 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 (κανονομολήσω) the faith (or doctrine), Ο Emperor.”

7 πατρικῶν οἶκον: Theoph. adds that his ancestral house was at a place

[212]
called Platanion, which later tradition identifies with the monastery of Chora. See "Passio X martyrum" (composed after 869), Acta Sanctorum, Aug. II, 441B: ἄπελθὼν ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Πλατανίῳ, ἦτοι ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῆς νυν καλουμένη Χώρα, ἐκείνῳ ἦγον τὸνANCH.P. 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 incomunicado ἐν τῷ Πλατανίῳ . . . τῇ Χώρᾳ (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 δυνάστων. 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, indication 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, indication 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, indication 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
COMMENTARY

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 silentiarios 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 Monôtes (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 Opsikan 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 'Αρτάβαςδος, 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., 72 ff.

13 Krasos: Clearly close to Dorylaion (Eskişehir), but apparently not identified.


20—21 τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν = τῷ θέματι τῶν Ἀνατ. (Theoph. 414.29).

23—24 ὡς μεχρὶς αἵματος . . . κίνδυνον: probably an amplification.

COMMENTARY

29–30 τὴν βασιλέως χρείαν . . . ἀποσπληρῶν = ἐκ προσώπου ὑντα ἐν τῇ πόλει (Theoph. 415.3).
35 ὑπηρετῶν: corresponds to τοὺς φίλους Κωνσταντίνου (Theoph. 415.16).
39–40 ἐπίνεοι . . . διακείμενοι: an amplification. Nik. forgets that he had already explained the situation of Chrysopolis (44.22–23).

65. Civil war. Reverses of Artabasdos (743)

Cf. Theoph. 417.23–418.11, a.m. 6234, with more detail and exact dates: Artabasdos sets out for Asia in May, battle of Modrine August, induction 11.
2 στρατηγῶν . . . 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 Armeniatics. Cf. Speck, Artabasdos, 88.
7–9 τὸν τε ὑπόντα λαὸν . . . εἰσποιητόμενοι: not in Theoph.
9–10 Theoph. 417.31 also has the words τὴν Κύζικον καταλαβὼν.
14 Among the killed Theoph. mentions the patrician Tiridates, cousin of Artabasdos.
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., induction 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 Artabasdos to Nicaea and his recruiting of soldiers there(?).

The blinded of Artabasdos 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 οἶκοι, which is not
impossible. Artabasdos may have announced at Nicæa 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 ἦκου, would be that Artabasdos announced that he was on his way to raise a contingent, presumably at or near Nicæa, which would further imply that the Opsikions 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.


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.


10 Cruciform markings: "oily" crosses in Theoph., 423.7 and Theodore Studeite, op. cit., 805C.

12 Doors and door posts: not in Theoph.

16 ξένοις τισì συνοδεύων καì εἴδεξεθέσων ἀνθρώποις: ξένοις τισìν, ὡς ἐδόκουν, καì βρισκότας προσώπων συνοδεύων 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 τινάς 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.
COMMENTARY

24–25 σεσαγμένου ... ζώος: διὰ ζώων σαγματουμένων Theoph., 423.22.
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., 429.22 ff., 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., 424.3 ff. (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., 426.14 ff. 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 ζῷον μυουκόν without indication of sex, and has it foretell ἑθνος (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., 426.26 ff., who gives exact date (Pentecost, indiction 4) and specifies it was performed by Patriarch Anastasios.

Capture of Melitene: Theoph., 427.14 ff., M.A. 6243, records briefly the taking of Theodosiopolis 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
COMMENTARY

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 Apsimar) 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.


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
COMMENTARY

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 (μετʼ 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, *IRAIK* 10 (1905), 513–14, 564; pl. cxxiv, 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 Εὔξεινον θάλασσαν corresponds to τὴν ἄρκτων τοῦ Πόντου παραλίων, Theoph., 434.9.

14 Medea: modern Midye.


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
COMMENTARY

be fanciful. Its vaulted undercroft is occupied by the Ottoman Yeraltı (or Kurşunlu Mahzen) Camii, a short distance east of Karaköy bridge. See A. M. Schneider and M. I. Nomidis, *Galata* (Istanbul, 1944), 6, 31–32.

49 ἐνθέντε ἀπηλλάσσοντο corresponds to οἴκοι ἀνέκαμπτον, 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.


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, *IRAIK* 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 πολέμωι to mean “belligerents,” which is not its classical

[220]
COMMENTARY

connotation. Theoph., 433.7 has κόπτουσιν ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ πολύ. 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., 443.14 ff., 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., 436.9 ff., 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: ἀνείδισε τήν ἀταξίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ κατὰ Σκαβίου μέσος (436.13); (2) emperor sends agents to Bulgaria and kidnaps Sklovounos, chief of the Severoi, and Christians, chief of the Skamaroi; (3) emperor makes a sudden attack on Bulgaria while the passes are unguarded. He sets fire to the Bulgarian αὐλαί 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.


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: Ournor is mentioned in the Bulgarian List of Princes with a reign of 40 days: Moravesik, Byzantinoturcica, II, 353.
COMMENTARY

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. Beševlev, 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, ἐκ
mετων ἡ λενόμενος διὰ δυσσεβής καὶ ἀνόσιος βασιλεύς κατὰ παντὸς φοβουμέ
νου τῶν θεῶν. 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 Pelagius. 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 Pelagius 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 Stephanis, 1177B makes it clear that the saint’s body was dragged along the main street from Forum Bovis past the nunnery τοῦ Μονοκλωνίου before being thrown in the charnel pit called ta Pelagius. The nunnery in question, probably named after the Exokionion, may well have been the same as the church of St. Andrew en Kriisi (Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii), in which case ta Pelagius 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.

[222]
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, indication 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.


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 Theosalonica (Berlin, 1839), 485–86, who point out that the famous battle of the Achelóos (in 917), as it is called in our classicizing sources, must have been fought near Anchialos, not on the river in Aetolia.

12 ἄλιμενος applies not to the coast between Mesembria and Sounopolis, but to that between Mesembria and Varna. See Beševliev, Protobulg. Periode, 222.


1–8 Monks ridiculed: cf. Theoph., 437.25ff., who gives the date as 21 Aug., indication 4. He says that each monk was made to hold a woman (not a nun) by the hand.

8–21 Conspiracy: cf. Theoph., 438.2ff., who says that nineteen dignitaries were paraded in the Hippodrome on 25 Aug. He names eight of them, starting with Constantine Podapagouros, 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 (γεγονός) logothete of the course—correctly, because the office was then held by Constantine—and strategos of Sicily. Theophyllaktos comes fifth and is described as protospatharios (not patrician) and strategos of Thrace.

21–28 Deposition of Patriarch Constantine: cf. Theoph., 438.26ff., with the date 30 Aug., indication 4. He was exiled first to Hieria, then to the island of Prinkipos.

τῇ ὑστεραιά: 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 Σκλάμπου ἐνυνοῦχος, 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 τινα... των βασιλικών γραμματέων... ἀσικρήτης.

8 καθιερωθήσα: not clear seeing that Constantine had already been deposed. Theoph., 441.17 says that he was made to give up his omophoron, 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 καθιερωμένου καὶ θεωροῦντος.


1–12 Cf. Theoph., 440.14 ff., who is more detailed, but omits the reference to the workmen’s allowances (lines 10–11).


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.


8 κηροχυτον ὑλης = ὑλογραφίας.

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 ὑπατεῖαν ἐπόιησαν καὶ . . . χρήματα διένεμαν is a tautology.
Theoph. specifies that the coins distributed were τριμίσθια καὶ σημίσθια καὶ
νομίσματα καινοῦργα.

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

1. INDEX NOMINUM

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.

'Αβαρος: 10.1, 17, 30; 12.8; 13.1, 13,
15, 19, 36, 42; 21.2; 22.2; 34.23;
35.18; 36.24; 85.7; L 10.1, 15,
32; ὁ "Αβαρος, the lord of the
Avars 10.6, 12; 12.32; 21.4;
L 10.6

'Αβωδος: 38.10; 59.13; 74.38; 'Αβωδος
στενόν 54.2

'Αγαλλιανός, rebel against Leo III:
60.15

'Αγχύλας, city of Thrace: 43.3, 8;
76.11; 82.8

'Αδορβαδίγανον, Azerbaijan: 12.58

'Αδραμώντιον, city of Mysia: 50.19

'Αθανάσιος, patrician under Hera-
kleios I: 10.4; L 10.2, 11

'Αγγυπτος: 6.5; 8.3; 17.14; 23.3; 26.9;
54.23; L 6.4; 8.9; 'Αγγυπτοι
54.33

'Αθριβος, Medina: 18.1

'Αλεξάνδρεια: 23.9; 26.7; 30.6;
L 6.3; ἡ 'Αλεξάνδρος 6.3;
'Αλεξάνδρος πόλις 50.2; 68.7

'Αμαστρις, city of Paphlagonia: 42.67;
45.31

'Αμβρος, 'Amr ibn al 'Aṣāf, Arab com-
mander: 23.12, 17; 26.18

'Αμερος, 'Amr, Arab commander: 61.3

'Αμόριον, city of Phrygia: 64.41

'Αναστασία, empress, mother of Ju-
stinian II: 45.98

'Αναστάσιος:
1. Oikonomos of St. Sophia under
Herakleios I: 7.8; L 7.3
2. Anastasios II (Artemios), emp.
(713–715): 48.18, 20; 49.1;
50.16; 51.1, 9, 17; 57.1, 21,
28, 31
3. Patr. of CP (730–754): 62.8; 72.3

'Αναστολή, the East or diocese of Ori-
ens (see also 'Εφος): 20.4, 9;
L 2.53; ἀναστολικά μέρη 23.1;
ἀναστολικὴ γῆ 17.14; μοῖρα
L 6.4; χώρα 12.3

[227]
INDEX

Ἀναστολικὸν (–ὁν), theme of Anatolica: στράτευμα 40.2; στρατός 42.50; 52.20; χώρα 64.20

Ἀνθιμός, son of Constantine V: 86.2

Ἀνθραξ: see Νικήτας 4

Ἀνταξόν, magister officiorum under Herakleios I: 21.4

Ἀντιόχεια in Syria: 20.2

Ἀντίοχος, logothete of the Course under Constantine V: 83.11, 25

Ἀραβες: 69.12; Ἀραβία ενδαίμων 18.2; Ἀράβων φωνή 54.8

Ἀρκαύδιος, emp. (395–408), statue of: 63.11

Ἀρμενιάκων στρατός, theme of the Armeniacs: 65.2

Ἀρμενίος: 45.12; 73.3

Ἀρτάξαβος, emp. (741–743): 64.4, 14, 24, 28, 30, 36; 65.3, 9; 66.16, 26

Ἀρτάνα, river in Bithynia: 75.4

Ἀρτέμιος: see Ἀναστάσιος 2

Ἀσιανῶν χώρα: 65.4; Ἀσιατίς γῆ 64.40; ἥπειρος 74.35; μοῖρα 13.12; παραβαλάσσω 59.13

Ἀσμικτος: see Στέφανος 4

Ἀσπαρωύχ, Bulgarian chief: 35.21

Ἀσταλάριχος (Ἱωάννης), illegitimate son of Herakleios I: 13.5; 24.9, 13

Ἀθηνούστινα, Augusta, daughter of Herakleios I: 27.3

Ἀθήνην ὅσιον λόφος, near Chalcidon: 81.5

Ἀφρική: 31.33; 41.1; 54.26; 78.3;

Ἀφροι 1.15; L 1.13

Ἀψίμαρος, renamed Tiberios (II), emp. (698–705): 41.20, 24; 42.5, 13, 50, 52; 45.2

Βαϊανός:
1. Bulgarian chief, son of Kobratos: 35.14, 33
2. Another Bulgarian chief: 79.5, 7

Βαλεντινιανός, emp. (recte Valens): 85.6

Βαρασβακουρίος, supporter of Justinian II: 42.34; 45.104

Βαρθύσσης, stream flowing into Golden Horn: 13.31; bridge over it 10.33; 25.10; L 10.26

Βαρδάνης: see Φιλιππικός 2

Βάρνα, place in Thrace: 36.20; 79.9

Βασιλείου, usurper in Sicily, renamed Tiberios: 55.5, 14

Βερυγάβων ἐμβολή, Rīs pass: 82.4

Βερσίλια (Βερσίλια V), Caucasian country: 35.29

Βιζουλίνος, Βιζουλίνος: see Βουτηλίνος

Βιθυνία: 51.2; 54.30; 61.5; 66.16

Βίσηρος, patrician under Leo III: 64.17

Βογόσσος, supporter of emp. Phokas: 1.49; Βουγόσσος L 1.42

Βόσπορος, Ὀρθικός: 13.12; 47.2;

54.16 (see also Στενῶν); Σκύθικος 42.22, 27; also Βόσφορος 45.9

Βούλγαρα: 79.2, 10; μεγάλη B. 35.4; Βουλγαροι 35.2; 36.5, 17; 38.5; 42.38, 58; 43.1, 6; 45.73, 87; 47.1; 48.8; 57.4, 7, 22, 24;

73.5, 11, 15, 17; 76.1; 77.1, 6, 11; 79.3, 4, 5; 82.2, 3, 9

Βούραφος: see Γεώργιος 2

Βούτηλίνος, candidatus under Herakleios I: 4.4 (Βιζουλίνος V), 8, 28; Βιζουλίνος L 4.2, 22

Βυζάντιον: 1.19; 2.12, 26, 29; 4.11, 23; 9.2; 10.29; 13.10, 15; 18.4, 17, 18; 19.1; 20.7; 25.10; 26.2, 6, 8; 28.3; 34.7; 40.6; 43.10; 44.22;

45.82; 47.3; 48.11; 51.1; 52.22;

54.9, 30, 34; 63.5; 64.30, 39;

65.10; 66.15; 67.9; 72.2, 15;

74.40; 76.17; 83.27; L 1.10, 17;

2.10, 26; 4.7; 9.2; 10.23; 11.12;
INDEX

Δάναστρις, Dniester: 35.22
Δανηήλ, prefect of CP under Anastasios II: 49.5
Δαρφουσία, island (Kefkenadasi) off Black Sea coast of Asia Minor: 74.31
Δομεντίολος, brother of emp. Phokas: 1.48; Δομεντιζόλος L 1.42
Δόρος, fort in Crimea: 42.7
Δορυλαίον (Eskişehir): 64.7
Δύσις, the West: 34.34

"Εβδομον, suburb of CP (Bakırköy): 10.31; 34.8; L 10.25
'Εβραίος: 31.18
Εἰρήνη, empress, wife of Leo IV: 88.2
'Ελλάς: 40.6; 60.8; 88.2
'Εσπέρα, ἥ: 55.20; τὰ ἐσπέρα 55.2; ἐσπ. μέρη 34.32, 36; ἐσπ. τόποι 45.91

Εὐδοκία:
1. First wife of Herakleios I: 3.2
2. Eldest daughter of Herakleios I: 12.34; 18.4; 23.14
3. Third wife of Constantine V: 87.3
Εὐξεινός, δ, Black Sea: 12.13; 73.13; 74.11, 32; 75.2; 76.10; Εὐξ. πόντος, 35.32
Εὐτρόπιος, second husband of Maria, sister of Herakleios I: 11.7; 13.7; L 11.3
Εὐφρασισία, province: 67.3
'Εφεσίων πόλις: 72.8
'Εφός: ἡφα μοῖρα 6.5; τὰ ἐφό, the East 34.34

Ζωῆλος, first citizen of Cherson under Justinian II: 45.17, 41.47

'Ηλίας, bodyguard of Στέφανος 4: 45.11, 42, 53, 85

'Ηράκλεια:
1. City of Thrace (Marmara)
INDEX

'Ἡράκλεια (continued)
Ereğlisi: 10.11, 17; 57.22;
L 10.8, 13, 16
2. City on Black Sea coast of Asia
Minor (Karadeniz Ereğlisi): 45.31

'Ἡράκλειος:
1. Governor of Africa, father of
Herakleios I: 1.10, 14; L 1.9, 12
1.13, 18, 27, 28, 34, 40, 41; 2.2,
11, 17, 25, 30, 32; 4.11; 5.1; 7.1,
16; 10.2, 24; 11.1; 12.7, 19, 48,
50, 52, 54; 13.1; 14.1, 6, 10;
15.11, 14, 28; 16.4; 17.3, 16;
18.4, 7; 19.1; 20.2, 16; 21.1;
22.4; 23.1, 18; 24.1; 26.3; 28.4;
29.3; 31.13, 30; 37.3; 85.7; L
1.12, 17, 24, 25, 30, 36; 2.6, 10,
23, 30; 4.7; 5.1; 7.9; 10.2; 11.1
3. See Κωνσταντῖνος 1
4. (Heraklonas), emp. (641): 12.16;
19.10; 25.11; 27.1, 11; 28.5;
29.13; 30.2, 17; 32.2
5. Son of Constantine III: see
Κωνσταντῖνος 2
6. Brother of Apsimaros: 42.49

'Ἡρακλέος στῆλαι: 30.9

Θεόδωρος:
1. Son of Herakleios I and Martina:
11.8; 17.18; L 11.7
2. A monk: 31.33
3. Theodosios III, emp. (715–716):
50.20; 51.3, 10, 19; 52.14
4. Archbishop of Ephesus under
Constantine V: 72.7
Θεοδοσιανόπολις, city of Armenia
(Erzerum): 73.3
Θεόδοσος, logothete of Genikon under
Justinian II: 39.6; 40.38
Θεοδώρα, sister of Khazar khagan,
wife of Justinian II: 42.11, 23, 27,
75

Θεόδωρος:
1. Brother of Herakleios I: 2.55;
20.4; 24.10; L 2.52; 9.4
2. Surnamed Τριθύμων, imperial
treasurer under Herakleios I:
20.10, 21
3. Magister officiorum, son of
Θεόδωρος I: 24.10, 14
4. Surnamed Μυκάκως, patrician
under Philippikos: 48.8, 21
Θεόκτιστος, protoasekretis under Leo
III: 57.11, 19
Θεοφάνης Μοιώτιος, magistros under
Constantine V: 64.28
Θεοφύλακτος, strategos under Con-
stantine V: 83.13, 25
Θεσσαλονίκη: 38.7; 48.22; 51.20;
57.1, 23, 28
Θήρα, island: 59.2, 11
Θηρασία, island: 59.2, 11
Θράκη: 13.13; 36.27; 47.9; 48.7;
54.2; 73.2, 8; 74.35; L 10.7;
theme of, 64.33; Θρακικά χωρία
66.2; Θρ. Βόσπορος 13.11;
47.2; 54.16; Θρακικών ἐκτρα-
tευμάτων ἡγεμόνων, mag. mil.
per Thracias 23.4; Θρακία, τά
39.7; 51.11; Θρακία μέρη 43.3;
χώρα 36.4; χώρια 38.6
Θρακιστιῶν λαὸς, Thraesian theme:
64.27

'Ἰέζιδος, Yazid, Arab commander:
54.28
'Ιερά νήσος, near Thera: 59.9
'Ιερίας παλάτιον, near Chalcedon
(Fenerbahe): 24.2; 83.26
'Ιεροσόλυμα: 12.5; 15.24; 18.10
'Ἰμβρος, island: 86.11
'Ινδός: 45.55
'Ιουστινιανός (II), emp. (685–695,
705–711): 38.1, 21; 39.4; 40.5,
30, 32; 42.1, 15, 42; 43.7; 44.8;
INDEX

45.1, 19, 24, 33, 38, 50, 53, 64, 65, 70, 85, 86, 88, 94, 105
'Iσαύρων χώρα: 40.1
'Iστρός, Danube: 35.17, 23; 36.2, 19; 42.36; 73.14; 76.10; 79.6
'Iσώης, comes of Opsikon under Leo III: 57.10
'Iσελούς φωνή, Latin: 48.19
'Iωάννης:
1. See Ἱσαλάριχος
2. Illegitimate son of patrician Bonos: 13.8
3. Surnamed ὁ Βαρκαίνης, general under Herakleios I: 23.2
4. Surnamed Πυγμαχός, patrician under Constantine IV: 34.25
5. Patrician under Leontios: 41.4, 13, 15
6. Prefect of CP under Justinian II: 45.39, 46
7. Surnamed ὁ Στροβόθος, imperial bodyguard under Justinian II: 45.93, 96
8. Patr. of CP (712–715): 46.6
9. Logothete of Genikon under Anastasios II: 50.7, 16
10. St. John Damascene: 72.16

Καβδόης (sic), Kavadh II Shiroe, king of Persia (628): 17.2
Καυσάρεια, city of Cappadocia (Kasseri): 2.40; L 2.11, 38; Καύσαρος πόλις 2.12
Καλλίνκος, patr. of CP (694–706): 40.27, 42.64
Καλὸς ἄγρος, harbor on Bithynian coast: 54.31
Καμπαγάνος, Bulgarian chief: 79.9
Καππαδοκία: 2.10; L 2.8; Καππαδόκης 40.10
Καρχηδόν, Carthage: 41.1, 6, 14. See also Χαλκηδόν
Κιβυραωτῶν στρατός: 68.5; χώρα 41.21
Κοβράτος, Bulgarian chief: 36.6
Κοσμᾶς:
1. Quaestor under Herakleios I: 10.5; L 10.3, 11
2. Usurper under Leo III: 60.11, 17
Κόμρεγοι, Bulgarian tribe: 35.4
Κόμρεγος, Bulgarian chief: 35.16
Κούβρατος, lord of Onogundurs: 22.1
Κουρικιαωτῶν στρατός: 41.21
Κρασός, plain near Dorylaion: 64.13
Κρήτη: 41.16; Κρητικῶν πέλαγος 59.3
Κρίστος (recte Πρίσκος), son-in-law of emp. Phokas: 1.20; 2.2, 9, 12, 28, 31, 36, 47, 48, 53; L 1.18;
2.3, 8, 11, 26, 29, 34, 44, 45, 50
Κύδικος: 46.6; 65.9
Κυκλάδες νῆσοι: 60.9
Κύπρος: 56.6; 68.6; 72.6
Κύρος:
1. Patr. of Alexandria (ca. 631–ca. 644): 23.9, 11, 17, 20; 26.7, 17; 30.6
2. Patr. of CP (706–712): 42.66
Κωνσταντῖνος:
1. Constantine III, also called Herakleios, emp. (641): 2.23; 5.1–2; 13.38; 17.20; 19.9; 20.8; 27.11;
28.5, 10; 29.1, 5, 9, 14, 17, 23;
30.4, 15, 17, 23; 31.5; 32.6;
L 2.21; 5.1
2. (Ἡράκλειος 5), Constans II, emp. (662–669): 30.17, 26, 28; 31.5, 9, 11, 14; 33.1; 35.5
3. Constantine IV, emp. (688–685): 34.1, 8, 22; 36.1; 37.5; 40.34
4. Constantine V, emp. (740–775): 56.2; 58.5; 63.3; 64.3, 4, 11, 16, 31, 38; 65.6, 11; 66.1; 8, 11, 20,
25; 67.1; 68.11; 70.1; 72.3; 73.1;

[231]
INDEX

Kωνσταντίνου (continued)
76.8; 17; 79.1; 82.1; 85.5; 13;
86.1; 8; 87.2; 88.1
5. Patr. of CP (754–766): 72.9;
83.22; 84.2
6. Victim of Constantine V: 83.18
Kωνσταντινούπολις: 32.11; 40.42;
57.9; L 2.22; βασίλειος άστυν
2.25; βασίλεισσα 8.14; 42.24;
52.8; 54.3; 56.4; 60.12; 67.4;
L 8.8; βασιλιάς 49.6; τόλμες pas-
sim. See also Βυζάντιον
άγορά τού Βούς 1.47; 40.41; 81.13;
L 1.44; 3.7; ἄγο. τοῦ Φόρου with
equestrian statue of Niketas 5.10
and τετρακιόνων L 5.5; ὁ Φόρος
40.22
ἀγωγός 42.48; ἐδατος ὅλκος 85.6
ἀκρόπολις 74.40, 43, 45
ἀνδραίς Ἀρκαδίου 63.11; of
Niketas 5.8; L 5.5 (στήλη)
Βλαχέρνα: ναὸς τῆς θεομήτηρος
13.40; 18.17–18; 45.95–96;
παλάτιον 42.49; πύλη 51.12;
προτείχισμα τὸ καλούμενον
Πετρόν 13.22; τεῖχος 41.28;
42.45, 59
ἵπποθρόμοιι 57.34; ἵπποθρομία
(–οποίον) χώρος 40.31; 48.14;
θέατρον 83.3
Καυσαρίου, ἦ 1.31; L 1.28
Κυνήγιον 42.57; 57.32; 83.20;
84.14
λουτρά 85.4
Μίλιον 84.16
μοιαί: τῆς Δελμάτου 41.33;
Καλλιστράτου 40.8; Φλώρου
40.10; τῆς Χώρας 2.54; L 2.51
ναοί: Ἀλαργύρων called Παυλί-
νης 45.102–3; ἄγ. Ἀποστόλων
with tombs of Herakleios I and
Constantine IV 27.16; 37.13;
83.29; ἄγ. Εἰρήνης 63.9; θεο-
μήτηρος ἐν Βλαχέρναις see
Βλαχέρνα
Σοφίας: ἡ ἐκκλησία 31.12;
40.26; 87.8; L 8.7; θεοῦ
λόγου τέμενος 48.17; τό
ιερόν 31.9, 16, 23; 40.24;
84.3, καθολική ἐκκλησία
with σκέπτετα 86.4–6; 87.6;
μεγάλη ἐκκλησία 19.7;
32.10; 50.8; 52.22; 62.9;
μεγάλη ἐκκλησία 18.20;
L 7.4; μέγαστον ιερῶν 7.9;
ὁ ναὸς 30.4
Νεωρίου λυμῆς 51.9
Ἐπιρόλοφος 63.12
παλάτιον 28.17; 87.7; L 1.33;
βασιλικοί περίβολοι 81.12
Πελαιγίου τάφοι 81.14; 84.18
πρατήριον 40.17, 19
Πετρόν: see Βλαχέρνα
πύλαι 66.8; π. Βλαχερνών 51.12;
Χρυσῆς π. 47.8; 52.21; πυλίς
τῶν Καλλικών 45.101
τεῖχος (–η) 13.9; 17, 25, 40; 42.52;
45.100; 49.14; 63.15; 66.2; 6, 74.
41, 44; χερσαίον τ. 47.7; 76.20.
See also Βλαχέρνα
τριβούναλιον δεκαεκιννέα ἀκού-
βιτων in Great Palace 58.4
Κάρας (–υος), river Kuban?: 35.3
Λαξική: 12.14
Λεωνιδος:
1. Imperial treasurer under Phokas:
1.49; L 1.43
2. Prefect of CP under Herakleios I:
7.8; 15.26; L 7.4
3. Emp. (695–698): 40.1, 21, 33,
36; 41.3, 31; 42.53, 65
Λέων:
1. Leo III, emp. (717–740): 52.19;
64.1

[232]
INDEX

2. Leo IV, emp. (775–780): 69.1; 70.1; 88.2
Λιβάνου ὀρος: 38.16
Λιβηρ: 1.7; 2.28; 8.8; 30.10; L 1.6; 2.26; 8.2
Λογγουβάρδοι, Lombards: 55.11
Μαύτις λίμνη, Sea of Azov: 35.2
Μακρα τεῖχα in Thrace: 10.20;
Μακρῶν τεῖχος 73.8; L 10.17
Μανσουρ, surname of St. John Damascene: 72.17
Μάξιμος, Confessor: 31.33
Μαρία:
1. Sister of Herakleios I: 11.5, 7;
13.7; 21.1; L 11.2
2. Wife of Constantine V: 70.5
Μαριαμάος, cubicularius under Herakleios I: 23.7, 19
Μαρίνος, mag. mil. per Thracias
under Herakleios I: 23.4
Μαρκέλλα, fort on Bulgarian border:
73.17
Μαρκέλλινος, metropolitan of Gangra:
66.13
Μαρτίνα:
1. Second wife of Herakleios I:
11.5; 12.15; 17.18; 19.10; 20.2;
6; 27.12; 28.1; 29.4, 13, 24; 30.3;
13; 32.2; L 11.2
2. Augusta, daughter of Herakleios
I: 27.3
Μαρτίνος:
1. First husband of Maria, sister of
Herakleios I: 11.6; L 11.3
2. Caesar, son of Herakleios I: 27.2
Μασχαλμάας, Maslama b. 'Abd al-
Malik, Arab commander: 44.3;
52.12
Μαυιάς, Muwāyiya b. Hisham, Arab
commander: 61.3
Μαυρίκιος, emp. (582–602): 1.1, 9;
2.6, 7, 58; L 1.1, 7; 2.5
Μαυροφόρος, patrician under Justinian II:
45.57, 63, 92
Μαυρούσιος: 1.15; L 1.13
Μελητηραίων πόλεις in Armenia (Eski
Malaya): 70.3; 73.3
Μεσήμβρεια, city of Thrace: 36.12;
74.14; 82.8
Μεσοποταμία: 69.9
Μήδεα, city of Thrace (Mudye): 74.14
Μίδος, king of Lydia: 85.12
Μίσθια, city of Lykaonia (Beyşehir):
47.13
Μορφελητῶν αἱρείς: 37.2
Μονώτιος: see Θεοφάνης
Μυάκιος: see Θεόδορος 4
Μώδεστος, patr. of Jerusalem
(630–631); 12.5; 18.10
Μωδρινή, settlement in Bithynia
(Mudurnu): 65.12
Ναξηραίοι, monks: 83.1
Νέβουλος, Slav chief: 38.13
Νεκρόστηλα in Karkinergic Gulf: 42.36
Νίκαια, city of Bithynia: 51.2; 61.5;
66.16
Νίκη, daughter of Sarbaros: 17.17
Νικήτας:
1. Patrician, cousin of Herakleios I:
1.16, 19; 2.24, 26, 29; 5.7; 17.9;
L 1.14, 17; 2.22, 24, 27, 5.4
2. Son of Sarbaros: 17.16
3. Surnamed Ξυλωτής, magistros
under Leo III: 57.9, 18
4. Surnamed 'Ανδραξ, commander
of the walls under Leo III: 57.13
5. Son of Artabasdos: 64.6, 65.2;
11, 13; 66.10
6. Son of Constantine V: 78.2; 87.4
7. Patr. of CP (766–780): 83.28;
86.2
Νυχτερίδος:
1. Son of Artabasdos: 64.7, 65.3
2. Son of magistros Theophanes.
INDEX

Νικηφόρος (continued)
strategos of Thrace under Constantine V: 64.32
3. Son of Constantine V: 87.4

Νικομηδεὼν πόλις (Izmit): 66.12

Εὐλινίτης: see Νικήτας 3

"Ογγλος, place near mouth of the Danube: 35.23
"Οδυνοσ, city of Thrace: 36.20
"Ολύμπιος, praetorian prefect under Herakleios I: 7.6; L 7.2
"Ονομάγουλος: see Γρηγόριος 3
"Οργανάς, Unogundur chief: 22.2
"Ορμίσδας, Hormizd V, king of Persia (631–632?): 16.3, 10; 17.2, 10
Οὐαλαντύνος, adjutant of Philagrius: 29.18; 30.12, 23, 26, 28, 30;
31.2, 7; 32.1
Οὐμαρος, Bulgarian chief: 79.3
Οὐννος: 9.1; 35.1; 76.1; L 9.1;
Οὐννικός 9.5, 9; L 9.6
Οὐνογούνδωρος: 22.2
"Οψίκιον, basiliikon: 57.11; "Οψικίων λαός 64.5; στρατός 45.75;
48.6; 50.14; 51.4; χώρα 38.10;
50.5

Παννωνία: 35.17
Παύλος:
1. Patr. of CP (641–653): 32.10
2. Monk of monastery of Kallistratos: 40.8
3. Strategos of Sicily under Leo III: 55.7, 11, 20

Πεντάπολις:
1. In Africa: 17.19
2. "Ραβεννησία: 35.19–20
Πέργαμος: 53.2
Πέρσαι: 1.4; 2.11; 6.1, 2, 16, 45;
12.1, 6, 7, 18; 13.2, 12; 14.2, 15;
15.1, 10, 18; 16.2, 3, 10; 17.11,
12, 15; 39.2; L 1.4; 2.9; 6.1, 14;
7.6; Περσικός 6.2; 7.12, 13;
L 6.2; η Περσική 12.14; 15.28;
18.7; L 7.8; Περσίς 17.7
Πιτζεγαύδιος: see Τιωάννης 4
Ποντικά χώρα: 45.78; Ποντική
θάλασσα, Black Sea: 45.14;
74.26; Ποντ. μούρα 74.31
Ποντιανή, fort in Asia Minor: 66.19
Πρύγκιπος, island (Büyükada): 24.14
Προποντίς: 74.38
Πύρρος, patr. of CP (638–641, 654): 26.3; 28.2; 29.4, 7, 8; 30.21;
31.4, 5, 10, 15, 22, 34

"Ραβεννησία: see Πεντάπολις 2
"Ραξάτης ("Ρεξάτης V), Persian general: 14.3, 12
"Ρενδάκιος: see Σιγίννιος 1
"Ρόδος: 50.5, 11
"Ρούφος, adjutant of Θεόδωρος 4:
48.10
"Ρωμαίοι: passim; "Ρωμαϊκός 12.8;
20.19; 28.15; 41.4, 13; 45.68;
49.10; 50.6; η "Ρωμαϊκή 12.52
"Ρώμη: 42.66; 45.91

Σαβίνος, Bulgarian ruler: 77.3, 8, 10,
17, 18; 79.3
Σαίτος (sic), Shahin, Persian general:
6.3, 12, 15; 7.11, 15; 15.26;
L 6.2, 10, 13; 7.5, 9
Σαλιβάς, supporter of Justinian II: 42.34
Σαμωθράκη: 86.11
Σαρακηνοί: 18.2; 20.1, 12, 17, 22,
27; 34.3, 10, 12, 21; 26.9, 13, 18;
34.2, 12, 16, 21, 27, 29; 38.14,
25; 41.6, 6, 11; 44.1, 12, 17;
47.10; 49.3; 50.1; 52.7; 53.1;

[234]
INDEX

54.1, 7, 23, 28; 56.3; 57.6; 61.2, 3; 67.2; 68.4, 8; 70.2; 78.3
Σάρβαρος, Shahbaraz, Persian general: 12.2, 51, 56, 63; 15.23; 17.1, 10, 15, 17
Σάρδες: 65.6
Σαρμάτοι: 35.30
Σάτυρος, place on Bithynian coast: 54.32
Σεβαστοπολίς, city of Armenia (Sulasaray): 38.17
Σεπρές, Kavadh II Shiroe, king of Persia (628): 15.3, 9, 15; 16.1; 17.1
Σέπτεμβριος, Ceuta: 30.8
Σέργιος:
1. Patr. of CP (610–638): 2.1, 34; 11.6; 12.10; 18.18; 26.1, 5; 31.30; L 2.1, 31; 5.1; 8.6; 11.11
2. Surnamed κατὰ Νικήταν, military commander under Herakleios I: 20.11
3. Strategos of Sicily under Leo III: 55.1, 5, 10, 19
Σηλυμπρία, city of Thrace (Silivri): 10.15; L 10.14
Σκεφάλα: 33.1; 55.1, 8, 9; 76.23; 78.4
Σωππίτων πόλις (Sinop): 49.6
Σαρίνος:
1. Surnamed 'Ρευδάκιος, patrician under Leo III: 57.3, 21
2. Strategos of Thracians under Constantine V: 64.25; 66.24
Σκλαβηνοί: 13.19, 35; 36.24; 38.7, 8; 75.1; 76.13; 86.9; Σκλάβοι 13.30; 38.25
Σκυθικά ἕθη: 74.24; see also Βόσπορος
Σολμαν, Sulaymân b. Muḥād, Arab commander: 54.8
Σολμαν, Arab commander: 44.3
Σοφία, Sufyän, Arab commander: 54.24
Στενός, στενὸς πόρος, Bosporos: 25.4; 39.7; 74.34
Στέφανος:
1. Nephew of Herakleios I: 13.6; 21.3
2. The Persian, imperial treasurer under Justinian II: 39.2; 40.37
3. Supporter of Justinian II: 42.37
4. Surnamed "Ἀσμύκτος, patrician under Justinian II: 45.7, 13, 25
5. Rebel against Leo III: 60.17
6. Saint of Mount Auxentios: 81.1
Στρατηγός, victim of Constantine V: 83.18
Στροβόδος: see Ἰωάννης 7
Συκαί (Galata): 41.26
Σύλλας, city of Pamphylia: 34.19; 72.10
Σύμβαλον in the Crimea (Balaklava): 42.31
Συμβαν, old man who received Christ in the Temple: 16.7
Σύνοδος: Sixth ecumenical council: 37.5 – 7; 46.2; iconoclastic council of Hieria (754): 72.5
Σύρια: 69.2, 9; 72.17; Σύροι 73.2
Σωσθενος, harbor on Bosporos: 54.17
Σωτήρ, Christ: 86.7. See also Χριστός
Τάναισ, river Don: 35.16
Τελεστος, Bulgarian ruler: 76.4, 12; 77.1
Τένενος, island: 86.11
Τέρββελος, Bulgarian ruler: 42.38. 59; 45.72
Τιβέριο: 
1. See Δαβίδ
2. See 'Αψίμαρος
3. Son of Justinian II: 42.76; 45.93
4. See Βασίλειος
INDEX

Στόκτος, Bulgarian ruler: 79.4, 7
Σώμα, place near straits of Kertch: 42.29
Τούδοωνος, governor of Cherson: 45.16, 41, 47
Τούρκοι: 12.17, 21, 41, 50, 58, 60; ὁ Τούρκος, chief of the Turks 12.27, 18.5, 6
Τριθύριος: see Θρόδωρος 2
Τύανο, city of Cappadocia: 44.4, 10, 14

Φάβιος, son of Herakleios I by Martina: L 11.4; Φλάνως in V, 11.8
Φαναγωρίη, city near straits of Kertch: 42.12
+Φθαλέας κόλπος, Golden Horn: 25.8
Φιλέγριος, imperial treasurer under Constantine III: 29.2, 8, 12; 30.7, 12
Φιλίστικος:
1. Brother-in-law of emp. Maurice: 2.58, 61; L 2.54
2. Βαρδάνης by name, emp. (711–713): 45.12, 51, 62, 66, 69, 82, 84, 90; 46.1; 48.11, 11, 18
Φλάνως: see Φάβιος
Φοίνιξ, port of Lycia: 50.2
Φοκάς, emp. (602–610): 1.1, 5, 23, 25, 30, 37, 48, 50; 2.5; L 1.1, 5, 18, 20, 22, 26

Φωτιος, a man injured by emp. Phokas: 1.35; L 1.31
Χαζαρία: 42.75; Χάζαροι: 35.28; 42.8, 14, 25; 45.36, 48, 49, 61, 62; 63.2; 74.23; ὁ Χάζαρος, lord of the Khazars: 45.67
Χαλέβ, Arab commander: 34.6
Χαλκηδών (Kadiköy): 7.11; 12.7, 62; 29.10 (with imperial palace); 30.14; 32.1; L 6.6; 7.5. By mistake for Carthage 31.28.
Χαλκηδόνος πόλις 5.8
Χερσός, city of the Crimea: 40.35; 42.2, 32; 45.2, 9, 12, 17, 20, 43, 50, 58, 60, 80; Χερσονήσιον 45.65
Χοσρόης (II), king of Persia (590–628): 6.1, 47, 49; 7.15; 12.1, 43, 49, 56; 14.1; 15.3, 4, 17, 26, 27; 17.1; L 6.1, 19; 7.9
Χριστιανοί, Christians: 9.3; 23.16; 26.18; 40.24; 80.15; Romans: 1.3; 65.16; 86.11; L 1.3
Χριστός: 31.31; 37.7; 46.4; 58.3; Χριστιανό έκκλησία 67.42
Χριστοφόρος, son of Constantine V: 87.4
Χρυσόπολις (Üsküdar): 44.21; 51.6; 64.38; 66.10; church built there by Philippikos 1: 2.63; L 2.55

2. INDEX GRAECITATIS

άβροχία: 85.1
άγαν: with adj. 2.63; with superl. 67.23; 85.18; with subst. 36.22; with verb 10.11; 82.17
άγγελος: 12.46
άγελαίον, τό: 83.6

άγιοι τόποι, Holy Land: 12.4
άγομαι εἰς νῦν γαμετήν: 88.1; εἰς γυναῖκα L 11.1
άγριοκοδέστερος: 31.15
άδιάπτωτος: 23.14
άδριον σύμπτωμα: 71.3

[236]
INDEX

άθεσμος, of iconoclasts: 67.41
άθέως, of iconoclasts: 67.40
άθροισμα λαοῦ: 20.8
άίμα: μέχρις αἵματος 64.23
άιμωλός: 10.7
άιρέσεις of Monotheletes: 37.2, 10
άισθανόμενα τινα: 10.24; 34.8;
L 10.20
άκοιμητα: 58.4
άκουστική αίσθησις: 11.11
άκροβολίζομαι: 20.28
άλλη: 10.20
άληθινον ἔσθημα: 10.25
άλλων: 77.6
άμβων: 31.10; 84.7
άμηχανῶν πρὸς τι: 45.63
άμιλλα, chariot race: 83.17; ἀμιλλητήριος ἄγων 48.2
ἀμιμοβή ἐμπορική: 20.19
ἀμύνης, unbaptized: 81.16
ἀμυλαρχίας: 10.20
ἀναγκαιοτέρως: 32.2
ἀνάθεμα: 37.9; 46.3
ἀνακοινών τιν: 23.8
ἀναλαμβάνω εαυτόν: 36.10
ἀναρτάω with dat.: 1.46; 39.11;
L 1.41; ἐπὶ τινος 31.21; 38.22;
42.52; 57.34
ἀναστασις σωτῆρος, Easter: 58.3
ἀναστηλών: 12.45
ἀναστέμω, dig up: 67.33
ἀνδριάς: 5.8; 63.11
ἀνευρισκόμενω: 1.32; 28.16; L 1.29
ἀνθρωπότης of Christ: 37.9
ἀνόσιος: 80.6
ἀντανάγομαι: 34.13
ἀντεπέξεμι: 73.9
ἀντιθέτων χρώματων δημοτά: 1.25;
L 1.22
ἀντικαθίστημι: 6.18
ἀντικείμενον χρώμα, of circus fac-
tions: +11.15; L 11.10
ἀντιπαρατάττομαι: 34.8
ἀντιπέρα, across the water from CP:
83.27
ἀντιπεραιώμαι: 54.2
ἀντιψωμ, of the cross: 18.20
ἀξία, imperial: 2.3; 5.4; rank or office
2.24; 5.7; 7.7; 9.8; 10.5; 22.7;
23.8; 24.10; 32.4; 57.19; 64.18;
83.13; L 1.19; 2.53; 4.2; 10.3
ἀξίωμα, imperial: 2.41; 9.7; dignity
80.21; 83.9; L 9.8
ἀπαναίνομαι: 45.65
ἀπευκούνησα, icon: 64.37; 67.42
ἀπειτεῖν with gen. 13.37; 44.15;
ἀπειρό 10.6
ἀπευφύω ἐπὶ μέγα τι χωρίων:
67.26
ἀπηχής: 6.35
ἀπιδάζω: 42.26
ἀπισχυρίζομαι: 1.28; 30.24; L 1.25
ἀπλωτός: 74.25
ἀπογυμνόσκω with acc.: 54.30; 55.3;
with gen. 60.16
ἀπόκαρσις, tonsure: 2.46; ἀποκτην
2.45; 30.7
ἀποκρυσταλλῶ: 74.11
ἀποκτείνω: ἀπέκτεινε 39.13
ἀπολογύρωμαι: 60.8
ἀπομαραίνω: 20.15
ἀπορράπτω: 20.13
ἀποσάσθωμαι: 31.25
ἀπουρέω: 27.6
ἀπρακτέω: 53.11
ἀπόμοιος: 6.36
ἀρχέτυπον, model: 12.39
ἀρχή: the State 1.5; 36.3; 38.27;
85.10; L 1.5; 7.7; imperial 1.2;
2.42; 17.11; 64.3; 65.16; 83.10;
command 1.9; 45.42: dominion
35.2, 10; 61.2; 79.3; πολιτείκη
39.1
ἀρχηγός, of foreign chief: 79.2
ἀρχηγοσκόπος: 57.32; 72.8
INDEX

ἀρχιερεύς, archbishop: 11.19; 13.38; 18.11; 26.6; 28.2; 32.11; 46.6; 57.28; 58.2; 62.3; 8; 66.14; 72.8; 15; 81.24; 83.23; 29; L 2.7; 5.2; 8.6; 11.5

ἀρχοντιά, principality: 45.10

ἀρχων, civil dignitary or military commander, passim; barbarian ruler 34.33; 86.9; ἀρχων τείχων 57.13

ἀσεβεία: 80.1; ἀσεβέω 81.26

ἀσηκρήτης: 48.19

ἀσμενίζω: L 10.12

ἀστάξομαι τῷ βασιλεῖ: 12.26; ἀσπ. τὰ ἱερὰ 31.23

ἀσπιδησφάρος: 83.15

ἀστρονόμος: 40.9

ἀγγούστα: 12.37; 23.15; 27.4; 28.1; 70.5; 87.3; 88.3

ἀυτοκράτωρ: 30.1

ἀυτοῦ, there: 30.15; 41.11; 54.17; 62.7; παρ’ αὐτοῦ? 45.3

ἀυτοχειρία: 12.31; 76.19

ἀυχώδης: 85.1

ἀχρι εἰς: 45.4; 54.20; ἀχρὶ καὶ εἰς: 10.32; +38.11; 39.4; 52.11; 56.6; 63.14; 73.12; 74.16; 76.9; 24

ἀχυρώδης: 31.14

βασιλεῖς, Roman emperor: passim;

Persian king 6.1, 16; 12.1; 16.10; L 6.1; Arab caliph 34.21; 41.11; 49.3

βασιλεύς ἡ ἕαυτος: 60.11

βασιλεύσα: 27.13; 28.7; 29.4

βάσιμος, capable of being walked on: 74.22

βλάσττω: βλαμμένος L 11.5

βουκελλάριος: L 2.44

βρύχος: 8.11; L 8.5

βύθιος: 59.10; 69.10

γαμβρός, son-in-law: 1.21; 2.44; L 1.19; brother-in-law 2.59; 64.4

γαμής: 11.7; L 11.4

γενέθλιος τῆς πόλεως ἡμέρα: 48.1

γένος, tribe: 38.9; 75.1

γεωργίκον, τό, 45.5

γλυφαῖς κών: 63.12

γνησίωτερον διαλέγεσθαι: 2.19; L 2.17

γραμματεύς, imperial secretary: 48.18; 57.12; 84.4

γραμματιστής, elementary teacher: 39.6

δαμουκη ἑπίνοια: 53.4

δαπανῆματα, supplies: 44.15; 49.16; 54.27, 38; 85.10

δέσποινα, empress: 28.13

δέχομαι, of baptism: 26.4; 30.20; L 5.3

δημεω: 57.20, 36

δήμος, people: 2.7; 26.11; 28.5; 45.7; 48.17; L 2.6

δημόσια πράγματα: 83.11; χρή-ματα 85.11; δημοσίων λογιστής 39.8; δήμ. φόρων λογ. 50.8

δημοσιευ: 76.23

δημόσια, partisans of circus factions: 1.25, 31; 4.25; 11.14; 76.19;
INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L 1</td>
<td>22, 28, 4.19, 10.30, 11.9, δημοτικών 4.24; L 4.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δημόδες, τό, the vulgar: 39.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διαγνώσκω: 15.11; 18.6 (L); 57.17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διαγοραύω: 85.17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διαδέχομαι ξύρος: 40.33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διάδημα: 5.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διαθραύω: 80.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διαωνιζώ: L 6.22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διάκειμαι: 64.40; ἐν συμφοραῖσι 65.15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διάκονος τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας: 50.7, 16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διακύπτω: 3.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διάλεικτος, of Arabic: 34.5; 44.3; 52.12; of vulgar Greek L 2.45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διαλοιδορέω: 2.17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διαπεράω: 47.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διαπήγμα: 74.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διαπτυράσκω: 11.21; L 11.17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διαπρεβεθώμαι: 15.11; 16.3; 22.4; 45.36, 67; 73.19; 77.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διασκόπτω: 80.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διαστασιάζω: 60.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διατείχιζω: 25.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διατελέω ἐν τοῖς πατρικίοις: 83.14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διατρανώ: 37.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δίαυλος: 83.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διαφαίνωμαι: 18.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διαφλέγω: 68.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διαφρρυκτωρέω: 13.30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διαχειρίζομαι: 69.15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διεκδίκησις: 59.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διεκπληροῦμαι: 54.14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διεκπέμβω: 47.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διελέγω: 29.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διεργάζομαι: 1.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διήρτης: 13.27, 29; 54.14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διαπετέω, to elapse: 3.1; 74.27; L 3.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δικαίων: 27.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διοίκουμαι: 72.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διοίκημα: 79.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διόμηνωμαι: 30.22, 27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διοπτάω: 45.21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διοπτεύω: 49.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διορύστων φθαλμοίς: 80.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διωθέω: 80.14; ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων 29.6; τῆς βασιλείας 29.17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>διώνυμος: 5.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δογματίζω: 46.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δορυφορία: 6.11; L 6.9; δορυφόρος, of imperial guard 4.17; 14.11; 45.11, 93; 83.15; of Huns 9.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δούξ: 24.16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δράμα: 2.18; δραματουργέω L 2.39; δραματουργημά 2.38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δρομαλόριος: 41.22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δυσσέβημα, of heresy: 60.9; δυσ-σεβής 37.2; 80.19; δυσσεβός 67.40, 72.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δυσφημέα: 30.31; 41.19; 42.65; 45.51, 64.24, 84.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δυσχερία: 35.26; 36.10, 22, 77.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐγκαίμι, press hard: 11.17; 42.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐγκλειστός (or ἐγκλειστός), recluse: 39.6; 42.67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐγκεφρίζω τυπά τι: 12.12; 29.19; ἐγκεφρίζεται σκέπτερα 34.1; τὰ τῆς ἀρχής ἐγκεφρίσμενοι 1.9; L 1.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἐγκωρία: 47.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἔθνος, of barbarian peoples: 9.1; 10.1; 35.19; 36.2, 5, 14; 38.28; 41.9; 49.10; 52.9; 63.2; ἐθνικός 81.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εἴδεκθης: 67.16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εἰκόνα, ἱερών, icon: 60.4; 72.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εἰκονογραφία: 86.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>εἰκών, portrait: 1.24, 26; 12.35, 39; L 1.21, 23; icon 62.4; 81.18, 23, 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| εἰς: εἰς ἄρχοντας προβάλλωμαι 42.70; εἰς ἄσκον ἀπέδειρε τὴν δοράν 7.19; L 7.12; εἰς βασιλέα ἀναγορεύω 48.18; δέχομαι 64.11; στέφω 42.77; 58.5; 65.4;
INDEX

eis (continued)
70.2; eis γαμητήν, γυναίκα κατεγγυόμοι 5.7; 63.3; δίδωμι 12.38; 42.41; ἐκδίδωμι 42.11; eis ἱεροσύνην προχειρίζομαι 42.66; eis νῦν γαμητήν ἀγομαί 88.1

ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως: 13.33
ἐκατι: 6.49
ἐκδοχεῖον: 85.5
ἐκκλησιάζω: 28.2
ἐκπομπεὺς: 57.35
ἐκστάτευμα, army: 2.10; 23.4; 56.3; L 2.48
ἐκτέμνω τῶν αἰδοίων: 1.46; L 1.41
ἐκτύπωμα, of a saint: 80.11
ἐλλην, pagan: 26.17; ἐλληνισμὸς 80.15
ἐμβολὴ, mountain pass: 82.3
ἐμπεφορος: 50.11; eis οἰκοδομήν 85.9; tά πολέμια 14.3; 34.5; τὴν τοφκήν 14.8; τῶν πολεμίων 41.5; τακτικῶν 55.9
ἐμπιτίγμα: 80.9
ἐμπολάδος συνεισφορά: 23.13; ἐμπολή μιτοποιε 26.13
ἐμφανέστερον: 45.18
ἐν τούτῳ τάξεως: 28.14; ἐν τούτῳ ἡσθείς 12.9; ἄλλοις 77.6; ἐν τούτοις ἁγανακτήσας 26.20; ὁρυφηθεὶς 82.16; μεταμεληθέντες 77.11
ἐναντίον πνεύμα, demon: 72.5
ἐνυδύτη, altar cloth: 31.19
ἐνεκένω (ἐνεκένω 4.23): [περὶ] τῶν κουκών ἐνεκένω βουλεύσθησα 2.14 (cf. L 2.12); ἐνεκένω τῶν δύο θελημάτων 31.31; ἀμφισβήτησις μεθορίων ὑπὲ ἐνεκένω 4.7; χρήματα παρατίθεσθαι τῆς βασιλιάσης ἐνεκένω 29.5
ἐνέργεια, of Christ: 31.32; φυσική 37.8; 46.4
ἐνώμοτος: 64.22
ἐνώτια: 12.29; 31
ἐξαναρτάω: 40.40
ἐξεπέτη: 80.22
ἐξερχόμαι ἀνατολῆς: L 2.53
ἐξετίσταμαι: 23.19
ἐξερεύνομαι: 59.5
ἐξευτελίζω: L 2.37
ἐξοκέλω: 74.32
ἐξονομία: 6.21; 23; 68.3
ἐορτάσιμος ἡμέρα: 48.16
ἐπάγγελμα: 80.23
ἐπαγγεῖος: 10.7
ἐπανάστασις, uprising: 52.1
ἐπαναστέλλω: 67.11
ἐπαμώμωμαι των: 44.11
ἐπαρχός, prefect of CP: 25.2; L 1.19; 4.20; 7.5 (see also ὑπαρχός); ἐπ. πραιτωρίων L 7.3
ἐπεισπίττω: 47.2; 48.12
ἐπεκθέος: 73.9
ἐπεξελείναι τά τῆς δίκης: 4.19
ἐπευρημένω: 2.53; L 2.50
ἐπήκοος: eis ἐπήκοον (ὑπήκοον cod.) 84.5
ἐπηλικη: L 1.32; L 1.29
ἐπί, of distance, with dat. 69.10; 74.11; of place, with dat. 42.33; with gen. 53.7; of time, with acc. 6.9; 41.27; 45.80; 49.12; 61.5; with dat. 34.28; 42.45; 51.8; with gen. 42.56; τὰ δύο ἐπί Χριστοῦ θελήματα 31.31; 37.7
ἐπίβαινο with dat.: 42.30; 43.9; 54.14; with gen. 24.3
ἐπίβουλεύω εἰς τὴν ἄρχην: 83.10; eis τῆς σύμμοιρα 1.36; L 1.32
ἐπικαταβάλλω: 63.7
ἐπίκειμαι: 15.24
ἐπικορυκεύομαι: 10.2; 49.7; L 10.2
ἐπικλη: 45.93; 57.13; τὸ ἐπίκλην 20.11; 34.25; 45.7; 48.5; 55.6; 57.3; 9; 72.17
INDEX

ήγεμονεύω, 1.7
ήγεμόνας, military commander: 6.2; 23.5; 34.4; 44.2; 45.8; 50.7; 57.11; L 6.2; foreign ruler 9.8; 10.1; 34.33; 42.8; 76.3; L 10.1
ήγουμενος, abbot: 40.10; military commander 12.2; 48.6; foreign ruler 34.3; 63.2
ήδυστάσεια, 47.4
ήτη, abodes: 7.12; 9.9; 34.27; 44.17; L 7.6
ήπειρος, 74.21

θαρρέω, εἰς τινα: 38.14
θέλημα, of Christ: 31.31; 37.7; 46.4
θεομάχος: 26.17
θεοποιεῖν ἑαυτὸν: 12.44
θεοσβεβέστατος: 31.26
θέότης, of Christ: 37.8
θραύσις, pestilence: 67.36
θραυμβεβζων, 11.9; 19.4; 66.22; 76.22; 83.18
θράνος, of bishop: 30.7; imperial 42.40; of prefect 1.21
θυμελικά ὄργανα: 10.36; L 10.29
θυμελικὴ σκεῦσις, L 10.8
θυσιαστήριον, presbytery: 31.19; 45.94, 97; 84.8

ἰδιώτης: 10.26; 50.21; ιδιωτεύον 52.17
ἰδρυτις, of icons: 60.5; site 69.8
ἰερα, τό: 31.23; ἱερὰ τράπεζα 31.24; 45.97
ἰεράρχης, patriarch: 2.46; 5.2; 8.13; 11.16; 18.15, 18; 23.9; 30.21; 31.31; 40.27; 42.64; 51.16; 72.3; L 2.2, 32; 7.2
ἰερομύθης, patriarch: 7.5
ἰερόν, church: 8.13; 18.18; 24.6; 30.6; 45.95, 102
ἰερωσύνη, priesthood: 31.25; 42.67; 62.5
INDEX

ίνδικτών: 18.21; 26.1; 32.12; 58.3; 78.1; 79.1; 83.31; [84.1]; 85.1; 86.1; 87.1; 88.1


έπταχώγος ναώς: 76.8
έπτυκός άγιος: 4.24; 19.4; 24.7; 42.54; 66.22; 76.21; 83.2; L 4.18; 10.9; 11.8; έπτυκή άγωνεια 10.13; 84.10; ἡμιλλα 11.13; 57.33; έπτων άγων 48.2

έσωταμός: 27.11

καθογνίζω, to baptize: 2.31; 5.3
καθοίρεσις, of icons: 60.4; 62.3; 72.13
καθολική εκκλησία 37.4
καθοσίστως, treason: 81.19
καθουστέρεω: 26.15
καλουργικές: 2.18; L 2.16
καίσαρ, emperor: 12.57; Caesar 19.10; 25.11; 32.8; 42.61; 87.4
κακόδοξω: 31.18
κανθανάτος: 4.5; L 4.2
καρπήματα: 85.15
καταγέμων: 54.27
καταδεσμευόν δρκοις: 64.10; L 8.7
καταδηνώ: 6.5; 12.3; 36.27; L 6.5; 10.28
κατακηλέομαι: 7.2
καταλήξιμοι: 10.34; 44.19; 47.10
κατάλογος, στρατιωτικός: 29.23; 45.5
καταμαίνωμαι τωι: 15.8
κατασκευής: 50.12
καταπήγωμι: 74.9
κατασκευαίμαι: 1.5
καταστροέμαι: 26.9
καταστροφικός: 74.10
καταρρηπαίων: 31.20
κατασκέλλομαι: 20.14
κατάστημα, weather: 74.3; 85.2
καταστορένωμι: 59.12
κατασχηματίζομαι: 2.40
κατατείχω: 66.5
καταπρέχω: 20.2; [35.31]; 73.8; 76.7; τής πολιτείας 52.5
καταφορτίζομαι δικ τινος: 54.38 + κατάφωρος (κατάφωρος codd.): 15.25
καταγγύω: 5.7; 18.5; 23.14; 26.19; 63.4; L 5.4
κατέρρεω: 74.33
κατευναλίων: 2.41
κεβέλια, church plate: 11.22; L 11.18
κεβρω, tonsure: L 2.42; κεκαμένως 80.24
κεφαλίζω: 10.34
κήθος ασπαζόμαι πρός τινα: 11.5 κηρόχωμος ὄλη: 86.8
κυκλήσκων: 4.5
κυστηρίδας λίθος: 59.7
κλήρος: 18.11; 19.8; κληρικός 2.45; 62.9; L 2.42, 54 + κλόνοις, dat. pl.: 25.4
κολύμβηθρα, i.e., baptismal font: 5.3; L 5.2; 9.5
κόμης εξσκευβιτόρων: 32.5
κομήτης, long-haired: 80.24
κοπτός: 1.46; 31.21; 57.34; L 1.41
κόρη: κατά κ. παίνει: 2.43; 84.6
κουβικουλάριον: 23.7
κουροπαλάτης: 2.57; κοροπαλάτιος L 2.53
κρατάω, ó, the emperor: 8.7; 80.1
κραστωρ: 10.5; L 10.3
κυρεία, dominion: 76.3
κύριος, barbarian ruler: 9.2; 12.17; 22.2; 35.7; 42.38; 45.62; 77.2; 14; L 9.1, 8; κύρος 77.4
κυρω: 37.7

λαύκος, a layman: 80.25
λαύς, army: 45.83, 85, 88; 53.1; 64.5, 27, 36; 65.8, 14; 82.2
λάσιος: 10.22; L 10.18
λαυραγωγεία: 54.37
λειτουργία, θεία: 24.6
INDEX

λέμβος: 54.33
λυτανεθίων: 18.19
λίτρα, lb. of gold: 20.18; 30.5; 76.24
λογιστής τῶν δημοσίων: 39.8; τῶν δημ. φόρων 50.8
λογοθέτης γενικός: 39.9; 50.8; τοῦ δρόμου 83.12
λόγος, pledge: 17.6; 38.22; 51.18; 55.19; treaty 38.22; λόγοι, culture 52.4
λουτήρι, atrium of church: 40.26; basin 76.22
λουτρόν, θείον, baptism: 2.30; 5.3; 9.6; 23.16; 26.4; L 2.28; 9.3
λοχμώδης: 10.20
λυμαίνομαι with acc.: 38.27; with dat. 20.20
λυχνικόν, vespers: 31.17
μάγιστρος: 21.4; 24.10; 57.9, 19; 64.29
μάλα: 67.23
μεθοδεία τοῦ ποημοῦ: 80.22
μεθόρια γῆς: 4.7; 74.23; L 4.4; 7.6
μέρος, of circus faction: L 4.18
μεσόγαιον: 36.20; μεσόγαια 44.9
μεταρρυμισμαί τῶν μονήρα βιον: 81.9
μετέρχομαι τινα δόλων: 1.26; L 1.23; τινα δίκην 15.21
μητρόπολις: 66.14; μητροπολίτης 46.6
μηχανή κακουργίας: 80.15
μισόχριστος: 85.12
μνήμη: ἐν μνήμῃ ἔχειν περί τυνος 45.1
μόδιος: 85.17
μοναχός: 31.29; 80.4; μοναστήριον L 2.51; μοναστής 81.2; μοναστεία 83.4; μονήρης βίος 81.9
μονόζυλον ἀκάτον: 13.23; 57.23
μυλός, of baptism: 9.3, 6
μυσταστηγός, patriarch: L 11.12
+ νεωτέρα βουλεύσμα: 20.23
+ νηπιώθης: 72.14
νοβελλίσμοι: 87.5; νοβελλήσμοι L 11.5
νόμισμα: 13.3; 29.22; 85.16
νυστοφυλακέων: 54.10
ξηλή μακρογηρία: 50.3
οἰκειακός τῆς βασιλείας ὑπηρετησ: 2.49; οἰκειακός L 2.46
οἰκονομία of St. Sophia: 7.9; οἰκονόμος 32.10; L 7.4
ὀλίκος δίδασκο: 85.6
ὀμίλος, people: 2.2; 10.34; 1.2.31; ὄμ. ὁπλιτής 47.1
ὄμος, profession: 80.5
όμορφος: 4.9
ὀμόφυλος: 42.18
+ ὀμός: 64.28
ὀνειροπολέμαται τὰ τῆς ἑλπίδος ἐν τινι 7.18
ὀνομα, by name: 35.6; 48.5, 10; 54.24; 28; 76.4; 79.3; L 1.32; ὀνόματι 54.8; τοῦνομα 1.35; 55.5; 60.11. 64.32
ὀξυταθείωσ: 36.12
ὀράω πρὸς τι: 11.4; 72.4
ὀργανον, musical: 10.36; siege engine 13.17; 44.6; 49.15
ὄρκιος κατηγορία: 83.23
ὄρος πίστεως. definition of doctrine. 72.11
ὁσία, funeral rites: 67.22
ὀχλος, army: 12.23; ὀχλώδες. το. rabble 83.6
πάγετος: 74.27
παπάς, priest: 2.48; L 2.45
παρὰ with dat.: 11.19; 17.10, 41.3. 73.6; κουμικολάρων παρὰ Ρωμαίων τῆν ἀξίαν 23.7
INDEX

παράγω: παρήγοντο πολεμεῖν 20.24
παραδίδωμι ἄγχονη: 42.26; αἰκίας 80.8; τῷ βυθῷ 45.24; 56.7; 60.17;
τῇ γῇ 82.19; θανάτοις 81.20;
πυρὶ 40.41; ταφῇ 2.64; τάφῳ 68.55; όρωμα L 4.20
παρακινεῖ τοῦ τεταγμένου χώρου: 71.7
παρακύπτω: L 3.3
παρανομία, sin: 27.8; L 11.8
παραπτέμω τῷ ἀναθέματι: 37.10;
ὑπερορίας 55.19; 81.21; ἐξ-
δριστον π. 30.10; 83.28
παρρησία, boldness: 14.15; 44.18;
παρρησιαξομα 42.3; 80.1
πατρικής: 84.8
πατρίκιος: 2.24; 5.7; 9.8; 10.4; 12.10;
13.8; 26; 17.17; 22.7; 40.1; 41.5;
45.7; 38; 58; 63; 92; 48.6; 9, 21;
49; 52; 19; 55.1; 7; 57.3; 10,
21; 30; 64.18; 26; 66.24; 83.14;
2L 2.22; 5.4; 9.8; 10.2
πεζεύς ὅπως κατὰ νότον: 74.21
πευράματι ἐκπροταθεῖσθαι: 57.2
πεντηκοστή, Pentecost: 48.16
περί αὐταῖς: 69.4; π. τῆν Λιβήνην
1.7; L 1.6; π. τήν ἐκκλησίαν στὰ, ἢν 37.4; τὸ π. αὐτών ὅρος 77.14; [περί] ὅτι κοινωνία ἕκκεν 2.14
περιάγω τὰς χείρας εἰς τοιπαίσα: 1.39; L 1.35
περιαθρέω: 31.6
περιβάλλω τινά στρατιά: 1.17; L
1.15; π. δικτύοις τὴν θάλασσαν
82.18; περιβάλλομαι στέφανον 2.8
περίγειος: 71.8
περιδεσμῶ των ὅρκων: 8.14
περίεμι: ὁ περιών λαός 64.5; 82.2;
στόλος 41.13
περιείργα: 2.54
περιελκών: 83.17
περιέξωμα: 1.38; L 1.35
περιόστημι εἰς τριάκοντα ἄνδρας:
44.21
περικατνίξω: 39.11
περικοσμεῖ: L 3.6
περικυπέω: 82.9
περιούσιος λαός, name of Slav con-
tingent: 38.12; 24
περιποίησις: 45.26
περιτρέπω: 82.15
περίττωμα, spittle: 3.6; L 3.4
περιψείον: 1.23; 22.3; L 1.20
περιφάνεια: 2.26; 4.3; περιφανε-
στεροι 39.12; περιφανής L 4.1
πηγαία νάματα: 85.3
πίναξ, ἵππος, icon: 80.10
πιστᾶ, pledges: 77.15
πλήθος, army: 45.86
πληθύς, people: 2.34; 53; L 2.2, 50
πλησιαίτα: 63.10; 73.17; πλη-
στικεύτα έρως 76.6
πλόιον (α), fleet: 13.24; 36.6; 41.4;
50.6; 68.8; 82.4; 11; πλ. ἐκστρα-
tέμων 56.3; πλ. πλήθος 82.10;
στράτευμα 49.10; στρατηγίς
82.6
ποδαλάχη νόσος: 36.11
ποιέω γαμμαρίαν, φίλον: 2.44; L 2.41
πολύς, ἄλαθη: 74.8
πολιτεία, the State: 1.41; 2.20; 6.23,
44; 8.2; 12.9; 15.2; 13; 28.15;
49.11; 52.6; L 1.38; 2.18; 6.15, 19
πολίτης: 8.12; 76.18; L 8.5
πολιτικόν, τό: 1.30; πολιτικά ἄρχαι
39.1; πολιτικοὶ ἀρχηγῶν 52.13;
πολιτική εὐφοίας 38.4
πολύ πλείστα: 45.3
πομπή, imperial: 6.12
πορθμός νοὸς: 44.24
ποσότης ῥαχεία: 85.18; π. ἄριθμον
29.21; χρυσίου 34.30
προταρίων ὑπαρχος: 7.7; cf. 40.19
appar.
INDEX

πράκτωρ τῶν δημοσίων φόρων: 50.21
πράσινον χρώμα, Green faction: 1.31; 11.14; πράσινον Λ 1.28; 11.9
πράστω, πράστομα τινα χρήματα: +39.10; 45.69
πρεσβύτερος, priest: 83.28
προασπιστής: 31.32
προάστειον: 32.3; 34.6
προασφαλίζουμαι: 42.20
πρόγονοι, born earlier: 29.6
πρόεδρος, bishop: 2.1, 8, 34; 12.10; 26.2, 7; 30.6; 86.3; προεδρεύων 12.5
πρόεμι, of imperial progress: 4.12; L 4.8
προεκτρέχω: 47.8
προκαθήδρωμαι, of a city: 61.4
προκαθορισμός: 51.2
προλογία: 20.28
προμηθεύωμαι: 17.21
πρόδοσος, procession: 87.5; πρόδων οίκοι = σέκρετα 86.5
προπότης δοχή: 57.21
πρός, of place, used indiscriminately with acc. or dat, e.g., 54.30–32: προσεύχομαι, ο μόνος πρός τούς λιμένας, ο δέ πρός ταϊς λήταισαν; μόνος πρός μόνον 14.5 (V)
προσκαγέλω: 29.1
προσκαράω: 74.40
προσκαρτέω: 74.9
προσχάζω: 84.11
προσκρούω: 2.35; L 2.33
προσκάτασμα: 47.6
προσκυνέω τῷ βασιλεῖ: 12.22; with acc. L 6.11; pass. 42.62; εἰκόσι 81.18, 23; τάς εἰκόνας 81.26; προσκύνησις of icons 60.5
προστατευτικὸν πολισμάτων: 45.21
προτείχισμα: 13.22
προφήταζω: L 1.17
πρωτεύουσας: 45.20
πρωτίστως τῶν βασιλικῶν γυμνοματέων, protoasekretis: 57.12
πρωτοπολίτης of Cheremis: 45.17
πρωτοστόχος, about to give birth for the first time: 53.5
πταίω: τί σου ἔπτατο; L 2.37
πύρ ἐσκενασμένον, Greek fire: 54.29
πυρείος, fire temple: 12.43
πυρήκαυστος: L 3.7; πυρίκλατος 79.11; Λ 1.44
πυρφόρος ναὸς: 54.35

ῥόδιον: 82.16

σάββατον, ἄγιον: 87.2
σάλος, earthquake: 63.14; 74.42
σειρά, descent: 76.2
σέκαρτα: 86.6
σεμνεῖον, monastery: 2.54
σημεῖον, standard: 38.23, mile 69.7; 10; 74.11
σημικά ιμάτια: 86.12
σκαῖρον: 65.5
συνεργός: 2.51; 1.2.48, βασιλικὴ συνεργία 8.4; 1.8.11
συνεκαγωγός: 64.19
σκηνή: 36.1, 23; σκηνούμαι 42.49, 59; 82.3
σκήπτομαι: 2.30; +12.56, L 2.27
σκίπτρα: 34.2; 63.11
σπένδωμαι: 22.5; ἀπ. ἐπιτελε- σματικών 23.11; 34.23, 36.28
σταθμός, door post: 67.12
στασιάζω: 1.30; 50.15, 1.1.27, σταθ- στικόμαι ὑπὸ τούς 41.17
σταυρός, σταυρίζω: 12.5
στέφανος, imperial diadem 2.9.
10.27; 12.27; 30.3, 31.13, 52.2.4; L 1.10.22
στέφω: 25.11, 31.4, 11.14, 32.8; 42.77; 55.4; 58.5, 65.4, 70.1; 87.2; 1.5.3
INDEX

στήλη, statue: L 5.5
στόλισμα σεμνόν: 80.24
στρατεία, imperial service: 80.21
στρατεύω λάον: 38.11; στρατεύό-
μενος 29.15
στρατηγεία: L 1.8; στρατηγείω
L 1.6; hold office of thematic stra-
tegos 64.26, 33; στρατηγίς ἄρχη
1.9; 82.6
στρατηγός: 2.9; 20.22; 23.2, 7; 41.4;
L 2.8; στρ. ἀναστολής, mag. mil.
per Orientem 20.9; thematic 83.14;
of Anatolics 40.1; 42.50; 52.19; of
Armeniacs 65.2; of Hellas 40.5;
of Kibyraioi 68.5, 8; of Opsikion
64.5; of Sicily 55.2, 8
στρατός, thematic: 45.75; 48.6; 51.4;
68.6
συγγράφω κατά τῶν εἰκόνων: 62.3
συγκαταμέγρισμα: 20.27
συγκυνθείων: 45.99
σύγκλητος βουλή: 2.7, 33; 45.6;
L 2.6, 30; συγκλητικός 46.7
συλλαμβάνω, participate, assist:
30.2, 42.39
συμβαίνω, agree: 34.28
συμβασιλεύω: 29.24
συμβατήρια: 6.45
σύμβολα, regalia: 5.5
συμμίμητα: 60.12
συμπαραγράφω: 1.25
συμπαραστασμάτων: 47.13
συμπαράδεχομαι: 42.61; συμ-
pαραγράφω 77.17
συμπεριγράφω: L 1.23
συμπεσιάω των: 12.28; 48.3
σύμφωνα καθιστῶν: 64.26
συναινέω τινι: 67.40
συναναδιδόμω: 70.11
σύναξις, religious service: 31.17
συναποζητηριαίοι: 20.14
συναποτελεῖται: 74.15
συναφή: L 11.9
συνδιαϊκόσιμοι: 26.5
συνδιαφέρω: 1.50
συνεισφορά: 23.13
συνοκέσιον πρὸς γυναῖκα: 80.27
συνομιλτώ: 10.15
συντελεῖ ἄξιοι εἰς ἁρμονίαν: 73.13;
75.3; εἰς ποσοτήτα 29.20; περὶ
tά δισυχία παράσηης 82.4
+συντόνως (συντόνως codd.): 36.16;
συντονώτατα 14.16
συνφῶς: 10.40
σχήμα, clerical: 2.45; L 2.42; lay
80.25; monastic 51.19; 72.9; 80.6;
81.2; ἐν σχήματι 2.16, 39.5;
L 2.14
σχίσμα, ecclesiastical: 37.4
σωτήριοι σταυρός: 12.4; σωτη-
ρίωδες βάπτισμα 30.2
τάγμα, military: 2.52; of monks 80.5
tαμνόν, to crown: 5.5
tακτικά, τά, military affairs: 52.4;
55.9
tαμίας βασιλικῶν χρημάτων: 1.49;
20.10; 29.3, 39.2; L 1.43
tαμειών, βασιλικόν: 19.7
tαυτοπλοίων σκάφη: 50.3
tειχόνα μηχανήματα: 13.15
tεκνοθίμαι, to adopt at baptism: 9.6
tέλεσμα, tribute: 23.11, 34.23; 36.28
tελματώδης: 35.26
tέλος: οἱ ἐν τέλει 7.5; 81.17; L 7.2
tέμενος, church: 48.17
tεράστιον, prodigy: 60.6; 67.9; 71.3
tίκτω: 11.8; L 11.4
tίμια, τά: 80.29
tόμος: 2.43; L 2.40
tριήρης: 13.27
tρισκαδεκαεπτάοις: 54.5
tρυπανίς, usurpation: 52.2; 64.8, 17;
66.24; oppression 85.20

[246]
INDEX

υπαγωγὴ φόρων: 11.22; 35.33; 
L 11.18

υπαρχός, prefect of CP: 1.21; 
4.26; 7.8; 26.21; 40.19; 45.39; 
49.6 (also ἡπαρχός); ὑπ. τῶν 
πραττωρίων 7.6

υπασπιστής: 29.18; 30.12; 42.51

υπατεία: 87.6; ὑπατεύω 19.10; 27.1

υπεκκαίω: 59.14

ὑπεξούσιος: 35.33

ὑπεράγαμος: 10.3

ὑπερβόρειος: 74.9

ὑπερήδομαι: 10.11

ὑπεροχή, high position: 83.9

ὑπερπόντιος: 74.10

ὑπερφόν: 3.4

ὑπηρέτης, adjutant: 48.9; 55.5;

bucellarius L 2.46; βασιλικός 
64.35; ὀἰκειακός 2.50; L 2.47

ὑπό (of subjection) used indifferently 
with acc., dat. or gen.; ὑπό 
ἐυφημίας καὶ δόξης δεξθείς 
19.2

ὑποκλέπτω: 80.22

ὑπόμμησις, memorandum: 83.12

ὑποπλέω: 54.13

ὑπόστονδος: 35.18

ὑποσύρω: 80.20

ὑπουργός, of bucellarii: 2.48

ὑπόφορος: 35.20

ὑποφύρμιος: 40.4

ὑποψιθυρίζω: ὑπεψιθυρίζω τοις 
λοιπον καθὼς αὐτῶν 20.5

ὑψόω, of the cross: 18.16; 81.25

φαντασίων: 67.15

φιλοσυμεόμαι, to confer gifts, etc.: 
9.7; 19.6; 32.7; 80.21; 86.14;

φιλοτίμως 73.5

φιλοφρονέωμαι: 42.59

φιλοχρηστία: 85.21

φορεῖον: 84.3

φορολογία: 26.13; φυλολογομαθεία 
85.15

φρονέω κατὰ Χριστιανών: 26.18

φυλάρχης, tribal chief: 23.12; 26.19

φυλάς: 25.5

φωτίζω τῷ θείῳ λοιπῷ: 26.4; 1.9.7;

φωτισμός L 9.4

χαγάνος, lord of Avars: 10.16; 21.2;

22.3; L 10.8; 12.14; of Khazars 
42.8; 45.48

χάρισμα, gift: L 6.12

χειρίς, sleeve: 53.9

χειροτονεῖον, of imperial appointments:

2.9; 6.3

χελώνη, siege engine: 13.16

χλανίς βασιλική: 42.60

χρισμα, of circus factions: 1.25; 31;

11.14—15; 76.19; L 1.22; 28;

11.9, 10

ψηφίς, mosaic: 86.7

ώματον ἄρθρον: 1.45

ώμοφορον, pallium: 31.24

ὅς, conj. with inf.: 1.12; 12.24; 23.8;

25.2, etc.; with part. 2.13, 29;

26.21; 29.13; 30.14, etc.; prep. 
with acc. of person 4.11; 6.11, 
49; 10.2.9; 17.5. 42.9, 45.42, 
68; L 4.7; ὡς τῶν ἄνερ 3.6

[247]