

Selected Writings of E. W. Brooks

Ernest Walter Brooks (1863-1955), a distinguished historian and Syriac scholar, published these 16 studies in a variety of books and journals between 1892 and 1923.

[The Eastern Provinces from Arcadius to Anastasius](#), Chapter 16 in Volume 1 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1911), describes the period from ca. 395 to ca. 518. Topics include: Murder of Rufinus; Fall of Eutropius; Revolt of Gainas; Exile of John Chrysostom; Regency of Pulcheria; Elevation of Valentinian III; Fall of Eudocia; Accession of Marcian—of Leo I; Rise of Zeno—Murder of Aspar; Usurpation of Basiliscus; Gothic Wars; Revolt of Illus; Accession of Anastasius; Isaurian revolt; Invasion of Kawad; Peace with Persia; Financial Administration of Anastasius; Revolt of Vitalianus; and Death of Anastasius. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 16 (pp. 457-486), Bibliography for Chapter 16 (p. 676-680), and Chronological Table, in 40 pdf pages.

[The Successors of Heraclius to 717](#), Chapter 13 in Volume 2 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (New York, 1913), describes the period from 641-717. Topics include: Death of Heraclius; Constans Emperor; Constans in Italy; Constantine IV Emperor; Saracen attacks on Constantinople; The Monothelete Controversy—Pope Honorius; Arrest and deposition of Pope Martin; Sixth General Council; Justinian II Emperor; Trullan Council; Leontius Emperor; Tiberius (Apsimar) Emperor; Justinian restored; Philippicus Emperor; Anastasius II Emperor; Theodosius Emperor; Accession of Leo the Isaurian. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 13 (pp. 391-417), Bibliography for Chapter 13 (p. 766-769), and Chronological Table, in 40 pdf pages.

[The Struggle with the Saracens, 717-1057](#). These two articles, which appeared as Chapter 5 (parts A and B) in Volume 4 of the *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1923), were written by the Syriac scholar E. W. Brooks ("The Struggle with the Saracens, 717-867") and the Byzantinist A. A. Vasil'ev ("The Struggle with the Saracens, 867-1057"). These are well-documented, very readable descriptions of four hundred years of warfare and competition between the Byzantine Empire and the Caliphate for control of Asia Minor, a struggle which fatally weakened both sides. Includes Title Page, Table of Contents, Chapter 5 (parts A and B, pp. 119-152), Bibliography for Chapter 5 (p. 805-813), Abbreviations, and Chronological Table, in 57 pdf pages.

[The Date of the Historian John Malala](#), from *English Historical Review*, Vol. 7, No. 26 (Apr., 1892), pp. 291-301, in 12 pdf pages.

[The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians](#), from *English Historical Review*, Vol. 8, No. 30 (Apr., 1893), pp. 209-238, in 31 pdf pages.

[An Armenian Visitor to Jerusalem in the Seventh Century](#), in six pdf pages. This study appeared in *English Historical Review* 11(1896) pp. 93-97. Brooks provides an English translation of, and commentary on, the fascinating chapter 51 in Book Two of Movses Dasxurants'i's *History of the Aghuans* (also known as the *History of the Caucasian Albanians*). It is a description of the Aghuanian churches in Jerusalem. A full English translation of Dasxurants'i's *History* is available elsewhere on this site: [Movses Dasxurants'i's History of the Aghuans](#).

[The Arabs in Asia Minor \(641-750\) from Arabic Sources](#). This study appeared in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* vol. 18 (1898) pp. 182-208. Brooks translates and comments on passages from Yaqubi, Tabari, the *Kitab al*

'*Uyun (Book of Springs)*, Ibn al-Athir, and Baladhuri. Invaluable source material in 29 pdf pages.

See also: [Additions and Corrections to J. H. S. Vol. XVIII: The Arabs in Asia Minor \(641-750\), from Arabic Sources](#), from *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 19 (1899), pp. 31-33, in 4 pdf pages.

[The Chronology of Theophanes 607-775](#). This study appeared in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 8(1899) pp. 82-97, in 18 pdf pages. Brooks translates or summarizes and examines the possible sources for a portion of this 9th century Chronology, and comments on its peculiarities.

[The Chronological Canon of James of Edessa](#), from *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 53(1899), pp. 261-327, in 68 pdf pages. Syriac text, English translation, and scholarly notes of a seventh century chronicle which covers the period from 326 to 630.

[The Campaign of 716-718, from Arabic Sources](#), from *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 19 (1899), pp. 19-31, in 14 pdf pages.

[Byzantines and Arabs in the Time of the Early Abbasids](#), from *English Historical Review*, Vol. 15, No. 60 (Oct., 1900), pp. 728-747, in 21 pdf pages.

[Arabic Lists of the Byzantine Themes](#). This article appeared in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1901) pp. 67-77, in 13 pdf pages. Brooks reconstructs the names and locations of the 9th century Byzantine administrative districts known as themes from the works of Arab geographers including Ibn Khurdadhbah, Al Idrisi (1154), Ibn Al Fakih Al Hamadhani (ca. 902) from Yakut's Dictionary (1224), and Kudama (ca. 930), translating the passages from Ibn Al Fakih. Extensive scholarly notes and map of 9th century Byzantine themes.

[The Arab Occupation of Crete](#), from *English Historical Review*, Vol. 28, No. 111 (Jul., 1913), pp. 431-443, in 14 pdf pages.

[The Brothers of the Emperor Constantine IV](#), from *English Historical Review*, Vol. 30, No. 117 (Jan., 1915), pp. 42-51, in 11 pdf pages.

[The Emperor Leo V and Vardan the Turk](#), from *English Historical Review*, Vol. 31, No. 122 (Apr., 1916), pp. 256-257, in three pdf pages.

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THE
CAMBRIDGE
MEDIEVAL HISTORY

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(Cambridge, 1911)

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CHAPTER XVI

THE EASTERN PROVINCES FROM ARCADIUS TO ANASTASIUS

By the death of Theodosius the Eastern throne passed to his incapable elder son, Arcadius, then 17 years old, while the practical administration was in the hands of the praetorian praefect, Rufinus of Aquitaine, a man of vigour and ability who in the pursuit of ambition and avarice was not limited by scruples. Under these circumstances a conflict was likely to arise between Rufinus and Stilicho, who was the guardian of the Western Emperor Honorius, and husband of Theodosius' niece, who also asserted that Theodosius had on his death-bed committed both his sons to his care. Rufinus proposed to counterbalance the advantage which his rival possessed in his connexion with the imperial family by marrying Arcadius to his own daughter; but, unfortunately for him, he had a rival at Court in the eunuch Eutropius, a former slave who had risen to the position of *praepositus sacri cubiculi*; who now profited by the praefect's absence to thwart his scheme. Lucian, whom Rufinus had made count of the East, had refused a request of Eucherius, the Emperor's great-uncle; and, upon Arcadius complaining of this, the praefect, to shew his own loyalty, made a hasty journey to Antioch and put Lucian to a cruel death. Meanwhile Eutropius induced Arcadius to betroth himself to Eudoxia, daughter of Bauto the Frank, who had been brought up by a son of Promotus, an enemy of Rufinus; who thus had the mortification of seeing his master united not to his own daughter but to one who from her upbringing would be bitterly opposed to him (27 Apr. 395).

The inferiority of Rufinus was increased by the fact that the best of the Eastern troops had accompanied Theodosius to the West, and of these only some of the less efficient had been sent back. The Visigothic *foederati* had however returned to Moesia; and their leader Alaric, who was now proclaimed king, was quick to profit by the weakness of the government. Professing indignation at not being appointed *magister militum*, he invaded Thrace and advanced to Constantinople, while Rufinus, having also to meet an incursion of Caucasian Huns into Asia Minor and Syria (July), where Antioch was threatened and Old

Tyre abandoned by its citizens, had no forces to oppose to him. He therefore went to the Gothic camp, and, after some negotiations, Alaric withdrew to Macedonia, and after a check from local forces at the Peneus passed into Thessaly. Stilicho, who, besides desiring to overthrow Rufinus, wished to re-unite eastern Illyricum to the Western power, treated this as a pretext for interference; and, starting in early spring, he marched with considerable forces to Thessaly, and met the Goths in a wide plain. Probably, however, he did not wish to crush them; and, after some months had been spent in skirmishes or negotiations, Rufinus, who feared Stilicho more than Alaric, sent him in the Emperor's name an order to evacuate the dominions of Arcadius and send back the Eastern troops. To break openly with the East at this time did not suit Stilicho's purpose; and, as the Eastern forces, which comprised a large Gothic contingent, were devoted to him, he could attain his primary object in another way. He therefore returned at once, while the Eastern army under Gainas the Goth marched to Constantinople. In accordance with custom the Emperor, accompanied by Rufinus, came out to meet the troops, and the soldiers, at a signal from Gainas, fell upon the praefect and cut him in pieces (27 Nov.).

The Emperor's chief adviser was now Eutropius, who appropriated a large part of Rufinus' property and procured the banishment of the two most distinguished generals in the East, Abundantius and Timasius (396), while he entrusted positions of power to such obscure men as Hosius the cook and Leo the wool-comber. He also gained much obloquy by selling offices, though as the prices were fixed and there was no system of public loans, this was only a convenient method of raising money. As a eunuch, he could not hold any state office; but for this he partly compensated by transferring some of the powers of the praefect to the master of the offices and by interfering in matters altogether outside the functions of a chamberlain. Thus he is said to have acted as a judge, probably on a special commission, and to have gone on embassies to the Goths and Huns, from which he returned with military pomp. Finally he was made a patrician and assumed the consulship (399), though his name was not admitted to the Western *Fasti*. At first he was necessarily on good terms with the army, and therefore with Stilicho; but he was no more inclined than Rufinus had been to allow the Western regent to direct Eastern affairs, and the previous position therefore soon recurred.

After Stilicho's retreat Greece lay at Alaric's mercy, for, perhaps because the army was too much under Stilicho's influence, no force was sent against him, and through the unguarded Thermopylae he marched plundering into Boeotia. Thebes indeed was too strong to take, and Athens he entered only under a capitulation. Megara however was taken, and, the Isthmus being left undefended, Corinth, Argos, and Sparta also. During 396 Peloponnesus lay under his heel; but early

in 397¹ Stilicho, secure in the support of the Eastern army, thought that the time had come for another campaign. This time he came by sea to Corinth, and, marching westwards, blockaded the Goths at Pholoe in Elis. But Eutropius opened negotiations with Gildo, count of Africa, whose loyalty had long been doubtful, to induce him to transfer his allegiance to Arcadius; and, the threatening state of affairs making it necessary for Stilicho to return, he allowed Alaric to withdraw to Epirus, probably on the understanding that he would keep the Eastern Court occupied. Eutropius however preferred to satisfy him by the post of *magister militum* in Illyricum, and on these terms peace was concluded. Such being the relations between the two Courts, it is not surprising to find that some of the eunuch's enemies conspired with the Gothic soldiers, the allies of Stilicho, against his life, and that, with the fate of Rufinus before him, he tried to prevent such plots by a law of extraordinary severity (4 Sept.). Perhaps for the same reason that no army was sent against Alaric no support was given to Gildo; but his revolt occupied Stilicho's attention during most of 398. The pacification of Africa was however soon followed by Eutropius' fall.

Gainas, now *magister militum*, had been strengthening his own position by filling the army with Goths from Moesia; and in spring 399 an opportunity for action presented itself. Tribigild, commander of the Gothic colonists in Phrygia, having been refused a donative by Eutropius, revolted and ravaged the country, upon which Eutropius offered the money; but Tribigild raised his demands and insisted upon the eunuch's deposition. Gainas, with Leo, the satellite of Eutropius, was sent against him; but, while Leo advanced toward the disturbed district, Gainas remained at the Hellespont. Tribigild on hearing of Leo's approach marched through Pisidia into Pamphylia, where a large part of his army was cut to pieces by a rustic force under Valentinus, a citizen of Selga, and the rest blockaded between the Eurymedon and the Melas. Leo moved to the support of the local force: but, as he was too indolent and dissolute to maintain discipline, Tribigild was able by an unexpected attack to make his way through, while the disorderly force scattered in all directions, Leo himself perishing in the flight. Tribigild then returned to Phrygia, which he again plundered. Nor was he the only enemy with whom the Empire had to contend; for, besides the constant incursions of the desert tribes into Egypt and Libya, the Huns were ravaging Thrace, and Vram Shapuh of Armenia was, at the instigation of the Persian king, attempting to annex the five satrapies north of the Tigris.²

Accordingly Gainas with much show of reason represented to Arcadius that his best course was to grant Tribigild's demand; and,

¹ I cannot resist Koch's argument for 397 rather than 396. The connexion with Gildo's revolt is then obvious.

² I take this to be the meaning of "Mesopotamia" in *Mos. Chor.* iii. 52.

as Eudoxia urged the same, his consent was easily obtained. Eutropius was deposed from his office, and, though he had abolished by legal enactment the right of sanctuary possessed by the churches, fled to the altar of St Sophia, where the bishop, John Chrysostom, who owed his appointment to the eunuch, made use of his presence to preach on the vanity of earthly things, but resisted all attempts to remove him. Finally he left the church on a promise that his life should be spared, but was deprived of property and honours, and banished to Cyprus (July or Aug.).¹ As however Gainas insisted upon the necessity of his death, he was, on the pretext that the promise applied only to Constantinople, brought back to Chalcedon, tried on a charge of using imperial ornaments, and beheaded (Nov. or Dec.).²

The fall of Eutropius had been effected by a combination between Eudoxia and Gainas; and during the absence of the Goth, who had returned to Phrygia, the Empress secured the appointment of Aurelianus to the praefecture in preference to his brother Caesarius, who was supported by Gainas. After Eutropius' death she further had herself proclaimed Augusta (9 Jan. 400); and by an innovation which called forth a protest from Honorius her busts were sent round the provinces like those of emperors. But Gainas had not designed to set Eudoxia in the place of Eutropius; accordingly he sent Tribigild, with whom he had joined forces, to Lampsacus, while he himself returned to Chalcedon, and demanded the surrender of three of the principal supporters of the empress, Aurelianus the praefect, Saturninus an ex-consul, and Count John, her chief favourite. Resistance was useless; and Aurelianus and Saturninus crossed to Chalcedon, while John hid himself, probably in a church; but his hiding-place was discovered, and the bishop's enemies afterwards asserted that he had betrayed him. The three men were ordered to prepare for death; but, when the executioner's sword was at their necks, Gainas stayed his hand and had them conveyed by sea towards the Adriatic, perhaps intending to place them in the hands of Stilicho or Alaric. He next demanded a meeting with the Emperor; which took place at Chalcedon, where they gave mutual oaths of good faith in the church of St Euphemia. Both the Gothic leaders then crossed to Europe. Caesarius was made praefect, and in consequence of the recent troubles was compelled to increase the taxation; but in systematising the sale of offices by limiting the tenure of each he seems to have performed an act of advantage to the State and justice to the purchasers. Meanwhile Gainas was so distributing the Roman troops in the city as to place them at the mercy of the Goths; and then, thinking his will law, he asked that a

¹The change in the praefecture, which must be connected with his fall, seems from the dates in the Code to have occurred at this time.

²Claudian heard reports of the movements of Yezdegerd (who dated his years from 14 Aug. 399) before hearing of Eutropius' death, while Asterius knew of it on 1 Jan.

church within the walls should be given to the Arians. This time however the strong orthodoxy of Arcadius and the influence of the bishop caused the demand to be refused. The violent hostility aroused by these events made men believe that the Goths intended to attack the palace; while they on their side were seized with a panic which led them to expect an attack from forces which did not exist. Accordingly Gainas, alleging ill-health, retired to the suburban church of St John, instructing his men to come out singly and join him. After the greater part had left the city, a trivial occurrence brought on a scuffle between the Goths and the citizens, who attacked the already panic-stricken barbarians with any weapons they could find, and at last the gates were shut, and the Goths, enclosed within the city, without cohesion and without leaders, offered little resistance and were mercilessly massacred, while Arcadius found courage to declare Gainas a public enemy and send his guards to support the populace. Next day the survivors, who had fled to a church that the bishop had given to the orthodox Goths, were surrounded by the soldiers; and, though none dared to attack them in the church, the roof was stripped off and burning wood thrown in until all perished, in spite of the appeals of Caesarius for a capitulation (12 July).

The Roman troops were now collected and placed under Fravitta, a loyal pagan Goth who had distinguished himself in the time of Theodosius. The attempts of Gainas on the Thracian cities failed, Tribigild was killed, and lack of provisions compelled the Goths to withdraw to the Chersonese in order to cross to Asia; but Fravitta had already placed a fleet on the Hellespont to intercept them. They were however forced to attempt the passage in rafts, and, these being sunk, most of them were drowned, while Gainas with the survivors retreated across the Danube, where he was attacked and killed by Uldin the Hun (23 Dec.),¹ who sent his head to Constantinople, where it was carried through the city (3 Jan. 401). Shortly before the victory Aurelianus and the other hostages escaped from their guards in Epirus, and returned to the capital; and early in 401 Caesarius was deposed and imprisoned, and Aurelianus restored. Some deserters and fugitive slaves, who continued to ravage Thrace, were put down by Fravitta. But he was accused of not pressing his advantage against the Goths, and, though acquitted, incurred Eudoxia's enmity, and afterwards fell a victim to the machinations of her satellites.

Stilicho's hopes of directing Eastern affairs through the army were thus destroyed; and soon afterwards the government was delivered from Alaric, who, having exhausted eastern Illyricum, invaded Italy, and after an indecisive battle at Pollentia (402) was established in western Illyricum as *magister militum*, probably on the understanding that he would help Stilicho to annex eastern Illyricum when opportunity arose.

In other directions things went less fortunately. By the annihilation

¹ Seeck in Pauly-Wissowa, II. 1150.

of the Goths the East was left almost without an army ; and the Isaurian robbers terrorised eastern Asia Minor and Syria, where they took Seleucia (Feb. 403), and even crossed to Cyprus. Arbazacius the Armenian indeed gained some successes ; but he was suspected of corruption and recalled, though by the influence of the empress he escaped punishment (404).

The chief power in the State was now Eudoxia ; but there was one man who dared to oppose her, John Chrysostom. As early as 401 he offended her by complaining of some act of oppression ; and not only was he constantly preaching against the prevailing luxury and dissipation among the ladies of fashion of whom she was leader, but he used the names "Herodias" and "Jezebel," and in one of his sermons employed the word *ἀδοξία*, with an application that could not be mistaken. His popularity was so great that she would hardly have attacked him on this ground alone ; but, with the help of the ecclesiastical jealousy of the bishop of Alexandria and the discontent which his high-handed proceedings in the cause of discipline aroused among some of the clergy, she procured his deposition (c. July 403). Popular clamour however and a building collapse in the imperial chamber frightened her into recalling him after a few days and excusing herself by throwing the blame upon others. This reconciliation did not last long. Two months later a statue of Eudoxia was erected on a spot adjoining the church of St Irene during divine service, and John, regarding the festivities as an insult to the church, preached a violent sermon against those responsible for them, which the empress took as an attack upon herself. The bishops were therefore again assembled ; but the proceedings were protracted, and Arcadius, who in religious matters had something like a will of his own, was hard to move. On 20 June 404 however the bishop was finally expelled. That night some of his fanatical partisans set fire to St Sophia, which was destroyed with the adjoining Senate-house, in which many ancient works of art perished.

Less than four months afterwards Eudoxia died from a miscarriage (6 Oct.) ; and the period of active misrule from which the East had suffered since 395 came to an end. The praefecture was now entrusted to the capable hands of Anthemius : but the government had still no force to repress the incursions of the Libyan tribes or the Isaurian brigands, whose raids continued to the end of the reign. The relations with the West had been further embittered by the affair of John Chrysostom ; and, while Stilicho lived, a good understanding was impossible. After delays not easy to explain Stilicho prepared to carry out his compact with Alaric, and, as an earnest of his intention, closed the ports against Eastern ships, while Alaric invaded Epirus. But, hearing that the usurper Constantine had crossed to Gaul, Stilicho again postponed his Eastern expedition, and Alaric in anger evacuated the dominions of Arcadius and threatened Italy. At this juncture Arcadius died (1 May

408), leaving a son, Theodosius, aged seven, who since 10 Jan. 402 had been his father's colleague, and three (perhaps four) daughters; and Stilicho, thinking the time come to carry out his old project of bringing the East under his rule, proposed to send Alaric to Gaul and go himself to Constantinople as the representative of Honorius; but a hostile party secured the Emperor's ear, and he was put to death (Aug. 408). The ports were then opened and amity restored.

The care of the Emperor's person was in the hands of Antiochus, a eunuch with Persian connexions; but the direction of affairs fell to Anthemius, whose chief adviser was the sophist Troilus; and the period of his administration was one of the most fortunate in the history of the East. The danger from the West had been removed by Stilicho's fall; and on the eastern side the best relations were maintained with Yezdegerd the Persian king, with whom a commercial treaty was made. The military power of the Empire had suffered too much to be quickly restored; but we hear no more of Isaurian raids, and it was found possible to send a small force to support Honorius against Alaric. It was only however by a combination with subject tribes that the Huns were driven across the Danube, while their tributaries the Sciri were captured in vast numbers, and enslaved or settled as *coloni* in Asia Minor (409). To prevent such incursions the fleet on the Danube was strengthened (412). Other salutary measures were the relief given to the taxpayers of Illyricum and the East (413-14), the restoration of the fortifications of the Illyrian cities (412), and the re-organisation of the corn supply of Constantinople (409). But the work for which the name of Anthemius was most remembered is the wall built from the Propontis to the Golden Horn to enclose the portion of the city that had grown up outside the wall of Constantine, a wall which substantially exists to this day (413).

In 414 the administration of Anthemius came to an end, probably by death; and on 4 July Pulcheria, the daughter of Arcadius, was proclaimed Augusta, a title that had not been granted to an emperor's sister since Trajan's time; and henceforth, though only two years older than Theodosius, she exercised the functions of regent, and her bust was placed in the Senate-house with those of the emperors (30 Dec.). At the same time Antiochus was removed from the palace.

The Court of Pulcheria was a strange contrast to her mother's. For political rather than religious reasons she took a vow of perpetual virginity and induced her sisters to do the same, and the princesses spent their time in spinning and devout exercises. She herself was a ready speaker and writer in Greek and Latin; and she had her brother trained in rhetoric, as well as horsemanship and the use of arms, in ceremony and deportment, and the observances of religion. Hence he grew up a strict observer of ecclesiastical rules, a fair scholar with a special interest in natural science and medicine, a keen huntsman, an excellent penman, exemplary in private life, mild and good-tempered; but, as everything

likely to make him a capable ruler was excluded from his education, the Emperor remained all his life a puppet in the hands of his sister, his wife, and his eunuchs.

The transference of the regency to a girl of 15 could not be effected without a change in the methods of administration; and it is therefore not surprising to find the government accused of fiscal oppression, while the sale of offices, which was restricted under Anthemius, became again a matter of public notoriety. In Alexandria, which, being almost equally divided between Christians, Jews, and heathens, was always turbulent, the change gave occasion for a serious outbreak. After prolonged rioting between Jews and Christians the bishop Cyril instigated his followers to expel the Jews. This the praefect Orestes reported to the Emperor, while Cyril sent his own account; and, Orestes refusing to yield, some fanatical monks attacked and stoned him. The chief perpetrator was tortured to death, whereupon Cyril treated him as a martyr, and both parties appealed to Constantinople. It now came to be believed among Cyril's partisans that Orestes was acting under the influence of the celebrated mathematician and philosopher, Hypatia, who was in constant communication with him: accordingly a party of *parabolani* (sick-attendants) pulled her from her chariot, dragged her into the church called Caesarium, and beat or scraped her to death with tiles (Mar. 415). At first the government acted with some vigour. No personal punishment was inflicted, but the *parabolani* were limited to 500, and the selection made subject to the approbation of the Augustal and praetorian praefects, while they were forbidden to appear in the council-house or law-courts or at public spectacles (29 Sept. 416). It was not long however before the influence or bribes of Cyril procured the restoration of the freedom of selection (3 Feb. 418). The increase of anti-pagan feeling was also shewn by a law excluding pagans from high administrative office and from the army (7 Dec. 416). Other disturbances were the rebellion of Count Plintha in Palestine (418), an attack on the city praefect Aëlius (23 Feb. 419), and a mutiny in the East (420). In Armenia, Yezdegerd having appointed his brother as king, the Roman portion of the country was definitely annexed and placed under a count (415-16).

It was now time for Theodosius to marry; and it was Pulcheria's object to prevent the choice of a wife with powerful connexions, who would be likely to endanger her ascendancy. She had by some means made the acquaintance of Athenais, daughter of the Athenian sophist Leontius, a woman of high education and literary ability, who had come to Constantinople through a dispute with her brothers about their father's property. As a friendless girl dependent on herself, yet fitted by education for the part of an empress, she seemed exactly suited for the purpose. The Augusta therefore introduced her to Theodosius, who declared himself willing to make her his wife; Athenais made no

objection to accepting Christianity, and was baptized under the name of Eudocia, Pulcheria standing sponsor; and on 7 June 421 the marriage was celebrated. The new empress bore no malice against her brothers, but summoned them to Court, where one became praefect of Illyricum and the other master of the offices; in this however she perhaps shewed worldly wisdom rather than Christian charity. After the birth of a daughter she received the title of Augusta (2 Jan. 423).

About the time of the marriage the peace with Persia was broken. Yezdegerd had always shewn himself friendly to the Christians; but at the end of his reign the fanatical act of a bishop drove him to severe measures. Some Christians fled to Roman territory, and when their surrender was refused, the position became so critical that permission was given to the inhabitants of the exposed provinces to fortify their own lands (5 May 420). After Yezdegerd's violent death (late in 420) a more extended persecution was begun by Warahran V; and the Court of Constantinople began the war by sending the Alan Ardaburius through Roman Armenia into Arzanene, where he defeated the Persian Narsai (Aug. or Sept 421), who retreated to Nisibis. Ardaburius with numerous prisoners advanced to Amida to prevent an invasion of Mesopotamia; and here, as the prisoners were starving, Bishop Acacius melted the church plate, ransomed them with the price, gave them provisions, and sent them home. Ardaburius then besieged Nisibis, and Warahran prepared to march to its relief, while he sent Al Mundhir, sheikh of Al Hira, to invade Syria. Many of the Arabs were however drowned in the Euphrates, and the rest defeated by the general Vitianus. On the king's approach Ardaburius burnt his engines and retreated, and the Persians, crossing the frontier, vainly attacked Rhesaina for over a month; but, though the Romans gained some successes, no decisive victory was obtained, and Theodosius thought it best to propose terms. Warahran was also inclined for peace; but, wishing to gain a success first, he ordered an attack upon a Roman force, while he kept the ambassador with him. The Romans were surprised; but during the battle another division under Procopius, the son-in-law of Anthemius, unexpectedly appeared, and the Persians, taken on both sides, were defeated. Warahran then took up the negotiations in earnest; and, on his undertaking to stop the persecution and each party binding itself not to receive the Arab subjects of the other, peace was made for 100 years (422). This victory was celebrated by Eudocia in an epic poem. It was probably a result of the transference of troops from Europe to meet the Persians that the Huns this year invaded Thrace, though in consequence of the prudent measures of Anthemius the Danubian frontier was rarely violated before 441. The provinces had however not recovered from the calamities of Arcadius' time, and constant remissions of taxation were necessary.

The relations with the West were again disturbed through the refusal

of Theodosius to recognise the elevation of Constantius (421); and when after the death of Honorius (Aug. 423) the obscure John was proclaimed emperor in prejudice of the claims of the young Valentinian the son of Placidia, there was an open breach. When John's envoys arrived to ask for recognition, Theodosius threw them into prison. Placidia now received anew the title of Augusta (424), which Theodosius had before ignored, Valentinian was declared Caesar at Thessalonica, mother and son were sent to Italy with a large army under Ardaburius, his son Aspar, and Candidianus; and, John having been overthrown, Valentinian was invested with the empire (Oct. 425). The concord between the two divisions of the Empire was confirmed by the betrothal of Valentinian to Theodosius' daughter Eudoxia, and the victory celebrated by the building of the Golden Gate, through which the emperors made their formal entries into Constantinople. In 431, when Placidia needed assistance against the Vandals, an army under Aspar was sent to Africa; but Aspar returned three years later without success, probably after an understanding which made him ever after a friend of the Vandals.

In 427 some Ostrogoths who had seceded from the Huns were settled in Thrace, and other tribes were received in 433; while a raid was made by the Huns, and a more serious attack only prevented by abject submission to their demands (434). At sea a pirate fleet entered the Propontis, but in 438 the pirate Contradis was captured. At home stones, were thrown at Theodosius in a riot after a famine in 431, and there were bitter complaints of the extortion of the eunuchs.

Two matters of internal administration deserve special mention—the codification of the law (438), and the foundation of a university at Constantinople as a counterpoise to the schools of Athens (27 Feb. 425). In this university there were 28 professors of Greek and Latin grammar and rhetoric, and two of law, but only one of philosophy, and all other public teaching in the city was forbidden.

Eudocia was at first of necessity subservient to her sister-in-law; but that she would always accept this position was not to be expected. A difference appeared at the time of the synod of Ephesus (431), when Pulcheria was victorious; but afterwards her influence declined, and at last a palace intrigue drove her to retire from court. Under Eudocia's patronage a large share in the administration fell to Cyrus, an Egyptian poet and philosopher, who became city-praefect in 435,¹ and in 439 combined this office with the praetorian praefecture. Cyrus was the first praefect who published decrees in Greek, and he also distinguished himself by renovating the buildings of the city, especially by an extension of the sea-wall to join the wall of Anthemius, which the capture of Carthage by the Vandals had made desirable (439). Antiochus, the emperor's old guardian, was restored to favour and made *praepositus*.

The capture of Carthage caused the despatch of a fleet to Sicily in

¹ I assign *Codex Just.* II. vii. 5 to this year.

441: but in consequence of an irruption of Huns into Illyricum the force was recalled in 442 and peace made; but not before the expedition had led to a war with Persia. Under the capable direction of Anatolius, the *magister militum per Orientem*, the defence of the eastern frontier had been strengthened by stricter rules of discipline in the army (25 Feb. 438) and by the building of the fortress of Theodosiopolis in Armenia. This last the new king, Yezdegerd II, probably considered a menace; and he therefore took advantage of the troubles in the West to begin war, crossing the frontier from Nisibis and sacking several towns, while another force raided Roman Armenia (441). He was however hampered by bad weather and threatened by the Ephthalites beyond the Caspian; hence, though the Romans had no army to oppose to him, Anatolius and Aspar by a large sum of money and a promise to surrender some Christian refugees persuaded him to make a truce for a year. As the troubles with the Ephthalites continued, this was followed by a definite peace on the terms that neither party should build a fort within a certain distance of the frontier, and the Romans should renew an undertaking made by Jovian to contribute to the defences of the Caucasian Gates. One of the last acts of Cyrus was to provide that the Armenian frontier lands should be held on condition of supplying horses, wagons, and pikemen for the army (26 June 441).

After her daughter's marriage (21 Oct. 437), for which Valentinian came to Constantinople, Eudocia went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem (438), and on the way gained much popularity at Antioch by a speech in which she boasted of her Greek blood. She returned in 439; and meanwhile some hostile influence seems to have been at work, for in 440 Paulinus, ex-master of the offices, was beheaded at Caesarea in Cappadocia on suspicion, as was popularly believed, of an intrigue with her, and soon afterwards she asked leave to retire to Jerusalem, and left Constantinople for ever (441?). With her fell Cyrus, who through the popular acclamation, "Constantine founded, Cyrus restored," had incurred the Emperor's jealousy. Being charged with paganism, he took orders to save his head, and was made bishop of Cotyaeum, where four bishops were said to have been murdered. By his discreet conduct he succeeded in retaining his see till the time of Leo, when on some unknown charge he was deprived and came back to Constantinople, where he remained in possession of large property. Antiochus was also deposed and compelled to take orders. Pulcheria returned to Court; but the chief influence was for the rest of the reign exercised by the eunuch Chrysaphius. Eudocia was not left in peace at Jerusalem; but Saturninus, count of the *domestici*, was sent to spy upon her, and for some reason beheaded two clergymen who attended upon her (444). She in revenge assassinated Saturninus and was deprived of her imperial train, though she still disposed of ample revenues, which she spent on the erection of churches and monasteries. She composed several poems, of which large portions

she died in 460 (20 Oct.)

The good administration introduced by Anthemius had been in some measure maintained under the ascendancy of Pulcheria and Eudocia; but under Chrysaphius the days of Arcadius seemed to have returned. The Huns overran Thrace and Illyricum, and the murder of the *magister militum* of Thrace, John the Vandal (apparently by order of Chrysaphius), did not strengthen the resistance. The Romans suffered a severe defeat (447), and Chrysaphius could only grant Attila's terms and send emissaries to assassinate him. In 447 the walls of Constantinople were shattered by an earthquake, and in consequence of the terror caused by the Huns the praefect Constantine rebuilt them in 60 days, and the Isaurians, who had renewed their raids in 441, were called in under their leader Zeno to defend the city. Zeno afterwards extorted the office of *magister militum per Orientem*, and demanded the surrender of Chrysaphius; and, though this was not granted, the danger from the Huns prevented an intended campaign against the marauders. Bands of Tzani, Saracens, and Caucasian Huns had invaded the Empire during the Persian war, and we hear of Saracen raids again several years later (448), while Yezdegerd shewed signs of a desire to renew hostilities. Libya too was again harassed by the frontier tribes, and the Vandals terrorised the Ionian sea.

On 26 July 450 Theodosius broke his spine by a fall from his horse while hunting, and died two days later. The appointment of a successor was left to the Augusta Pulcheria; and her choice fell upon Marcian, a veteran soldier from Thrace of high character who had held the post of *domesticus* (chief of the staff) to Aspar, to whose influence the selection must be ascribed. Pulcheria crowned Marcian in the presence of the Senate (24 Aug.), and gave him her hand in nominal marriage.

The first act of the new rulers was to put Chrysaphius to death. The sale of offices was prohibited, though it is unlikely that the prohibition was strictly carried out; and attempts were made to lighten the burden of taxation by a remission of arrears, by reducing the number of praetors to three and relieving non-resident senators from the burden of the office (18 Dec. 450), and by enacting that the consuls instead of squandering money on the populace should make a contribution towards the repair of the aqueducts (452), an obligation which was extended to honorary consuls by the Emperor Zeno. Marcian also put an end to a system under which the possessors of certain lands which had been sold by the State in the time of Valens escaped their share of taxation. The popularity of his rule is shewn by the words "Reign like Marcian," with which the citizens in 491 greeted Anastasius.

In external relations the reign was a fortunate one. As Attila was preparing for his western expedition, his demands for money could safely be refused; and, when after his return he repeated them with threats, death prevented him from carrying these out (453). From Zeno, who was appealing to heathen support, the Emperor was delivered by his death following a fall from his horse. Envoys from the Armenian

insurgents had come before Theodosius' death to ask for help; but Marcian refused to break the peace with Persia. With the Vandals also peace was maintained; for, though after the sack of Rome (455) Marcian tried to obtain the release of Eudoxia and her daughters, the possession of these hostages as well as Aspar's influence secured Gaiseric from attack. In Syria the *magister militum*, Aspar's son Ardaburius, was in 452 fighting with Arab raiders near Damascus, after which negotiations were begun, but with what result is not known. At the same time Egypt was suffering from incursions of the Blemmyes, who gave hostages to the imperial envoy Maximin, and made peace for 100 years, but on his sudden death recovered the hostages by force and renewed their raids till put down by Florus, praefect and count of Egypt. A more serious position arose on the Danubian frontier, where after the collapse of the Hun empire (454) some of the Huns and other tribes were settled in the north of Illyricum and Thrace as *foederati*. Of these the most important was a body of Ostrogoths, who under three brothers of the Amal family, Walamir, Theodemir, and Widimir, settled in eastern Pannonia, of which they received a grant from Marcian, who did not recognise Valentinian III's successors: they also received pay as *foederati*.

In 453 Pulcheria died, leaving all her property to the poor, a bequest which Marcian faithfully carried out. By a former wife Marcian had a daughter, whom he had given in marriage to Anthemius, grandson of the praefect Anthemius; but, when he died (27 Jan. 457) at the age of 65, he had taken no steps to secure his son-in-law's succession, and the throne lay at the disposal of Aspar the patrician and *magister militum*, who as an Arian and barbarian could not himself assume the crown, but might reign in the name of some puppet-emperor. He therefore chose Leo, a military tribune from Dacia and his own steward, a man of some capacity but little education; and the choice was ratified by the Senate. As there was no elder emperor or Augusta to perform the coronation, Leo was crowned by the patriarch Anatolius (7 Feb.). This precedent was henceforth followed whenever an emperor was not merely being associated with a senior colleague.

One of the first acts of the new reign was the recognition of Majorian (April), after whose death (461) Leo, though not recognising Severus, accepted the Western consuls, and, while sending an embassy to Gaiseric to secure the liberation of the widow and daughters of Valentinian, urged him to cease attacking Italy and Sicily. Gaiseric refused to make peace with the West or to release Eudoxia, whom he married to his son, but on receiving a share of Valentinian's property released his widow and her other daughter Placidia, who came to Constantinople. Some years later Eudoxia escaped (471) and ended her days at Jerusalem. Leo also induced Marcellinus, who had set up an independent power in Dalmatia, to keep peace with the Western Emperor; but further embassies to Gaiseric effected nothing.

About this time the migration of the Avars from the east caused a movement among the Hunnic tribes of the Caucasus, in consequence of which the Saragurs asked for Roman protection, and obtained it, though some trouble with the fugitive peoples followed. But when the Saragurs invaded Persian territory, an embassy arrived from King Piroz to complain of the treatment of Magians in the Empire and the reception of fugitives, and to ask for the stipulated contribution in money or men towards the defence of the Caucasian Gates, and money for the war against the Ephthalites; to which an answer was sent through the ex-praefect Constantine that the complaints were unfounded and the contribution could not be given. Meanwhile Gobazes, king of Lazica (Colchis), had offended the government, and a campaign in his country was undertaken (464), the troops returning to Roman territory for the winter. The coast-road was however so difficult that the Romans were thinking of asking leave to pass through Persian territory; accordingly on receiving an embassy from Gobazes Leo granted peace on the nominal condition that he and his son should not reign conjointly; and Gobazes, having failed to obtain help from Piroz on account of the Ephthalite war, consented to retire in his son's favour. A certain Dionysius, who was known to Gobazes from previous negotiations, was at his request sent to Lazica and brought the king back with him to Constantinople (466), where by plausible words and the wearing of Christian emblems he obtained favour, so that his abdication was not insisted on. His submission drew upon him the enmity of Piroz, and a force under Heraclius was sent to his support; but, as the Persians were occupied elsewhere and the maintenance of the troops was expensive, Gobazes sent them back. Leo was meanwhile negotiating with Piroz through Constantine; but Piroz, having overcome the Ephthalites, sent to announce the fact and turned against Gobazes, who had meanwhile taken some forts from his north-eastern neighbours, the Suani, who were in alliance with Persia. Gobazes asked that part of the Armenian frontier force might be sent to his support; but Leo, being occupied with the African expedition, refused assistance (468).

Meanwhile the relations between Leo and Aspar had become strained. A difference between them had arisen in 459, when Leo appointed Vivianus praefect in preference to Aspar's candidate, Tatianus; and again in 460 Leo expelled the patriarch Timothy of Alexandria in spite of Aspar's opposition. Another dispute arose over the affairs of Illyricum. The Pannonian Ostrogoths, whose subsidy had been withheld by Leo, raided Illyricum and took Dyrrachium (459), but were obliged to give Theodemir's son, the boy Theodoric, as a hostage before obtaining the pay which they claimed. They then turned against the neighbouring tribes, and after a time became involved in a war with the Sciri. Both parties appealed to the Emperor for help, and, though Aspar advised neutrality, Leo insisted on supporting the Sciri, who gained a victory, Walamir falling in the battle.

The Emperor was alarmed by the condition of the West, which after Majorian's death fell under the domination of Ricimer; and he determined, if possible, to save the East from a similar fate: but, as Aspar was surrounded by a large body-guard of Goths and other dependants and the Thracian Goths, whose chief, Theodoric, son of Triarius, was his wife's nephew, were in alliance with him, it was necessary to raise a force from some other quarter to overthrow him. Accordingly Leo turned his eyes towards the Isaurians, who had done so much injury to the Empire in the days of Arcadius and Theodosius, but might now be used to rescue it from more dangerous enemies. His elder daughter, Ariadne, was therefore given in marriage to the Isaurian Tarasicodissa, who in memory of his countryman of the time of Theodosius took the name of Zeno and brought with him an Isaurian body-guard to set against that of Aspar (467?).

Meanwhile disturbances had arisen in Thrace. From about 460 the command there was held by Ardaburius, but it was afterwards transferred to Basiliscus, brother of Leo's wife Verina. In 467 trouble arose with Attila's son Dengizic, and a force of Huns crossed the Danube with a large body of Goths; but the two nations were surrounded by a Roman army, and induced by a trick to fight one another, so that a general slaughter followed, from which only a few escaped.

In 467 Ricimer, requiring the Eastern fleet for protection against the Vandals, asked Leo to nominate an emperor; whereupon he chose Marcian's son-in-law, Anthemius, and, having persuaded Marcellinus to submit to the new emperor, prepared a great expedition by land and sea (468): but the fleet was by the mismanagement of Basiliscus almost annihilated; and Aspar, the Vandals' friend, was believed to have induced him to betray his trust. After his return he took refuge in St Sophia, but at Verina's intercession escaped punishment.

Meanwhile Zeno was sent to Thrace; and the soldiers, instigated, as was supposed, by Aspar, tried to murder him, and he with difficulty escaped to Sardica. The command was then given to Anagast, who soon afterwards rebelled (469). Having been persuaded to submit, he accused Ardaburius of prompting his rebellion. Zeno now strengthened the Isaurians in Constantinople by introducing a band of marauders who had been driven from Rhodes (469), and their arrival was, on account of the unpopularity of the Isaurians, followed by a riot. He was then sent to the East as *magister militum*, and as such was compelled to remove the Isaurian robber Indacus, son of Papius, from his hereditary stronghold of Cherris.

The rise of Zeno and the strength of the Isaurians forced Aspar to act vigorously if he was not to be altogether ousted from power; and he pressed Leo to make his second son Patricius Cæsar and give him his daughter Leontia in marriage. In spite of the opposition of the monks, who were horrified at the prospect of an Arian emperor, Leo thought

it best to comply (470), and the new Caesar for some reason went to Alexandria, where he displayed himself with great pomp. Something more than titles was however needed to make Aspar secure; and Ardaburius tried to cut the ground from under the Emperor's feet by tampering with the Isaurians in Constantinople. This was revealed to Zeno, who had returned to Constantinople in the latter half of 471; and it was resolved to make an end of the supremacy of the Alans. Aspar and his two elder sons were accordingly treacherously cut down in the palace, though Patricius is said to have recovered from his wounds (471): the youngest son, Hermanric, had received warning from Zeno and was not there. Some of Aspar's guards under Ostrui broke into the palace, but were expelled by the *excubitores*, a new force instituted by Leo, perhaps for some such purpose. They succeeded however in escaping, and after doing some damage in Thrace joined Theodoric; but an attack on the city by the Goths was repulsed. Leontia was now given in marriage to Marcian the son of Anthemius.

Before the attack on Aspar, Leo had thought it desirable to gain the support of the Goths of Pannonia, and therefore released Theodoric (the Anal), who returned with great gifts to his father. His first act was to defeat the Sarmatians and recover Singidunum, which however he did not restore to the Emperor. So far from assisting Leo, Theodemir, now released from restraint, thought the disturbances in both divisions of the Empire a good opportunity to acquire new territories. Accordingly he sent Widimir to Italy, while he himself marched south-east and occupied Naissus. Leo thereupon sent Hilarianus, master of the offices, to offer him settlements in Lower Moesia. On these terms peace was made; and soon afterwards Theodemir died and was succeeded by Theodoric (471).

As Theodoric the son of Triarius remained in arms, an ambassador was sent to ask his terms (473), and through his envoys whom he sent to Constantinople he demanded Aspar's property, his post of *magister militum*, and a grant of the whole of the province of Thrace. As Leo would only agree to the second of these demands, Theodoric sent a force to Philippi, which however only burned the suburbs, while he himself reduced Arcadiopolis. But, as the Goths were straitened for food, he sent another embassy, and peace was made on the conditions that he was made *magister militum* and paid 2000 lbs. of gold a year, and that Leo recognised him as chief of all the Thracian Goths and did not receive deserters from them, while he undertook to assist the Emperor against all enemies except the Vandals, who had been Aspar's friends.

The reign of Leo was afterwards remembered for the law by which all legal process and all spectacles in the theatre, amphitheatre, and circus were forbidden on Sundays (9 Dec. 469). Similar laws had been passed by Constantine, Theodosius, and Arcadius, but had probably remained little more than dead letters; and it is unlikely that even

this law, at least the latter portion, was ever fully carried out. But in spite of the increasing Christian tendency of the government and of laws to the contrary, heathens continued to hold high offices of state and enjoy the favour of the Court. Prominent among these was James the physician, philosopher, and man of letters, son of a Syrian father and Greek mother, whose medical skill made him indispensable. Isocadius also, a Cilician philosopher, was made quaestor. Being deprived of his post and arrested under the law which forbade the tenure of office by a heathen, he was at the intercession of James sent for trial before Pusaeus the praefect, who was known to be in sympathy with him, and allowed to escape by submitting to baptism. The philosopher Eulogius also received a pension.

One of Leo's last acts was to surrender the island of Jotaba at the northern end of the Red Sea to the Arab Amru 'l Kais. This man, coming from Persian territory, had reduced several Arab tribes and occupied the island, driving out the Roman tax-collectors. He then sent the bishop of his tribe to ask for a grant of the island and the chieftainship of the tribes in the province of Palestine III; and, though this was contrary to the treaty of 422, Leo sent for him, treated him with honour, and granted his requests (473). During this year the Emperor was attacked by a serious illness, which made it necessary to settle the succession. Fearing (on account of the unpopularity of the Isaurians) to declare Zeno his successor, he made his grandson, Zeno's son Leo, a boy of five, Caesar, and later crowned him Augustus in the circus (18 Nov.). Less than three months afterwards he died at the age of 63 (3 Feb. 474); and, as it was probably known that the child was unlikely to live, he was directed by Ariadne and Verina to place the crown upon his father's head (9 Feb.). On his death nine months later (10 Nov.) Zeno became sole emperor in the East.

The new government began with a great success, the end of the disastrous Vandal war. One of the last acts in this war was the capture of Nicopolis by the Vandals very soon after Leo's death; and about the same time Zeno sent Severus to treat for peace, who greatly impressed Gaiseric by refusing to accept presents for himself and saying that the most acceptable present would be the release of the captives; whereupon the king gave him all the captives belonging to himself and his sons, and allowed him to ransom as many more as he could. Shortly afterwards a perpetual peace was made (474), which after Gaiseric's death (477) was confirmed by his son. The Vandal danger was at an end.

The peace was the more necessary on account of the disturbances in other quarters. The Arabs were making one of their raids in Syria, the Bulgarians appeared for the first time south of the Danube, and the accession of the Isaurian led to a serious rising of the Thracian Goths, who took prisoner Heraclius, the *magister militum* of Thrace, and held him to ransom. Zeno levied the sum from the general's kinsmen and

sent it to the Goths; but after receiving it they killed their captive. Illus, one of the many Isaurians who came to Constantinople after Zeno's accession, a man whose large native following and influence with his countrymen made him a power in the State, was now appointed to the command and succeeded in holding the Goths in check. But the favour with which these Isaurian adventurers were received increased the Emperor's unpopularity; and his son's death was soon followed by a plot. Verina's brother Basiliscus, who was living in retirement at Heraclea, opened negotiations with Illus, and no doubt by large promises induced him to betray his patron; and Verina joined the conspiracy, which the son of Triarius also supported. Verina frightened Zeno into escaping by night with his wife and mother (9 Jan. 475) and fleeing to Isauria; and the conspirators gained possession of the city without fighting. The Empress had been led to believe that she would be allowed to raise Patricius, master of the offices, to the throne, which she intended to share as his wife; but Basiliscus did not intend to act for anyone but himself, and, having the strongest support, was proclaimed emperor, the proclamation being followed by a massacre of Isaurians. Patricius was put to death; and Verina tried to get up a conspiracy for Zeno's restoration. This being discovered, she fled to St Sophia; but her nephew, Armatus, conveyed her away and kept her in safety till Zeno's return. Meanwhile Illus and his brother Trocundes were sent against Zeno, blockaded him in Sebaste, and captured his brother Longinus.

But soon things turned again in his favour. In the first place Basiliscus had offended Theodoric by transferring the post of *magister militum* to his own nephew Armatus, a man of fashion who posed as a soldier and was supported by the favour of the Empress Zenonis; and in the second place he favoured the Monophysites, and, not content with abrogating the theological decree of Chalcedon, was induced by Timothy of Alexandria to abolish the patriarchate of Constantinople created by that synod, thereby making a bitter enemy of the bishop Acacius, a man who cared little about theology, but knew well how to stir up popular fanaticism. So threatening was the aspect of affairs that Basiliscus recalled his decrees: but it was too late; Illus and Trocundes went over to Zeno, and the combined force marched on Constantinople while Trocundes with some Isaurian guards was sent to Antioch. Armatus marched to Nicæa to oppose Zeno's advance; but he had no mind to fight in a losing cause, and on receiving the promise of the office of *magister militum* for life and the rank of Cæsar for his son Basiliscus, left the road open; and as Theodoric held aloof, Zeno entered Constantinople without opposition (Aug. 476). Basiliscus and his family fled to St Sophia; but they were handed over to some of his enemies, who took them to Cappadocia and beheaded them all. The promise to Armatus was kept; but, as he was entering the circus, where Zeno and the young Cæsar were watching the games, he was assassinated by Onouf, a man

who had received great kindness from him and been raised by his influence to the military command of Illyricum. His son was ordained a reader, and afterwards became bishop of Cyzicus. Theodoric the Amal, who from rivalry with his namesake had supported Zeno, was made *magister militum* and adopted in Teutonic fashion as Zeno's son in arms. It was perhaps these commotions which enabled the Samaritans to set up as emperor the robber Justasa, who took Caesarea, but was defeated and killed by the duke of Palestine.

Leo left the treasury full; and at the beginning of Zeno's reign the burdens were considerably lightened by the praefect Erythrius; but, as the sums wanted for the Isaurian favourites could not be raised without extortion, he resigned, and his successor Sebastian earned a bad reputation by selling offices to the highest bidder. His administration was however distinguished by an act providing that all civil and military governors should remain in their districts for fifty days after the termination of office, in order that anyone with a grievance might prefer an accusation against them (9 Oct. 479).

One of Zeno's first tasks after his return was to decide what policy to follow with regard to the affairs of the West. The concord between the Courts had been broken by the murder of Anthemius (472); but Leo shortly before his death nominated as emperor Nepos, the nephew and successor of Marcellinus, and gave him Verina's niece in marriage. The fiction of the unity of the Empire was however in part abandoned, since Nepos' name does not appear in Eastern laws. After his expulsion (475) and the dethronement of his successor (476) the Roman Senate asked Zeno to grant Odovacar the title of patrician, and Nepos begged for help to recover his throne. Zeno advised Odovacar to apply to Nepos for the title, but styled him "patrician" in a letter, while declining to help Nepos.

The son of Triarius, wishing to obtain pay for his men, sought to make his peace (477): but the Senate, to which Zeno referred the matter, said they could not pay both Theodorics and left it to him to choose between them. Zeno then made a violent speech to the army against the son of Triarius. He did not however immediately break with him, but protracted negotiations. At last, finding that his strength was increasing, while that of his rival was diminishing, he summoned troops from all quarters and announced the appointment of Illus to the command; which was however, probably because of his growing jealousy of Illus, afterwards transferred to Martinianus. As this change led to disorder among the Isaurian soldiery, Zeno summoned the Amal to his aid, promising that, if he would take the field, Martinianus should meet him at the passes of Mt Haemus and another force at the Hebrus, and on this understanding Theodoric set out; but either from treachery or from lack of discipline no army met him, and his Roman guides led him to a place where he found the heights in front occupied by his rival,

who then easily persuaded him to make common cause against the Emperor. Both sent to Constantinople to state their terms, the Amal demanding land and provisions for his men and the emoluments of his office, and the son of Triarius the terms granted by Leo with the arrears of pay and the restoration of any living members of Aspar's family. Zeno promised the former in case of victory a large sum down, a yearly pension, and the hand of Valentinian's granddaughter Juliana, or any other lady whom he might name, and, this offer being refused, announced that he would lead the army himself. But circumstances now caused a change of plan.

The part played by Illus in 475, together with his retention of Longinus as a hostage and his influence with the Isaurian soldiers, made him something of a thorn in Zeno's side, and the jealous ambition of Verina rendered her his deadly enemy. In the summer of 477 Paul, one of the Emperor's slaves, tried to assassinate him and was surrendered for punishment. In 478 another attempt was made by an Alan, who under torture confessed that he had been instigated by Epinicus the praefect, a client of Urbicius the eunuch-chamberlain and favoured by Verina. Zeno thereupon surrendered Epinicus also to Illus, who sent him to Isauria, and then, having obtained leave on the ground of the death of a brother, withdrew to his native country. Fearing a rebellion on the part of Illus, Zeno now resolved to secure the support of the son of Triarius and renounced his intention of taking the field; and, as this caused disaffection in the army, he on Martimanus' advice recalled it to winter quarters. Peace was then made. The son of Triarius was to receive food and pay for 13,000 men, the command of two regiments of *scholarii*, the office of *magister militum*, and the property that had been taken from him, while any surviving members of Aspar's family were to retain their property and live in any city that Zeno might choose.

The imperial troops succeeded in expelling the Amal from Thrace; but Macedonia was left to his mercy (479). He sacked Stobi; and on his approaching Thessalonica the citizens, thinking themselves betrayed, transferred the keys from the praefect to the bishop. Heraclea he was at first persuaded by large gifts to spare; but on the refusal of a demand for corn and wine burnt the greater part of it. He was repulsed from Lychnidus, but took Scampia, which was deserted, and occupied Dyrrachium, which a confederate had induced the garrison by a trick to abandon. Meanwhile Zeno had again opened negotiations, and the patrician Adamantius, the son of Vivianus, was sent to treat. At Thessalonica he put down a military tumult directed against the praefect; and at Edessa handed to Sabinianus the Emperor's commission as *magister militum* of Illyricum in place of Onouf. From Lychnidus he invited Theodoric either to come to Lychnidus or to send hostages for his own safety if he went to Dyrrachium. As Sabinianus, who accompanied him, refused to secure the return of the hostages by oath, this plan failed; but

Adamantius went with a small escort to a wild spot near Dyrrachium and invited Theodoric to meet him. Theodoric came and stood on the opposite bank of a river, and Adamantius offered him a settlement in the district of Pautalia in Dardania, where he would act as a check on his namesake and be between the Thracian and Illyrian armies. Theodoric refused to move before spring, but offered, if supported by a Roman army, to destroy the Thracian Goths on condition that he might then be made *magister militum* and live in Constantinople, or, if preferred, to go to Dalmatia and restore Nepos. Adamantius however declined to make terms until he left Epirus. Meanwhile Sabinianus, having received reinforcements, captured 5000 Goths, and Zeno was encouraged to break off negotiations. For the next two years Sabinianus held the Goths in check.

On 25 Sept. 479¹ the walls of Constantinople were greatly damaged by an earthquake; Zeno in fear of the Goths begged Illus to return, in order that his Isaurians might assist in defending the city; and the Emperor and the chief officials came out beyond Chalcedon to meet him. Having learned from Epinicus that Verina was the author of the plot against his life, Illus refused to enter Constantinople unless she was surrendered; and Zeno, who was clearly in fear of him and was perhaps not sorry to be rid of his mother-in-law, complied. She was conveyed by Illus' brother-in-law, Matronianus, to Tarsus, where she was compelled to become a deaconess, and kept in custody at the Isaurian Dalisandus. Illus was made master of the offices, Epinicus was at his request recalled, and his client, Pamprepicus the philosopher, who had been expelled on account of his open paganism and the suspicion of inciting his patron to treason, returned with him and was made quaestor.

The predominance of Illus soon led to a vigorous attempt to throw off the Isaurian rule. On the pretext of Verina's banishment Marcian, the son-in-law of Leo, having secured the adhesion of the son of Triarius and the support of a force of barbarians and a large number of citizens, rose against Zeno and claimed the crown for himself on the ground that Leontia was born in the purple while Ariadne was born before Leo's accession (end of 479). During the day the insurgents, aided by the people, who hurled missiles from the houses at the soldiers, carried all before them; but in the night Illus brought some Isaurians over from Chalcedon, and on the next day the rising was suppressed, though Illus' house was burnt. Marcian, who fled to the church of the Apostles, was compelled to take orders and sent to Caesarea in Cappadocia, while his brothers, Procopius and Romulus, escaped to Theodoric's camp, and Leontia sought refuge in a convent. Marcian however escaped and with a rustic force attacked Ancyra, but was captured by Trocundes and confined in the castle of Cherris, whither his wife and daughters were now

¹Theoph. 477, Marc. 480, or by indictional reckoning 479. The chronology shews 479 to be right.

brought to join him. Immediately after the rising Theodoric the son of Triarius appeared before Constantinople under pretence of assisting the Emperor, thinking that, as the towers and battlements had been overthrown by the earthquake, he could easily take it; but, finding the Isaurians manning the wall and ready to burn the city in case of defeat, he accepted Zeno's gifts and promises and withdrew. He refused however to surrender the fugitives, and was thereon superseded in the office of *magister militum* by Trocundes. He then plundered Thrace, and Zeno could only call in the Bulgarians against him. Having defeated the Bulgarians, Theodoric again appeared before the capital (481); but, finding the gates strongly guarded by Illus and his Isaurians, tried to cross to Bithynia and was defeated at sea. Receiving news of a conspiracy against him, he returned home and put the conspirators to death; after which he marched towards Greece to seek new territory, but on the way was accidentally killed. His son Rekitach, who by killing his uncles became sole ruler of his people, returned to Thrace and continued to ravage the country. In 481 Sabinianus died a violent death, some said by Zeno's contrivance, and Theodoric (the Amal) plundered Macedonia and Thessaly and sacked Larissa (482). John the Scythian and Moschianus were sent against him; but no great success was obtained. In consequence of the threatened revolt of Illus Theodoric was invited to Constantinople, made patrician and *magister militum*, and designated consul, and received territory in Dacia and Lower Moesia (483). His rival Rekitach, who was in the city at the same time, he was allowed to assassinate, and the Thracian Goths ceased to maintain a separate existence.

Ariadne, urged by her mother, pressed Zeno to recall Verina; but he referred her to Illus, who refused compliance. A third attempt upon the life of Illus was then made by a scholarian, who succeeded in cutting off his ear, while he was going to the palace to receive some barbarian envoys at the Emperor's request. The assassin was put to death, and Zeno denied on oath all knowledge of the matter; but Illus, feeling himself unsafe, asked for leave of absence on the ground of needing change of air. Zeno then made him *magister militum per Orientem* with the right of appointing dukes, and, taking with him Matronianus, Marsus, who had commanded the land force in the expedition against the Vandals, Pamprepius, and other powerful men, and a large military force, he withdrew to Antioch (early in 482), where he set himself to gain popularity by largesses and lavish expenditure on public buildings. The patrician Leontius, who was sent to ask for Verina's release, was induced to remain.¹

That a civil war was imminent must have been clear to both parties; and after the accommodation with Theodoric Zeno demanded the surrender of Longinus, and on receiving a refusal, sent John the Scythian to

¹ This is now here stated, but I infer it from a comparison of Jo. Mal., Jordanes, and "Joshua."

supersede Illus, expelled his friends, and confiscated their property, which he gave to the Isaurian cities. Illus now openly revolted, proclaimed Marcian emperor, and sent envoys to Odovacar, who refused assistance, and to the Persians and the satraps of the five provinces annexed in 298, who promised support to any force that appeared in their neighbourhood (484). It is clear that he did not intend to head a mere Isaurian revolt, which could not have any lasting success, but to form a powerful combination against the Emperor; for which purpose he held out hopes to the heathens through Pamprepius, while he was also on friendly terms with the Chalcedonians, who had been offended by the issue of the Henoticon, whereby Zeno soon after his departure tried to placate the Monophysites (482).

At first, to prevent a revolt in Isauria, Zeno sent a small force under Illus' bastard brother, Linges, and the Isaurian Conon, who had exchanged a military life for the bishopric of Apamea; whereupon Illus for some reason dropped Marcian, and brought Verina, who as Augusta might advance some claim to appoint an emperor, to Tarsus, where she formally crowned Leontius (19 July),¹ who eight days later entered Antioch. The inhabitants of Chalcis refused to accept the new Emperor's busts, and he attacked the city for 45 days; while at Edessa the citizens shut the gates against Matronianus. About the same time the great victory of the Ephthalites precluded all hope of support from Persia.

Theodoric was now sent with a force of Romans and Goths to join John the Scythian; but Zeno changed his mind and recalled him, though his Goths remained with the army; and in his place Hermanric the son of Aspar, who had once revealed a conspiracy to Zeno and had married a daughter of his illegitimate son, was sent with a contingent of Rugians. When the force which Illus sent against the imperial army was defeated, he hastily summoned Leontius from Antioch (Sept.), and they fled to the stronghold of Cherris, to which Verina had already been sent. His confederates then shut themselves up in different fortresses, and many of his men deserted. Zeno recalled the Goths, who were no longer needed, and made the Isaurian Cottomenes *magister militum* in place of Theodoric, while another Isaurian, Longinus of Cardala, was made master of the offices. Nine days after the beginning of the siege Verina died, and a month later Marsus, and Illus left the defence to the owner of the fortress, Indacus, Trocundes' brother-in-law. Trocundes, who had been sent to collect reinforcements, was captured by John and beheaded, and Zeno's brother Longinus was allowed to escape (485).

Theodoric had perhaps been occupied during 485 by a Bulgarian invasion; but in 486 he raided Thrace, and Odovacar in spite of his previous refusal shewed signs of wishing to assist Illus, who now in vain made proposals for peace, while Zeno stirred up the Rugians against Odovacar.

¹ *Rev. de l'instr. publ. en Belgique*, xl. 8. Hence I substitute "July" for the "June" of Theoph.

In 487 Theodoric advanced close to Constantinople, and an agreement was made under which he set out to wrest Italy from Odovacar, who had defeated the Rugians, and the East was rid of the Goths for ever (488)

All hope for the besieged was now at an end; Pamprepius, who had prophesied success, was put to death, and at last Indacus and others betrayed the fort. Illus' requests with regard to the burial of his daughter, who had died during the siege, and the treatment of his family were granted, and he and Leontius were beheaded, and their heads exposed at Constantinople (488). The traitors were all killed during the assault, perhaps by the besieged. Verina's body was taken to Constantinople and buried with Leo's. Most of the Isaurian fortresses were dismantled. As the satraps of the five provinces had been in communication with Illus, the hereditary tenure of the four most important satrapies was abolished, though the satraps retained their native forces.

Zeno had by his first wife a son, Zeno; but he had killed himself by his excesses at an early age, and the Emperor wished to leave the crown to his brother Longinus. The infamous character of Longinus and the unpopularity of the Isaurians hindered him from declaring him Cæsar; but he appointed him *magister militum*, in the hope that his military authority and the strength of the Isaurians in the army would secure him the succession. On 9 April 491 Zeno died of dysentery at the age of 60.

In accordance with the precedent of 450 the choice of a successor was left to the Augusta Ariadne; and on the next morning, by the advice of Urbicius, she nominated the silentiary Anastasius of Dyrrachium, a man of 61, who had shortly before been one of the three candidates selected for the see of Antioch. He was crowned the next day; and, when he appeared before the people, they greeted him with the acclamation "Reign as you have lived." On 20 May he married Ariadne.

The new Emperor began by the popular measures of remitting arrears of taxation and refusing facilities to informers, and he is credited with abolishing the sale of offices; but his reign was constantly disturbed by serious outbreaks. No immediate opposition was offered to his elevation; but in Isauria a revolt on a small scale broke out, and at Constantinople some unpopular action on the part of Julian the city-præfect led to an uproar; and on an attempt to restore order by force the rioters threw down the pedestals on which stood the busts of the Emperor and Empress in front of the circus, and many were killed by the soldiers. To avoid more bloodshed Anastasius deposed Julian, who had been appointed by Ariadne on the day of Zeno's death, and named his own brother-in-law Secundinus to succeed him. Thinking that peace was impossible while the Isaurians were in the city, he expelled them and deprived them of the pay assigned by Zeno. Longinus the brother of Zeno was compelled

to take orders and exiled to the Thebaid, where he died, it is said, of hunger, eight years later, while his wife and daughter retired to Bithynia and lived the rest of their life on charity. The property of the late Emperor, even his imperial robes, was sold by auction, and the castle of Cherris, which had not yet been occupied by the rebels, was dismantled. Longinus of Cardala and a certain Athenodorus, who were among those who had been expelled from the capital, joined the insurgents in Isauria, among whom were now to be found Linginines, count of Isauria, Conon the ex-bishop, and another Athenodorus. Reinforced by discontented Romans and others who served under compulsion, they advanced to Cotyaeum. Here John the Scythian and John the Hunchback, who had succeeded Longinus as *magister militum in praesenti* met and defeated them. Linginines fell in the battle, and the Isaurians fled to their native mountains (end of 492): but the generals waited till spring before crossing the Taurus. In 493 Diogenes, a kinsman of Ariadne, took Claudiopolis, but was besieged in it by the Isaurians, and his men were nearly starved. John the Hunchback however forced the passes, and by a sudden attack, aided by a sortie on the part of Diogenes, routed the enemy, Bishop Conon being mortally wounded. The Isaurians were henceforth confined to their strongholds, and a certain Longinus of Selinus, who resided in the strong coast town of Antioch and had a large fleet, supplied them with provisions by sea.

The Emperor's attention was now distracted by an incursion of barbarians, perhaps Slavs, in Thrace, during which Julian, the *magister militum* of Thrace, was killed. Moreover, as his Monophysite opinions made his rule distasteful to the Chalcedonians, who were strong in Constantinople, there was perhaps communication between them and the insurgents, a charge on which the patriarch Euphemius was deprived in 495. At last in 497 Longinus of Cardala and Athenodorus were taken and beheaded by John the Scythian and their heads sent to Constantinople, while the head of the other Athenodorus, who was captured the same year, was exhibited at the gates of Tarsus. Longinus of Selinus held out till 498, and was then made prisoner by Priscus, an officer serving under John the Hunchback, exhibited in chains at Constantinople, and tortured to death at Nicaca. Large numbers of Isaurians were settled in Thrace, and the population of Isauria, which had been greatly thinned by the two wars, was thereby yet further reduced, so that the necessity which had made the mountaineers the terror of Asia Minor no longer existed. The Isaurians had done their work of saving the East from the fate of the West; and, though they still provided useful recruits for the army, their day of political power was over. The importance of looking at home for soldiers instead of trusting to the barbarians had been learned and was never forgotten.

Besides the Isaurian war Anastasius had also been troubled by incursions of Blemmyes in Egypt (491); and in 498 bands of Saracens

invaded the eastern provinces. The followers of Nu'man of Al Hira, who owed allegiance to Persia, were after an inroad into Euphratesia defeated by Eugenius, a duke stationed at Melitene, and parties of Taghlibi and Ghassani Arabs under Hugar and Gabala, the latter at least a Roman subject, were routed by Romanus, duke of Palestine, who also recovered Jotaba, which was leased to a company of Roman traders for a yearly tribute. In 502 a more successful raid was made by Hugar's brother, Ma'di Kharb; but the outbreak of the Persian war made it possible to turn the raids in another direction, and peace was made with the Taghlibi chief, Al Harith, father of Ma'di Kharb (503). In 502 the Tzani also raided Pontus.

Immediately after the accession of Anastasius, Kawad, who became king of Persia in 488, demanded a contribution towards the defences of the Caucasian Gates. This was refused; but the Armenian rising prevented further action, though Anastasius refused to aid the insurgents. Kawad took advantage of the Isaurian troubles to repeat his demand, but was soon afterwards deposed (496). Having been restored by the king of the Ephthalites under a promise of paying a large sum of money (499), he again applied to Anastasius for help. The Emperor would only agree to lend the money on a written promise of payment; and Kawad, refusing this, entered Roman Armenia (22 Aug. 502) and took and sacked Theodosiopolis, which was surrendered by the treachery of Constantine, the count of Armenia, who went over to the Persian service. Having occupied Martyropolis, he passed on to Amida (5 Oct.), where, though there was no military force in Mesopotamia except the garrison of Constantina, a stubborn defence was made by the citizens. Anastasius sent Rufinus to offer him money to withdraw, but he kept the ambassador in custody. A Persian force, accompanied by Arabs and Ephthalites, was sent to the district of Constantina, and, after a small party had been cut to pieces (19 Nov.), routed Eugenius of Melitene and Olympius, duke of Mesopotamia, while Nu'man's Arabs plundered the territory of Carrhae (26 Nov.) and advanced to Edessa. Eugenius however retook Theodosiopolis. Meanwhile Kawad, despairing of taking Amida, was willing to retire for a small sum; but the governor and the magistrates refused this and demanded compensation for the crops that had been destroyed. The siege therefore continued, until on a dark night the Persians found access by some aqueducts to a part of the wall which was guarded by some monks who were in a drunken sleep. They thereupon scaled the wall, and after hard fighting made themselves masters of the town (11 Jan. 503), which for three days was given up to massacre. Rufinus was then released, and Kawad at the beginning of spring retreated to the neighbourhood of Singara, leaving 3000 men under Glon in Amida. Further demands for money were rejected by Anastasius (April), who, having immediately after the fall of Amida sent men to defend the fortified places, now despatched a considerable army from Thrace to

Mesopotamia under Patricius, *magister militum in praesenti*, Areobindus, *magister militum per Orientem*, great-grandson of Aspar, and his own nephew Hypatius (May), accompanied by Appion the praefect, who took up his quarters at Edessa to look after the commissariat. Patricius and Hypatius laid siege to Amida, while Areobindus encamped near Dara to stop a new invasion, and for some time prevented an advance on the part of the Persians from Singara, and even drove them in confusion to Nisibis; but, when the enemy, reinforced by Arabs and Ephthalites, prepared to attack him in greater strength under the traitor Constantine (July), he retreated to Harram near Mardin to be near his colleagues: his request for assistance being however disregarded, he was compelled to abandon his camp and flee to Constantina and Edessa. Patricius and Hypatius on hearing of Areobindus' flight raised the siege of Amida and met the Persians under Kawad himself at the neighbouring fort of Apadna (Aug.), but were routed and fled to Samosata. Hypatius was then recalled. Kawad's attempts to take Constantina, Edessa, and Carrhae by assault were unsuccessful, and Patriciolus, who was bringing reinforcements, destroyed a small Persian force at the Euphrates, while the Persian Arabs, having ravaged the country up to the river near Batnae, crossed into Syria. A second attempt upon Edessa fared no better than the first, and Kawad then advanced to the Euphrates

Anastasius now sent Celer, the master of the offices, with large reinforcements; and, though he had hitherto followed a civil career and was not formally appointed to the chief command, his personal position gave him practical authority over the other generals and replaced division by unity. On his approach Kawad marched down the river to Callinicus, where a detachment was cut to pieces by Timostratus, duke of Osrhoene. Hearing of an invasion of Caucasian Huns, Kawad then returned home, upon which Patricius, who was wintering at Melitene, returned to Amida and routed a force sent against him by Kawad. Celer, and afterwards Areobindus, then joined Patricius before Amida, where Glon had been captured by a stratagem and put to death. Seeing how things were going, Constantine returned to his allegiance (June 504) and was allowed to take orders and live at Nicaea. Adid the Arab and Mushed the Armenian also went over to the Romans. The whole army was now no longer needed at Amida; accordingly Areobindus raided Persian Armenia, while Celer crossed into Arzanene, where he cut some cavalry to pieces, and burnt the villages, killing the men and taking the women and children prisoners. Similar raids were made by the Roman Arabs. Kawad then sent his *spahpat* (commander-in-chief) to Celer to propose peace, returning the most important prisoners. Celer at first refused terms in the hope of taking Amida, and an attempt to revictual it failed; but during the winter, which was a severe one, there were many desertions in the army, and he agreed to pay a sum of money for the surrender of the town, a definite peace being postponed till the Emperor's

pleasure should be known. Hostilities were however considered to be ended, and some Arab sheikhs on the Persian side who had raided Roman territory were put to death by the Persian *marzban*, and some sheikhs of the Roman Arabs who had raided Persian territory were treated in the same way by Celer, who after a visit to Constantinople had returned to Syria. Anastasius granted remissions of taxes throughout Mesopotamia, gave largesses to the districts which had suffered most, restored the fortifications, and built a new fortified position on the frontier at Dara. As this was contrary to the treaty of 442, the Persians tried to prevent it; but Kawad, being engaged in war with the Huns and the Tamuraye, a tribe of unknown geographical position, was unable to take active steps in the matter. In April 506 Celer came to Edessa on his way to meet the *spahpat*, but, hearing from Persian envoys of his death, he waited till a successor should be appointed, while his Gothic soldiers caused much trouble to the citizens: he then went to Dara (Oct.) and made peace for seven years with the new *spahpat* (Nov.), the Emperor agreeing to pay compensation for the breach of faith involved in the fortification of Dara.

In Thrace and Illyricum the departure of the Goths left the way open to the more savage Bulgarians. In 499 they inflicted a disastrous defeat on Aristus, *magister militum* of Illyricum, at the Tzurta; and in 500 Anastasius thought it wise to give a donative to the Illyrian army. At an unknown date his nephew Pompeius was defeated by some enemy at Hadrianople; and in 507 the long wall across the peninsula on which Constantinople stands was built to secure the city from attack by land. In 512 the Heruli after their defeat by the Lombards were settled in the Empire, but afterwards rebelled and had to be put down by force of arms. In 517 the Slavs plundered Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus, and carried off captives, whom Anastasius ransomed. Libya also suffered from the incursions of the Mazices.

Though there was little serious hostility with the Goths, relations were for a large part of the reign unfriendly. In 493 the Emperor refused Theodoric's request for confirmation of his title to Italy, though by accepting his consuls he tacitly recognised him. In 498 however he gave the desired recognition and returned the imperial insignia which Odovacar had sent to Zeno. But in 505 a conflict was brought about by a certain Mundo, who had been expelled by the king of the Gepids and received as a *foederatus* in the Empire, but afterwards became a captain of robbers, and being attacked by Sabinianus, *magister militum* of Illyricum (son of the Sabinianus who held the same office under Zeno), with Bulgarian allies, called in a Gothic force which had been fighting the Gepids. In the battle which followed at Horrea Margi the Romans were routed; but no further fighting seems to have taken place, and Mundo entered Theodoric's service. The assistance given to Mundo caused ill-feeling at Constantinople, and in 508 a fleet raided the coast

of Italy, by which Theodoric was hindered from supporting the Visigoths against the Frankish king, on whom Anastasius conferred the insignia of the consulship. Shortly afterwards peace was restored, no doubt by concessions on the side of Theodoric, who wished to be free to deal with the Franks.

The domestic administration of Anastasius was distinguished by several popular measures. The most celebrated of these was the abolition of the *chrysargyron* (May 498), a tax on all kinds of stock and plant in trade, instituted by Constantine, which pressed heavily on the poorest classes. Instead of this he imposed a land-tax called *chrysoteleia*, which he applied to the support of the army, abolishing the right of requisition. He also attempted by several enactments to ensure that the soldiers received their full pay. But his chief financial reform was the abolition, by the advice of the Syrian Marinus, of the system under which the *curiales* were responsible for the taxes of the municipalities, and the institution of tax-collectors called *vindices*. The burdens of the *curiales* were not however wholly removed, for they existed in some form under Justinian. These measures were no doubt primarily intended to increase the revenue, and at the end of his reign under the administration of Marinus complaints were made of heavy extortion; but the immediate financial success of the policy is proved by the fact that at the time of his death the treasury was full. His humanity was shewn by the abolition of fights between men and beasts (Aug. 499); but this did not extend to the practice of exposing criminals to beasts, which existed as late as the time of Maurice.

But, although Anastasius is almost universally praised for mildness and good administration, his Monophysite opinions were distasteful to the population of the capital, and the peace was constantly disturbed by serious riots. In 493 his refusal to release some stone-throwers of the Green faction who had been arrested by the city-praefect produced an outbreak, during which a stone was thrown at the Emperor, part of the circus buildings burnt, and the statues of Anastasius and Ariadne dragged through the streets. Many of the rioters were arrested and punished, and the thrower of the stone, a Moor, was killed by the *excubitores*; but the Emperor was compelled to appoint a new praefect in the person of Plato. An occasion for rioting was also provided by the ancient pagan festival of the *Brytae*, which was celebrated by dancing performances every May. Such a riot occurred in the praefecture of Constantine (501), when the Greens attacked the Blues in the theatre and many were killed, among them an illegitimate son of Anastasius. After this an order was issued that the celebration of the *Brytae* should cease throughout the Empire (502). In 512 the Monophysite addition to the *Trisagion*, made at the instigation of Marinus, caused the most dangerous outbreak of the reign (6 Nov.). The rioters killed the Monophysite monks, threw down the Emperor's statues, and

proclaimed emperor the unwilling Areobindus, whose wife Juliana represented the Theodosian house. When Celer and Patricius were sent to appease them, they drove them away with stones, burnt the houses of Marinus and Pompeius, and plundered Marinus' property. On the third day Anastasius shewed himself in the circus without his crown and begged them to refrain from massacre, whereupon they demanded that Marinus and Plato should be thrown to the beasts, but the Emperor by promising concessions persuaded them to disperse. The banishment of Ariadne's kinsman, Diogenes, and the ex-praefect Appion (510) may, as they were recalled by Justin, have been caused by religious troubles. In Alexandria and Antioch also riots were frequent.

In 513 the religious differences culminated in an armed rising. The military administration of Hypatius (not the Emperor's nephew)¹ had caused discontent in the Thracian army, especially among the Bulgarian *foederati*. These *foederati* were commanded by Vitalianus (son of the Patriciolus who held a command in the Persian war); who had a grievance on account of the expulsion of the patriarch Flavianus of Antioch (512), with whom he was on terms of close friendship. Making use of the discontent in the army, he murdered two of the general's staff, bribed the duke of Moesia, and, having seized Carinus, one of the chief confidants of Hypatius, forced him to place the town of Odessus in his hands. By means of the money there found he collected a large force of soldiers and rustics, and, with the cry of justice for the banished patriarchs and abolition of the addition to the *Trisagion*, marched on Constantinople, whither Hypatius had fled. Anastasius, having no army at hand, could only provide for the defence, while he set up crosses on the gates and announced the remission of one-fourth of the animal-tax in Asia and Bithynia. Patricius the *magister militum*, to whom Vitalianus in large measure owed his promotion, was sent to confer with him; and next day some of Vitalianus' chief officers entered the city; who on receiving a promise that just grievances should be remedied and the Pope asked to send representatives to settle the religious differences took the oath of allegiance, returned to Vitalianus, and compelled him to withdraw. Cyril, a man of some capacity, was now appointed to succeed Hypatius, and, having entered Odessus, from which Vitalianus had retired, was believed to be planning an attack on him. Hearing of this, Vitalianus made his way into the town by night, surprised Cyril while asleep in his house, and killed him. He was thereupon declared a public enemy by decree of the Senate, and a large force collected and sent against him under Hypatius, the Emperor's nephew, though the office of *magister militum* of Thrace was given to the barbarian Alathar. Hypatius fought for some time with varying success, and gained at least one victory (autumn 513).²

¹ By introducing Anastasius' nephew later as τὸν ἀδελφίδου τὸν αὐτοῦ Jo. Ant. shews that another man is meant here.

² Known at Antioch before 18 Nov. (Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS. Brit. Mus.* 338).

Finally he encamped at Acris on the coast, where, being attacked by the enemy and routed, he was captured in the sea, into which he had fled. Alathar was also captured, and was ransomed by Vitalianus himself from the Bulgarians, whom he permitted to sell the prisoners. Vitalianus occupied all the fortresses in Scythia and Moesia, among them Sozopolis, in which he captured some envoys sent with a ransom for Hypatius. It was now expected that he would be proclaimed emperor; and further rioting occurred at Constantinople, in which the praefect of the watch was killed. Meanwhile he advanced on the capital by land and sea; but on receiving 5000 lbs. of gold, the Thracian command, and a promise of satisfaction upon the religious question, he again retired and released Hypatius, though he refused to disband his army (514). It was clear that neither party was likely to observe the peace; and in 515 Vitalianus, having probably promises of support from inside the city, where another riot had occurred, again appeared before Constantinople, but was defeated by land and sea and retired to Anchialus, though still remaining at the head of his barbarian force. Hypatius was sent to the East as *magister militum*, and in July 517 went on an embassy to Persia.¹

On 9 July 518 Anastasius died suddenly, Ariadne having died three years before.

¹ Wright, *op. cit.* 536.

CHAPTER XVI

THE EASTERN PROVINCES

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392 Revolt of Arbogast.
394 Battle of the Frigidus (6 Sept.).
395 Arcadius and Honorius Emperors.
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402 Battle of Pollentia.
406 Passage of the Rhine by the Germans (31 Dec.).
407 Withdrawal of the legions from Britain.
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408 Mutiny at Pavia. Execution of Stilicho.
410 Sack of Rome by Alaric (23 Aug.).
412 The Visigoths in Gaul.
418 Rescript of Honorius to Agricola.
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429 The Vandals in Africa.
430 Death of Augustine.
431 Council of Ephesus.
433 *Codex Theodosianus*. Legal separation of East and West.
439 Capture of Carthage by the Vandals.
440-461 Pope Leo I.
445 Edict of Valentinian III.
449 The *Lutrocinum* at Ephesus.
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451 Council of Chalcedon.
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452 Destruction of Aquileia by Attila. Embassy of Pope Leo.
454 Assassination of Aetius.
455 Sack of Rome by Gaiseric.
457-461 Reign of Majorian in the West.
468 Failure of Basiliscus before Carthage.
472 Capture of Rome by Ricimer.
474-491 Zeno Emperor in the East.
476 Deposition of Romulus Augustulus.
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481 The *Hemoticon* of Zeno. Schism in the Church.
481-511 Reign of Clovis.
486 Clovis defeats Syagrius.
491-518 Anastasius Emperor.
493-526 Reign of Theodoric in Italy.
507 Battle of Vouglé. Clovis conquers Aquitaine.
518 Justin Emperor. End of the Schism.
533 Conquest of Africa by Belisarius.
597 Landing of Augustine.
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Middle ages - Hist.

THE
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VOLUME II

THE RISE OF THE SARACENS AND THE
FOUNDATION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE

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CHAPTER XIII

THE SUCCESSORS OF HERACLIUS TO 717

BESIDES Constantine, who had been his colleague since 613, Heraclius left four sons by Martina—Theodosius, who was deaf and dumb, Heraclius, who had been crowned in 638, David the Caesar, and Martin the *nobilissimus*, and (though Constantine was twenty-eight and Heraclius only sixteen) he desired by his will that they should enjoy equal rights, while Martina received the honours of an empress and a mother from both. Relying upon this provision, Martina claimed to exercise the practical sovereignty herself: but the people would not permit this, on the ground that a woman could not receive foreign envoys, and compelled her to leave the government to her stepson. Anticipating such a result, Heraclius had entrusted a large sum to the patriarch Pyrrhus for her benefit: but, Philagrius the treasurer having discovered this and informed Constantine, Pyrrhus was forced to surrender it. As the Emperor was suffering from consumption (which caused him to reside at Chalcedon), Philagrius, fearing to be left exposed to Martina's vengeance, persuaded him to send a donative to the soldiers through Valentine the Armenian, the commander of Philagrius' guard, urging them to protect his two sons and maintain their claim to the succession. Valentine however used the money to gain influence for himself; and after Constantine's death (24 May 641) Philagrius was forcibly ordained and banished to Septum (Ceuta), and many of his supporters were flogged, without opposition from the army, though Martina tried to attach it to her son's cause by a further donative in the name of the dead Emperor. But in consequence of her incestuous marriage and her attempt to exclude Constantine from power she was exceedingly unpopular, and by the malevolence of her enemies she was now accused of poisoning him. Valentine, who had either originated this report or used it for his own purpose, placed himself at the head of a military force in Asia, occupied Chalcedon on the pretext that the lives of Constantine's sons were in danger, and sent instructions to the troops in the provinces not to obey Martina, while the Empress brought the army of Thrace to defend the capital. To allay the commotion, Heraclius produced his elder nephew, Heraclius, a boy of ten, to whom

he had stood godfather, and, touching the wood of the cross, swore that the children should suffer no harm; he even took the boy to Chalcedon and gave the same assurance to Valentine and his army; but, though Valentine allowed him to return, he refused to lay down his arms. By these acts the Emperor succeeded for a time in gaining the support of the capital. But the country round Chalcedon was covered with vineyards, many of which belonged to the citizens of Constantinople; and, when the vintage came on and the produce was reaped by Valentine's army, they cried loudly for an accommodation, directing their attack against the patriarch Pyrrhus, who was the strongest supporter of Martina and was suspected of having been concerned in the murder of Constantine, and insisting on the coronation of the young Heraclius. The Emperor then went to St Sophia and ordered Pyrrhus to crown his nephew: but the people insisted that according to custom he should do this himself; and they gave the new Augustus the name of Constantine, though to distinguish him from his father he was popularly known as Constans (Sept.). The feeling against Pyrrhus was however still unabated; and, after a mob had vainly sought him in the cathedral, and in revenge desecrated the sanctuary, on the following night he laid his stole on the altar in token of leave-taking (29 Sept.), and after hiding for a time escaped to Africa: and, though he had neither resigned nor been deprived, Paul was ordained to succeed him (Oct.).

Peace was now made, Valentine being appointed Count of the excubitors and receiving a promise that he should not be called to account for the money received from Philagrius, who was recalled from exile, and that his soldiers should receive a donative. The Caesar David was then crowned as a third emperor under the name of Tiberius, and Valentine marched to Cappadocia to act against the Arabs.

The peace was however of short duration. The troops in Cappadocia produced a letter purporting to have been written by Martina to a certain David, in which he was urged to attack Valentine, marry Martina, and depose Constans. Soldiers and people rose against the Empress under the leadership of Theodore the Armenian, who, having seized David in a fortress to which he had fled, cut off his head and had it exhibited all over the eastern provinces. On Theodore's return to Constantinople Martina was by decree of the Senate deprived of her tongue, and Heraclius and Tiberius of their noses, and they were all banished to Rhodes (Dec.). Constans thus became sole emperor.

All this must have been done at the instigation of Valentine, who after unsuccessful operations against the Arabs returned to Constantinople with a guard of 3000 men and forced Constans to give him the rank of Caesar (early in 643): but on strong opposition manifesting itself a compromise was made, whereby he gave up this title, but was made commander of the troops in the capital and gave his daughter in marriage to Constans. Two years later his tyrannical acts led to a

popular rising, during which he was seized and beheaded. His military command was given to Theodore (646).¹

The Arabs first invaded Asia Minor during the commotions of 641. In 642 a plan of Valentine for a combined attack on them was frustrated by his defeat; but Theodore and Procopius penetrated as far as Batnae, and an Armenian force occupied Amida and nearly reached Edessa before they were routed. In 643, Valentine having returned to Constantinople, the enemy again entered Asia Minor, and Arabissus capitulated to 'Umair. In 644 Mu'āwiya, *amīr* of Syria, took and plundered Euchaita; and in 646 after besieging Caesarea for ten days he ravaged the neighbourhood, and forced it to pay tribute, afterwards vainly attacking Amorium. On this expedition he found the Cilician fortresses deserted and left garrisons in them till his return, but in 647 had them destroyed. In 649 Ḥabīb, and in 651 Busr, raided Isauria, and in 651 Sufyān also invaded Roman territory from Germanicea, while in 649 Mu'āwiya placed a fleet on the sea and plundered Constantia in Cyprus, but retreated on the approach of a Roman fleet under Cacorizus the chamberlain.

These were only plundering expeditions: but about 647 Ḥabīb occupied Melitene, Sozopetra, and Adata; and, as the war had gone against the Romans, Constans in 651 sent Procopius to treat for peace with Mu'āwiya (the Caliph Othman was ignored), and a truce was made for two years, the Emperor paying tribute and leaving Gregory, the nephew of Heraclius, as a hostage.

The truce of 651 was hardly more than nominal; for the secession of Armenia led to the Emperor's expedition to that country (652) and to the outbreak of fresh hostilities there, and after the expiration of the armistice the war was renewed on a larger scale than before. Great preparations were made by Mu'āwiya for an attack by sea and land upon Constantinople. He himself, starting from Melitene, took Ancyra and advanced to Dorylaeum (653), destroying all the fortresses on the way. Meanwhile ships were being hastily built at Alexandria, Tripolis, and other places; and in 654 a fleet under Abū'l-A'war after occupying Cyprus pillaged Cos, Crete, and Rhodes (where the famous colossus, long since fallen, was broken up and sold to a Jew). But, while the work was going on at Tripolis, two Roman brothers, Mu'āwiya's slaves, liberated the prisoners, and with their help killed the governor and his guard, burnt the ships, and escaped by sea to Roman territory. Mu'āwiya, who was probably recalled by the news of this disaster, did nothing this year beyond taking a fortress near Melitene: but the naval preparations were not given up, and in spring 655 Abū'l-A'war was sent to Phoenix in Lycia, a place celebrated for cypresses, to cut wood for shipbuilding, where he was joined by the Egyptian ships under 'Abdallāh. But the

¹The details and chronology of events after the death of Heraclius are very doubtful.

new naval policy of the Arabs had forced the Romans also to institute a standing fleet; and the invaders were attacked by the Emperor in person, who was accompanied by his brother, Theodosius. In the battle which followed the Arabs were victorious, the Roman fleet being almost destroyed and Constans with difficulty escaping in disguise; but the Arabs, having attained their object, returned. Mu'awiya at the same time made an expedition by land as far as Caesarea; but in 656 the murder of Othman and the civil war which followed put an end to his schemes, and he was at last glad to buy peace by paying tribute (659). The Emperor used the respite to reduce some Slavonic tribes, some of which he transferred to Asia to assist in the defence against the Arabs.

Constans had crowned his eldest son, Constantine, as Augustus in Apr. 654, and in 659 conferred the same dignity on his two younger sons, Heraclius and Tiberius, and had his brother Theodosius put to death on a charge of conspiracy (659). This made him very unpopular both with the citizens and with the army; he was greeted in the streets with the appellation "Cain," and at last, finding life in Constantinople irksome and perhaps dangerous, although war had again broken out with the Arabs, resolved to leave his capital and devote his attention to restoring the imperial power in the West, for which the disunion among the Lombards after the death of Aripert (661) afforded an obvious opportunity. In 662 he invaded the duchy of Benevento, and took several cities with little or no resistance. He failed indeed before the strong town of Acerenza; but he stormed Luceria, which he razed to the ground, and laid siege to Benevento itself, which was defended by Duke Romuald in person. Here he was met by a vigorous defence, and, having heard that Grimoald was marching to his son's assistance, made terms with the Duke, receiving his sister Gisa as a hostage, and raised the siege. An attempt to attack Capua was foiled by a defeat on the Calor, and he then withdrew to Naples for the winter. In spring (663) he sent the Persian Sapor on a fresh invasion; but he had hardly crossed the frontier when he was met by Romuald at a place called Forum and severely defeated. Constans then abandoned all thought of reducing the duchy, and, secured against attack by the possession of Gisa, betook himself to Rome, and was met by the pope and clergy six miles from the city, which he entered on 5 July, the first Emperor who had been seen in the ancient capital for 190 years. He attended service in the principal churches and made offerings, but left a more impressive memorial of his visit by appropriating all the bronze ornaments that he could find, including the tiled roof of the Pantheon. This last with some of the other articles he sent to Constantinople, carrying the rest with him. After a stay of twelve days he returned to Naples, and then went on to Sicily, which was threatened by the Arabs, and settled at Syracuse, where he set himself to organise measures for the defence of Sicily and Africa. For this purpose heavy burdens were laid on his Italian and

Sicilian subjects: but he was so far successful that no further invasion of Sicily was made while he lived, and in Africa, though the patrician Nicephorus is said to have been defeated in 665, no permanent conquest was effected till after his death. From Syracuse he sent for his wife and sons; but, as this foreshadowed a transfer of the seat of government, the citizens, headed by Andrew the chamberlain and the patrician Theodore of Colonia, refused to let them go.

It was not only at Constantinople that Constans was unpopular; and in 668 a plot was formed among those who surrounded him, one of whom, Andrew, son of Troilus, while the Emperor was bathing, poured an unusual quantity of soap over his face so as to blind him, and then killed him by striking him on the head with a silver ewer (15 July). The army proclaimed as emperor an Armenian named Mzhezh, who is said to have been of high character, but seems to have had no other recommendation except good looks, and was reluctant to accept the honour. His elevation found no favour elsewhere, the armies of Italy, Sardinia, and Africa united to overthrow him,¹ the rebellion collapsed (Feb. 669),² and the assassin Andrew, Mzhezh himself, and his chief adherents suffered death, among them the patrician Justinian, whose young son, Germanus, afterwards patriarch, was mutilated.

Before turning to the eastern war it is necessary to speak of the military and administrative organization which by a process we cannot trace in detail had been growing up during the reigns of Heraclius and Constans. The co-ordination of civil and military officials instituted by Diocletian had been greatly modified by Justinian, who in many places combined both functions in the hands of one man. From this time the civil governors, where they still existed, gradually became subservient to the military power, and the process was completed by the Persian and Saracen invasions, which made military rule a necessity, while the loss of the eastern provinces caused a new distribution of forces, and therefore new administrative divisions. Hitherto Asia Minor had hardly needed defence; and the only large contingent permanently stationed there was a portion of the palatine troops under the *magister militum praesentalis* quartered in the north-west, where in a district reaching from Paphlagonia and Galatia to the Hellespont they still remained under the name of *imperiale obsequium* (*ὀψίκιον*), while their commander bore the title of Count. Of the countries under the *magister militum per Orientem* only Isauria and Cilicia remained; but, as his troops were required to defend southern Asia Minor, they were also quartered in part of Cappadocia and the district to the west of it, but were still known as *Orientalis* (*ἀνατολικοί*). Further west by the Aegean was a section of the Thracian army which had followed Heraclius to the Persian war and were known as *Thracēsii*; but these were under the Anatolic general. Armenia and

¹ For the alleged expedition of the young Emperor see *Byz. Zeitschr.* xvii. 455.

² I infer the date from Michael, p. 437.

Pontus Polemoniacus had been placed by Justinian under a *magister militum per Armeniam*; and these provinces with Helenopontus and part of Cappadocia were still occupied by the Armeniaci. Thrace was still ruled by the successor of Justinian's *praetor*, and the Aegean islands obeyed the commander of the naval forces (*carabisiani*), who took the place of Justinian's *quaestor Justinianus*, and also exercised jurisdiction, at least for some purposes, over most of the south coast of Asia Minor.¹ Each of these divisions was called a theme (*θέμα*), and the title of the commanders of all except Obsequium was *στρατηγός*. Illyricum was almost lost; but the Illyrian praefect still ruled in Thessalonica, exercising military as well as civil powers. The provincial governors perhaps remained as minor judicial officers, but the vicars of the dioceses had disappeared. Of the great civil functionaries, the city-praefect, the *magister officiorum* (*μάγιστρος*), and the *quaestor* retained their old titles; but the *comes largitionum* was now known as *λογοθέτης τοῦ γενικοῦ* and the *comes rei privatae* as *sacellarius* (treasurer), while the praefect of the East may have survived under some other title, with greatly reduced functions. The general tendency of these changes was to abolish the dependence of one official on another, and bring them all into direct relation to the Emperor.

In 661 Ḥasan's abdication enabled Mu'āwiya to renew the war. A raid by Ḥabīb in 661 effected nothing; but in 662 the Romans were defeated, and in 663 Busr wintered in the Empire. As Constans had taken the bulk of the Anatolic theme to the West, 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān, son of the celebrated Khālid, could advance in 664 to Colonia (Archelais), where he wintered, and in 665, after failing in an attack on some islands in Lake Caralis, he placed a garrison in Amorium, the head-quarters of the Anatolics, which was forced to capitulate, took Pessinus, and, after an unsuccessful attack on another fortified place, Cius, Pergamum, and Smyrna. Having been joined by some of the Slav colonists, he again wintered in Roman territory, and then returned to Emesa, where he soon afterwards died, it is said by poison (666).

In 666 Malik made a raid from Adata and wintered in Roman territory, and in 667 Busr ravaged the district of Hexapolis, west of Melitene, while another force wintered at Antioch in Pisidia: but in 668 the rebellion of Sapor, now general of the Armeniacs, gave an opening for a more dangerous attack. Sapor sent Sergius, one of his subordinates, to ask for the Caliph's support; and on hearing of this the young Constantine, who was ruling in his father's absence, sent Andrew the chamberlain to present gifts to Mu'āwiya and beg him not to countenance rebellion. The two envoys met at the Caliph's court, and Mu'āwiya decided in favour of Sergius, who insulted Andrew by calling him not a man but a eunuch. Andrew retreated by the pass of Arabissus on the road to Hexapolis, where Sapor then was, the commandant of

¹ The territorial jurisdiction of the naval *στρατηγός* was perhaps developed later.

which still held for the Emperor, and having instructed this officer to watch for Sergius and arrest him if he passed that way, went on to a place called Amnesia. Here Sergius was brought as a prisoner, and Andrew avenged the insult to himself by having him mutilated and then hanged. Sapor now advanced to Hadrianopolis in Bithynia; and Mu'awiya sent Faḍāla to his assistance, while Constantine sent Nicephorus to oppose him. But, while Sapor was riding before the walls, his horse bolted and dashed his head against the gate, which caused his death. His men then returned to their allegiance; and Faḍāla, who had only reached Hexapolis, was obliged to ask for reinforcements, which were sent under Mu'awiya's son, Yazid, while a fleet under another Yazid supported the army. The Arabs advanced to Chalcedon, and in spring 669 crossed to Thrace and attacked Constantinople, which was defended by Constantine (usually known as Pogonatus), now reigning Emperor. No serious siege was however undertaken; and in the summer pestilence and lack of food compelled them to retire: but on their way back they took Amorium, in which a garrison was placed. During the winter however Andrew surprised the town by night in deep snow and slew the Arabs to a man.

In 670 Faḍāla came again by sea to the Propontis and wintered at Cyzicus; and during the years 668-671 other lesser raids took place. In 672 Busr carried off numerous prisoners, and in 673 another great effort was made. A fleet under Mahomet wintered at Smyrna, and another under Ḳais in Lycia, with which an army under Sufyān co-operated, and a colony was settled in Rhodes, while an attack on Constantinople was being planned, to meet which Constantine prepared fireships provided with Greek fire, the invention of the Syrian architect Callinicus. On the arrival of reinforcements the combined fleet appeared before Constantinople in spring 674, and after occupying Cyzicus assailed the city without success from April to September, and returned to Cyzicus for the winter. The same year Faḍāla and 'Abdallāh wintered in Crete; and other expeditions were made every year without important result: but meanwhile the fleet at Cyzicus attacked Constantinople each year down to 677,¹ when the loss in men and ships compelled it to withdraw. On its return it suffered severely from a storm off the Pamphylian coast, what remained of it was attacked by the division of the Roman fleet which from the town of Cibyra in Pamphylia was called Cibyrrhaeotae, and few, if any, ships returned home. This disaster and the Mardaite invasion of Phoenice and Palestine (678) caused Mu'awiya for the second time to buy peace by paying tribute. The colony in Rhodes was now withdrawn, and the fortress of Camacha on the Euphrates, which the Arabs had after two earlier unsuccessful attempts taken in 679, restored. The garrison in Cyprus was removed by Yazid, but the island continued to

¹ The invitation to the pope in 678 to send deputies to Constantinople shews that the siege did not last beyond 677.

pay tribute. The last raid was one in Isauria in the early part of 680. Peace having been thus secured on the east, the Khan of the Avars and other barbarian rulers sent presents and made treaties with the Emperor.

Meanwhile a theological controversy which seemed likely to cause a division between East and West and facilitate usurpations like that of Mzhezah was demanding the attention of the government. The disaffection of Egypt and the East arising from the Synod of Chalcedon had long been a menace to the Empire and had led to Zeno's attempt to restore union through the Henotikon and the attempt of Justinian to placate the Monophysites by the condemnation of the Three Chapters; but in neither case was permanent success attained. The rapid conquests of the Persians drew the attention of Heraclius to this state of affairs, and led him to try a plan suggested by the patriarch Sergius, himself a Syrian by birth, to whom it had occurred that the Monophysites might accept the expression "two natures" if satisfied that this did not imply two operations (*ἐνέργειαι*). About 618 accordingly Sergius wrote to the Egyptian George Arsas, one of the Paulianist section of the Monophysites, adherents of the patriarch Paul of Antioch, deposed in 578, asking for quotations in support of the doctrine of one operation, and suggesting a union on this basis. Further steps in this direction were however prevented by the Persian occupation of Egypt. In 622 again Heraclius during his Armenian campaign conversed with a Monophysite leader named Paul, to whom he propounded the doctrine of one operation, but without success. He then drew up an edict against Paul, which was sent to Arcadius of Cyprus, in which the doctrine of two operations was condemned. In 626, while in Lazica, he discussed the question with Cyrus, bishop of Phasis, who was doubtful on the point and wrote to Sergius for information. Sergius answered his objections and sent him a copy of a letter of Menas of Constantinople to Pope Vigilius in which one operation was asserted: by this Cyrus seems to have been satisfied. Communication with the East having been restored in 628, Sergius sent the letter of Menas to Theodore, bishop of Faran near Sinai, who expressed his assent. This correspondence and Menas' letter were then sent to the Monophysite Paul at Theodosiopolis.

After the recovery of the East the plan of reconciliation was taken up in earnest. In 630 or 631 Heraclius met the patriarch Athanasius at Hierapolis in Syria and promised him the official patriarchate of Antioch (vacant since 610) if he would accept communion with the Chalcedonians on the basis of the doctrine of one operation; and to this he was ready to consent; but, though some Jacobite monasteries, especially that of Maron in the Lebanon, accepted the union, the patriarch's death wrecked the scheme (631).¹ In 631 the Armenian Catholicus, Ezra, came on the Emperor's invitation to Syria, was

¹ So Michael, and Elijah of Nisibis. Cf. Mansi, xi. p. 504, where Athanasius is distinguished from living heretics. Owssepian's chronology is untenable.

induced to accept the communion of the Chalcedonians, and on his return ratified the union at a synod at Theodosiopolis, but without formally recognising the Synod of Chalcedon. In 632, on the death of the patriarch George, Cyrus was appointed to the see of Alexandria and immediately opened negotiations with the chief Monophysite party in the city, the Theodosians. With these a union was effected by means of nine articles, in which the doctrine of two natures was asserted with a qualification, and one theandric operation maintained, while there was no acceptance of the Synod of Chalcedon or anathema against the Monophysite leaders (3 June 633).

At this point opposition arose. Sophronius, a Palestinian monk, who was then in Alexandria, entreated Cyrus not to make public proclamation of the articles; whereupon Cyrus referred him to Sergius to whom he gave him a letter. As Sergius was unable to convince Sophronius, who was a man of great influence, the attempt at union seemed likely to cause a new schism: accordingly he agreed to a compromise by which both expressions "one operation" and "two operations" were to be avoided; and Sophronius with a letter of explanation from Sergius returned to Jerusalem, where early in 634 he was chosen patriarch. Sergius meanwhile wrote to Cyrus in the sense of the compromise; but Cyrus, not wishing to undo his own work, did not immediately accept it. Receiving a request from Heraclius at Edessa to send the quotations in support of the doctrine of one operation and one will contained in the letter of Menas, Sergius did so, but suggested that the controversy should cease. He then wrote an account of the affair to Pope Honorius, proposing that both expressions "one operation" and "two operations" should be rejected as stumbling-blocks, but specially reprobating the latter as implying the doctrine of two wills, which he condemned as impious. In answer to this Honorius concurred in the banishment of both expressions, and maintained the doctrine of one will, the advocates of which are generally known as Monotheletes. Sophronius now sent his synodical letter to the patriarchs, in which in accordance with the compact he avoided the expression "two operations," but strongly asserted the doctrine implied in it. This letter Sergius ignored: but Honorius wrote to Sophronius begging him to let the dispute drop; and the messengers of Sophronius said that he would do so if Cyrus would do the same. To him therefore the pope also sent a request to cease preaching one operation. Sophronius however sent bishop Stephen of Dora to Rome to try to bring the pope round to his side; but the capture of Jerusalem (637) and his own death, which soon followed, prevented any further action on his part, while in Egypt the abandonment of the doctrine on which the union was built destroyed the union itself, and the violent measures used by Cyrus to enforce conformity made matters worse than before.

The next step on the part of Sergius was to compose the *Ekthesis*,
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in which the principles contained in the letter to Honorius were put in the shape of a formal confession of faith (636). Heraclius on his return from the East signed this document, and it was posted on the walls of St Sophia (autumn 638). A copy was sent to Cyrus, who received it with veneration, and to Severinus, who had been elected to the papacy after the death of Honorius (Oct.); while a synod at Constantinople threatened spiritual penalties against anyone who asserted either one operation or two operations. This was the last act of Sergius, who died 9 Dec. 638. As Severinus rejected the *Ekthesis*, confirmation of his election was refused, and his emissaries were detained in Constantinople; but on their allowing it to be understood that they would obtain his acceptance permission was given for his consecration, which took place 28 May 640.

Egypt having been cut off by the Arab invasion, the question resolved itself into a contest between Rome and Constantinople. Severinus died two months after his consecration without accepting the *Ekthesis*; and his successor, John IV, wrote to the new patriarch, Pyrrhus, to denounce it: whereupon Heraclius, now at the point of death, in a letter to the pope disclaimed the responsibility for it, which he threw on Sergius. After his death John wrote to Constantine maintaining the doctrine of two wills, explaining away Honorius' letter, and asking for the removal of the *Ekthesis*. The civil troubles prevented any further steps at the time; but the government of Constans gave the pope to understand that the *Ekthesis* would be removed (642); and Pope Theodore (consecrated 24 Nov.) wrote to Paul of Constantinople to complain that this had not been done. He further reproached Paul for having taken possession of the see when Pyrrhus had not been formally deposed, and wrote to the Emperor to suggest that Pyrrhus should be tried at Rome. Sergius of Cyprus expressed his adherence in a letter to the pope (29 May 643): but his strongest support came from Africa, where the exarch Gregory was contemplating rebellion.

The most resolute opponent of Monotheletism was Maximus, archimandrite of Chrysopolis, who had met Sophronius in Africa shortly before the Alexandrine union, and had now again gone thither to stir up opposition to the *Ekthesis*. Here in the presence of Gregory he held a dispute with Pyrrhus (July 645); who, hoping by Gregory's help to obtain restoration, declared himself converted, and having gone to Rome with Maximus, condemned the *Ekthesis* and was received by the pope with the honours of a patriarch. In 646 several synods were held in Africa; and letters in condemnation of the *Ekthesis* were written to the pope, the Emperor, and the patriarch, the last being sent through the pope. Theodore forwarded the African letter with a remonstrance of his own; and Paul answered by an enunciation of the Monothelete doctrine; upon which Theodore declared him deposed.

Gregory rebelled in 647: but in 648 he fell in battle with the Arabs;

and Pyrrhus, having nothing more to hope from the party of Maximus, went to Ravenna and made his peace with the government by recanting his recantation. Theodore then solemnly deposed and anathematised him in St Peter's. Meanwhile, as the *Ekthesis* had only shifted the dispute from operations to wills, Paul made another attempt on the same lines to restore peace. An imperial edict, known as the Type, was at his instigation put forth, by which the *Ekthesis* was abrogated and all controversy on either question forbidden under heavy penalties (648); and, when the papal representatives refused to accept this, they were punished by imprisonment, flogging, or exile.

Theodore died in May 649; and his successor, Martin, who was consecrated without awaiting the imperial confirmation (5 July), immediately held a synod in the Lateran, which asserted the doctrine of two wills, denounced all who maintained one operation or one will, and condemned the *Ekthesis* and the Type, and Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, Cyrus, and Theodore of Faran (5-31 Oct.). The synodal acts were sent to the Emperor; and Paul of Thessalonica, who refused to accept the Roman theology, was declared deposed by a letter of the pope.

Martin by his illegal consecration and flagrant disregard of the edict had defied the Emperor; and the answer of Constans, acting under the advice of Paul, was to send the chamberlain Olympius to Italy as exarch with orders to find out the general disposition towards the Type, and, if it should be favourable, and if the local army supported him, to arrest Martin, whom the Emperor did not recognise as pope, have the Type read in all the churches, and make the bishops sign it; but, if not, to wait till a stronger force could be collected. Olympius however, observing the state of affairs at Rome, preferred to play the part of Gregory, and accordingly came to an understanding with the pope and threw off allegiance to the Emperor. Some time afterwards he died in Sicily, whither he had gone to repel an Arab invasion; and after the imperial authority was thus restored in Italy, the new exarch, Theodore Calliopas, entered Rome with an army (15 June 653), and arrested Martin in the Lateran church (17 June) on charges of sending a letter and money to the Arabs and of disrespect to the Virgin (*i.e.* Nestorianism). At midnight on the 18th he was removed from Rome, conveyed to Misenum (1 July) and placed on board ship for Constantinople, which after a short stay in Naxos he reached (17 Sept.). He was kept in prison till 20 Dec., and then brought before the Senate. Being ill from the voyage and the long confinement, he was carried to the court in a litter. The charges of usurpation and disobedience, the real ground of his arrest, were kept in the background, nor do we hear anything more of those made against him at Rome; but he was accused of complicity with Olympius. Next, after the Emperor had been consulted, he was first exposed to the public gaze in the entrance-hall of the building, and then placed in a gallery overlooked by a hall in the palace where Constans

was: here a crowd was allowed to surround him. The treasurer after again consulting the Emperor finally ordered him to be deprived of his pontifical head-dress, as not being lawful pope, and delivered to the praefect to be beheaded. He was then stripped naked except for one torn garment and dragged with a chain round his neck over rough stones to a common prison with a sword in front of him, and thence to the praefect's praetorium, where he was chained to the jailer: but in the evening the praefect sent food with an assurance that the sentence would not be executed, and the chains were removed. The sentence had in fact been passed in order to frighten him into submission; and after Paul's death, which shortly followed, unsuccessful attempts were made to extort a statement that Pyrrhus, who had returned to Constantinople after his reconciliation and was seeking restoration, had recanted under compulsion at Rome. Nevertheless Pyrrhus was restored, but died on Whit Sunday following (1 June 654). As all attempts to induce Martin to communicate with the clergy of Constantinople were vain, he was on 15 Mar. removed to the house of a scribe, and thence on 11 Apr. to a ship, in which he was conveyed to Cherson in the Crimea (15 May), where he remained till his death in Sept. 655, complaining bitterly of the lack of food and the neglect of his friends at Rome to send supplies.

Martin had however better reason to complain of the fickleness of the Romans. At the time of his arrest the exarch had ordered the clergy to elect a new pope; and after a year's resistance they yielded, and (10 Aug. 654) Eugenius was consecrated to the papacy. The new pope sent envoys to Constantinople without a letter; and these communicated with the new patriarch, Peter, under a compromise. It had been implied in the Type that the expressions "one will" and "two wills" were both in a sense correct: and, though this doctrine had been condemned by the synod, the envoys acquiesced in it (655). Peter then sent a synodical to the pope in which this principle was stated; but popular clamour compelled Eugenius to reject it.

Maximus had since 645 been living in Rome; and, as he was believed to have been the chief instigator of Martin's resistance, it was thought that, if he could be induced to submit, the cause would be won. Accordingly an imperial commissioner who had been sent to order Eugenius¹ to communicate with Peter tried to persuade Maximus to accept the Type; and on his refusal he was arrested and conveyed to Constantinople, where he was brought before the treasurer and Senate and accused of advising the *magister militum* of Numidia to disobey the orders of Heraclius to march against the Arabs in Egypt, of encouraging Gregory's rebellion, of disrespect to the Emperor, and of anathematising the Type (655). During part of the proceedings the patriarchs Peter of Constantinople and Macedonius of Antioch, who resided in the capital, were present, and on Whit Sunday (17 May)

¹ "τὸν θεοτίμητον πάππαν" must be Eugenius, since Martin was never recognised.

Peter made a special attempt to induce him to accept the compromise which had satisfied the Roman envoys: but, as he refused to yield anything, he was banished to Bizye in Thrace. On 24 Aug. 656 Theodosius, bishop of Caesarea in Bithynia, and two senators came to Bizye with an offer to repeal the Type if he would communicate with the Church of Constantinople; and on this being rejected Theodosius agreed to accept two wills and operations, that is without condemning the other doctrine according to the compromise; and, as Maximus insisted on the Emperor and the patriarch sending a profession of faith to the pope, Theodosius undertook to try to bring this about. Maximus promised that, if Theodosius were sent to Rome, he would go with him, but refused to accept one will and one operation in any sense. Constans would not concede this, but made another attempt to win Maximus over. On 8 Sept. he was brought with great respect to the monastery of Theodore at Rhegium, and the next day Theodosius and two patricians came and promised him high honours if he would accept the Type. This he also refused, and the patricians assailed him with blows and abuse till persuaded by Theodosius to desist. He was then conveyed under military guard to Selymbria (14 Sept.), and thence to Perberis. Five years later he was brought before a synod at Constantinople, anathematised with Sophronius and Martin, and flogged. He was then deprived of his tongue and right hand, taken to Lazica (8 June 661), and imprisoned. In this exile he died at the age of 82 (13 Aug. 662).

The Armenians had outwardly accepted orthodox communion in 631; but, when Constans in 648 ordered them to receive the Synod of Chalcedon, they in a synod at Dvin openly refused. In 652, the chiefs having invited the Arabs into the country, Constans came with an army and lodged at Dvin in the house of the Catholicus, Nerses, who inclined to the Roman party and from opposition to the chiefs proclaimed the Synod, but had so little support that, when the Emperor returned early in 653, he was forced to go with him and did not return to his see till 658. After his death in 662 no more was heard of the union.

Vitalian, who succeeded Eugenius on 30 July 657, announced his ordination to Constans and sent a synodical to Peter in which he conformed to the Type. Peter in answer wrote a letter in which the numbers "one" and "two" applied to operations and wills were declared immaterial, the Emperor sent presents and renewed the privileges of the Church of Rome, and Vitalian's name was inserted in the diptychs of Constantinople, which did not contain that of any of his predecessors since Honorius. Peter's successor, Thomas (17 Apr. 667-15 Nov. 669) sent no synodical; but for this the Arab attack was afterwards alleged as a reason. The next two patriarchs, John (Nov./Dec. 669-Aug. 675) and Constantine (2 Sept. 675-9 Aug. 677), sent synodicals in which no reference was made to the disputed points; but, Constans being dead,

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Vitalian yielded to popular feeling and rejected John's synodical : similarly his successor, Adeodatus (672-676), rejected that of Constantine ; and his name was therefore not inserted in the diptychs of Constantinople. Accordingly the next patriarch, Theodore, sent no synodical, and, supported by Macarius of Antioch, urged Constantine IV to have Vitalian's name expunged from the diptychs. The Emperor, not wishing to perpetuate the schism, refused the request and wrote to Pope Donus (676-678), asking him, as the war prevented a general synod, to send deputies to discuss the disputed points with the two patriarchs. When the letter arrived, Donus was dead ; and, as his successor, Agatho (678-681), had no intention of sending deputies to confer with Theodore, no answer came, and the Emperor was persuaded to allow Vitalian's name to be struck off. The original purpose of Monotheletism however, the reconciliation of the Monophysites, had been nullified by the Arab conquests ; and, as the pope conceded nothing, Constantine saw that to restore unity he would have to sacrifice the patriarch. Theodore was therefore deposed, and his place taken by George (Nov. or Dec. 679). Agatho then summoned a synod, which met at Rome on 27 Mar. 680, maintained the doctrine of two operations and two wills, condemned Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, Peter, Cyrus, and Theodore of Faran, and sent its decree to the Emperor with a long dogmatic letter from Agatho on the model of the *Tome* of Leo. Similar decrees were passed by synods at Milan and at Hatfield in England (17 Sept.). The deputies from Rome, who reached Constantinople on 10 Sept., were also accredited as representatives of the pope and the synod at the proposed conference : and, peace having now been made, Constantine requested the patriarchs to summon the bishops under their jurisdiction to a synod, which met in the domed hall (*trullus*) of the palace in the presence of the Emperor and the chief officers of state (7 Nov.), and, as representatives of the non-existent patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem were somehow procured, called itself oecumenical. The sittings, of which there were eighteen, continued to 16 Sept. 681 ; and the synod agreed as well with the pope in dogmatic matters as that of Chalcedon. The letter of Menas was pronounced spurious, as were also two letters ascribed to Vigilius. Macarius brought forward patristic passages in support of Monotheletism ; but they were declared to prove nothing, and quotations were produced on the other side. George now professed himself in agreement with the letters of the pope and the Roman synod ; and at his request Vitalian's name was restored to the diptychs. Macarius on the other hand refused to abandon his Monothelete opinions and was deposed together with his disciple, the archimandrite Stephen, and Theophanes was appointed to succeed him. All the Monothelete leaders mentioned in the Roman decree were then condemned with the addition of Honorius, and their writings ordered to be burnt. An attempt at a compromise made by the presbyter Constantine of Apamea in Syria was

rejected, and those condemned were formally anathematised in spite of the protest of George against the inclusion of his predecessors in the anathema: with these Macarius and other living Monotheletes were joined. A statement of faith was then drawn up, and a letter addressed to the pope with a request to confirm the proceedings. Finally an imperial edict was posted up in the vestibule of St Sophia, which forbade anyone under severe penalties to teach one will or operation. Macarius and his followers were banished to Rome, where, with the exception of two who recanted, they were shut up in separate monasteries. The papal envoys, who took back with them the synodal Acts and a letter of the Emperor addressed to the pope-elect, Leo II, dated 31 Dec., reached Rome in June 682; and Leo after his consecration (17 Aug.) confirmed the Acts in a letter to Constantine.

After the peace with the Arabs and the defeat by the Bulgarians in 680, which compelled the Emperor to cede the country north of Haemus, his chief attention was given to the succession. The ancient practice had been to divide an emperor's dominions between his sons after his death: and such a division had been projected by Maurice, but prevented by his overthrow. After the Arab conquests the reduced size of the Empire made this practically impossible: and Heraclius therefore arranged that the only two among his sons who had reached years of discretion and were not disqualified by any physical defect should reign jointly, a provision of which we have seen the bad result. Constans went further and gave the imperial title to all his sons while they were children, and therefore at his death left three nominal colleagues on the throne: but, as joint government was impossible, the exercise of the imperial functions fell to the eldest. This state of affairs quickly led to trouble. The Anatolic troops soon after their return from Sicily marched to Chrysopolis and demanded that Heraclius and Tiberius should be given an equal share of power with their elder brother, saying that, as there was a Trinity in heaven, there should be a Trinity on earth (670). Constantine pretended to agree and issued a proclamation that all three should receive equal honour, while he sent Theodore of Colonia to invite the leaders to come into the city and confer with the Senate, but, as soon as they were in his power, had them arrested and hanged; and the troops, deprived of their leaders, retired. Still however the younger brothers bore the imperial title, and their names appeared upon coins and in official documents, so that, when Constantine had sons of his own, the difficulty arose that in case of his death his brother Heraclius, as senior Emperor, would exclude them from the sovereignty. Accordingly, when his elder son, Justinian, had reached the age of 12, he deprived his brothers of their titles and cut off their noses (681).¹ Henceforth the younger sons of emperors, though they might bear imperial titles,

¹ The last meeting of the synod is dated by the years of all three Emperors, but the edict of confirmation is in Constantine's name only.

were usually excluded from power and from marriage; and, as the daughters of an emperor who had sons had been excluded from marriage since Theodosius' time, collateral branches, and therefore disputed successions, were avoided; but on the other hand a lasting hereditary succession was made impossible, and the crown lay open to any ambitious man or any nominee of the army — a state of affairs which continued till the system was abolished by the Comneni.

Having thus cleared the way, Constantine in 685¹ crowned Justinian as Augustus, but avoided his father's mistake of also crowning his other son, Heraclius. It was nearly his last act: at the beginning of September he died of dysentery, and the boy Justinian became sole emperor.

Constantine had taken advantage of the anarchy which followed the death of the Caliph Yazīd (683) to renew the war; and Melitene was destroyed by the Romans, and the Arabs forced to abandon Germanicea. Hence 'Abd-al-Malik on succeeding his father, Marwān, as Caliph in Syria, was compelled to renew the peace by paying a larger tribute (7 July 685). Nevertheless the new Emperor not only sent an army under the Isaurian Leontius to Armenia and the adjacent countries as far as the Caucasus, which, having seceded from the Arabs, had been invaded by the Chazars (687), but sent another to co-operate with the Mardaites in Syria, and Antioch was occupied (688) for a time. Upon this 'Abd-al-Malik, not even yet being in a position to carry on war, again asked for terms, and a truce was made for ten years on the conditions that he should pay the same tribute as before, that Armenia, Iberia, Arzanene, and Atropatene should be ceded, and the tribute of Cyprus divided, and that Justinian should transfer the Mardaites to his own dominions (689). The Emperor then went to Armenia where he appointed chiefs, took hostages, and received 12,000 Mardaites, whom he settled in different parts of the empire (690). By this step his forces were increased; but the Mardaites would perhaps have been of more use to him in the Caliph's territories.

Justinian had been willing to make peace because he had become involved in a war with the Bulgarians, in which he suffered a defeat (689). During this war however he reduced large numbers of Slavs, whom he settled in the north-west of Asia Minor and organised as a military force under the name of "peculiar people" (*λαὸς περιούσιος*):² this force is said to have amounted to 30,000 men.

Having made peace with the Bulgarians and strengthened the offensive power of the Empire by the acquisition of Mardaites and Slavs, he sought an opportunity of breaking the peace with the Arabs. He began by a breach of the spirit of the compact by which the tribute of Cyprus had been divided; for he removed a large proportion of the population to

¹ The dating of Justinian's years shews that it was not done earlier: see *Byz. Zeitschr.* vi. p. 52, n. 4.

² Deut. xiv. 2, xxvi. 18; Tit. ii. 14.

the Hellespont and other districts in the south and west of Asia Minor (691): and as Justinian I, whose example he seems always to have had in mind, had refounded his native town as Nova Justiniana and given it primatial rights in northern Illyricum, so Justinian II founded the city of Nea Justinianopolis for the Cypriots in the Hellespont, and the synod of 691 recognised the metropolitan of Cyprus, now bishop of this city, as metropolitan of the Hellespont, in prejudice of the rights of Cyzicus, and enacted that he should enjoy the same independence of the patriarch as in Cyprus. Next the Emperor refused to receive the tribute-money in the new Arabic coinage, on which texts from the Koran were imprinted, and in spite of the Caliph's protests announced that he would no longer observe the treaty, and collected forces for an attack. 'Abd-al-Malik, delivered from his rival 'Abdallāh,¹ had no reason to reject the challenge, and sent his brother Mahomet into Roman territory. Meanwhile Justinian with a large army, in which the bulk of the Slavs were included, marched to Sebastopolis, while the Arabs occupied Sebastia. Between these two places the armies met, and the Arabs went into the battle with a copy of the treaty displayed instead of a flag (693). At first victory inclined to the Romans; but, most of the Slavs having been induced by promises to go over, they were routed; and Justinian on reaching the district where the Slavs were settled massacred all whom he could find with their wives and children. The first result of the defeat was the loss of Armenia; and in 694 Mahomet with the Slavs again invaded the Empire and carried off many captives, while an attempt of the Romans to invade Syria from Germanicea led to another disastrous overthrow, which forced them to abandon that city, and in 695 Yahya raided the country S.W. of Melitene.

The ex-patriarch Theodore by accepting the new order of things had escaped condemnation at the synod, and after Constantine's death induced the new Emperor to deprive George and restore him to the see (Feb./Mar. 686). As his restoration would be likely to rouse the pope's suspicions, Justinian laid the synodal Acts before the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, the pope's *responsalis*, such bishops as were in the city, the chief civil and military officials, and the heads of the civic factions, obtained their confirmation of them (686),² and announced the fact to Pope John V with an assurance of his intention to maintain the authority of the synod (17 Feb. 687).

But the mental attitude of East and West differed so much, and through their different surroundings their practices had become so divergent, that concord could not long be maintained. Neither the fifth nor the sixth synod had passed canons; and therefore, though the Arab invasions had in many ways introduced new conditions which needed regulation,

¹ See Ch. XI.

² As John died in Aug. 686, the date of the letter can only be that of the Emperor's official signature.

there were no canons of general obligation later than those of Chalcedon. Accordingly at the end of 691 a synod was held in the Domed Hall for the purpose of making canons only. This synod, generally known as the Trullan from its place of meeting, or the Quinisext because it completed the task of the fifth and sixth synods, called itself oecumenical: it was attended by the patriarchs Paul of Constantinople (Jan. 688-Aug. 694) and George of Antioch, and titular patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem; and, though the papal legates did not formally take part in it, Basil of Gortyna claimed to represent the Roman Church. The assembly drew up a list of existing canons which were to be held binding, regularised the practice that had grown up with regard to the Eastern patriarchates by enacting that a bishop should suffer no detriment because he was prevented by barbarian incursions from going to his see, laid down rules dealing with the monastic life, the receiving of the eucharist, and the taking of orders, and condemned some surviving heathen observances and some practices prevailing in outlying parts of the Empire such as Armenia and Africa. If it had done no more, little would have been heard of it; but in the following points it offended the Church of Rome. It accepted all the apostolic canons, whereas the Roman Church received fifty only, and it laid special stress on the sixty-fifth, which forbade the Roman practice of fasting on Saturdays in Lent; following Acts xv. 29, it forbade the eating of flesh that contained blood; it forbade the representation of Christ as a lamb in pictures; above all it gave the patriarch of Constantinople equal rights with the pope, and in regard to the question of clerical celibacy, on which the Eastern and Western customs differed, it not only condemned the practice of compelling men to separate from their wives on taking higher orders, but declared such separation, except under special circumstances, to be unlawful. On the other hand it condemned marriage after ordination to the sub-diaconate and forbade the ordination of men who had been married twice. These regulations were described as a compromise; but in reality they differed little from a confirmation of the Eastern practice, with a prohibition of irregularities. Papal legates were present in Constantinople, and were afterwards induced to sign the Acts; but Pope Sergius disowned them, and, when urged to sign himself, refused. Justinian at last ordered him to be arrested and brought to Constantinople; but the army of Italy supported the pope, and it was only by his intercession that the imperial commissioner escaped with his life (695).

At the beginning of his reign Justinian was necessarily in the hands of others; and, as he afterwards devoted his restless energies almost entirely to foreign and ecclesiastical affairs, the civil administration continued to be conducted by ministers who, as is natural in men who know that their power is precarious, had little scruple about the means adopted to extort money. Of these the most obnoxious were the two finance-ministers, the treasurer, Stephen, a Persian eunuch, who is said to have

flogged the Emperor's mother, Anastasia, during his absence, and the public logothete (γενικός λογοθέτης), Theodotus, an ex-monk, who used to hang men up over fires for purposes of extortion. Such abuses were promoted by the fact that Justinian, as in other matters, so in the love of building followed the model of his namesake, and for these operations largesums were needed; and his unpopularity was increased by the conduct of Stephen, who, acting as superintendent of the works, had the workmen and their overseers tortured or stoned if they did not satisfy him. Further, on one occasion, in spite of the opposition of the patriarch Callinicus, the Emperor pulled down a church to gain room for building, and so made the clergy of the capital his enemies. Again, whereas in earlier times prisons had generally been used to keep persons in custody for a short time, it now became the practice to detain men for long periods in the praetorium by way of punishment; and, though this may often have been a mitigation, the novelty roused hostility, and the existence of many disaffected persons in one place constituted a danger which brought about the Emperor's fall.

Among the prisoners was Leontius, who commanded in Armenia in 687. One night towards the end of 695, after he had been in prison three years, he was suddenly released, named general of Hellas (as this theme is not otherwise known at this time, it was perhaps a temporary commission), supplied with a military train sufficient to fill three cutters, and told to start immediately. Unable to believe in the Emperor's sincerity, he consulted two of his friends, Paul, a monk and astrologer, and Gregory the archimandrite, an ex-military officer, who urged him to strike a blow at once, assuring him of success. Leontius and his small following then went to the praetorium and knocked at the gate, saying that the Emperor was there. The praefect hastily opened the gate and was seized, beaten, and bound hand and foot; and the prisoners, of whom many were soldiers, were released and armed. The whole force then went to the Forum, where Leontius raised the cry, "All Christians to St Sophia!" and sent messengers to do the same all over the city, while a report was spread that Justinian had given orders for a massacre (perhaps of the Blue faction), and that the life of the patriarch was in danger. A great crowd, especially of the Blues, collected in the baptistery of the cathedral, while Leontius with a few followers went to the patriarch and compelled him to come to the baptistery, where he gave his sanction to the rising by the words, "This is the day that the Lord hath made," which the crowd answered by the formula of imprecation, "May the bones of Justinian be dug up!" They then rushed to the circus, to which at daybreak the Emperor, deserted by all, was brought. The people demanded his immediate decapitation; but Leontius was content with cutting off his nose and tongue (not so completely as to prevent him from speaking) and banishing him to Cherson. The multitude then seized Stephen and Theodotus, dragged them by ropes along

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the main street till they were dead, and burnt their bodies. The Blues proclaimed Leontius emperor, and he was crowned by the patriarch.

As the Arabs were preparing to reconquer Africa, there was little fighting in Asia Minor during Leontius' reign. In 697 the Caliph's son, Walid, invaded the Empire from Melitene, and the patrician Sergius, who commanded in Lazica, betrayed that country to the Arabs. Further invasions were prevented by a plague and famine; and in 698 the Romans entered the district of Antioch and gained an unimportant victory.

In 697 Leontius sent the whole fleet under John the patrician to recover Africa, which had for the second time fallen into the hands of the Arabs; and John, having expelled the enemy from Carthage and the other fortified towns on the coast, reported his success to the Emperor and remained in Carthage for the winter. But early in 698, when a larger armament arrived from the east, he was unable to withstand it, and, abandoning his conquests, returned for reinforcements. When he reached Crete however, the crews renounced their allegiance and proclaimed Apsimar, *drungarius* (vice-admiral) of the Cibyrrhæots, emperor under the imperial name of Tiberius. They then sailed to Constantinople, which was suffering from plague, and after a short resistance the besiegers were admitted through the gate of Blachernæ at the N.W. corner by the treachery of the custodians, and plundered the capital like a conquered city. Leontius was deprived of his nose and sent to a monastery, and his friends and officers were flogged and banished and their property was confiscated (end of 698).

The new Emperor, as a sailor, gave special attention to the defence of the Empire on the sea side, restoring the sea-wall of Constantinople, and settling the Mardaites on the Pamphylian coast. He further re-peopled Cyprus by sending back the inhabitants whom Justinian had removed (699). Military operations also were conducted with considerable success, which must be ascribed to an innovation which Tiberius immediately after his accession introduced by appointing his brother Heraclius, who as a general shewed himself not unworthy of his name, commander-in-chief of all the Asiatic themes, and charging him with the custody of the Cappadocian frontier. In 701 the Romans made a successful raid as far as Samosata, and in 704 Heraclius killed or captured the whole of an Arab force which was besieging Sisium in Cilicia. On the other hand Walid raided Roman territory in 699, his brother 'Abdallâh took Theodosiopolis in 700, in 703 Mopsuestia was occupied and Armenia Quarta betrayed to the Arabs, and in 705 the Caliph's son, Maslama, took two fortresses, and a Roman army was defeated in Armenia.

Meanwhile Justinian was living in Cherson, a place which, while acknowledging the supremacy of the Emperor, was not governed by any

imperial official, and enjoyed a large measure of republican freedom. Here he made no secret of his intention to seek restoration, and the citizens, fearing the Emperor's vengeance, determined either to kill him or to send him to Constantinople. He had however friends in the town, who informed him of their purpose, and, fleeing to Dora, in the south-east of the Crimea, he asked to be allowed to visit the Khan of the Chazars, who ruled in the neighbourhood. The Khan granted the request, received him with honour, and gave him his sister in marriage, to whom in memory of the wife of Justinian I he gave the name of Theodora. He then settled at Phanagoria.

Tiberius in alarm promised the Khan many gifts if he sent him either Justinian himself or his head; and the Khan, agreeing to this, sent him a guard under pretence of protection, while instructing his representative at Phanagoria and the governor of Bosphorus to kill him as soon as orders should be received. Of this Theodora was informed by a slave of the Khan and told Justinian, who sent for the two officials separately and strangled them. Sending Theodora back to her brother, he embarked on a fishing-boat and sailed to Symbolum near Cherson, where he took his friends from the city on board, one of whom bore the Georgian name of Varaz Bakur. He then asked the aid of the Bulgarian ruler, Tervel, promising him liberal gifts and his daughter in marriage. To this he agreed; and, accompanied by Tervel himself and an army of Bulgarians and Slavs, Justinian advanced to Constantinople (705). Here the citizens received him with insults; but after three days he found an entrance with a few followers by an aqueduct, and the defenders, thinking the walls were undermined, were seized with panic and made no resistance. Tiberius fled across the Propontis to Apollonia, but was arrested and brought back, while Heraclius was seized in Thrace and hanged on the walls with his chief officers. Tervel was invited into the city, seated by Justinian's side as Caesar, and dismissed with abundance of presents, while Varaz Bakur was made a proto-patrician and Count of Obsequium. Tiberius and Leontius were exhibited in chains all over the city, and then brought into the circus, where Justinian sat with a foot on the neck of each, while the people, playing on the names "Leontius" and "Apsimar," cried, "Thou hast trodden upon the asp and the basilisk (kinglet), and upon the lion and the dragon hast thou trampled." They were then taken to the amphitheatre and beheaded. Of the rest of Justinian's enemies some were thrown into the sea in sacks, and others invited to a banquet and, when it was over, arrested and hanged or beheaded; but Theodosius the son of Tiberius was spared, and afterwards became celebrated as bishop of Ephesus. Callinicus was blinded and banished to Rome, and Cyrus, a monk of Amastris, made patriarch (706). On the other hand 6000 Arab prisoners were released and sent home. As soon as his throne was secure, Justinian fetched his wife, who had in the meantime borne him a son, whom he named Tiberius and crowned as his colleague.

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One of the first objects to which the restored Emperor turned his attention was the establishment of an understanding with Rome as to the Trullan synod. Having learned that coercion was useless, he tried another plan. He sent the Acts to John VII, asking him to hold a synod and confirm the canons which he approved and disallow the rest; but John, fearing to give offence, sent them back as he received them. His second successor, Constantine, however consented to come to Constantinople and discuss the matter (710). Landing seven miles from the capital, he was met and escorted into the city by the child Tiberius and the senators and patriarch; and Justinian, who was then at Nicaea, met him at Nicomedia, and, prostrating himself before him, kissed his feet. A satisfactory compromise (of what nature we do not know) was made, and the Pope returned to Rome (Oct. 711).

In the time of Tiberius the Arabs had never been able to cross the Taurus; but with the removal of Heraclius Asia Minor was again laid open to their ravages. A raid by Hishām the son of ‘Abd-al-Malik in 706 produced no results: but in 707 Maslama, accompanied by Maimūn the Mardaite, advanced to Tyana (June). A rash attack by Maimūn cost him his life; and the Caliph Walid sent reinforcements under his son, ‘Abbās. All the winter the Arabs lay before Tyana, which was stoutly defended; and Justinian, who had fallen out with Tervel and required the Asiatic troops in Europe, sent an army mostly of rustics to its relief. The generals however quarrelled, and the rabble was easily routed by the Arabs, who pressed the siege of Tyana until it surrendered (27 Mar. 708). The inhabitants were removed to Arab territory. Maslama then raided the country to the north-east as far as Gazelon near Amasia, while ‘Abbās after defeating a Roman force near Dorylaeum, which he took, advanced to Nicomedia and Heraclea Pontica, while a small detachment of his army entered Chrysopolis and burnt the ferry-boats. In 709 Maslama and ‘Abbās invaded Isauria, where five fortresses were taken; but at sea the Romans captured the admiral Khālid, whom however Justinian sent to the Caliph, and attacked Damietta in Egypt. In 710 an unimportant raid was made by Walid’s son, ‘Abd-al-‘Aziz: but in 711 Maslama took Camacha, as well as Taranta and two other fortresses in Hexapolis,¹ which was now annexed; and, as Sisium was the same year occupied by Othman, the frontier was advanced to the Sarus. On the other hand a Roman army sent to recover Lazica, where Phasis only remained in Roman hands, after besieging Archaeopolis was compelled to retreat.

After a defeat by the Bulgarians (708) and the restoration of peace, Justinian turned his energies to exacting vengeance from the Chersonites, who had now accepted a Chazar governor. In 710 he collected ships of all kinds, for the equipment of which he raised a special contribution from all the inhabitants of the capital, and sent them to Cherson under the patrician Stephen Asmictus, whose orders were to kill the ruling men

¹ “Khspolis” (Michael, p. 452) is a corruption of Hexapolis.

with all their families and establish Elijah the *spatharius* (military chamberlain) as governor. With him was sent a certain Vardan, who in spite of his Armenian name (probably derived from his mother's family) was son of the patrician Nicephorus of Pergamum who had commanded in Africa and Asia under Constans, and, having been banished to Cephallenia by Tiberius and recalled by Justinian, was to be again exiled to Cherson. The city was unable to resist, the chief magistrate, Zoilus, and forty of his principal colleagues with their families and the Tudun (the Chazar governor), were sent in chains to Justinian, seven others were roasted over a fire, twenty drowned in a boat filled with stones, and the rest beheaded. The children were however spared for slavery; and Justinian, furious at this, ordered the fleet to return (Oct.).

Off Paphlagonia the fleet was almost destroyed by a storm; but he threatened to send another to raze Cherson and the neighbouring places to the ground and kill every living person in them. The citizens then strengthened their defences and obtained the help of the Khan, while Elijah and Vardan made common cause with them. Justinian sent 300 men under George, the public logothete, John the *praefect*, and Christopher, *turmarch* of the Thracesii, with orders to replace the Tudun and Zoilus in their positions, and bring Elijah and Vardan to Constantinople (711). The citizens, pretending to accept these terms, admitted the small force; but immediately shut the gates, killed George and John, and handed the rest over to the Chazars, and the Tudun having died on the way, the Chazars avenged him by killing them. The Chersonites then proclaimed Vardan emperor, and he assumed the Greek name of Philippicus. Justinian, more enraged than ever, had Elijah's children killed in their mother's arms and compelled her to marry her negro cook, while he sent another fleet with powerful siege-engines under the patrician Maurus Bessus with the orders which he had before threatened to give. Philippicus fled to the Chazars, and Maurus took two of the towers of the city, but, Chazar reinforcements having arrived, was unable to do more, and, afraid to return, declared for Philippicus and asked the Khan to send him back, which he did on receiving security in money for his safety. The fleet then sailed for Constantinople. Justinian's suspicions had been aroused by the delay; and, thinking himself safer in the territory of the Obsequian theme, commanded by Varaz Bakur, he took with him the troops of that theme, some of the Thracesii, and 3000 Bulgarians sent by Tervel, and, having crossed the Bosphorus and left the rest in the plain of Damatrys about ten miles east of Chalcedon, proceeded with the chief officers and the Thracesian contingent to the promontory of Sinope, which the fleet would pass. After a time he saw it sail by, and immediately returned to Damatrys. Meanwhile Philippicus had entered Constantinople without opposition. The Empress Anastasia took the little Tiberius to the church of the Virgin at Blachernae, where he sat with amulets hung

round his neck, holding a column of the altar with one hand and a piece of the cross with the other. Maurus and John Struthus the *spatharius* had been sent to kill him; and, when they entered the church, Maurus was delayed by Anastasia's entreaties, but John transferred the amulets to his own neck, laid the piece of the cross on the altar, and carried the child to a postern-gate of the city, and cut his throat. Varaz Bakur, thinking Justinian's cause desperate, had left the army and fled, but he was caught and killed. Elijah was sent with a small force against Justinian himself, whose soldiers on a promise of immunity deserted their master, and Elijah cut off his head and sent it to Philippicus, who sent it to Rome (end of 711).

The new Emperor was a ready and plausible speaker, and had a reputation for mildness; but he was an indolent and dissolute man, who neglected public affairs and squandered the money amassed by his predecessors. Accordingly no better resistance was offered to the Arabs. In 712 Maslama and his nephews, 'Abbās and Marwān, entered Roman territory from Melitene and took Sebastia, Gazelon, and Amasia, whence Marwān advanced to Gangra, while Walīd ibn Hishām took Misthia in Lycaonia and carried off many of the inhabitants of the country. In 713 'Abd-al-'Aziz again raided as far as Gazelon, while Yazīd invaded Isauria, and 'Abbās took Antioch in Pisidia and returned with numerous captives. Meanwhile Philippicus for some unknown reason expelled the Armenians from the Empire, and they were settled by the Arabs in Armenia Quarta and the district of Melitene (712). In Europe also the Bulgarians advanced to the gates of Constantinople (712).

There was however one subject on which Philippicus shewed a misplaced energy. Having been educated by Stephen, the pupil of Macarius, he was a fervent Monothelete, and even before entering the city he ordered the picture of the sixth synod to be removed from the palae and the names of those condemned in it restored to the diptychs. Cyrus, who refused to comply with his wishes, was deposed and confined in a monastery, and a more pliant patriarch found in the deacon John (early in 712), who was supported by two men afterwards celebrated, Germanus of Cyzicus and Andrew of Crete. Shortly afterwards the Acts preserved in the palace were burnt, and a condemnation of the synod and the chief Dithelete bishops was issued, while many prominent men who refused to sign this were exiled. At Rome the document was contemptuously rejected, the Romans retaliated by placing a picture of the six synods in St Peter's and abandoning the public use of the Emperor's name; and Peter, who was sent to Rome as duke, was attacked and forced to retire (713).

An emperor without hereditary claim to respect, who could not defend the Empire from invasion and wantonly disturbed the peace of the Church, was not likely to reign long; but the fall of Philippicus was

eventually brought about by a plot. A portion of the Obsequian theme, which had been the most closely attached to Justinian, had been brought to Thrace to act against the Bulgarians, whose ravages still continued; and, trusting to the support of these soldiers and of the Green faction, George Buraphus, Count of Obsequium, and the patrician Theodore Myacius, who had been with Justinian at his return from exile, made a conspiracy against the Emperor. After some games in the circus, in which the Greens were victorious, he had given a banquet in the baths of Zeuxippus, returned to the palace and gone to sleep, when an officer of the Obsequian theme and his men rushed in, carried him to the robing room of the Greens, and put out his eyes (3 June 713). The conspirators were however not ready with a new emperor: and, as the other soldiers were not inclined to submit to their dictation, they were unable to gain control of affairs; and on the next day, which was Whit Sunday, Artemius, one of the chief imperial secretaries, was chosen emperor and crowned, taking in memory of the last civilian emperor the name of Anastasius. George and Theodore were requited as they had served Philippicus, being blinded on 10 and 17 June respectively and banished to Thessalonica.

The ecclesiastical policy of the late Emperor was immediately reversed, the sixth synod being proclaimed at the coronation, and the picture soon afterwards restored. Anastasius wrote to assure the Pope of his orthodoxy; and John, who under Philippicus had from fear of offending either Emperor or Pope sent no synodical to Rome, wrote to the Pope to explain that he had always been an adherent of the synod. He therefore retained the see till his death, when he was succeeded by Germanus (11 Aug. 715), who had also abandoned Monotheletism.

Anastasius was a great contrast to his predecessor. A capable man of affairs, he set himself to place the Empire in a state of defence and appoint the best men to civil and military posts: but in the condition to which affairs had been brought by the frenzy of Justinian and the indolence of Philippicus a stronger ruler than this conscientious public servant was needed. In 714 Maslama raided Galatia, 'Abbās took Heraclea (Cybistra) and two other places, and his brother Bishr wintered in Roman territory. On the other hand an Arab general was defeated and killed. In the anarchic state of the Empire however Walid wished to send out something more than raiding expeditions; and Anastasius, hearing reports of this, sent Daniel the praefect on an embassy with instructions to find out what was going on; and on his reporting that a great expedition was being prepared ordered all who were unable to supply themselves with provisions for three years to leave Constantinople, while he set himself to build ships, fill the granaries, repair the walls, and provide weapons of defence.

In 715 a fleet from Egypt came, as in 655, to Phoenix to cut wood for shipbuilding; and Anastasius chose the fastest ships and ordered

them to meet at Rhodes under a certain John, who also held the offices of public logothete and deacon of St Sophia. Some of the Obsequian theme, whom it was probably desired to remove from the neighbourhood of the capital, were sent on board; and, when John gave the order to sail to Phoenix, these refused to obey, cast off allegiance to Anastasius, and killed the admiral. Most of the fleet then dispersed, but the mutineers sailed for Constantinople. On the way they landed at Adramyttium, and, not wishing to be a second time defeated by the absence of a candidate for the throne, chose a tax-collector named Theodosius, whom, though he fled to the hills to escape, they seized and proclaimed emperor. Anastasius, leaving Constantinople in a state of defence, shut himself up in Nicaea, where he could watch the disaffected theme: but the rebels rallied to their cause the whole theme with the Gotho-Greek irregulars of Bithynia, collected merchant-ships of all kinds, and advanced by land and sea to Chrysopolis (Sept.). The fighting lasted six months, after which on the imperial fleet changing its station they crossed to Thrace and were admitted by treachery through the gate of Blachernae. The houses were then pillaged, and the chief officials and the patriarch arrested and sent to Anastasius, who, thinking further resistance useless, surrendered on promise of safety and was allowed to retire as a monk to Thessalonica (5 Mar. 716).¹

Meanwhile the Arab preparations were going on with none to hinder. Even when the civil war was ended, there was little hope of effectual resistance from the crowned tax-gatherer and his mutinous army; and, if the Empire was to be saved, it was necessary that the government should be in the hands of a soldier. The Obsequian theme, though from its proximity to the capital it had been able to make and unmake emperors, was the smallest of the three Asiatic themes; and the other two were not likely to pay much regard to its puppet-sovereign. The larger of these, the Anatolic, was commanded by Leo of Germanicea, whose family had been removed to Mesembria in Thrace when Germanicea was abandoned. When Justinian returned, Leo met him with 500 sheep and was made a *spatharius*. Afterwards he was sent to urge the Alans of the Caucasus to attack the Abasgi, who were under Arab protection, and in spite of great difficulties he was successful: moreover, though he seemed to be cut off from the Empire, by his courage, presence of mind, and cunning (not always accompanied by good faith) he effected not only his own return but that of 200 stragglers from the army which had invaded Lazica. This exploit made him a marked man, and he was chosen by Anastasius for the command of the Anatolic theme: on that Emperor's overthrow both he and the Armenian Artavazd, who commanded the Armeniacs, refused to recognise Theodosius.

Late in 715 Maslama, who had been appointed to lead the expedition

¹ I take Leo's term in the *χρονολογήσειον* ascribed to Nicephorus as dating from this time.

against Constantinople, took the fortress of the Slavs, which commanded the passes of the Taurus, and returned to Epiphania for the winter; and in 716 he sent his lieutenant Sulaimān in advance, intending to follow with a larger army, while Omar was appointed to command the fleet. Sulaimān penetrated without opposition to Amorium, which, as it had then no garrison and was on bad terms with Leo because of his rejection of Theodosius, he expected easily to take. The Arabs moreover knew Leo to be a likely candidate for the crown and hoped to use him as they had used Sapor: accordingly, as Amorium did not immediately fall, they proclaimed him emperor, and the citizens were induced by the hope of escaping capture to do the same. Sulaimān having promised that, if Leo came to discuss terms of peace, he would raise the siege, Leo came with 300 men, and the Arabs surrounded him to prevent his escape; but Leo, who as a native of a town which had only been in Roman hands for ten years since 640 (he was probably born a subject of the Caliph), was well acquainted with the Arab character and could perhaps speak Arabic, induced some officers whom he was entertaining to believe that he would go and see Maslama himself, while he conveyed a message to the citizens to hold out, and finally escaped on the pretext of a hunting expedition. Soon afterwards the Arabs became tired of lying before Amorium and forced Sulaimān to raise the siege; whereupon Leo threw 800 men into the city, removed most of the women and children, and withdrew to the mountains of Pisidia, where he was safe from attack by Maslama, who had now entered Cappadocia and, in hope of gaining Leo's support, refrained from plundering the country. To him Leo sent an envoy to say that he had wished to come and see him, but treachery had deterred him from doing so. From this envoy Maslama heard of the garrisoning of Amorium; but this made him the more desirous of securing Leo; and he promised, if he came, to make satisfactory terms of peace. Leo pretended to agree, but protracted negotiations till Maslama, unable for reasons of commissariat to remain in Anatolic territory, had reached Acroinus (Prymnessus) in the Obsequian district, and then, having previously come to an understanding with Artavazd, to whom he promised his daughter in marriage (which, as he had no son, implied an assurance of the succession), started for Constantinople, while Maslama passed into Asia, where he wintered. The fleet was however less successful, for the Romans landed in Syria and burnt Laodicea, while the Arabs had only reached Cilicia. Meanwhile Leo made his way to Nicomedia, where Theodosius' son, who had been made Augustus, and some of the chief officers of the palace, fell into his power. The Obsequians were unable to organise serious resistance, and Theodosius after consulting the Senate and the patriarch sent Germanus to Leo, and on receiving assurance of safety abdicated. Leo made a formal entry by the Golden Gate and was crowned by the patriarch (25 Mar. 717). Theodosius and his son took orders and ended their days in obscurity.



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(1) The following abbreviations are used for titles of periodicals:

AARAB.	Annales de l'Académie royale d'archéologie de Belgique. Antwerp.
AB.	Analecta Bollandiana. Brussels.
ABe.	Archives belges. Liège.
AHR.	American Historical Review. New York and London.
AKKR.	Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht. Mainz.
AM.	Annales du Midi. Toulouse.
AMur.	Archivio Muratoriano. Rome.
ASAK.	Anzeiger für schweizerische Alterthumskunde. Zurich.
ASHF.	Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France. Paris.
ASI.	Archivio storico italiano. Florence.
ASL.	Archivio storico Lombardo. Milan.
ASRSP.	Archivio della Società romana di storia patria. Rome.
BCRH.	Bulletins de la Commission royale d'histoire. Brussels.
BHisp.	Bulletin hispanique. Bordeaux.
BRAH.	Boletín de la R. Academia de la historia. Madrid.
BZ.	Byzantinische Zeitschrift. Leipsic.
CQR.	Church Quarterly Review. London.
CR.	Classical Review. London.
CRSA.	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Paris.
DZG.	Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft. Freiburg-i.-B.
DZKR.	Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht. Leipsic.
EHR.	English Historical Review. London.
FDG.	Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte.
HJ.	Historisches Jahrbuch. Munich.
Hm.	Hermes. Berlin.
HVJS.	Historische Vierteljahrsschrift. Leipsic.
HZ.	Historische Zeitschrift (von Sybel). Munich and Berlin.
JA.	Journal Asiatique. Paris.
JB.	Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft im Auftrage der historischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin. 1878 ff. Berlin.
JHS.	Journal of Hellenic Studies. London.
JRAS.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. London.
JRGS.	Journal of the Royal Geographical Society. London.
JSG.	Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte. Zurich.
JTS.	Journal of Theological Studies. London.
MA.	Le moyen âge. Paris.
MIOGF.	Mittheilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Innsbruck.

- NAGDG. Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde. Hanover and Leipsic.
- NRDF. Nouvelle Revue historique du droit français. Paris.
- QFIA. Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken. Rome.
- RA. Revue archéologique. Paris.
- RBAB. Revue des bibliothèques et des archives de la Belgique. Brussels.
- RBén. Revue bénédictine. Maredsous.
- RCel. Revue celtique. Paris.
- RCHL. Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature. Paris.
- RH. Revue historique. Paris.
- RHD. Revue d'histoire diplomatique. Paris.
- RHE. Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique. Louvain.
- Rhein. Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Frankfurt-a.-M.
- Mus. Mus. Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Frankfurt-a.-M.
- RN. Revue de numismatique. Paris.
- ROC. Revue de l'Orient chrétien. Paris.
- RQCA. Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte. Rome.
- RQH. Revue des questions historiques. Paris.
- RSH. Revue de synthèse historique. Paris.
- RSI. Rivista storica italiana. Turin.
- RSS. Rivista di scienze storiche. Pavia.
- SKAW. Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Vienna. [Phil. hist. Classe.]
- SPAW. Sitzungsberichte der kön. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin.
- SS. Studi Storici. Pavia.
- TQS. Theologische Quartalschrift. Tübingen.
- TRHS. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. London.
- TSK. Theologische Studien und Kritiken. Gotha.
- VV. Vizantiiskii Vremeni. St Petersburg.
- ZCK. Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst. Düsseldorf.
- ZKG. Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte. Gotha.
- ZKT. Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie. Gotha.
- ZR. Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte. Weimar. 1861-78. Continued as
- ZSR. Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtswissenschaft. Weimar. 1880 ff.
- ZWT. Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie. Frankfurt-a.-M.

(2) Among other abbreviations used (*see General Bibliography*) are:

- AcadIBL. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
- AcadIP. Académie Impériale de Pétersbourg.
- AllgDB. Allgemeine deutsche Biographie.
- ASBoll. Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana.
- BEC. Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes.
- BGen. Nouvelle Biographie générale.
- BHE. Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études.
- BUniv. Biographie universelle.
- CIG. Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
- CIL. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
- CSCO. Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium.
- CSEL. Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum.
- CSHB. Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae.
- DCA. Dictionary of Christian Antiquities.

DCB.	Dictionary of Christian Biography.
DNB.	Dictionary of National Biography.
EofrAR.	École française d'Athènes et de Rome. Paris.
EETS.	Early English Text Society.
EncBr.	Encyclopædia Britannica.
FHG.	Müller's <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> .
KAW.	Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Vienna.
MGH.	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> .
MPG.	Migne's <i>Patrologiae cursus completus</i> . Ser. <i>graeca</i> .
MPL.	Migne's <i>Patrologiae cursus completus</i> . Ser. <i>latina</i> .
PAW.	Königliche preussische Akademie d. Wissenschaften. Berlin.
RAH.	Real Academia de la Historia. Madrid.
RE ¹ .	Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie, etc.
RGS.	Royal Geographical Society.
RHS.	Royal Historical Society.
SHF.	Société d'histoire française.

In the case of many other works given in the General Bibliography abbreviations as stated there are used.

Abh.	Abhandlungen.	kais.	kaiserlich.
J.	Journal.	kön.	königlich.
Jahrb.	Jahrbuch.	mem.	memoir.
R.	Review, Revue.	mém.	mémoire.
Viert.	Vierteljahrschrift.	n.s.	new series.
Z.	Zeitschrift.	publ.	publication.
antiq.	antiquarian, antique.	roy.	royal, royale.
coll.	collections.	ser.	series.
hist.	history, historical, historique, historisch.	soc.	society.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SUCCESSORS OF HERACLIUS

1. SPECIAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES

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THE
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By Professor J. B. BURY, F.B.A.

CHAPTER V.

(A)

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE SARACENS (717-867).

AT the accession of Leo III (25 March 717), when the great Arab army was encamped in western Asia Minor and the Anatolic troops had gone to Constantinople to place their strategus on the throne, the position of the Empire seemed almost desperate; and the Arab commander, Maslamah, having some understanding with Leo, was confident of reducing it to subjection. During the spring he took Sardis and Pergamus; and, when it became clear that no assistance was to be expected from Leo, he advanced to Abydos, crossed to Thrace, destroyed the forts on the road, and encamped before Constantinople (July). On 1 September a fleet under a certain Sulaimān joined him, and was followed by another under Omar ibn Hubaira; but, while the ships were sailing round the city, twenty of them became separated from the rest and were destroyed by fire-ships (3 September). After this the fleet was content with inactivity and safety; but an offer of ransom was refused, and in the severe winter the army lost heavily in horses and camels. In the spring fresh ships came from Egypt and Africa besides military reinforcements, and an attack by Slavs was repulsed; but Omar was defeated by the Bulgarians whom Leo had called to his assistance, and in Bithynia a foraging party was routed. Moreover, the Egyptian sailors deserted, and through information obtained from them Leo destroyed with Greek fire many newly-arrived ships. After this the blockade on the sea side was practically raised, while the besiegers were starving. Accordingly Omar II, who succeeded the Caliph Sulaimān in September 717, recalled the Muslim armament (15 August 718); but many ships were destroyed by a storm or captured on the retreat, and only a few reached Syria. The garrison of Taranta, which was thought to be too much exposed, was then withdrawn, and no more expeditions were made while Omar lived. To prevent a recrudescence of the Arab sea-power, after the accession of the Caliph Yazīd II (February 720) a Roman fleet sailed to Egypt and attacked Tinnis. The expedition of 716-718 was in fact the last attempt upon Constantinople, and the neglect of the fleet which followed the removal of the capital from Damascus to Babylonia in 750 made a repetition impossible; hence the war was reduced to a series of plundering raids, until the occupation of Crete and Sicily by western Arabs caused the naval warfare to revive under new conditions. The character of these incursions was so well

understood on the Arab side that in the ninth century it was an accepted rule that two raids were made each year, one from 10 May to 10 June when grass was abundant, and, after a month's rest for the horses, another from 10 July to 8 September, with sometimes a third in February and March; and the size of the forces may be gauged from the fact that a commander was once superseded for retreating when he had still 7000 men. Longer expeditions were often made; but even these rarely had any object but plunder or blackmail. A frontier fortress was indeed occasionally occupied, but it was often recovered after a short interval, and more frequently forts were taken only that they might be destroyed and the enemy thereby deprived of a base; and the whole result of 150 years of war was only the annexation by the Arabs of the district between the Sarus and the Lamus, which however included the important towns of Tarsus and Adana and the strong fortress of Lulum. Raids through the Cilician Gates were signalled to Constantinople by a chain of beacons, and a cluster of fortresses was erected on the heights of the Taurus range; but the Romans were generally content to hold the strong places, and, when opportunity offered, overwhelm parties of marauders. Occasionally they made counter-raids; but these had even less permanent result than those of the Arabs, until under the rule of the energetic Caesar Bardas a blow was dealt after which the decaying Caliphate never recovered its offensive power, and the way was laid open for a Roman advance.

Under Yazīd only sporadic raids were made, with little result. Omar ibn Hubaira won a victory in Armenia Quarta (721), and a fortress in Cilicia was taken (723); but 'Abbās ibn al-Walīd after taking a fort in Paphlagonia allowed his men to scatter, and most of the parties were annihilated (722). After Caliph Hishām's accession, however, more systematic plans were adopted. In 724 his son Sa'īd and his cousin Marwān with the combined forces of Syria and Mesopotamia, coming from Melitene, stormed a fort and massacred the garrison, though a detachment under Kathīr¹ was cut to pieces; and this was followed by the capture of the great fortress of Camacha on the Euphrates (which the Romans must have recovered since 711); and in 726 Maslamah took Neo-Caesarea. After this a series of raids was carried out by Hishām's son Mu'āwiyah, who in 727 took Gangra, which he demolished, and Tataeum², and with naval assistance besieged Nicaea. In 728 he took Semaluos in the Armeniac theme; in 729 he raided northern Asia Minor, while Sa'īd, coming from the south, reached Caesarea, and an Egyptian fleet harried the coast. In 730 Mu'āwiyah took the fortress of Charsianum; in 731 he found the frontier too well guarded to cross in force, and his lieutenant, Battāl, was routed; but in 732 he plundered Paphlagonia and penetrated to Acroïnon (Prymessus), though on the retreat his rearguard was annihilated, while his brother Sulaimān reached Caesarea. In 733 the two brothers joined forces

¹ Theoph. Χθῆ (corrupt); corr. from Mahbūb Χεθῆρ.

² Theoph. Ἀτρεὺς, Arab. 'Taiba.' See Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr.*, pp. 143, 439.

and their vanguard under Baṭṭāl captured a general; in 734 Mu'āwiyah reached the west coast, plundering proconsular Asia as he went; in 735 he returned by way of the north, while Sulaimān raided Cappadocia. In 736 on another joint expedition Mu'āwiyah was killed by a fall from his horse, but Sulaimān after wintering in Roman territory invaded Asia and carried off a Pergamene who claimed to be Justinian's son Tiberius and was granted imperial honours by Hishām. In 738 he took a fort in Pontus and captured a patrician's son, who with other prisoners was put to death in 740 on a report that Leo had killed his Muslim prisoners; and in 739 his brother Maslamah, coming from Melitene, seized some of the subterranean granaries that were numerous in Cappadocia. Assistance by sea was prevented by the activity of the Roman fleet, which in 736 captured part of a fleet returning from a raid and in 739 attacked Damietta in great force and carried off many captives.

For 740 a great invasion was planned. Sulaimān crossed the frontier in May and encamped before Tyana, sending his cousin Ghamr to Asia and Malik and Baṭṭāl to Phrygia, where they took Synada and besieged Acroinon; but these last were routed by Leo himself and both killed, after which the whole army returned to Syria. Not this victory, however, so much as the internal troubles of the Caliphate caused in the following years the slackness of the Arab offensive.

In 742 Sulaimān marched into the heart of Asia Minor, and Constantine V, who had succeeded Leo in June 741, left his capital on 27 June and came to Crasus in Phrygia to meet him; but Artavasdus' rebellion forced him to flee to the Anatolics at Amorium, leaving the road open to the enemy. However, Hishām's death (February 743) and the accession of the incapable Caliph Walīd II prevented the Arabs from making the most of this opportunity, and in 743 the Romans destroyed the fortress of Sozopetra south-west of Melitene.

After the murder of Walīd (April 744) the Caliphate fell into anarchy; and, order having been restored in the Empire by Artavasdus' overthrow (November), the advantage lay with the Romans. Constantine again destroyed Sozopetra, which had been insufficiently restored, and threatened Perrhe (Hiṣn Maṣūr), where the fortifications had been repaired and a strong garrison posted. He forced Germanicea (Mar'ash) and Doliche to capitulate; allowing the garrisons to march out, he removed the inhabitants to Roman territory and demolished the fortifications (746). After this a great outbreak of plague prevented him from pursuing his advantage, and in 748 Walīd ibn Hishām restored Germanicea. In 747 however an Egyptian squadron which had come to Cyprus was unexpectedly attacked in harbour and almost annihilated; and from this time the Egyptian fleet disappears for 100 years.

In June 751 Constantine set out to recover Camacha, but sent the Armenian Khushan, who had fled to the Romans in 750, against the fort, while he himself besieged Melitene. Mesopotamia being in revolt, its

Emir could not bring help, and the place capitulated; the inhabitants with their portable property were then escorted to a place of safety, after which the town was demolished. Thence Constantine went on to Claudias, which he also took, removing the population of the district to Roman territory; but at Arsamosata he failed. Meanwhile Khushan, having taken Camacha and placed a garrison in it, advanced to Theodosiopolis (Erzerüm), which he took and destroyed, making the garrison prisoners and deporting the inhabitants. The merciful treatment which Constantine accorded to his enemies and to the civil populations is a bright spot among the atrocities of these wars. The Romans were never as cruel as the Arabs, but this striking leniency may fairly be set against the character which anti-Iconoclast writers draw of this Emperor.

By the Caliph Marwān II's death (July 751) the new Abbasid dynasty was firmly established, but many revolts followed. When in 754 'Abdalāh, Emir of Syria, had started to invade the Empire, he heard of the death of his nephew, the Caliph Saffāh (19 June), and returned to make an unsuccessful bid for the Caliphate. His successor in Syria, his brother Salih, in 756 entered Cappadocia through the pass of Adata, but on hearing that Constantine was about to march against him returned home. Thereupon followed an exchange of prisoners. In 757 Salih began to rebuild the walls of Mopsuestia, which had been overthrown by an earthquake in 756; and 'Abd-al-Wahhāb, who had been made Emir of Mesopotamia by his uncle the Caliph Manşūr, rebuilt Claudias and began to rebuild Melitene. To prevent this Constantine marched to the Pyramus (758); but the army at Melitene, reinforced by some Persians, the best troops of the Caliphate, under Ḥasan was too strong to attack, and the rebuilding of Melitene and Mopsuestia was completed. In 759, while the Emperor was engaged with Slavonic enemies, Adana, abandoned by the Romans, was occupied by Salih, a garrison, partly of Persians, being placed there, and a fort erected on the Sarus opposite it. In 760, while Constantine was fighting the Bulgarians, the Caliph's brother 'Abbās defeated the Armeniac strategus Paul on the Melas between Melitene and Caesarea with great loss, Paul himself being killed and 42 high officers captured.

For the next five years both sides were occupied, Manşūr with insurrections and Chazar invasions, and Constantine with Bulgarian wars, and in 766 there was an exchange of prisoners. This year a strong force of Arabs and Persians under 'Abbās and Ḥasan besieged Camacha (August); but, well defended by its commandant, it resisted all their efforts, and on the approach of winter they retired. Some of the army, however, who had separated from the rest for a pillaging expedition, penetrated beyond Caesarea, avoiding roads and towns, but were attacked on their return and fled in confusion to Melitene and Theodosiopolis. The Arabs then set themselves to restore the fortifications of Arsamosata; but in 768 an army which had been ravaging Armenia Quarta crossed the Arsanias and

destroyed the works, though after their retreat the task was completed. The citizens were however suspected of collusion with the enemy and removed to Palestine, a fate which also befel the inhabitants of Germanicea (769), which was re-fortified and garrisoned.

In 770 Laodicea Combusta was taken, and in 771 some of the Armenians who had fled to the Romans with Khushan set out to return to their old homes, and a force under the commandant of Camacha which pursued them was surprised and cut to pieces. In 775 Thumāma marched along the Isaurian coast, supported by a fleet, and besieged Syce. Constantine thereupon sent the Anatolics, Armeniacs, and Bucellarii, who occupied the only pass by which Thumāma could retreat, while the Cibyrrhaeots anchored in the harbour and cut off his communications with the ships; but by a desperate attack he cut his way through the cavalry and returned with many prisoners from the neighbourhood, while the fleet sailed to Cyprus and captured the governor. Constantine, wishing to be free to deal with the Bulgarians, now made proposals for peace, but these were rejected.

The deaths of Emperor and Caliph in 775 were followed by greater activity on both sides. Constantine had recently given his chief attention to the Bulgarians and had been content with merely checking Arab inroads; but in 776 Leo IV, who, though from ill health unable to lead armies, was an able and vigorous ruler, sent an expedition to Samosata which carried off many captives. The Muslims were ransomed by the Caliph Mahdī, who on his side prepared a larger force than had been seen since 740 with many of the best Persian troops under 'Abbās, which took the underground granary of Casis with the men in it and reached but did not take Ancyra. In 777 Thumāma made an expedition by land and Ghamr by sea; but Thumāma quarrelled with the Emir 'Īsa, the Caliph's great-uncle, and so in 778 no raid took place. In these circumstances Leo sent the five Asiatic themes to Cilicia and Syria, and they besieged 'Īsa in Germanicea without opposition from Thumāma, who was at Dābiq. Failing to take Germanicea, they plundered the country, and the Thracesian strategus, Michael Lachanodraco, was attacked by a force sent by Thumāma, but defeated them with heavy loss, after which the whole army returned with many captives, largely Syrian Jacobites, and laden with spoil. In 779 Thumāma again remained inactive, though ordered to make an invasion, and the Romans destroyed the fortifications of Adata. The veteran Ḥasan was then appointed to command, and with a large force from Syria, Mesopotamia, and Khurāsān entered the Empire by the pass of Adata. Leo ordered his generals not to fight, but to bring the inhabitants into the fortresses and send out parties of picked men, to prevent foraging and to destroy the fodder and provisions. Ḥasan therefore occupied Dorylaeum without opposition, but after fifteen days lack of fodder for the horses forced him to retreat.

The Caliph now determined to take the field himself, and on 12 March

780 left Baghdad with an even larger army and marched through Aleppo to Adata; here by Ḥasan's advice he ordered the fortifications to be restored (they were completed in 785), and advanced to Arabissus, whence he returned, leaving the command to his son Hārūn, afterwards known as ar-Rashīd, supported by Ḥasan and other capable advisers. This expedition was however hardly more successful than the last. Thumāma, since 'Īsa's death no longer disaffected, being sent westwards, reached Asia, but was there defeated by Lachanodraco, his brother falling in the battle; afterwards Rashīd marched towards the north and besieged Semaluos for thirty-eight days, during which the Arabs suffered heavy loss, and the garrison then surrendered on condition that their lives were spared and that they were not separated from one another. The army thereupon returned to Syria. After this expedition Tarsus, which had been abandoned by the Romans, was occupied and rebuilt by the Arabs.

In September 780 Leo died; and, under the female rule which followed, Asia Minor was again laid open to the enemy. In June 781 the Asiatic themes were sent to the frontier, commanded not by a soldier but a eunuch, the treasurer John. The separate themes, however, retained their strategi, and 'Abd-al-Kabīr, who had invaded by the pass of Adata, was defeated by Lachanodraco and the Armenian Tadjat, strategus of the Bucellarii, who had gone over to the Romans in 780. After this 'Abd-al-Kabīr abandoned the expedition, for which he was imprisoned. The Caliph now made a great effort, and on 9 February 782 Rashīd left Baghdad at the head of a larger force than any that had been sent in the previous years, in which contingents from Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Khurāsān were included; and, the Empress Irene having just sent an army to Sicily against the rebel Elpidius, the invaders had an easier task. Entering by the Cilician Gates, Rashīd took the fortress of Magida and advanced into Phrygia, where he left Rabī' to besiege Nacolea and sent Yahyà the Barmecide to Asia, and after defeating Nicetas, Count of Opsicium, he reached Chrysopolis. Yahyà inflicted a crushing defeat on Lachanodraco, but on his way to join Rashīd found his road blocked on the Sangarius by Anthony the Domestic of the Scholae, whom Irene had sent by sea from Constantinople; but Tadjat from hostility to Irene's chief minister, the eunuch Stauracius, opened communications with Rashīd, and on promise of pardon and reward returned to the Arabs. By his advice Rashīd proposed peace; but, when Stauracius, Anthony, and Peter the magister came to discuss terms, he treacherously made them prisoners. Irene, wishing to recover Stauracius and crippled by the loss of Tadjat and Anthony, was forced to accept his conditions. A three years' truce was then made on condition that she paid tribute, ransomed the prisoners, supplied guides and markets for the army on its retreat, and surrendered Tadjat's wife and property. After mutual presents the Arabs returned laden with spoil (31 August). Mopsuestia and the fort opposite Adana were then rebuilt by the Arabs.

In 785 the rebuilding of Adata was finished; but the work was faulty, and the walls were soon so much damaged by the wet winter that early in 786 the Romans easily took and destroyed the town, which was evacuated by its garrison; they also overthrew the fortifications of Sozopetra. Both these frontier places were immediately rebuilt.

In 786 Irene, to carry out her religious policy, changed the composition of the themes and probably deposed the iconoclast strategi¹, thereby impairing the military strength of the Empire, which, while she ruled, was unable to cope with the Arabs; and in September 788 the Romans were defeated in the Anatolic theme with heavy loss. In 790 some soldiers who were being conveyed by sea from Egypt to Syria were captured by the Romans, but an Arab fleet sailed to Cyprus and thence to Asia Minor, and, meeting the Cibyrrhaeots in the bay of Attalia, captured Theophilus the admiral, who was offered rich gifts by Rashīd, now Caliph, to join the Arabs, but on his refusal beheaded².

In September 791 Constantine VI, having now assumed the government, marched through Amorium to attack Tarsus, but had only reached the Lycaonian desert when, perhaps from scarcity of water, he returned (October). In 792 he restored his mother to her rank and place, and, having driven the Armeniacs, who had caused her downfall, to mutiny, overcame them by the help of some Armenian auxiliaries (793), who, not having received the expected reward, betrayed Camacha to the lieutenant of 'Abd-al-Malik, Emir of Mesopotamia (29 July). The same year Thebasa in Cappadocia from lack of water surrendered to 'Abd-al-Malik's son 'Abd-ar-Rahmān on condition that the officers were allowed to go free (October). In the autumn of 794 Sulaimān invaded northern Asia Minor, accompanied by Elpidius, who had fled to the Arabs and received recognition as Emperor; but many men perished from cold, and a safe retreat was only obtained by making terms (January 795).

In the spring of 795 Faḍl led a raid, but Constantine himself marched against him (April) and defeated a party which had nearly reached the west coast (8 May). In 796 he was occupied with the Bulgarians, and Mahomet ibn Mu'āwiyah reached Amorium and carried off captives. In 797 Rashīd in person invaded the Empire by the Cilician Gates, and Constantine, accompanied by Stauracius and other partisans of Irene, again took the field (March); but Stauracius, fearing that success might bring the Emperor popularity, spread a report that the enemy had retreated, and Constantine returned to lose his throne and his sight (19 August). Meanwhile Rashīd took the fort known to the Arabs as aṣ-Ṣafṣāf (the willow)³ near the Cilician Gates, while 'Abd-al-Malik plundered the country as far as Ancyra, which he took, and then rejected

¹ Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, II. p. 485.

² In such cases the prisoners were probably held as hostages or to ransom, and, if their lives were forfeited, they were spared if they apostatised or turned traitors.

³ This seems to be Andrasus, but must be a different place from Adrasus in Isauria.

Irene's proposals for a truce. In 798 'Abd-al-Malik extended his ravages to Malagina, where he carried off the horses and equipment from Stauracius' stables, while 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān made many captives in Lydia and reached Ephesus, and in the autumn another party defeated Paul of Opsicium and captured his camp.

In 799 the Chazars invaded Armenia, and so this time Rashīd accepted Irene's offers of tribute and made peace¹; but her successor Nicephorus refused payment (803). Accordingly in August 803, while he was occupied with Vardan's rebellion, the Caliph's son Qāsim, who had just been named Emir of al-'Awāsim (the defences), a province in North Syria instituted in 789, entered Cappadocia by the Cilician Gates and besieged Corum, while one of his lieutenants besieged a fort which the Arabs call Sinān; but, being distressed by lack of food and water, he agreed to retire upon 320 prisoners being released. In 804 Rashīd himself advanced through the same pass to Heraclea (Cybistra) in April, while another party under Ibrāhīm took aṣ-Ṣafṣāf and Thebasa, which they dismantled. Nicephorus started in person to meet Ibrāhīm (August); but on hearing that the Caliph's vanguard had taken and dismantled Ancyra turned back and, having met the enemy at Crasus, suffered defeat; but the lateness of the season made it difficult to maintain the army, and Rashīd accepted tribute and made peace, the Emperor agreeing not to rebuild the dismantled fortresses. An exchange of prisoners was also arranged and took place during the winter. In 805 the Caliph was occupied in Persia, and Nicephorus, contrary to the treaty, rebuilt Ancyra, Thebasa, and aṣ-Ṣafṣāf. He also sent an army into Cilicia, which took Tarsus, making the garrison prisoners, and ravaged the lands of Mopsuestia and Anazarbus; but the garrison of Mopsuestia attacked them and recovered most of the prisoners and spoil. Accordingly in 806 Rashīd, with a large army from Syria, Palestine, Persia, and Egypt, crossed the frontier (11 June) and took Heraclea after a month's siege (August) and Tyana, where he ordered a mosque to be built, while his lieutenants took the Fort of the Slavs by the Cilician Gates, Thebasa, Malacopea, Sideropolus (Cyzistra)², aṣ-Ṣafṣāf, Sinān, and Semaluos, and a detachment even reached Ancyra. Nicephorus, threatened by the Bulgarians, could not resist, and sent three clerics by whom peace was renewed on the basis of an annual tribute and a personal payment for the Emperor and his son, who thereby acknowledged themselves the Caliph's servants. Since Nicephorus again bound himself not to rebuild the dismantled forts, Rashīd undertook to restore Semaluos, Sinān, and Sideropolus uninjured. As soon, however, as the Arabs had withdrawn, Nicephorus, presuming on the lateness of the season, again restored the forts, whereupon the Caliph unexpectedly returned and retook Thebasa.

¹ The peace is nowhere recorded, but seems to follow from the absence of hostilities and the action ascribed to Nicephorus.

² I identify this with Dhū'l Kilā' (*E.H.R.*, 1901, p. 86, n. 195).

The neutralisation of Cyprus, effected in 689, was considered as still in force; but after the breach of the treaty of 804 a fleet under Ḥumaid in 805 ravaged the island and carried 16,000 Cypriots, among whom was the archbishop, as prisoners to Syria (806), but on the renewal of peace they were sent back. In 807 Ḥumaid landed in Rhodes and harried the island, though unable to take the fortified town; but after touching at Myra on the way back many of his ships were wrecked in a storm.

Early in 807 the Romans, who must previously have recovered Tyana, occupied the Cilician Gates, and, when the Arab commander tried to pass, defeated and killed him. Rashīd himself then came to the pass of Adata, and sent Harthama with a Persian army into Roman territory; but he effected nothing and his force suffered severely from hunger. The Romans failed to take Germanicea and Melitene, and the Caliph after assigning to Harthama the task of rebuilding Tarsus returned to Syria (14 July), recalled probably by the news of disturbances in the East. In 808 an exchange of prisoners was effected at Podandus.

During the civil war which followed Rashīd's death (March 809) the Romans recovered Camacha, which was surrendered by its commandant in exchange for his son, who had been captured; but wars with Bulgarians and Slavs prevented them from taking full advantage of the situation. It was fortunate for them that during the terrible years 811—814 the Arabs were unable to organise a serious attack.

In 810 Faraj rebuilt Adana and the fort opposite, and in 811 another leader invaded the Armeniac theme and defeated Leo the strategus at Euchaita, capturing the soldiers' pay and making many prisoners (2 March); but in 812 Thābit, Emir of Tarsus, having crossed the frontier in August, was defeated by the Anatolic strategus, another Leo, afterwards Emperor, and lost many horses and waggons. After 813, though no peace was made, other occupations on both sides prevented active hostilities; but about 818 Leo V, now delivered from the Bulgarians, took advantage of the disturbances in Egypt to send a fleet to Damietta.

In September 813 Ma'mūn became sole Caliph; but, Syria and Mesopotamia being almost wholly in the hands of rebels, he could not engage in foreign war, and in 817 a new rival arose in his uncle Ibrāhīm. On his submission (819) the Syrian rebel Naṣr asked help of the Anatolic general, Manuel, and Leo sent envoys to treat with him; but the indignation of Naṣr's followers at a Christian alliance forced him to put them to death, while Ma'mūn prevented interference by sending the exile Thomas into Asia Minor with Arab auxiliaries, who after the murder of Leo (December 820) was joined by most of the Asiatic themes and remained in arms till 823. During these troubles 'Abdallāh ibn Ṭāhir recovered Camacha (822), and some adventurers who had been expelled from Spain and occupied Alexandria ravaged Crete and the Aegean islands. After the overthrow of Thomas, Michael II proposed a definite peace (825); but Ma'mūn, having just then been delivered from Naṣr, refused to tie his hands and sent

raiding parties into the Empire, who were defeated at Ancyra and at another place and lost one of their leaders.

In December 827 the Spanish adventurers were expelled from Alexandria and established themselves in Crete. The Cibyrrhaeot strategus Craterus gained a victory over them (828), but waited to give his men a night's rest; and, as he kept no watch, his force was surprised and cut to pieces, and his ships were captured. He himself escaped in a trading-vessel to Cos, but was pursued, taken, and crucified. In 829 the corsairs annihilated the Aegean fleet off Thasos, and the islands lay at their mercy; but Ooryphas collected a new naval force, and for some time checked their ravages.

Ma'mūn had been hindered from pursuing the war by the rebellion of the Khurrami sectaries under Bābak in Azarbā'ijān and Kurdistān; and about 829 some of these, under a leader who took the name of Theophobus, joined the Romans. Thus strengthened, Theophilus, who succeeded Michael in October 829, crossed the frontier and destroyed Sozopetra, killing the men and enslaving the women, whereupon Ma'mūn started for Asia Minor (26 March 830). Having received a welcome ally in Manuel, who, having been calumniated at court, had fled to save his life, he sent his son 'Abbās to rebuild Sozopetra and passed the Cilician Gates (10 July), where he found no army to oppose him. Magida soon capitulated, and Corum was taken and destroyed (19 July), but the lives of the garrison were spared, while Sinān surrendered to 'Ujaif and Soandus to Ashnās. After taking Semaluos the Caliph returned to Damascus.

Early in 831 Theophilus entered Cilicia and defeated a local force, after which he returned in triumph with many prisoners to Constantinople. But the position in Sicily caused him to use his success in order to obtain peace, and he sent the archimandrite John, afterwards Patriarch, with 500 prisoners and an offer of tribute in return for a five years' truce, but with instructions to promise Manuel free pardon if he returned. Ma'mūn, who had started for another campaign, received the envoy at Adana and refused a truce; but with Manuel John had more success, for, while accompanying 'Abbās in an invasion of Cappadocia the next year, he deserted to the Romans. Meanwhile Ma'mūn crossed the frontier (26 June)¹, besieged Lulum, and received the surrender of Antigus and Heraclea, while his brother Mu'taṣim took thirteen forts and some subterranean granaries, and Yahyā took and destroyed Tyana. Failing to take Lulum, Ma'mūn, having heard of the revolt of Egypt, left 'Ujaif to continue the siege and returned to Syria (end of September). The garrison of Lulum succeeded in taking 'Ujaif prisoner, but, after an attempt at relief by Theophilus had failed, released him on condition of his obtaining them a favourable capitulation, and the place was annexed, whereby the command of the pass fell into the hands of the Arabs (832). Meanwhile Ma'mūn returned from Egypt (April), and Theophilus again sent to offer tribute;

¹ I have made a slight emendation in Ṭabari's text in order to bring the day of the month into accord with the day of the week.

but Ma'mūn refused accommodation and entered Cilicia, where he received an impostor claiming imperial descent, whom he had crowned by the Patriarch of Antioch. After a halt at Adana he again crossed the frontier, obtained the surrender of some forts, ordered Tyana to be rebuilt as a Muslim colony, and returned to Syria (September). In 833 he came to Tarsus, and sent 'Abbās to superintend the rebuilding of Tyana (25 May), himself following on 9 July. Soon afterwards he was seized with illness and died at Podandus (7 August), after rejecting the Emperor's offer to pay the war-expenses and compensation for damage done in Arab territory and to liberate all Muslim prisoners in return for peace. Peace was, however, practically obtained, for, in consequence of the spread of the Khurrami rebellion under Bābak, Ma'mūn's successor, the Caliph Mu'taṣim, abandoned Tyana and ceased hostilities.

In 835 the rebels were defeated, and Omar, Emir of Melitene, was able to invade the Empire. Theophilus himself met the marauders and was at first victorious, but in a second battle he was put to flight and his camp was pillaged. In 836, however, the imperial forces were increased by the adhesion of another party of Khurramis under Naṣr the Kurd; and, the Arabs having just then been defeated by Bābak, Theophilus invaded Armenia, where he massacred many of the inhabitants, and after exacting tribute from Theodosiopolis returned, bringing many Armenian families with him; but a force which he left behind was routed in Vanand. In 837, urged by Bābak, he again crossed the frontier and for the second time destroyed Sozopetra, where Naṣr's Kurds perpetrated a general massacre among the Christian and Jewish male inhabitants. Theophilus then pillaged the district of Melitene, passed on into Anzetene, besieged Arsamosata, which, after defeating a relieving force, he took and burned, carried off captives from Armenia Quarta, which he laid waste, and returned to Melitene; but, expecting another attack, he accepted hostages from the garrison with some Roman prisoners and presents and withdrew. 'Ujaif, whom the Caliph sent against him, overtook him near Charsianum, but the small Arab force was almost annihilated.

This summer Bābak was finally defeated, and soon afterwards taken and beheaded; and Mu'taṣim, now free to pursue the war with vigour, started with a larger force than had yet followed a Caliph to invade the Empire. He left Sāmarrā on 5 April 838, and at Batnae (Sarūj) sent Afshīn through the pass of Adata, while the rest of the army went on to Tarsus, where he again divided his forces, sending Ashnās through the Cilician Gates (19 June), while he himself followed two days later, the destination of all three divisions being Ancyra. Afshīn took the longer road by Sebastea in order to effect a junction with the troops of Melitene and those of Armenia, which included many Turks and the forces of the native princes. Mu'taṣim, having heard that Theophilus was encamped on the Halys, ordered Ashnās, who had reached the plain, to await his own arrival. The Emperor, however, had gone to meet Afshīn, and in the

battle which followed near Dazimon on the Iris (24 July) the Romans were at first successful; but heavy rain and mist came on, most of the army, unable to find the Emperor, left the field, and Theophilus, persuaded that the Persians meant to betray him, with a few followers cut his way through the enemy and escaped, while those who remained lit fires to deceive the Arabs and retired. Ancyra having been evacuated on the news of the battle, Theophilus ordered his forces to concentrate at Amorium under the Anatolic strategus Aëtius, while he himself, having received information of a conspiracy, returned to Constantinople. Meanwhile Ashnās occupied Corum, and, after destroying Nyssa and learning from fugitives of the Emperor's defeat, entered Ancyra. Here Mu'taşim and Afshīn joined him, and, having destroyed Ancyra, the united forces advanced to Amorium, the chief city of the Anatolic theme and the birthplace of Theophilus' father (2 August). Here a stubborn resistance was offered, but an Arab captive, who had turned Christian and was known as Manicophagus, showed them a weak spot; the main attack was directed against this point, until Boiditzes, who commanded in this quarter, finding resistance hopeless, admitted the enemy (13 August). The town was then destroyed, and a massacre followed. Meanwhile Theophilus, who was at Dorylaeum, sent presents to Mu'taşim with a letter in which he apologised for the slaughter at Sozopetra, saying that it was committed without his orders, and offered to rebuild it and release all prisoners in return for peace; but the Caliph would not see the envoy till Amorium had fallen, and then refused terms unless Manuel and Naşr were surrendered, returning the presents. On 25 September he began his retreat by the direct road through the desert, where many perished from thirst; and many prisoners who were unable to march, and others who killed some soldiers and fled, were put to death. The chief officers were preserved alive; but Aëtius was crucified on reaching Sāmarrā, and about forty others suffered death seven years later (5 March 845)¹.

After this the Caliph was occupied with the conspiracy of 'Abbās, who had been in correspondence with Theophilus; but Abū-Sa'īd, who was appointed Emir of Syria and Mesopotamia, sent the commandant of Mopsuestia on a raid, in which he carried off prisoners and cattle. He was then attacked by Naşr, who recovered the prisoners but was shortly afterwards defeated by Abū-Sa'īd and killed, whereupon the Kurds dismounted and fought till all were killed. On the other hand a Roman fleet pillaged Seleucia in Syria (839). Abū-Sa'īd, having fortified Seleucia, in 841 made another invasion and carried off captives, but the Romans pursued him into Cilicia and recovered them. In a second inroad he fared no better, and the Romans took Adata and Germanicea and occupied part of the territory of Melitene. Theophilus now again sent presents and asked for an exchange of prisoners; Mu'taşim, while refusing a formal exchange, sent richer presents in return, and promised, if the prisoners

¹ See *supra*, p. 125, n. 2.

were released, to release double the number. On these terms a truce was made.

In January 842 both sovereigns died; the Empire passed to a woman and a child, and the Caliphate to a man of pleasure; and for some time few serious operations were undertaken, though in 842 a fleet under Abū-Dīnār sailed for the Aegean, but it was shattered by a storm off Chelidonia in Lycia, and few ships returned. The Cretan pirates were, however, a constant menace; in 841 they were ravaging the Asiatic coast when a party which had landed near Ephesus was annihilated by the Thracasian strategus Constantine Contomytes. In 843 Theodora's chief minister Theoctistus, who knew nothing of war, sailed with a large fleet to expel them from Crete (March), and by force of numbers was on the point of succeeding, when on a report that Theodora had proclaimed a new Emperor he returned, and his men, left without a leader, were cut to pieces. In 844 Omar of Melitene made an inroad as far as Malagina; Theoctistus, who again took command, was defeated on the Mauropotamus¹, and many of his men deserted to the enemy. An exchange of prisoners was then effected on the river Lamus (16 September 845). After the truce had expired (26 October) Aḥmad, Emir of Tarsus, made an invasion by the Cilician Gates; but heavy snow and rain came on; many men died from exposure, some were drowned in the Podandus, others captured, and Aḥmad retreated before the enemy; whereupon his officers forced him to leave the province, and the Caliph Wāthiq appointed Naṣr to succeed him (17 January 846). After this we hear of no invasions till 851; and the raids on the Cilician frontier were henceforth of small account. The disuse of the suburban fire-signals (ascribed to Michael III's fear of their spoiling the circus-games) was therefore of little importance. In 851 an Armenian revolt enabled the Romans to recover Camacha. Theodosiopolis and Arsamosata they failed to take, but with Armenian help defeated and killed Yūsuf, Emir of Armenia, in Taron (March 852), retreating, however, on the arrival of reinforcements sent by the Caliph Mutawakkil.

After Mu'taṣim's death the disintegration of the Caliphate, which had already begun, rapidly advanced. Owing to the hatred in Baghdad for the large Turkish guard instituted by Mu'taṣim, that Caliph removed (836) to the petty town of Sāmarrā, where his Turks were free from all restraint. He was strong enough to control them; but his feeble successors became the puppets of these mercenaries, who cared little for imperial interests, while the Emirs paid small respect to a government directed by Turks. Hence the central authority grew continually weaker, and the local governors became semi-independent rulers, each looking after the affairs of his own province with little interference from the central power. Moreover a system had been introduced of breaking up the great provinces and placing the frontier-districts under separate

¹ Probably the Bithynian Melas (Vasil'ev, i. p. 55, n. 2).

governors. Besides that of al-‘Awāṣim, Cilicia, perhaps for a time attached to it, was, probably in 808, made a province under the name of Thughūr-ash-Shām (frontiers of Syria) with its capital at Tarsus, and before 820 we find a province of Thughūr al-Jazīra (frontiers of Mesopotamia), extending from Kaisum and Germanicea to the northern Euphrates, with its capital at Melitene. These two provinces contained fifteen fortresses occupied by military colonies, of which that of Tarsus amounted to 5000 men, and those of Adata and Melitene to 4000 each; and behind these in case of necessity lay the six fortresses of al-‘Awāṣim. This system, probably founded on the Roman themes and *clisurae*, was intended to provide a special frontier force under commanders whose sole business was to carry on the war against the Empire and to defend the frontier; but in consequence of the weakening of the central power the result was that they had to do this almost entirely out of their local resources. Mu‘taṣim indeed on his return from the campaign of 838 gave the command to Abū-Sa‘īd by special commission; but under his successors the frontier governors were left to themselves, and enjoyed so much independence that Omar of Melitene held office at least twenty-eight years and ‘Alī of Tarsus at least eleven. Moreover, Omar spent much time and weakened his forces by fighting with a neighbour or rival. Thus the Romans had only petty disunited chiefs with whom to contend, and henceforward the war went more and more in their favour.

In 853 they sailed to Damietta, probably in order to prevent the sending of supplies to Crete, burned the town, killed the men, carried the women, Muslim and Christian, into captivity, and seized a store of arms intended for Crete (22 May). Simultaneously two other squadrons attacked Syrian ports; and it was perhaps in connexion with these operations that the Anatolic strategus Photinus was transferred to Crete, where he effected a landing, but, though reinforced from Constantinople, was finally defeated and with difficulty escaped. This event caused Mutawakkil to re-create an Egyptian fleet and fortify Damietta; it was probably in order to hinder these operations that in 854 the Romans came again to Damietta, where they remained plundering for a month. The new fleet was, however, of small account, and Egyptian warships really play little part in history till the Fāṭimite period. In 855 a Roman army destroyed Anazarbus, which had been lately re-fortified, and carried off the gipsies who had been settled there in 835. Theodora then asked for an exchange of prisoners, and the Caliph, after sending (December) Naṣr the Shī‘ite to discover how many Muslim prisoners there were, agreed, and the exchange took place on the Lamus (21 February 856).

In the summer of 856 the Romans marched from Camacha by Arsamosata to the neighbourhood of Amida and returned by way of Tephrike, the new stronghold of the Paulicians, who, when persecuted by Leo V, had sought the protection of the Emir of Melitene and had been settled in Argaus. They had increased in numbers during the persecu-

tion of Theodora, and were now useful auxiliaries to the Arabs. Omar of Melitene and the Paulician Carbeas pursued the invaders on their retreat, but without success. After this Omar was for some years detained by dissensions at home; but in 858 Bugha marched from Damascus in July and took Semaluos.

The Empire was now under the rule of the capable and energetic Bardas, who had ousted Theodora from power in 856. He realised that under the new conditions a vigorous effort might rid Asia Minor of the standing scourge of the raids. In 859 therefore, while a fleet attacked Pelusium (June), a large army under Michael in person, accompanied by Bardas, besieged Arsamosata¹; but on the third day, a Sunday, when the Emperor was at the Eucharist, a sortie was made by the garrison, and the besiegers retreated in confusion; they abandoned the imperial tents, but were able to return with captives from the country-side.

On 31 May Constantine Triphyllius had reached Sāmarrā with 77 prisoners and a request for a general exchange, and after the retreat Naṣr was sent to Constantinople to discuss the matter; but the negotiations were delayed by an event at Lulum, where the garrison, not having received their pay, excluded their commandant from the town and, when Michael sent to offer them 1000 denarii apiece to surrender the fortress, sent two hostages to Constantinople with an expression of willingness to accept Christianity (November). On receiving the arrears, however, they handed over the envoy to 'Alī's lieutenant, who sent him to the Caliph (March 860). He was ordered to accept Islām on pain of death, and the result of Michael's offer of 1000 Muslims for him is unknown. On the news reaching Constantinople negotiations were resumed, and the general exchange took place at the end of April.

In 860 a still more formidable force, which included the Thracian and Macedonian as well as the Asiatic themes, set out under the Emperor himself to meet Omar and Carbeas, who had reached Sinope; but Michael was recalled by the news that a Russian fleet had come to the mouth of the Mauropotamus² on its way to Constantinople. After the retreat of the Russians (June) he rejoined the army and overtook the enemy at Chonarium near Dazimon, but was defeated and was glad even to secure a safe retreat. The same year a fleet under Faḍl took Attalia. In 863 Omar with a large force sacked the flourishing city of Amisus, and Bardas, who was himself no general, placed his brother Petronas at the head of a vast army which comprised the Asiatic and European themes and the household troops. Omar marched south, intending to return by way of

¹ Genesis says 'Samosata'; but he states that the invasion was made to stop Omar's raids, and Omar had nothing to do with Samosata, which was in neither of the frontier provinces. Also to reach it they would have had to pass many strong places. The MSS. of Ṭabarī have 'Arsamosata,' 'Samosata' being an emendation from Ibn al-Athīr and Abū'l Maḥāsin.

² This must be the meaning of the Greek (*Th. Mel.*, p. 158). The name Mauropotamus (*supra*, p. 131, n. 1) perhaps covers the lower course of the Sangarius.

Arabissus; but at Poson near the right bank of the Halys, probably not far from Nyssa, the Arabs found the surrounding hills occupied and were almost annihilated (3 September). Here the old Emir fell fighting, while his son with 100 men escaped over the Halys, but was captured by the clisurarch of Charsianum. The Romans then advanced into Mesopotamia, where 'Alī, who had been transferred to Armenia in 862, came from Martyropolis (Mayyāfariqīn) to meet them, but he also was defeated and killed. After this, insignificant raids continued to be made from Tarsus, and some more serious inroads by the Paulicians; but the Emir of Melitene could only defend the frontier, and in the next reign the Roman boundary began to advance, and with the exception of a short interval under the weak rule of Leo VI the process continued without serious check till under Nicephorus II North Syria and West Mesopotamia were restored to the obedience of the Emperor. Having thus crushed the raiders from Melitene, Bardas set himself to crush those from Crete, who had extended their ravages to Proconnesus, and in 866 he and Michael marched to the mouth of the Maeander to cross to the island; but he was foully assassinated (21 April) and the expedition abandoned. Crete therefore remained a pirates' nest for nearly 100 years longer.

Meanwhile another struggle had been for many years going on in Sicily. Since an attack upon Sicily did not involve immediate danger to the heart of the Empire, its affairs were treated as of secondary importance; and, as no fleet was stationed there, it was always open to attack from the African Arabs, and in such cases the Emperor could only either send a special force, if eastern affairs allowed him to do so, or beg the help of the Italian republics which still retained a nominal allegiance to the Empire. In 752 the Arabs had raided Sicily and forced Sardinia to pay tribute, and the attack was repeated in 763. In 805 Ibrāhīm ibn al-Aghlab (since 800 practically independent Emir of Africa) made a ten years' truce with the patrician Constantine; but nevertheless in 812 the Arabs attacked some islands off Sicily. To meet these enemies, Gregory was sent with a fleet by Michael I and obtained help from Gaeta and Amalfi. Seven of his ships were captured off Lampedusa and the crews massacred, but with the rest he lay in wait for the enemy and destroyed their whole fleet. The Arabs then apologised for the breach of peace, and another ten years' truce was made (813); but this was as little regarded as the previous one, for in 819 the Emir Ziyādatallāh sent his cousin Mahomet to raid Sicily; after which the peace was again renewed.

In consequence of the distance of Sicily from the seat of government, and the little attention paid to its affairs by the Emperors, it was easy for a usurper to start up there; and such a usurper could always, like Elpidius, in case of necessity find a refuge with the Arabs. About 825 the turmarch Euphemius rose against the patrician Gregoras, defeated and killed him, and made himself master of Sicily; and in 826 Constantine

was sent as patrician with fresh forces, but he too after a defeat at Catania was taken and put to death. A successful resistance was however offered by an Armenian whom the Arabs call Balāṭa¹, and Euphemius fled to Africa to ask not merely a refuge but the help of the Emir. Then, charges having been made against the Romans of detaining Muslim prisoners, the treaty was declared to have been broken and an expedition resolved upon, at the head of which was placed the judge Asad, the chief advocate of war. On 15 June 827 the Arabs landed at Mazzara and defeated Balāṭa, who fled to Enna (Castrogiovanni) and thence to Calabria, where he soon afterwards died. After the invaders had seized some forts, the Sicilians sent envoys and paid tribute; but, hearing that they were preparing for an attack, Asad continued his march, and, when reinforced by ships from Africa and Spain, besieged Syracuse. A relieving force from Palermo was defeated (828); but the Arabs suffered severely both from famine, which caused discontent in the army, and from plague, which carried off Asad himself (July), to succeed whom they chose Mahomet ibn Abī l-Jawārī. Theodotus now came with a fleet as patrician, and the Venetians, at the Emperor's request, sent ships. The Emir being occupied with a Frankish invasion, the Arabs were forced to raise the siege, and, unable in face of the hostile fleet to return to Africa, burned their ships and retreated.

Marching north-west, they forced Mineo to surrender after three days; and then the army divided, one detachment occupying Girgenti while the other besieged the strong fortress of Enna. During this siege Euphemius, who had accompanied the invaders, was assassinated by some citizens who obtained access to him on pretence of saluting him as emperor. Theodotus came from Syracuse to relieve Enna and entered the town, but he was defeated in a sortie, while a Venetian fleet sent to attack Mazzara returned unsuccessful. Soon afterwards Mahomet died, and under his successor Zuhair fortune turned against the Arabs. After a foraging party had been defeated, Zuhair next day attacked in force, but was routed and besieged in his camp, and soon afterwards, while trying a night surprise, was caught in an ambush and again routed. He then retired to Mineo, where the Arabs were besieged, and, being reduced to great straits by hunger, at last surrendered². The garrison of Girgenti on hearing the news destroyed the town and retired to Mazzara.

The invaders were, however, relieved by the arrival of some adventurers from Spain, who in 830 began to ravage Sicily, but agreed to work with the Africans on condition that their leader Aṣḥabagh had the command. The combined force marched into the interior. Mineo was taken and destroyed (August), and Theodotus soon afterwards defeated and killed; but the plague again broke out and caused the death of Aṣḥabagh, after which the Arabs retreated, suffering much from the attacks of the Romans

¹ Perhaps *κουροπαλάτης*.

² This I infer from the facts that the *Cambridge Chronicle* places the Arab capture of Mineo in 830/1, and that we hear no more of Zuhair.

on the way. Most of the Spanish Arabs then returned; but on account of the eastern war Theophilus could not send reinforcements, and, when early in 831 the Emir's cousin Mahomet arrived with new forces to take command, the Arabs were able to besiege Palermo, which, reduced to extremities, surrendered on condition that the commandant with his family and property, the bishop-elect, and a few others were allowed to retire by sea (September). Palermo was henceforth the Arab capital.

Dissensions between African and Spanish Arabs for a time prevented an advance; but early in 834 the Arabs attacked Enna, and in 835 Mahomet himself assaulted the town and captured the commandant's wife and son; but on his return to Palermo he was murdered by some conspirators, who fled to the Romans. His successor, Faḍl ibn Ya'qūb, raided the district of Syracuse, and another force, finding its road blocked by the patrician, won a victory, in which the Roman commander was wounded and with difficulty rescued. On 12 September, however, Mahomet's brother Abū l-Aghlab arrived with a fleet as governor, after some of his ships had been wrecked and others captured; he immediately sent out a squadron which took some Roman vessels and another which captured a fire-ship at Pantellaria. The crews of these were all beheaded. In 836 Faḍl raided the Aeolian islands, took some forts on the north coast, and captured eleven ships. On the other hand, an Arab land-force was defeated and its commander made prisoner, but afterwards ransomed, and another suffered a reverse before Enna. Early in 837, however, on a winter night the Arabs entered Enna, but, unable to take the citadel, accepted a ransom and returned with spoil. The same year they besieged Cefalù; but a stubborn resistance was made, and in 838 reinforcements from the East under the Caesar Alexius, whom Theophilus had sent with a fleet to command in Sicily, forced them to retreat, pursued by the Romans, who inflicted several defeats on them. In 839, however, the birth of an heir caused the Emperor to recall and degrade his son-in-law.

The death of the Emir Ziyādatallāh (10 June 838) and consequent uncertainty as to affairs in Sicily caused operations to be suspended for some months; but in 839 his successor Aghlab sent ships which raided the Roman districts, and in 840 Caltabellotta, Platani, Corleone, and Sutera were forced to pay tribute. Theophilus, unable to withdraw forces from the East, had in 839 asked help of the Venetians and even of the Franks and of the Emir of Spain; and in 840 sixty Venetian ships attacked the Arab fleet, then at Taranto, but these were nearly all taken and the crews massacred. In 841 the Arabs sacked Caltagirone; in 843 a fleet under Faḍl ibn Ja'far, assisted by the Neapolitans, who for protection against the Duke of Benevento had allied themselves with the Arabs, attacked Messina, and after a long resistance took it by an unexpected attack from the land side; and in 845 Modica and other fortresses in the south-east were taken.

During the armistice in the East the troops of the Charsianite

clisura were sent to Sicily; but towards the end of 845 'Abbās ibn al-Faḍl ibn Ya'qūb defeated them with heavy loss, and in 847 Faḍl ibn Ja'far besieged Leontini, and after inducing the garrison by a trick to make a sortie caught them in an ambush, whereupon the citizens surrendered on condition that their lives and property were spared. In 848 the Roman ships landed a force eight miles from Palermo; but the men missed their way and returned, and seven of the ships were lost in a storm. The same year Ragusa near Modica surrendered and was destroyed (August).

On 17 January 851 Abū'l-Aghlab died after a government of fifteen years, during which (probably on account of dissensions such as those which had caused his predecessor's death) he had never left Palermo. His successor, 'Abbās ibn al-Faḍl, was a man of very different character. As soon as his appointment was confirmed by the Emir Mahomet, he himself took the field, sending his uncle Rabbāh in advance to Caltavuturo, which submitted to pay tribute¹, while the prisoners were put to death by 'Abbās, who himself ravaged the territory of Enna but failed to draw the garrison out to battle. He repeated the raid in 852 and defeated a hostile force, sending the heads of the slain to Palermo. Then in 853 he made a great expedition by way of Enna to the east coast, where he raided Catania, Syracuse, Noto, and Ragusa (this had been re-occupied by the Romans), and after a siege of five months forced Butera to capitulate on condition that 5000 persons were handed over as slaves. In 856 he took five fortresses, and in 857 harried Taormina and Syracuse and compelled another place to surrender after two months' siege on the terms that 200 of the chief men were allowed to go free; the rest he sold as slaves, and he destroyed the fort. The same year Cefalù capitulated and was destroyed; but, as being on the coast it was more easily defended, he was obliged to allow all the inhabitants their freedom. In 858 he again raided Enna and Syracuse and took Gagliano, returning in the winter to Enna; here he took a prisoner of note, who to save his life showed him a way into the fortress, which after a resistance of 30 years fell (26 January 859). All fighting men were put to death and a mosque built.

This event led Bardas to take vigorous measures; and in the autumn, while negotiations were proceeding with the Caliph, he sent his connexion by marriage, Constantine Contomytes, to Sicily with large reinforcements. 'Abbās met them with an army and fleet, defeated them near Syracuse, drove them back to their ships, some of which were taken, and returned to Palermo for the winter. They had, however, suffered little; and, when in 860 Platani, Sutura, Caltabellotta, Caltavuturo, and other towns revolted, an army came to support them. 'Abbās defeated the Romans and besieged Platani and another fort, but was compelled to return northward by the news that another army was marching towards Palermo.

¹ This seems to follow from its revolt in 860.

Having met these new enemies near Cefalù, he forced them to retreat in disorder to Syracuse; the revolted towns, without hope of succour, submitted; and the governor gave orders to re-fortify and garrison Enna, so that the road to the west might no longer be open to the enemy. In 861 he raided Syracuse, but on his return fell ill and died (15 August). The Romans with mean revenge afterwards dug up and burned his body. He was the real conqueror of Sicily.

The Aghlabid Emirs, probably from fear of an independent power arising in Sicily, had been in the habit of appointing princes of their house to the governorship. To this 'Abbās had been a notable exception, having been chosen by the officers in Sicily; and, if a similar appointment had been made after his death, the conquest would have been soon completed. But the Emir Aḥmad reverted to the earlier practice; instead of confirming two temporary governors who had been appointed locally, he sent his kinsman Khafāja (July 862). The new governor was for a time detained by troubles among the Saracens; but in February 864 Noto was betrayed to him, and soon afterwards he took Scicli. In 865 he marched by Enna, ravaging the country, to Syracuse, where a fleet joined him, but on four ships being captured he despaired of taking the city and returned; and his son, whom he sent with a small force to harass the enemy, lost 1000 men in an ambush and retreated. In 866 he again came to Syracuse, and thence to the district of Mt Etna, where he accepted an offer of tribute from Taormina. He then marched against Ragusa, which submitted on condition that the inhabitants were allowed to go free with their goods and animals; but these he nevertheless seized. After more successes he fell ill and returned. Meanwhile Taormina revolted.

Thus the Muslim conquest was complete but for Taormina and Syracuse and a few other places on the east coast, which still owned allegiance to the Byzantine Empire. Syracuse only fell in 878, Taormina not till 902; nevertheless Sicily may now already be called a Muslim outpost.

(B)

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE SARACENS (867-1057).

THE struggle with the Saracens constituted the chief problem with which the foreign policy of Basil I had to deal. The circumstances were as favourable as they could possibly be, because during his reign the Empire lived in peaceful relations with its other neighbours: in the east with Armenia, in the north with young Russia and Bulgaria, and in the west with Venice and Germany.

The favourable conditions in which Basil I was placed in his relation with the Eastern and Western Saracens become clearer when we bear in mind the following considerations.

1. Owing to the rapidly increasing influence of the Turks at the Caliph's court, internal dissensions were continually breaking out in the Eastern Caliphate.

2. Egypt became independent in 868, owing to the fact that a new dynasty, that of the Tūlūnids, had been founded there.

3. Civil war had broken out among the North African Saracens.

4. The relations of the Spanish Umayyads with the local Christian population were beset with difficulties.

Basil I was occupied during the first four years of his reign with military operations against the Western Saracens, for during this time peace was not violated on the eastern frontier. The help which the Byzantine fleet in 868 gave to Ragusa, which at that time was being besieged by the Saracens, forced the latter to withdraw and was thus the means of strengthening the Byzantine influences on the shores of the Adriatic.

The troubles in South Italy compelled the intervention of the Western Emperor Louis II, who, having concluded an alliance with Basil I and with the Pope, took Bari on 2 February 871. Of the important places in South Italy only Taranto now remained in the hands of the Saracens. The position of Byzantium was not improved during these four years in Sicily, where only Taormina and Syracuse remained in her power; the occupation of the island of Malta by the Saracens in August 870 completely surrounded Sicily with Saracen possessions, for all the other islands in that region already belonged to them.

In the east Basil I, wishing to re-establish peace and union with the Paulicians, who had been severely persecuted by the Empress Theodora, sent to them in 869-870 Peter the Sicilian as his ambassador, but his mission was not successful, and the extravagant demands of Chrysochir, the leader of the Paulicians, led to war.

The campaigns of 871 and 872 gave Tephrike, the chief town of the Paulicians, into the power of Basil, and also a whole chain of other fortified places. In one of the battles Chrysochir himself was slain. The fugitive Paulicians found a ready welcome from the Saracens.

This war with the Paulicians extended the Byzantine frontier as far as the Saracen Melitene (Malaṭīyah), and set Basil free to advance against the Eastern Saracens. In 873 war was declared, and Basil captured Zapetra (Sozopetra) and Samosata, but in the end he was totally defeated near Malaṭīyah.

From 874 to 877 was a period of calm. In the east and in Sicily, we do not hear of any military operations. In Italy, after the death of the Emperor Louis II, the Byzantine troops occupied the town of Bari at the request of the inhabitants, and apparently at this time, in the years

874–877, the Byzantine fleet captured Cyprus; but it remained in the possession of the Greeks only for seven years.

The year 878 was disastrous to the military policy of Byzantium: on 21 May the Saracens took Syracuse by assault after a siege of nine months. Thus the only town in Sicily remaining in the hands of the Greeks was Taormina. The loss of Syracuse was the turning-point in the history of Basil's foreign relations. His foreign policy proved a complete failure, and the last eight years of his reign were occupied in casual and comparatively small encounters. In the east there were frequent conflicts, but of an undecided character; success alternated sometimes in favour of one side and sometimes of the other, but in no case to the glory of the Byzantine arms.

From 886 Basil was in friendly relations with the Armenian King, Ashot I, the Bagratid, whose State formed a useful buffer against the Eastern Saracens. In Sicily the usual skirmishes went on, and it was only in South Italy that the Byzantine troops began to gain victories, more especially after the arrival of Nicephorus Phocas¹ in command. But in this year Basil died (29 August 886).

During his reign the Empire had lost much in the west, but in Asia Minor, notwithstanding some failures, the frontier was considerably advanced eastwards, and thus the Byzantine influence, which had been somewhat weakened, was to a great extent restored.

If Basil I lived in peace with his neighbours, with the exception of the Saracens, it was very different with his successor Leo VI the Wise (886–912). Immediately after his accession to the throne, military operations began in Bulgaria, and this war, which terminated with the peace of 893, brought much humiliation upon the Empire. The peace lasted about twenty years. In connexion with the Bulgarian war, for the first time the Hungarians enter into the history of Byzantium, and towards the end of the reign of Leo the Russians appeared before Constantinople. Armenia, which was in alliance with Byzantium, during the whole of Leo's reign was subjected to Arabian invasions, and the Emperor of Byzantium had not the strength to help the Armenian King Sempad (Smbat); it was only at the end of his reign that Leo went to the aid of Armenia, but he died during the campaign. The question about the fourth marriage of the Emperor caused great division in the Empire. It was thus evident that the conditions of the struggle between the Byzantine Empire and the Saracens were becoming more difficult.

During the first fourteen years of the reign of Leo VI, from 886 to 900, the Greeks suffered frequent defeats in the east, at the Cilician Gates and in the west of Cilicia, where the Saracens successfully advanced along the coast as well as into the interior of the country. The failures

¹ The grandfather of the future Emperor of the same name. See *supra*, Chapter III, p. 69.

on land and the naval defeat of Rāghib in 898 off the coast of Asia Minor compelled the Byzantine government to recall the energetic Nicephorus Phocas from Italy, and about 900 he arrived in Asia Minor. Affairs in Sicily grew worse and worse with every year. In 888 the imperial fleet suffered a severe defeat at Mylae (now Milazzo); but the Byzantines were somewhat helped by the fact that the Saracens were at that time occupied with their own internal dissensions and in conflicts with the African Aghlabids. Some successes gained by the Byzantine arms in Italy had no influence on the general conditions of the struggle between Leo VI and the Saracens. In the east, Nicephorus Phocas by his victory at Adana in 900 justified the hopes that had been placed in him; but the success of the Byzantines came with this nearly to a standstill.

The first years of the tenth century were signalised by a whole series of misfortunes for the Byzantine Empire, in the west as well as in the east. In the west, the Saracen chief Abū'l-'Abbās took possession of Reggio in Calabria on 10 June 901, and the Aghlabid Emir Ibrāhīm captured on 1 August 902 Taormina, the last fortified place of the Greeks in Sicily.

With the fall of Taormina, Sicily was entirely in the power of the Saracens. It is true that several unimportant points, as for instance Demona, still remained in the hands of the Greeks, but this had no importance whatever for the future history of Byzantium. From 902 onwards Sicilian events do not exercise any influence on the course of Byzantine political affairs. In the second half of Leo's reign, the eastern policy of the Empire is quite independent of his relations with the Sicilian Saracens.

The first years of the tenth century were also signalised by important events on sea. At the end of the ninth century the Saracens of Crete had already begun their devastating attacks on the coast of the Peloponnesus; indeed, they held in their power the whole of the Aegean Sea. We possess information about their attacks on the islands of Naxos, Patmos, Paros, Aegina, and Samos. But it was during the first years of the tenth century that these maritime invasions of the Saracens became especially threatening. Their two strong fleets—the Syrian and the Cretan—frequently acted together. In 902 the Saracen fleet laid waste the islands of the Aegean Sea, and destroyed the rich and populous town of Demetrias on the coast of Thessaly. In the summer of 904, another Saracen fleet, under the command of the Greek renegade, Leo of Tripolis, made an attack on the south coast of Asia Minor, and, in the month of July of the same year, took possession of the important town of Attalia. Leo then had the intention of going towards Constantinople, the town "preserved by God." But having entered the Hellespont and captured Abydos, the chief custom-house port for ships going to Byzantium, he suddenly departed, and then, coasting round the peninsula of Chalcidice, approached Thessalonica. Himerius, who was sent against him, did not dare to engage the Saracen fleet in battle.

The Saracen ships approached Thessalonica on 29 July 904, and made an unexpected assault upon it. The story of the siege, which lasted from 29 to 31 July, is well known to us from a work of John Cameniates. Thessalonica passed into the power of the Saracens on 31 July 904, but they shortly afterwards departed for Syria with many prisoners and rich booty. It was only after this misfortune that the Byzantine government began to fortify Attalia and Thessalonica.

The naval failures of 902-904 induced the Emperor Leo to give greater attention to the fleet, which was so quickly and greatly improved that in 906 Himerius was enabled to gain a brilliant victory over the Saracens, and in the summer of 910 he was therefore placed at the head of a large naval expedition, directed against the allied Eastern and Cretan Arabs. Detailed accounts of the composition of this expedition are preserved in the *Ceremonies* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

However, the result of the expedition did not correspond to all these great preparations, for after some success at Cyprus Himerius suffered a severe defeat near the isle of Samos in October 911 and lost the greater part of his fleet. On the death of Leo VI, Himerius returned to Constantinople, and was shut up in a monastery by the Emperor Alexander.

In the east, on land, from 900, the usual military operations were carried on with varying success.

Byzantine policy, in its relation to the Saracens, proved a complete failure under Leo VI: in the west, Sicily was definitely lost; in the south of Italy, after Nicephorus Phocas had been recalled, the success of the Byzantine arms was brought to a close; on the eastern frontier, the Saracens were still steadily, if slowly, advancing, especially in Cilicia; on sea, Byzantium met with a whole series of most ruinous disasters.

The reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus is divided into three periods: 1. From 913 to 919—the government of his mother Zoë, who acted as regent during his minority. 2. From 919 to 944—the government of Romanus Lecapenus. 3. From 945 to 959—the absolute government of Constantine himself.

The period down to 927 was occupied with the obstinate and unhappy war with the Bulgarian King Simeon, during which Byzantium was obliged to concentrate all its efforts against this terrible enemy. At this time it was impossible even to think of any regular organised action against the Saracens. It was a happy circumstance for Byzantium that the Caliphate itself was passing at the same time through the epoch of its dissolution, which was caused by internal dissensions and the rise of separate independent dynasties. Consequently, down to 927 the encounters with the Saracens were of the usual harassing and monotonous character, and generally resulted to the advantage of the Saracen arms. It was only in 921 or 922 that the Byzantine fleet gained a great naval victory near

the island of Lemnos over the renowned hero of 904, Leo of Tripolis. In 927 Byzantium concluded peace with the Bulgarian King Peter, who had succeeded Simeon, and was thus free to turn her attention towards the Saracens.

In the time of Romanus Lecapenus, eminent leaders arose in the armies of both adversaries; in that of the Greeks, the Domestic John Curcuas, who, after some defeats in Saracen Armenia, fought with success in the frontier province of Mesopotamia, and in 934 captured Melitene (Malaṭiyah). The new Saracen leader was Saif-ad-Daulah, sovereign of Aleppo and chief of the independent dynasty of the Ḥamdānids. He strengthened himself at the expense of the Caliph of Baghdad, and began successful military operations in the regions of the Upper Euphrates. This induced the Emperor to enter into friendly negotiations with the Caliph of Baghdad and with the Egyptian sovereigns, the Ikhshīdids. But disturbances in the Eastern Caliphate and other difficulties drew the attention of Saif-ad-Daulah away from the Byzantine frontier, and this explains why John Curcuas, in the fourth decade, gained a series of easy victories in Armenia and Upper Mesopotamia, and in 942-3 captured the towns of Mayyā-fariqīn (Martyropolis), Dara, and Nisibis. In 944 Edessa, after a severe siege, succumbed to the Greeks, and was obliged to deliver up her precious relic, the miraculous image of the Saviour (τὸ μανδύλιον, or μανδήλιον), which was with great solemnity transferred to Constantinople.

In 945 Constantine Porphyrogenitus became absolute ruler of the Byzantine Empire. Down to the very year of his death (959) military operations did not cease in the east, where his chief adversary was the already famous Saif-ad-Daulah, who, having settled in 947 his difficulties with the Egyptian Ikhshīdids, turned against Byzantium. In the beginning the advantage was with the Greeks. In 949 they seized Mar'ash (Germanicea); in 950 they totally defeated Saif-ad-Daulah in the narrow passage near the town of Ḥadath; and in 952 they crossed the Euphrates and took the Mesopotamian town of Sarūj. But in 952 and 953 Saif-ad-Daulah defeated the Greeks not far from Mar'ash and took the son of the Domestic prisoner. In 954 Saif-ad-Daulah gained a fresh victory over the Domestic Bardas Phocas near Ḥadath, and in 956 the future Emperor John Tzimiscēs was defeated by him in the province of the Upper Euphrates near the fortress of Tall-Baṭriq. Only in 957 did success turn to the side of the Greeks. In this year Ḥadath surrendered to them. In 958 John Tzimiscēs defeated the Arabs in Northern Mesopotamia and took Samosata. During the life of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Saif-ad-Daulah was unable to avenge himself upon the Greeks for these last failures.

If the fighting on the eastern frontier was difficult for Byzantium and was far from being always successful, the maritime operations of the Byzantine fleet ended in total disaster. In 949 a great naval expedition was undertaken against the Cretan Arabs, who, as was always the case, were greatly feared, and were desolating the coast of Greece and the

islands of the Aegean Sea. To further the success of the enterprise, the Emperor entered into friendly relations with their enemies the Spanish Saracens. The Emperor has left in his *Ceremonies* a detailed account of the composition and equipment of this expedition¹. The incompetent patrician Constantine Gongylas, who had been given the chief command of the Byzantine fleet, landed troops at Crete, but suffered a terrible defeat and lost the greater part of his vessels.

The monotonous conflicts of the Greeks with the Saracens in the west, in Italy and in Sicily, did not have any influence on the general course of events.

It is true that the military operations in the east, during the reign of Constantine, were not always successful for the Byzantine Empire; but the advance of the last years in removing the frontier beyond the Euphrates laid the foundation for the brilliant triumphs of his successors.

The reign of the weak Emperor Romanus II is distinguished by great victories of the Byzantine arms over the Saracens, thanks to the talents and energy of Nicephorus Phocas, the future Emperor.

This great general captured the island of Crete in March 961, and thus destroyed the nest of pirates who had struck terror into the inhabitants of the islands and of the always open shores of the Mediterranean Sea. After having enjoyed a triumph in Constantinople, Nicephorus Phocas was removed to the eastern frontier and he began there also a successful war with Saif-ad-Daulah. At the end of 961 or in the beginning of 962 he seized Anazarbus; in 962 he captured Mar'ash, Ra'bān, and Dulūk (Doliche); in the vicinity of Manbij he took prisoner the famous poet Abū-Firās, the governor of the town; and, at last, in December of the same year, he took possession of Aleppo, the capital of the Ḥamdānid Emirs, after a difficult siege. All these places, however, did not remain in the hands of the Greeks, for Nicephorus Phocas retired to the Byzantine territory.

Less successful were the military operations of the Byzantine troops in the west, and especially in Sicily. Taormina, as it is well known, was taken by the Saracens in 902, but was again lost by them. And now, on 24 December 962, after a siege of seven months, the Saracens captured it once more; and there remained in the hands of the Greeks only the inaccessible Rametta, situated in the eastern part of the island.

The reigns of Nicephorus Phocas, John Tzimiscēs, and Basil II Bulgaroctonus, the three next successors of Romanus II, when viewed from the side of the military successes of the Empire in its fight with the Saracens, form the most glorious and successful period of Byzantine history.

After the death of Romanus, 15 March 963, his brilliant general

¹ *De Ceremoniis*, II. 45, pp. 664-678.

Nicephorus Phocas, who was adored by his troops, was proclaimed Emperor by them on 2 July of that year, at Caesarea in Cappadocia. Upon arriving at Constantinople he quickly overthrew Joseph Bringas, who had been all-powerful at court, and was then crowned on 16 August. To consolidate his power he married Theophano, the late Emperor's widow, who had been regent of the Empire.

The new Emperor turned his chief attention to the east, although he was drawn away at times by his hostile relations with the Bulgarians. His policy towards Bulgaria brought about the intervention of the Russian Prince Svyatoslav, and caused conflicts in Italy with the Western Emperor Otto the Great.

In the summer of 964 Nicephorus Phocas arrived in Cilicia, and since Adana had been abandoned by its inhabitants, he concentrated his energies upon Mamistra (Mopsuestia) and Tarsus. While his armies were besieging these towns, the lighter detachments devastated the north and south of Cilicia, took Anazarbus, and even advanced to the boundaries of Syria, where they took possession of the seaport town of Rhosus. In the meantime the sieges of Mamistra and Tarsus were so unsuccessful that the Emperor returned to Cappadocia for the winter, leaving a detachment of sufficient strength to watch the besieged towns. At the renewal of military operations in 965, Mamistra and Tarsus were so greatly exhausted by famine and disease that they were incapable of holding out any longer; on 13 June 965 Mamistra was taken, and on 16 August Tarsus surrendered.

In this year, 965, in connexion with the campaign on land, we may mention the conquest of Cyprus by the patrician Nicetas Chalcutzes, about which only very meagre accounts have been preserved. The Egyptian fleet, which was ordered to convey provisions to the besieged Tarsus and to recover Cyprus from the Greeks, appeared in August 965 off the southern coast of Asia Minor and suffered defeat. The conquest of Cyprus gave into the hands of Byzantium dominion over the north-eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea, and the general results of the campaign of 965 were such that the possession of Cilicia and the island of Cyprus opened for Nicephorus the road to Syria.

On 23 June 966, near Samosata on the Euphrates, an exchange of prisoners took place, and the Arab poet Abū-Firās, already known to us, obtained his freedom. Fighting, however, was renewed in the autumn, when Nicephorus Phocas appeared in the east and invaded the districts surrounding Amida and Dara, and besieged Manbij (Hierapolis) in north-east Syria, from whose inhabitants he demanded and received one of the Christian relics belonging to the town, a brick on which the image of the Saviour was impressed. Advancing far over the borders of Syria, he drew near to the accomplishment of his chief design, the conquest of Antioch. He began to besiege the city in October 966, but it was so well fortified that Nicephorus Phocas could not at this time capture it, and so, raising the siege, he returned to Constantinople by way of Tarsus.

In January 967 the chief antagonist of Nicephorus Phocas in the east, Saif-ad-Daulah, died after a prolonged illness, and was succeeded by his son Sa'd-ad-Daulah. The war with Bulgaria and disturbances inside the Empire did not allow Nicephorus to profit by the difficulties arising from the succession to the throne of the Ḥamdānids, and consequently the year 967 is only marked by insignificant conflicts with the Saracens, which did not always end to the advantage of the Byzantine troops. Only in the latter half of 968 was the Emperor free to depart again to the east. The chief aim of this campaign was the conquest of the two most important towns of Syria, Antioch and Aleppo. Before beginning a regular siege of these towns, he made devastating incursions into Syria; towns one after another succumbed to his attacks. Emesa, Tripolis, Arca, Ṭaraṭūs (Tortosa), Marāqīyah, Jiblah (Byblus), Laodicea also, suffered much from the Byzantine troops.

Nicephorus began now to besiege Antioch in earnest, but was again unsuccessful. Leaving Peter Phocas, the *stratopedarch*, with the army at Antioch, the Emperor returned to the capital. During his stay there important events were happening near Antioch. Dissensions and disturbances broke out there, and profiting by these quarrels Peter Phocas and Michael Burtzes, the commander of the garrison of the fortress of Baghras, took possession of Antioch on 28 October 969. The chief object was now obtained; the city was in the hands of the Byzantine Emperor. An enormous booty fell to the share of the conquerors. Soon after this the Byzantine troops advanced against the Syrian town of Aleppo, which, at the end of 969 or in the beginning of January 970, after a siege of twenty-seven days, also passed into their hands.

The curious text of the treaty concluded by Peter Phocas with Qarḡhūyah, who was at that time in possession of Aleppo, is still preserved. By this treaty the boundaries in Syria were accurately fixed and a list of localities was drawn up, some of which passed into the possession of the Greek Emperor and others into feudal dependence. Antioch, the most important of the conquered towns, was annexed to the Empire; but Aleppo only became a vassal. The population was subjected to taxation for the benefit of Byzantium; the Christians living under Muslim rule were, however, freed from all imposts. The Emir of Aleppo was obliged to assist the Emperor in case of war with the non-Muslim inhabitants of these provinces. The restoration of the destroyed churches was guaranteed to the Christians. The Emir of Aleppo was also obliged to give protection to the Byzantine commercial caravans when entering his territory. It was agreed that, after the deaths of the ruler of Aleppo, Qarḡhūyah, and his successor Bakjūr, the new governor of Aleppo could only be appointed by the Emperor from the nobility of Aleppo. Rules were even prescribed about the surrender of run-away slaves, and so on. This treaty was only ratified after the death of Nicephorus Phocas, who fell by the hands of assassins on the night of 10–11 December 969. We can say that never

before were the Saracens subjected to such humiliation as during the reign of Nicephorus Phocas. Cilicia and a part of Syria were taken away from them, and a great part of their territory acknowledged itself as being in vassal dependence upon the Empire.

The military operations of the troops of Nicephorus in Sicily did not correspond with his successes in the east. In Sicily, as we have said, only one town, Rametta, remained in the hands of the Greeks, and this was besieged by the Saracens in 964. To help the besieged town, a great fleet was despatched under the command of Manuel. But the troops which had been landed were defeated, and in 965 Rametta was taken by assault. The whole of Sicily thus passed into the hands of the Saracens. In 967 a durable peace was concluded between Nicephorus Phocas and the Fāṭimite Caliph Mu'izz, to whom Sicily was in subjection.

During the first years of his reign, John Tzimisces was unable personally to take part in the military operations on the eastern frontier. The wars with the Russian Prince Svyatoslav and with Bulgaria, and the revolt of Bardas Phocas, required his unremitting attention. But the wars finished successfully and the revolt of Bardas Phocas was crushed. The dissensions which had broken out in Italy found a happy solution in the marriage of the Byzantine Princess Theophano with the heir to the German throne, the future Emperor Otto II. It was only when these questions had been settled that John Tzimisces was able to turn to the east.

In the meantime, a difficult problem arose there, namely, how to retain all the new acquisitions which Nicephorus Phocas had won in Cilicia and Syria. In 971 the Egyptian Fāṭimite Mu'izz despatched one of his commanders into Syria for the purpose of conquering Antioch. The city was subjected to a severe siege, and was only saved by an unexpected attack by the Carmathians on the Egyptian troops, who were compelled to raise the siege and to retire hurriedly to the south. At the news Tzimisces, who was at that time in Bulgaria, immediately sent Michael Burtzes to the assistance of Antioch; and he at once rebuilt the town-wall, which had suffered much. In 973 Mleh (Melchi) an Armenian, who commanded the Greek troops, invaded the north of Mesopotamia, devastated the provinces of Nisibis, Mayyāfariqīn, and Edessa, and captured Malaṭiyah, but he suffered a severe defeat near Amida and died in captivity.

These successes of the Greeks angered the Saracens to such an extent that a revolution broke out in Baghdad, and the people demanded an immediate declaration of a holy war (*jihād*) against the victorious Empire. So far as we can judge from the fragmentary and confused accounts of the sources, in 974 John Tzimisces himself set out to the east. He there concluded an alliance with Armenia and victoriously passed along the route of the campaign of 973, *i.e.* through Amida, Mayyāfariqīn, and Nisibis. Special significance attached to his campaign in the east in 975, concerning which a very valuable document in the form of a letter by the

Emperor to his ally, the Armenian King Ashot III, has been preserved by the Armenian historian, Matthew of Edessa. The plan of this campaign is striking owing to its very audacity: the Emperor aimed at freeing Jerusalem from the power of the Saracens, and thus he undertook an actual crusade.

On leaving Antioch, the Emperor passed Emesa and turned to Baalbek, which was taken after a vain resistance. Damascus also voluntarily surrendered, and promised to pay tribute and to fight for the Byzantines. Turning to the south, the Emperor entered north Palestine, and the towns of Tiberias and Nazareth as well as Caesarea on the coast voluntarily surrendered to him; from Jerusalem itself came a petition to be spared a sack. But apparently he was not in sufficient strength to advance further, and he directed his march along the sea-coast to the north, capturing a whole series of towns: Beyrout (Berytus), Sidon, Jiblah (Byblus), Balanea, Gabala, Barzūyah (Borzo); but at Tripolis the troops of the Emperor were defeated. "To-day all Phoenicia, Palestine, and Syria," says the Emperor with some exaggeration in his letter to Ashot, "are freed from the Saracen yoke and acknowledge the dominion of the Romans, and in addition the great mountain of Lebanon has become subject to our authority." In September 975 the imperial troops retired to Antioch, and the Emperor himself returned to his capital, where he died on 10 January 976.

After the death of John Tzimiscēs, the two young sons of Romanus II, Basil and Constantine, succeeded. Basil became the head of the government. The first three years of their reign were occupied with quelling the rebellion of Bardas Sclerus on the eastern frontier, among whose troops were not a few Saracens. This revolt was suppressed by the Greek commander Bardas Phocas in 979, but only with much difficulty. Bardas Sclerus escaped to the Caliph of Baghdad, who welcomed a useful prisoner. Bardas Phocas remained in the east and fought the Saracens, especially the weakened Ḥamdānids, with alternating success, and he endeavoured to counteract the rapidly increasing influence of the Egyptian Fāṭimites in Syria.

In 986 began the famous Bulgarian war, which lasted for more than thirty years and ended in 1019 with the destruction of the Bulgarian kingdom of Samuel. Such an arduous and prolonged war might naturally have turned the attention of Basil II completely away from the eastern frontier of the Empire, but in fact he was compelled to intervene, through serious complications which were taking place there. Bardas Phocas, the victor over Bardas Sclerus, having fallen into disgrace at court, was proclaimed Emperor by his troops in 987, and Bardas Sclerus, having escaped from captivity in Baghdad, also appeared in Asia Minor. Bardas Phocas, however, captured him by a stratagem, and then crossed Asia Minor to the Hellespont. The condition of Byzantium was at this time

very difficult: from the east the troops of Bardas Phocas were advancing to the capital, and from the north the Bulgarians were pressing on. To this time we must refer the negotiations of Basil II with the Russian Prince Vladimir and the consequent appearance at Byzantium of a Russian contingent of 6000 men. Basil II did not lose his presence of mind. With fresh forces he fought Bardas Phocas in 989, and in this battle the latter was slain. The Empire was thus freed from one of its dangers. In the same year a new insurrection of Bardas Sclerus was crushed.

During this time Syria was subjected to attacks by the troops of the Egyptian Fāṭimites, who several times assaulted Aleppo. Aleppo begged the Greeks for help and the Emperor sent Michael Burtzes, the governor of Antioch, to its assistance; but he suffered a severe defeat on the river Orontes in 994. This petition for help from Aleppo and the news of the defeat of Michael Burtzes reached Basil II when campaigning in Bulgaria. Notwithstanding the Bulgarian war, which was fraught with so much danger to the Empire, the Emperor decided to go personally to the east in the winter of 994-995, especially as danger was threatening Antioch. He unexpectedly appeared under the walls of Aleppo, which was being besieged by the Egyptian troops, and was successful in freeing the former capital of the Ḥamdānids from the enemy; he also captured Raphanea and Emesa; but having fought unsuccessfully under the walls of the strongly-fortified Tripolis, he returned to Bulgaria. In 998 the Greek troops under Damianus Dalassenus were severely defeated near Apamea. In 999 we meet Basil II again in Syria, at the towns of Shaizar and Emesa; but he was once more unsuccessful at Tripolis. Having spent some time in arranging affairs in Armenia and Georgia (Iberia), the Emperor returned to Constantinople in 1001.

In the same year a peace for ten years was concluded between the Emperor and the Egyptian Fāṭimite Ḥākīm. Down to the very year of his death, there were no more encounters between him and the Eastern Muslims.

In the west, the Sicilian Saracens made yearly attacks on South Italy, and the imperial government, being occupied in other places, could not undertake expeditions against them. Its forced inactivity gave a welcome opportunity to the Western Emperor Otto II to attempt the expulsion of the Saracens from Sicily. Desiring to obtain a firm point of support in South Italy, he occupied some fortified Byzantine places, as for instance Taranto. But his chief aim was not reached, for in 982 the Saracens severely defeated him at Stilo. After his death in 983, the authority of the Greeks was somewhat restored, and the Byzantine governor occupied Bari, which had revolted. But the attacks of the Saracens on Southern Italy continued, and Bari was only saved by the intervention of the Venetian fleet. At the end of his reign Basil planned a vast expedition for the purpose of winning back Sicily, but during its preparation he died in 1025.

The death of Basil II, that terrible scourge of the Eastern Saracens, gave fresh heart to these enemies of the Empire. The Saracens, with great success, availed themselves of the weakness of the successors of Basil II and of the disturbances which broke out in the Empire, and they quickly took the offensive. Under Romanus III Argyrus (1028–1034), the Emir of Aleppo defeated the governor of Antioch, and the campaign, undertaken in 1030 after long preparation under the personal command of the Emperor, ended in a signal defeat near Aleppo, after which the Emperor quickly returned to Constantinople. In this campaign the young George Maniaces, who later on played a very important part in Byzantine history, distinguished himself for the first time.

The defeat of 1030 was to some degree mitigated by the capture of the important town of Edessa by George Maniaces in 1031, and by his seizing there the second relic of the town¹, the famous letter of Jesus Christ to Abgar, King of Edessa. This letter was sent to Constantinople and solemnly received by the Emperor and the people.

During the reign of the next Emperor, Michael IV the Paphlagonian (1034–1041), the usual collisions went on in the east, sometimes at Antioch, sometimes at Aleppo, whilst at the same time the Saracen corsairs devastated the southern coast of Asia Minor and destroyed Myra in Lycia.

In the west, the object of the imperial government was to recapture Sicily from the Saracens. The internal quarrels among the Sicilian Muslims made the intervention of the Greeks easy, and during the reign of Michael IV they undertook two expeditions. The first, under the command of Constantine Opus in 1037, was unsuccessful, but the second, in which the army was composed of different races, such as the "Varangian-Russian Druzhina" (detachment), and in which the Norse prince Harold Fairhair distinguished himself, was despatched in 1038 under the chief command of the brilliant young Maniaces. The beginning of the expedition was fortunate. Messina, Syracuse, and the whole eastern coast of the island passed into the hands of the imperial troops. But George Maniaces fell into disgrace, and being recalled to Constantinople was put into prison. With his removal, all the Byzantine conquests, with the exception of Messina, passed again into the power of the Saracens.

During the reign of Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–1054), almost complete peace reigned on the frontier of Syria and Mesopotamia; but on the other hand, from 1048 the Byzantine troops were obliged to fight, especially in Armenia, with the Seljūq Turks, who from this time forward appear as a new and formidable enemy on the eastern frontier.

¹ For the first relic of the town, the miraculous image of the Saviour, see *supra*, p. 143.

(C)

SUMMARY

It will be seen from the foregoing pages that, ever since Leo the Isaurian saved Constantinople from the formidable attack of the Saracens in A.D. 717, there was continuous warfare between the Empire and the Caliphate, for three hundred years. Its history is for the most part a monotonous and barren chronicle of raids to and fro across the Taurus mountains, truces, interchanges of prisoners, briefly registered in Greek and Arabic annals. Only occasionally have we a description of events full enough to excite some interest, like the campaign of the Caliph Muta'sim (A.D. 838) or the siege of Thessalonica. Successes varied, but few were decisive until Nicephorus Phocas definitely turned the tide in favour of the Empire and reconquered long-lost provinces. After his victories the Abbasid power, which had seen its best days before the end of the ninth century¹, declined rapidly till the Caliphate passed under the control of the Seljūqs. So long as the struggle lasted, the Eastern war had the first claim on the armies and treasury of the Empire, and these were not sufficient to enable the Emperors to deal at the same time effectively with their European enemies, the Slavs and Bulgarians, and to maintain intact their possessions in Sicily and Southern Italy. It was only when the Saracen danger in the east had been finally averted by the army of Nicephorus that his successors were able to recover some of the European provinces which had been lost.

If the Caliphs had a more extensive territory under their rule than the Emperors, it is not certain that they had larger revenues even when they were strongest. Their State was very loosely organised, and it was always a strain on them to keep its heterogeneous parts together. The Empire, on the other hand, was kept strictly under central control; it might be conquered, but it could not dissolve of itself; and the event proved that it had a much greater staying power.

It is to be observed that throughout the period the hostilities which were the order of the day do not seem to have interfered very seriously with the commercial intercourse between the peoples of the two states,

¹ The decline is evident, and may be illustrated from the revenue figures which are recorded. Under Rashid, apart from contributions in kind, the taxes yielded a sum equivalent to about £21,000,000. In Ma'mūn's reign there was a considerable decline, and early in the tenth century the revenue was less than a twentieth of what it had been in Rashid's reign. (See Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte* 376, and *Budget Haruns* in the *Verh. des vii intern. Orientalisten-Congresses, semitische Section*, Vienna 1888; Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, 236-7.) The Roman treasury was sometimes in great straits, but there was never any falling-off like this.

and reciprocal influences of culture flowed constantly between them. Through educated captives, who were often detained for four or five years and were generally well treated, knowledge of the conditions and features of the Byzantine world passed to Baghdad, and reversely. The capitals of the two Empires vied with each other in magnificence, art, and the cultivation of science. For instance, there cannot be much doubt that Theophilus was stimulated in his building enterprises by what he had heard of the splendour of the palaces of Baghdad. Oriental influences had been affecting the Roman Empire ever since the third century, through its intercourse with the Sasanid kingdom of Persia; they continued to operate throughout the Abbasid period, and were one of the ingredients of Byzantine civilisation.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF TITLES OF PERIODICALS, SOCIETIES, ETC.

(1) The following abbreviations are used for titles of periodicals :

- AB. Analecta Bollandiana. Brussels.
 AHR. American Historical Review. New York and London.
 AKKR. Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht. Mayence.
 AMur. Archivio Muratoriano. Rome.
 Arch. Ven. (and N. Arch. Ven. ; Arch. Ven.-Tri.). Archivio veneto. Venice. 40 vols. 1871-90. Continued as Nuovo archivio veneto. 1st series. 20 vols. 1891-1900. New series. 42 vols. 1901-1921. And Archivio veneto-tridentino. 1922 ff., in progress.
 ASAK. Anzeiger für schweizerische Alterthumskunde. Zurich.
 ASHF. Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France. Paris.
 ASI. Archivio storico italiano. Florence. Ser. i. 20 v. and App. 9 v. 1842-53. Index. 1857. Ser. nuova. 18 v. 1855-63. Ser. iii. 26 v. 1865-77. Indexes to ii and iii. 1874. Suppt. 1877. Ser. iv. 20 v. 1878-87. Index. 1891. Ser. v. 49 v. 1888-1912. Index. 1900. Anni 71 etc. 1913 ff., in progress. (Index in Catalogue of The London Library vol. i. 1913.)
 ASL. Archivio storico lombardo. Milan.
 ASPN. Archivio storico per le province napoletane. Naples. 1876 ff.
 ASRSP. Archivio della Società romana di storia patria. Rome.
 BISI. Bullettino dell' Istituto storico italiano. Rome. 1886 ff.
 BRAH. Boletín de la R. Academia de la historia. Madrid.
 BZ. Byzantinische Zeitschrift. Leipsic. 1892 ff.
 CQR. Church Quarterly Review. London.
 CR. Classical Review. London.
 DZG. Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft. Freiburg-im-Breisgau.
 DZKR. Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht. Leipsic.
 EHR. English Historical Review. London.
 FDG. Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte. Göttingen.
 HJ. Historisches Jahrbuch. Munich.
 HVJS. Historische Vierteljahrsschrift. Leipsic.
 HZ. Historische Zeitschrift (von Sybel). Munich and Berlin.
 JA. Journal Asiatique. Paris.
 JB. Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft im Auftrage der historischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin. Berlin. 1878 ff.
 JHS. Journal of Hellenic Studies. London.
 JRAS. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. London.
 JSG. Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte. Zurich.
 JTS. Journal of Theological Studies. London.
 MA. Le moyen âge. Paris.
 MIOGF. Mittheilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung. Innsbruck.
 Neu. Arch. Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde Hanover and Leipsic.
 NRDF. Nouvelle Revue historique du droit français. Paris.
 QFIA. Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken. Rome.
 RA. Revue archéologique. Paris.

- RBén. Revue bénédictine. Maredsous.
 RCHL. Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature. Paris.
 RH. Revue historique. Paris.
 RHD. Revue d'histoire diplomatique. Paris.
 RHE. Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique. Louvain.
 Rhein. Mus. Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Frankfort-on-Main.
 RN. Revue de numismatique. Paris.
 RQCA. Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte. Rome.
 RQH. Revue des questions historiques. Paris.
 RSH. Revue de synthèse historique. Paris.
 RSI. Rivista storica italiana. Turin. *See Gen. Bibl. 1.*
 SKAW. Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Vienna. [Philos.-hist. Classe.]
 SPAW. Sitzungsberichte der kön. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin.
 TRHS. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. London.
 VV. Vizantiyski Vremennik (Βυζαντινὰ Χρονικά). St Petersburg (Petrograd). 1894 ff.
 ZCK. Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst. Düsseldorf.
 ZDMG. Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig.
 ZKG. Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte. Gotha.
 ZKT. Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie. Gotha.
 ZMNP. Zhurnal ministerstva narodnago prosvèshcheniya (Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction). St Petersburg.
 ZR. Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte. Weimar. 1861-78. Continued as
 ZSR. Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtswissenschaft. Weimar. 1880 ff.
 ZWT. Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie. Frankfort-on-Main.

(2) Other abbreviations used are :

- AcadIBL. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
 AcadIP. Académie Impériale de Pétersbourg.
 AllgDB. Allgemeine deutsche Biographie. *See Gen. Bibl. 1.*
 ASBen. *See Mabillon and Achery in Gen. Bibl. iv.*
 ASBoll. Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana. *See Gen. Bibl. iv.*
 BEC. Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes. *See Gen. Bibl. 1.*
 BGén. Nouvelle Biographie générale. *See Gen. Bibl. 1.*
 BHE. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études. *See Gen. Bibl. 1.*
 Bouquet. *See Rerum Gallicarum...scriptores in Gen. Bibl. iv.*
 BUniv. Biographie universelle. *See Gen. Bibl. 1.*
 Coll. textes. Collection des textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire. *See Gen. Bibl. iv.*
 CSCO. Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium. *See Gen. Bibl. iv.*
 CSEL. Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum. *See Gen. Bibl. iv.*
 CSHB. Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae. *See Gen. Bibl. iv.*
 DNB. Dictionary of National Biography. *See Gen. Bibl. 1.*
 EcfrAR. Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. Paris.
 EncBr. Encyclopaedia Britannica. *See Gen. Bibl. 1.*
 Ersch-Gruber. Ersch and Gruber's Allgemeine Encyclopädie. *See Gen. Bibl. 1.*
 Fonti. Fonti per la storia d'Italia. *See Gen. Bibl. iv.*
 Jaffé. *See Gen. Bibl. iv.*
 KAW. Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften. Vienna.
 Mansi. *See Gen. Bibl. iv.*
 MEC. Mémoires et documents publ. par l'École des Chartes. *See Gen. Bibl. iv.*
 MGH. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. *See Gen. Bibl. iv.*
 MHP. Monumenta historiae patriae. Turin. *See Gen. Bibl. iv.*
 MHSM. Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium. *See Gen. Bibl. iv.*
 MPG. Migne's Patrologiae cursus completus. Ser. graeco-latina. [Greek texts with Latin translations in parallel columns.] *See Gen. Bibl. iv.*

MPL.	Migne's Patrologiae cursus completus. Ser. latina. <i>See Gen. Bibl. iv.</i>
PAW.	Königliche preussische Akademie d. Wissenschaften. Berlin.
RAH.	Real Academia de la Historia. Madrid.
RC.	Record Commissioners.
RE ³ .	Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie, etc. <i>See Herzog and Hauck in Gen. Bibl. i.</i>
Rec. hist. Cr.	Recueil des historiens des Croisades. <i>See Gen. Bibl. iv.</i>
RGS.	Royal Geographical Society.
RHS.	Royal Historical Society.
Rolls.	Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores. <i>See Gen. Bibl. iv.</i>
RR.II.SS.	<i>See Muratori in Gen. Bibl. iv.</i>
SGUS.	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum. <i>See Monumenta Germaniae Historica in Gen. Bibl. iv.</i>
SHF.	Société d'histoire française.
SRD.	Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii aevi. <i>See Gen. Bibl. iv.</i>

Abh.	Abhandlungen.	mem.	memoir.
antiq.	antiquarian, antiquaire.	mém.	mémoire.
app.	appendix.	n.s.	new series.
coll.	collection.	publ.	published, publié.
diss.	dissertation.	R. }	reale.
hist.	history, historical, historique, historisch.	r. }	
Jahrb.	Jahrbuch.	roy.	royal, royale.
k.	{ kaiserlich. königlich.	ser.	series.
		soc.	society, société, società.
		Viert.	Vierteljahrschrift.

CHAPTER V.

(A)

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE SARACENS (717-867).

I. SPECIAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

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(B)

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE
OF
LEADING EVENTS MENTIONED IN THIS VOLUME

- 330 (11 May) Inauguration of Constantinople, 'New Rome,' by Constantine the Great.
- 428-633 Persian rule in Armenia.
- 476 Deposition of Romulus Augustus.
- 529 Justinian's Code.
- 533 Justinian's *Digest* and *Institutes*.
- 535 Justinian's *Novels*.
- 537 Inauguration of St Sophia.
- 558 The Avars appear in Europe.
- 565 Death of Justinian.
- 568 The Lombards invade Italy.
The Avars enter Pannonia.
- c. 582 Creation of the exarchates of Africa and Ravenna.
- 626 The Avars besiege Constantinople.
- 627 Defeat of the Persians by Heraclius at Nineveh.
- 631 The Avars defeat the Bulgarians.
- 633-693 Byzantine rule in Armenia.
- 635 The Bulgarians free themselves from the power of the Chazars.
- c. 650 Creation of the Asiatic themes.
- 679 Establishment of the Bulgarians south of the Danube.
- 693-862 Arab rule in Armenia.
- 713 First Venetian Doge elected.
- 717 (25 March) Accession of Leo III the Isaurian.
- 717-718 The Arabs besiege Constantinople.
- 726 Edict against images.
- 727 Insurrections in Greece and Italy.
- 732 Victory of Charles Martel at Poitiers (Tours).
- 739 Battle of Acroinon.
- 740 Publication of the *Ecloga*.
Death of Leo III the Isaurian, and accession of Constantine V Copronymus.
- 741 Insurrection of Artavasdus.
- 742 (2 Nov.) Recovery of Constantinople by Constantine V.
- 744 Murder of Walid II. The Caliphate falls into anarchy.
- 747 Annihilation of the Egyptian fleet.
- 750 Foundation of the Abbasid Caliphate.
- 751 Taking of Ravenna by the Lombards.
- 753 Iconoclastic Council of Hieria.
- 754 Donation of Pepin to the Papacy.
- 755 The war with the Bulgarians begins.
- 756 'Abd-ar-Rahmān establishes an independent dynasty in Spain.
- 757 Election of Pope Paul IV. Ratification of Papal elections ceases to be asked of the Emperor of the East.
- 758 Risings of the Slavs of Thrace and Macedonia.
- 759 Defeat of the Bulgarians at Marcellae.
- 762 Baghdad founded by the Caliph Manṣūr.
Defeat of the Bulgarians at Anchialus.
- 764-771 Persecution of the image-worshippers.
- 772 Defeat of the Bulgarians at Lithosoria.

- 774 Annexation of the Lombard kingdom by Charlemagne.
775 (14 Sept.) Death of the Emperor Constantine V and accession of Leo IV the Chazar.
780 (8 Sept.) Death of Leo IV and Regency of Irene.
781 Pope Hadrian I ceases to date official acts by the regnal years of the Emperor.
787 Ecumenical Council of Nicaea. Condemnation of Iconoclasm.
788 Establishment of the Idrisid dynasty in Morocco.
790 (Dec.) Abdication of Irene. Constantine VI assumes power.
797 (17 July) Deposition of Constantine VI. Irene becomes Emperor.
800 Establishment of the Aghlabid dynasty in Tunis.
(25 Dec.) Charlemagne crowned Emperor of the West.
802 (31 Oct.) Deposition of Irene and accession of Nicephorus I.
803 Destruction of the Barmecides.
809 Death of Hārūn ar-Rashid and civil war in the Caliphate.
The Bulgarian Khan Krum invades the Empire.
Pepin of Italy's attack upon Venice.
810 Nicephorus I's scheme of financial reorganisation.
Concentration of the lagoon-townships at Rialto.
811 The Emperor Nicephorus I is defeated and slain by the Bulgarians: accession of Michael I Rangabé.
812 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle recognises Charlemagne's imperial title.
813 Michael I defeated at Versinicia: Krum appears before Constantinople. Deposition of Michael I and accession of Leo V the Armenian.
Battle of Mesembria.
Ma'mūn becomes sole Caliph.
814 (14 April) Death of Krum: peace between the Empire and the Bulgarians.
815 Iconoclastic synod of Constantinople.
Banishment of Theodore of Studion.
820 (25 Dec.) Murder of Leo V, and accession of Michael II the Amorian.
822 Insurrection of Thomas the Slavonian.
826 Death of Theodore of Studion.
Conquest of Crete by the Arabs.
827 Arab invasion of Sicily.
829-842 Reign of Theophilus.
832 Edict of Theophilus against images.
833 Death of the Caliph Ma'mūn.
836 The Abbasid capital removed from Baghdad to Sāmarrā.
839 Treaty between the Russians and the Greeks.
840 Treaty of Pavia between the Emperor Lothar I and Venice.
842 The Arabs take Messina.
Disintegration of the Caliphate begins.
842-867 Reign of Michael III.
843 Council of Constantinople, and final restoration of image-worship by the Empress Theodora.
846 Ignatius becomes Patriarch.
852-893 Reign of Boris in Bulgaria.
856-866 Rule of Bardas.
858 Deposition of Ignatius and election of Photius as Patriarch.
860 The Russians appear before Constantinople.
860-861 (?) Cyril's mission to the Chazars.
863 (?) Mission of Cyril and Methodius to the Moravians.
864 Conversion of Bulgaria to orthodoxy.
867 The Schism of Photius.
The Synod of Constantinople completes the rupture with Rome.
(23 Sept.) Murder of Michael III and accession of Basil I the Macedonian.
Deposition of Photius. Restoration of Ignatius.
867 (13 Nov.) Death of Pope Nicholas I.
(14 Dec.) Election of Pope Hadrian II.
868 Independence of Egypt under the Tūlūnid dynasty.

- 869 (14 Feb.) Death of Cyril.
 Ecumenical Council of Constantinople. End of the Schism.
- 870 Methodius becomes the first Moravo-Pannonian archbishop.
- 871 War with the Paulicians.
- 876 Capture of Bari from the Saracens by the Greeks.
- 877 Death of Ignatius and reinstatement of Photius as Patriarch.
 (22 July) Council of Ravenna.
- 878 (21 May) Capture of Syracuse by the Arabs.
- 878 (?) Promulgation of the *Prochiron*.
- 882 Fresh rupture between the Eastern and Western Churches; excommunication of Photius.
- 885 (6 April) Death of Methodius.
- 886-912 Reign of Leo VI the Wise.
- 886 Deposition and exile of Photius.
- 887-892 Reign of Ashot I in Armenia.
- c. 888 Publication of the *Basilics*.
- 891 Death of Photius.
- 892 The Abbasid capital restored to Baghdad.
- 892-914 Reign of Smbat I in Armenia.
- 893-927 Reign of Simeon in Bulgaria.
- 895-896 The Magyars migrate into Hungary.
- 898 Reconciliation between the Eastern and Western Churches.
- 899 The Magyars invade Lombardy.
- 900 Victory of Nicephorus Phocas at Adana.
 The Magyars occupy Pannonia.
- 902 (1 Aug.) Fall of Taormina, the last Greek stronghold in Sicily.
- 904 Thessalonica sacked by the Saracens.
- 906 Leo VI's fourth marriage: contest with the Patriarch.
 The Magyars overthrow the Great Moravian State.
- 907 Russian expedition against Constantinople.
- 909-1171 The Fatimid Caliphate in Africa.
- 912 (11 May) Death of Leo VI and accession of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus under the regency of Alexander.
- 913 Simeon of Bulgaria appears before Constantinople.
- 915-928 Reign of Ashot II in Armenia.
- 917 (20 Aug.) Bulgarian victory at Anchialus.
- 919 (25 Mar.) Usurpation of Romanus Lecapenus.
- 920 (June) A Council at Constantinople pronounces upon fourth marriages.
- 923 Simeon besieges Constantinople.
- 927 (8 Sept.) Peace with Bulgaria.
- 932 Foundation of the Buwaihîd dynasty.
- 933 Venice establishes her supremacy in Istria.
- 941 Russian expedition against Constantinople.
- 944 (16 Dec.) Deposition of Romanus Lecapenus. Personal rule of Constantine VII begins.
- 945 The Buwaihîds enter Baghdad and control the Caliphate.
- 954 Princess Olga of Russia embraces Christianity.
- 955 Battle of the Lechfeld.
- 959 (9 Nov.) Death of Constantine VII and accession of Romanus II.
- 959-976 Reign of the Doge Peter IV Candianus.
- 961 Recovery of Crete by Nicephorus Phocas.
 (Mar.) Advance in Asia by the Greeks.
 Athanasius founds the convent of St Laura on Mt Athos.
- 963 (15 Mar.) Death of Romanus II: accession of Basil II: regency of Theophano.
 (16 Aug.) Usurpation of Nicephorus II Phocas.
- 964 *Novel* against the monks.
- 965 Conquest of Cilicia.
- 967 Renewal of the Bulgarian war.
- 968 The Russians in Bulgaria.

- 969 (28 Oct.) Capture of Antioch.
The Fātimid Caliphs annex Egypt.
(10 Dec.) Murder of Nicephorus Phocas and accession of John Tzimisces.
- 970 Capture of Aleppo.
Accession of Géza as Prince of the Magyars.
- 971 Revolt of Bardas Phocas.
The Emperor John Tzimisces annexes Eastern Bulgaria.
- 972 Death of Svyatoslav of Kiev.
- 976 (10 Jan.) Death of John Tzimisces: personal rule of Basil II Bulgar-
octonus begins.
Peter Orseolo I elected Doge.
- 976-979 Revolt of Bardas Sclerus.
- 980 Accession of Vladímir in Russia.
- 985 Fall of the eunuch Basil.
- 986-1018 Great Bulgarian War.
- 987-989 Conspiracy of Phocas and Sclerus.
- 988 The Fātimid Caliphs occupy Syria.
- 989 Baptism of Vladímir of Russia.
Vladímir captures Cherson.
- 991 The Fātimids re-occupy Syria.
- 991-1009 Reign of Peter Orseolo II as Doge.
- 992 (19 July) First Venetian treaty with the Eastern Empire.
- 994 Saif-ad-Daulah takes Aleppo and establishes himself in Northern Syria.
- 994-1001 War with the Fātimids.
- 995 Basil II's campaign in Syria.
- 996 (Jan.) *Novel* against the Powerful.
Defeat of the Bulgarians on the Spercheus.
- 997 Accession of St Stephen in Hungary, and conversion of the Magyars.
- 998-1030 Reign of Maḥmūd of Ghaznah.
- 1006 Vladímir of Russia makes a treaty with the Bulgarians.
- 1009 The Patriarch Sergius erases the Pope's name from the diptychs.
- 1014 Battle of Cimbalongu; death of the Tsar Samuel.
- 1015 Death of Vladímir of Russia.
- 1018-1186 Bulgaria a Byzantine province.
- 1021-1022 Annexation of Vaspurakan to the Empire.
- 1024 The Patriarch Eustathius attempts to obtain from the Pope the autonomy
of the Greek Church.
- 1025 (15 Dec.) Death of Basil II and accession of Constantine VIII.
- 1026 Fall of the Orseoli at Venice.
- 1028 (11 Nov.) Death of Constantine VIII and succession of Zoë and
Romanus III Argyrus.
- 1030 Defeat of the Greeks near Aleppo.
- 1031 Capture of Edessa by George Maniaces.
- 1034 (12 April) Murder of Romanus III and accession of Michael IV the
Paphlagonian.
Government of John the Orphanotrophos.
- 1038 Death of St Stephen of Hungary.
Success of George Maniaces in Sicily.
The Seljūq Tughril Beg proclaimed.
- 1041 (10 Dec.) Death of Michael IV and succession of Michael V Calaphates.
Banishment of John the Orphanotrophos.
- 1042 (21 April) Revolution in Constantinople; fall of Michael V.
Zoë and Theodora joint Empresses.
(11-12 June) Zoë's marriage; accession of her husband, Constantine IX
Monomachus.
- 1043 Michael Cerularius becomes Patriarch.
Rising of George Maniaces; his defeat and death at Ostrovo.
- 1045 Foundation of the Law School of Constantinople.
- 1046 Annexation of Armenia (Ani) to the Empire.
- 1047 Revolt of Tornicius.

- 1048 Appearance of the Seljūqs on the eastern frontier of the Empire.
 1050 Death of the Empress Zoë.
 1054 (20 July) The Patriarch Michael Cerularius breaks with Rome; schism between the Eastern and Western Churches.
 1055 (11 Jan.) Death of Constantine IX; Theodora sole Empress. The Seljūq Tughril Beg enters Baghdad.
 1056 (31 Aug.) Death of Theodora and proclamation of Michael VI Stratioticus.
 1057 Revolt of Isaac Comnenus. Deposition of Michael VI. (1 Sept. ?) Isaac I Comnenus crowned Emperor at Constantinople.
 1058 Deposition and death of Michael Cerularius.
 1059 Treaty of Melfi. Abdication of Isaac Comnenus.
 1059–1067 Reign of Constantine X Ducas.
 1063 Death of Tughril Beg.
 1063–1072 Reign of the Seljūq Alp Arslān.
 1064 Capture of Ani by the Seljūqs, and conquest of Greater Armenia.
 1066 Foundation of the Nizamiyah University at Baghdad.
 1067–1071 Reign of Romanus III Diogenes.
 1071 Capture of Bari by the Normans and loss of Italy. Battle of Manzikert. The Seljūqs occupy Jerusalem.
 1071–1078 Reign of Michael VII Parapinaces Ducas.
 1072–1092 Reign of the Seljūq Malik Shāh.
 1077 Accession of Sulaimān I, Sultan of Rūm.
 1078 The Turks at Nicaea.
 1078–1081 Reign of Nicephorus III Botaniates.
 1080 Alliance between Robert Guiscard and Pope Gregory VII. Foundation of the Armeno-Cilician kingdom.
 1081–1118 Reign of Alexius I Comnenus.
 1081–1084 Robert Guiscard's invasion of Epirus.
 1082 Treaty with Venice.
 1086 Incursions of the Patzinaks begin.
 1091 (29 April) Defeat of the Patzinaks at the river Leburnium.
 1094–1095 Invasion of the Cumans.
 1094 Council of Piacenza.
 1095 (18–28 Nov.) Council of Clermont proclaims the First Crusade.
 1096 The Crusaders at Constantinople.
 1097 The Crusaders capture Nicaea.
 1098 Council of Bari. St Anselm refutes the Greeks.
 1099 Establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.
 1100 (18 July) Death of Godfrey of Bouillon.
 1104 Defeat of the Crusaders at Harrān.
 1107 Bohemond's expedition against Constantinople.
 1108 Battle of Durazzo. Treaty with Bohemond.
 1116 Battle of Philomelium.
 1118–1143 Reign of John II Comnenus.
 1119 First expedition of John Comnenus to Asia Minor.
 1122 Defeat of the Patzinaks near Eski-Sagra.
 1122–1126 War with Venice.
 1128 The Emperor John Comnenus defeats the Hungarians near Haram.
 1137 (May) Roger II of Sicily's fleet defeated off Trani.
 1137–1138 Campaign of John Comnenus in Cilicia and Syria.
 1143–1180 Reign of Manuel I Comnenus.
 1147–1149 The Second Crusade.
 1147–1149 War with Roger II of Sicily.
 1151 The Byzantines at Ancona.
 1152–1154 Hungarian War.
 1154 Death of Roger II of Sicily.

- 1158 Campaign of Manuel Comnenus in Syria.
 1159 His solemn entry into Antioch; zenith of his power.
 1163 Expulsion of the Greeks from Cilicia.
 1164 Battle of H̄arim.
 1168 Annexation of Dalmatia.
 1170 The Emperor Manuel attempts to re-unite the Greek and Armenian Churches.
 1171 Rupture of Manuel with Venice.
 1173 Frederick Barbarossa besieges Ancona.
 1176 Battle of Myriocephalum.
 Battle of Legnano.
 1177 Peace of Venice.
 1180-1183 Reign of Alexius II Comnenus.
 1180 Foundation of the Serbian monarchy by Stephen Nemanja.
 1182 Massacre of Latins in Constantinople.
 1183 (Sept.) Andronicus I Comnenus becomes joint Emperor.
 (Nov.) Murder of Alexius II.
 1185 The Normans take Thessalonica.
 Deposition and death of Andronicus; accession of Isaac II Angelus.
 1185-1219 Reign of Leo II the Great of Cilicia.
 1186 Second Bulgarian Empire founded.
 1187 Saladin captures Jerusalem.
 1189 Sack of Thessalonica.
 1189-1192 Third Crusade.
 1190 Death of Frederick Barbarossa in the East.
 Isaac Angelus defeated by the Bulgarians.
 1191 Occupation of Cyprus by Richard Coeur-de-Lion.
 1192 Guy de Lusignan purchases Cyprus from Richard I.
 1193-1205 Reign of the Doge Enrico Dandolo.
 1195 Deposition of Isaac II; accession of Alexius III Angelus.
 1197-1207 The Bulgarian Tsar Johannitsa (Kalojan).
 1201 (April) Fourth Crusade. The Crusaders' treaty with Venice.
 (May) Boniface of Montferrat elected leader of the Crusade.
 1203 (17 July) The Crusaders enter Constantinople.
 Deposition of Alexius III; restoration of Isaac II with Alexius IV Angelus.
 1203-1227 Empire of Jenghiz Khan.
 1204 (8 Feb.) Deposition of Isaac II and Alexius IV; accession of Alexius V Ducas (Mourtzouphlos).
 (13 April) Sack of Constantinople.
 (16 May) Coronation of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and foundation of the Latin Empire of Constantinople.
 The compulsory union of the Eastern and Western Churches.
 The Venetians purchase the island of Crete.
 Alexius Comnenus founds the state of Trebizond.
 1205 (14 April) The Bulgarians defeat the Emperor Baldwin I at Hadrianople.
 1206 (21 Aug.) Henry of Flanders crowned Latin Emperor of Constantinople.
 Theodore I Lascaris crowned Emperor of Nicaea.
 1208 Peace with the Bulgarians.
 1210 The Turks of Rûm defeated on the Maeander by Theodore Lascaris.
 1212 Peace with Nicaea.
 1215 The Fourth Lateran Council.
 1216 Death of the Emperor Henry, and succession of Peter of Courtenay.
 1217 Stephen crowned King of Serbia.
 1218 Death of Geoffrey of Villehardouin, Prince of Achaia.
 1219 Creation of a separate Serbian Church.
 1221-1228 Reign of Robert of Courtenay, Latin Emperor of Constantinople.
 1222 Recovery of Thessalonica by the Greeks of Epirus.
 Death of Theodore Lascaris, Emperor of Nicaea. Accession of John III Vatatzes.

- 1222 First appearance of the Mongols in Europe.
 1224 The Emperor of Nicaea occupies Hadrianople.
 1228 Death of Stephen, the first King of Serbia.
 1228-1237 Reign of John of Brienne, Latin Emperor of Constantinople.
 1230 Destruction of the Greek Empire of Thessalonica by the Bulgarians.
 1234 Fall of the Kin Dynasty in China.
 1235 Revival of the Bulgarian Patriarchate.
 1236 Constantinople attacked by the Greeks and Bulgarians.
 1236 (?) Alliance between the Armenians and the Mongols.
 1237 Invasion of Europe by the Mongols.
 1237-1261 Reign of Baldwin II, last Latin Emperor of Constantinople.
 1241 Battles of Liegnitz and Mohi.
 Death of John Asen II; the decline of Bulgaria begins.
 1244 The Despotat of Thessalonica becomes a vassal of Nicaea.
 1245 Council of Lyons.
 1246 Reconquest of Macedonia from the Bulgarians.
 1254 (30 Oct.) Death of John Vatatzes; Theodore II Lascaris succeeds as Emperor of Nicaea.
 Submission of the Despot of Epirus to Nicaea.
 Mamlük Sultans in Egypt.
 1255-1256 Theodore II's Bulgarian campaigns.
 1256 Overthrow of the Assassins by the Mongols.
 1258 Death of Theodore II Lascaris. Accession of John IV Lascaris.
 Destruction of Baghdad by the Mongols and overthrow of the Caliphate.
 1259 (1 Jan.) Michael VIII Palaeologus proclaimed Emperor of Nicaea.
 1259-1294 Reign of Kublai Khan.
 1260 The Egyptians defeat the Mongols at 'Ain Jalüt.
 1261 (25 July) Capture of Constantinople by the Greeks; end of the Latin Empire.
 1261-1530 Abbasid Caliphate in Cairo.
 1266 (Feb.) Charles of Anjou's victory over Manfred at Benevento.
 1267 (27 May) Treaty of Viterbo.
 1267-1272 Progress of Charles of Anjou in Epirus.
 1270 (25 Aug.) Death of St Louis.
 1274 Ecumenical Council at Lyons; union of the Churches again achieved.
 1276 Leo III of Cilicia defeats the Mamlüks.
 1278 Leo III of Cilicia defeats the Seljüqs of Iconium.
 1281 Joint Mongol and Armenian forces defeated by the Mamlüks on the Orontes.
 (18 Nov.) Excommunication of Michael Palaeologus; breach of the Union.
 Victory of the Berat over the Angevins.
 1282 (30 May) The Sicilian Vespers.
 (11 Dec.) Death of Michael Palaeologus. Accession of Andronicus II.
 c. 1290 Foundation of Wallachia.
 1291 Fall of Acre.
 1299 Osmán, Emir of the Ottoman Turks.
 1302 Osmán's victory at Baphaeum.
 End of the alliance between the Armenians and the Mongols.
 1302-1311 The Catalan Grand Company in the East.
 1308 Turks enter Europe.
 Capture of Ephesus by the Turks.
 1309 Capture of Rhodes from the Turks by the Knights of St John.
 1311 Battle of the Cephisus.
 1326 Brúsa surrenders to the Ottoman Turks.
 (Nov.) Death of Osmán.
 1326-1359 Reign of Orkhán.
 1328-1341 Reign of Andronicus III Palaeologus.
 1329 The Ottomans capture Nicaea.
 1330 (28 June) Defeat of the Bulgarians by the Serbians at the battle of Velbužd.

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- 1331 (8 Sept.) Coronation of Stephen Dušan as King of Serbia.
 1336 Birth of Timūr.
 1337 The Ottomans capture Nicomedia.
 Conquest of Cilicia by the Mamlūks.
 1341 Succession of John V Palaeologus. Rebellion of John Cantacuzene.
 1342-1344 Guy of Lusignan King of Cilicia.
 1342-1349 Revolution of the Zealots at Thessalonica.
 1344-1363 Reign of Constantine IV in Cilicia.
 1345 Stephen Dušan conquers Macedonia.
 1346 Stephen Dušan crowned Emperor of the Serbs and Greeks.
 1347 John VI Cantacuzene takes Constantinople.
 1348 Foundation of the Despotat of Mistra.
 1349 Independence of Moldavia.
 1350 Serbo-Greek treaty.
 1354 The Turks take Gallipoli.
 1355 Abdication of John VI Cantacuzene. Restoration of John V.
 (20 Dec.) Death of Stephen Dušan.
 1356 The Turks begin to settle in Europe.
 1357 The Turks capture Hadrianople.
 1359-1389 Reign of Murād I.
 1360 Formation of the Janissaries from tribute-children.
 1363-1373 Reign of Constantine V in Cilicia.
 1365 The Turks establish their capital at Hadrianople.
 1368 Foundation of the Ming dynasty in China.
 1369 (21 Oct.) John V abjures the schism.
 1371 (26 Sept.) Battle of the Maritza.
 Death of Stephen Uroš V.
 1373 The Emperor John V becomes the vassal of the Sultan Murād.
 1373-1393 Leo VI of Lusignan, the last King of Armenia.
 1375 Capture and exile of Leo VI of Armenia.
 1376-1379 Rebellion of Andronicus IV.
 Coronation of Tvrtko as King of the Serbs and Bosnia.
 1379 Restoration of John V.
 1382 Death of Louis the Great of Hungary.
 1387 Turkish defeat on the Toplica.
 Surrender of Thessalonica to the Turks.
 1389 (15 June) Battle of Kossovo; fall of the Serbian Empire.
 1389-1403 Reign of Bāyazid.
 1390 Usurpation of John VII Palaeologus.
 1391 Death of John V. Accession of Manuel II Palaeologus.
 (23 Mar.) Death of Tvrtko I.
 Capture of Philadelphia by the Turks.
 1393 Turkish conquest of Thessaly.
 (17 July) Capture of Trnovo; end of the Bulgarian Empire.
 1394 (10 Oct.) Turkish victory at Rovine in Wallachia.
 1396 (25 Sept.) Battle of Nicopolis.
 1397 Bāyazid attacks Constantinople.
 1398 The Turks invade Bosnia.
 Timūr invades India and sacks Delhi.
 1401 Timūr sacks Baghdad.
 1402 (28 July) Timūr defeats the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazid at Angora.
 1402-1413 Civil war among the Ottoman Turks.
 1403 (21 Nov.) Second battle of Kossovo.
 1405 Death of Timūr.
 1409 Council of Pisa.
 1413-1421 Reign of Mahomet I.
 1413 (10 July) Turkish victory at Chamorlū.
 1416 The Turks declare war on Venice.
 (29 May) Turkish fleet defeated off Gallipoli.
 1418 Death of Mirčea the Great of Wallachia.

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- 1421–1451 Reign of Murād II.
1422 Siege of Constantinople by the Turks.
1423 Turkish expedition into the Morea.
Thessalonica purchased by Venice.
1423–1448 Reign of John VIII Palaeologus.
1426 Battle of Chirokoitia.
1430 Capture of Thessalonica by the Turks.
1431 Council of Basle opens.
1432 Death of the last Frankish Prince of Achaia.
1438 (9 April) Opening of the Council of Ferrara.
1439 (10 Jan.) The Council of Ferrara removed to Florence.
(6 July) The Union of Florence.
Completion of the Turkish conquest of Serbia.
1440 The Turks besiege Belgrade.
1441 John Hunyadi appointed *voivode* of Transylvania.
1443–1468 Skanderbeg's war of independence against the Turks.
1444 (July) Peace of Szegedin.
(10 Nov.) Battle of Varna.
1446 Turkish invasion of the Morea.
1448 (17 Oct.) Third battle of Kossovo. Accession of Constantine XI Palaeologus.
1451 Accession of Mahomet II.
1453 (29 May) Capture of Constantinople by the Turks.
1456 The Turks again besiege Belgrade.
1457 Stephen the Great succeeds in Moldavia.
1458 The Turks capture Athens.
1459 Final end of medieval Serbia.
1461 Turkish conquest of Trebizond.
1462–1479 War between Venice and the Turks.
1463 Turkish conquest of Bosnia.
1468 Turkish conquest of Albania.
1475 Stephen the Great of Moldavia defeats the Turks at Racova.
1479 Venice cedes Scutari to the Turks.
1484 The Montenegrin capital transferred to Cetinje.
1489 Venice acquires Cyprus.
1499 Renewal of Turco-Venetian War.
1517 Conquest of Egypt by the Turks.
1523 Conquest of Rhodes by the Turks.
1537–1540 Third Turco-Venetian War.
1571 Conquest of Cyprus from Venice by the Turks.



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Notes and Documents

THE DATE OF THE HISTORIAN JOHN MALALA

THE original extent of the 'Chronicle of John Malala' and the date at which he lived have been matters of dispute among scholars since the days of Bentley and Hody. The discovery of the Escorial Excerpts with their subscription, *τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπὶ κλην Μαλέλα περὶ ἐπιβουλῆς*, was held by Mommsen¹ to prove that this was in fact the end of the work, and therefore to set the question finally at rest. It is plain, however, that this argument is not entirely conclusive, and Soteriades, in an able article in the *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*,² pointed out that some fragments published by Müller among those of John of Antioch³ are completely alien in style to the work of that historian, and declared his opinion that they were to be attributed to John Malala. As one of these fragments records the death of Phokas, it would therefore follow that John Malala's work was not completed before 610; much later than this he could not have lived, as it can scarcely be disputed that he was copied by the author of the 'Paschal Chronicle,' composed in 630, and it is beyond doubt that he is the main source of the work of John of Nikiu, an Egyptian chronicler who wrote about 695.⁴ But against the ascription of these fragments to John Malala certain difficulties suggest themselves: 1. In the prologue of John Malala's work, preserved in an Old Slavonic translation, the author uses words which have been retranslated into Greek by Haupt⁵ as follows: *πάνυ καλὸν ἡγοῦμαι . . . διηγεῖσθαι καὶ ἐμοὶ τὰ ἀληθῶς γεγενημένα ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τῶν βασιλέων καὶ εἰς τὰ ὧτά μου εἰσελθόντα, λέγω δὴ, ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Ζήνωνος καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν βασιλευσάντων*, words of which the only natural meaning is that from the reign of Zenon onwards the author was able to obtain information from living witnesses of the events. Moreover in the same prologue he gives a list of his authorities, of which the latest is Eustace of Epiphaneia,

¹ *Hermes*, vi. 381.

² *Neue Folge*, Suppl.-Bd. xvi. p. 3.

³ Fr. 219 (*Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iv. 622); Fr. 217 a, b, 218 b-f. (*id.* v. 35).

⁴ His work exists in an Ethiopic version, which has been translated into French by Zotenberg.

⁵ *Hermes*, xv. 235.

whose work ended in 502. 2. In the Tusculan Fragments, published by Mai,⁶ which appear manifestly to be part of the work of John Malala,⁷ Justinian is styled *ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν*, an expression which was only used of living sovereigns. 3. The writers who ordinarily follow John Malala, viz. the Paschal chronicler, John of Nikiu, and Theophanes, have, after the death of Justinian, scarcely anything which bears the impress of his style. The change which appears in the works of these three writers at this point is indeed most significant. John Malala deals largely in natural calamities and physical phenomena; accordingly we find that during the thirty-eight years of Justinian's reign Theophanes records thirty-one events of this sort, whereas during the forty-five years between the death of Justinian and that of Phokas he narrates but three. Again, the pages of the 'Paschal Chronicle' between Justinian's death and the time when its author becomes a contemporary authority are almost a blank, while John of Nikiu after the reign of Justinian relates scarcely anything except Egyptian events, on which he had other sources of information. There is, therefore, at least a strong *prima facie* case for supposing that the Chronicle of John Malala was not continued much beyond the point to which the existing epitomes extend. Among the numerous scholars who have written on this subject not one appears to have noticed a passage in the Syriac historian John of Ephesos which seems to settle the question within very narrow limits. In one of the fragments of the second part of this author's 'Ecclesiastical History,' published by Land, is an account of the earthquake of Antioch in 526, for which he refers to a certain John of Antioch.⁸ That this is not the author whom we know by that name scarcely needs demonstration, for the sober style of that historian is as far as possible removed from the florid narrative of the Syrian bishop. On the other hand, if we turn to the account of the same event in John Malala (also a native of Antioch) we find that it agrees with that of John of Ephesos almost as closely as a Greek narrative could agree with one in Syriac. More than this, the same fragment which contains the narrative of the earthquake contains records of seven other similar events, of which every one is to be found in John Malala, and that frequently in almost identical language. John of Ephesos has, indeed, several details which are not to be found in the Greek writer, but it is admitted that our present text of John Malala is only an epitome, and a more complete text may often be recovered from Theophanes and other authors, who had before them not, I believe,

⁶ *Spicil. Rom.* t. ii. pt. 3, pp. 1-28; Migne, *Patr. Gr.* vol. lxxxv. p. 1808 ff.

⁷ This view is maintained by Dr. Patzig in a pamphlet to which I shall again refer, but I had previously come to the same conclusion.

⁸ Fr. II. D, in Van Douwen and Land's translation, Syriac text in Land, *Anecd. Syr.* ii. 299.

the original work of John Malala, but a fuller epitome than any of those which we at present possess.⁹ Among the portions omitted by the epitomist were no doubt the dates, for the frequent occurrence of such phrases as *ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ* without any date having been mentioned makes it clear that the work was originally a chronography, like that of Theophanes. I place the two accounts side by side for comparison, enclosing the portions derived from Theophanes in square brackets and giving the narratives of John of Ephesos in the Latin translation of Van Douwen and Land.

Regno Iustiniani¹⁰ regis ineunte . . . ab Oriente stella magnae hastae similis apparuit, capite hastae dorsum verso, quae formidolose movens radios longos et unicuique conspicuos emisit; vocant eam Graeci cometen. Qua visione pavor magnus omnes invasit.

Anno 837 Antiochia subito omnibus partibus flagravit, ita ut maior pars urbis mox flammis absumeretur, quippe ira Dei, qui eam de vastatione et exitio impendenti praemonuerat. Itaque incendium repentinum sex fere menses in omnibus vicis urbis saeviit. Plurimae in ea animae una cum reliquis ejus aedificiis perierunt. Nec tamen quisquam invenit, unde incendium natum esset. Nam summae, quinta et sexta, contignationes primae flagrarunt, unde incendium in omnia vicina se prorupit.¹¹

Igitur Iustiniano¹² septimum annum regnante,¹³ scilicet anno 837, Antiochia magna quinta vastatione eversa est. Hora enim septima facta est eversio atrocior et tristior quam quae narrari possit. Nam ira caelestis adeo velemens et acris fuit, ut, quicumque e vi crudeli motus et eversionis atrocis

ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας διήλθεν ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ φοβερός ἀστὴρ, ὀνόματι κομήτης, ὃς εἶχεν ἀκτῖνα πεμπόουσαν ἐπὶ τὰ κάτω, ὃν ἔλεγον εἶναι πωγωνίαν· καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο.

τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ συνέβη ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐμπρησμὸν μέγαν γενέσθαι ὑπὸ θεϊκῆς ὀργῆς· ὅστις ἐμπρησμός προεμήνυσε τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ μέλλουσαν ἔσσεσθαι ἀγανάκτησιν· ἐκαύθη γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ μαρτυρίου τοῦ ἀγίου Στεφάνου ἕως τοῦ πραιτωρίου τοῦ στρατηλάτου. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐμπρησμοὶ πολλοὶ εἰς διαφόρους γειτονίας τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως [ἐπὶ μῆνας ἕξ],¹² καὶ ἐκαύθησαν πολλοὶ οἴκοι καὶ ἀπόλωντο πολλὰ ψυχὰ καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐγίνωσκε πόθεν τὸ πῦρ ἀνῆπτετο· [ἔκ γὰρ τῶν κεράμων τῶν πενταστέγων ἀνελάμβανεν].

τῷ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ θεομηρίας Ἀντιόχεια ἡ μεγάλη τὸ πέμπτον αὐτῆς πάθος ἐν μηνὶ Μαῖῳ [ῥα ζ] ὑπατείας Ὀλυβρίου, [πάθος ἀνεξήγητον,] πολὺς γὰρ ἦν ὁ φόβος ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ γεόμενος κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν, ὥστε [πτωθῆναι σχεδὸν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ] τοὺς συλληφθέντας ὑπο τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων

⁹ We have two more or less complete epitomes, viz. the Oxford and the Escorial besides the Tusculan Fragments, the portion contained in Cod. Paris 1336, part of which was published by Cramer (*Anecd. Paris* ii. 231), the Old Slavonic translation, and some unpublished fragments in a manuscript at Tours.

¹⁰ Justin is the emperor meant.

¹¹ The Syriac means 'and so it devoured all the men in the vicinity.'

¹² These additions occur also in John of Nikiu.

¹³ The common mistake is to be noted; it was really the eighth year.

evaserant, eos ignis torreret et conflagraret, et scintillae volitantes, quocunque inciderant, ibidem incendium excitarent atque humus ipsa sub cineribus aestuans et ardens omnia inflammaret. Itaque etiam fundamenta cum toto aedificio sublata subsilierunt et hiaverunt, et subversa ac post ruinam igne consumpta sunt. Quicunque autem evaserant . . . cum fugere vellent, ignis obvius torruit et conflagravit.

Atque flamma saevissime lambens arsit ira vehementi; e caelo quoque pluviae instar flammae ceciderunt, imo tota urbs omnibus modis subversa, collapsa, exstincta et igne consumpta veluti fornax flagrans flammavit praeter paucas domos, quae solae in extremo monte vicino relictæ sunt. Hæ penitus concussæ et labefactatæ et ipsæ alio die subversæ sunt¹⁶ reliquasque succenderunt. Neque ulla domus, ulla ecclesia, ulla aedicula, ulla maceria horticulturala relicta est quin hiaret, scinderetur, collaberetur. Reliquæ in pulverem profusum redactæ incendio perierunt. . . . Sed ecclesia magna a Constantino Victore exstructa . . . restiterat erecta quamvis rimosa; attamen die septimo et ipsa igne funditus incensa subito in rudus collapsa est.

Ceteris ecclesiis idem obtigit, quæ a funesto terræ motu salvæ emersæ tandem igne repentino vehementissima ira correptæ funditusque subversæ sunt. In eadem urbe Antiochia incolæ perierunt . . . sicut scribit *Ioannes Antiochenus carum rerum auctor* . . . millia CCL. numero. Multi enim propter festum in urbem conveniant. Sed tertio die post urbis

ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ πυρικήστους γενέσθαι,¹⁴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος δὲ σπινθήρας πυρὸς φαίνεσθαι.¹⁵ καὶ ἔκαιον ὡς ἀπὸ ἀστραπῆς τὸ εὐρισκόμενον καὶ ἐκόχλαξε τὸ ἔδαφος τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκεραυνούντο οἱ θεμέλιοι κουφιζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν σεισμῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς τεφρούμενοι, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς φεύγουσιν ὑπῆντα το πῦρ.

καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν θαύμα φοβερὸν καὶ παράδοξον, πῦρ ἐρευγόμενον ὄμβρον, ὄμβρος καμίνων φοβερῶν, φλόξ εἰς ἕτερον λυομένη, καὶ ἕτερος ὡς φλόξ ἐξαπτόμενος.

καὶ ἐκ τούτου Ἀντιόχεια ἄχρηστος ἐγένετο· οὐκ ἔμεινε γὰρ εἰ μὴ τὰ πρὸς ὄρος μόνον παροικούμενα οἰκήματα.

οὐκ ἔμεινε δὲ οὔτε ἄγιος οἶκος εὐκτηρίου ἢ μοναστηρίου ἢ ἄλλου ἁγίου τόπου ἀδιάρρηκτος.¹⁷

τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα συνετελέσθησαν εἰς τὸ πάντελες· ἡ δὲ μεγάλη ἐκκλησία Ἀντιοχείας ἡ κτισθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως . . . ἔστη ἐπὶ ἡμέρας β' . . . καὶ αὐτὴ ὑπὸ πυρὸς ληφθεῖσα κατηνέχθη ἕως ἑδάφους.

καὶ ἕτεροι δὲ οἶκοι μὴ πεπτωκότες ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους τοῦ θεϊκοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς διελύθησαν ἕως θεμελίων.

καὶ ἀπόλωτο ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ φόβῳ ἄχρι χιλιάδων διακοσίων πενήτηκοντα.

ἦν γὰρ ἡ μεγάλη ἑορτὴ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἢ τῆς ἀναλήψεως. καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἦν τῶν ξένων ἐπιδημήσαν . . .

¹⁴ ἔτι ζώντας ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν πῦρ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξελθὼν κατέφλεξεν (Theoph.).

¹⁵ πῦρ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατήρχετο κάθaper σπινθήρες (ibid.).

¹⁶ The destruction of these houses is mentioned by John of Nikiu.

¹⁷ καὶ πᾶς οἶκος καὶ ἐκκλησία κατέπεσον (Theoph.).

ruinam, nempe die dominica, crux lucida ab occidente in caelo apparuit. Quo spectaculo turbati homines superstites unam fere horam crucem intuiti sunt, clamantes 'Kyrie eleison.' . . . Deinde autem patuerunt misericordia et gratia Dei. Quatenus enim incendium se proruperat, XXX. vel XL. diebus viri, feminae, adolescentes, et infantes vivi inventi sunt. . . . Per omnes eos dies noctesque, imo ad sesquiennium, terrae motus perpetim continuavit.

Anno 850 Pompeiopolis urbs subito demersa est. Ea non solum . . . eversa est, sed in ea factum est etiam portentum horribile. Solo per mediam urbem subito fatiscente et hiante ipsa dimidia una cum incolis in hiatus horribilem ac tristem visu immersa est. Viva igitur, ut scriptum est, in inferos descendit. Quicumque autem in fossam . . . inciderant, in intima terrae immersi omnes simul ex terra per multos dies tristissima voce vivos implorant. . . . Qua re cognita rex multum auri misit, si homines obruti servari possent. Cum vero ne una quidem anima ullo modo iuvari et servari potuisset, aurum incolis superstitibus . . . datum est ad reliqua urbis reficienda.

Itemque anno 851¹⁹ Antiochia sextum subversa est. Nam duobus annis post quintum excidium, Iustiniano rege, mense Thesrin posteriore, die XXIX., feria IV. hebdomadis, hora X. Antiochia sextum subversa est. Eo die per unam horam vehemens fuit terrae motus. Quo defluente, murmur ingens, vehemens, et terribile vocis tauri mugientis simile ortum . . . ita ut aedificia post excidium refecta omnia subverterentur, moenia et

εδείχθη γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ μυστήρια τοῦ φιλανθρώπου Θεοῦ· ἔγκοι γὰρ γυναῖκες δι' εἴκοσι ἡμερῶν ἢ καὶ τριάκοντα ἀνήλθον σὺν νηπίοις ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ ἔζησαν μετὰ τῶν τεχθέντων ἐξ αὐτῶν . . . τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν πτώσιν ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὁ τίμιος σταυρὸς . . . κατὰ τὸ ἀρκτῶον μέρος τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως· καὶ πάντες θεασάμενοι αὐτὸν ἔμειναν κλαίοντες καὶ εὐχόμενοι ἐπὶ μίαν ὥραν. ἐγένοντο δὲ . . . καὶ ἄλλοι σεισμοὶ πολλοὶ ὡς ἐπὶ χρόνον ἑνιαυτοῦ καὶ μηνῶν ἕξ.

ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ἔπαθεν ὑπὸ θεομηνίας ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ Πομπηίου-πολις.

τῆς γὰρ κινήσεως γενομένης ἐξαιφνης ἐσχίσθη ἡ γῆ καὶ ἐχαώθη τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς πόλεως¹⁸ μετὰ τῶν οἰκητόρων, καὶ ἦσαν ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸ ἦχος αὐτῶν ἐφέρετο τοῖς περισωθεῖσι [βοώντων ἐλεηθῆναι].

καὶ πολλὰ ἐφιλοτιμήσατο ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν ἐκχύσειν τοῦ περιωθηθῆναι τοὺς ὄντας ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ζήσασι καὶ τῇ πόλει εἰς ἀνανέωσιν.

Συνέβη δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ [μηνὶ Νοεμβρίῳ κθ', ὥρα γ', ἡμέρα δ', ἰνδ. ζ'] ὑπὸ θεομηνίας παθεῖν Ἀντιόχειαν τὸ ἕκτον αὐτῆς πάθος [μετὰ δύο ἔτη τοῦ πρώτου αὐτῆς πάθους] ὃ δὲ γεγωνὸς σεισμὸς κατέσχευε²⁰ ἐπὶ μίαν ὥραν, καὶ μετὰ τούτου βρονγμὸς φοβερός, ὥστε τὰ ἀνανεωθέντα κτίσματα ὑπὸ τῶν πρῶην γενομένων φόβων καταπεσεῖν καὶ τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τινὰς ἐκκλησίας. [καὶ ἐκ τῶν μὴ πεσόντων παλαιῶν κτισμάτων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ σεισμῷ κατηνέχθησαν νῦν].

¹⁸ διαβραγεῖσα μέσον καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ κατεπόθη (Geo. Mon.)

¹⁹ This should be 840. The numbers in Jo. Eph. are very corrupt.

²⁰ καὶ ἐγένετο σεισμὸς μέγας (Theoph.)

portae urbis, imprimis ecclesia magna et ceterae ecclesiae et martyria aliaeque domus, quibus proximus terrae motus pepercerat, omnes praeter paucas collaberentur. Clade excidioque urbis Antiochiae cognitae oppida urbi circumiecta omnia maxima tristitia et anxietate confecta sunt.

Atque vici circumiecti . . . omnes X. millium spatio eruti sunt. . . . Multi incolae occisi sunt. . . . Eorum autem qui vivi evaserant plerique . . . in alias urbes fugerunt, alii in monte urbi opposito e stragulis et indumentis tegetibusque sibi tentoria fecerunt, in quibus hieme dura habitarent. Nam . . . terrae motum hiems dura subsecuta est. . . . Qui autem in ipsa urbe remanserant, magno moerore lamentati sunt, iidem ramos oleaginos portantes pedibus nudis nivem transierunt atque . . . in nivem procubuere, luctu tristi fletuque vehementi exclamantes, 'Kyrie eleison.' . . . Sed, dum illi precabantur, Christiano cuidam fidei species oblata est, quae eum iussit cuius incolae Antiocheno superstiti dicere ianuis . . . haec inscribenda esse: 'Christus vobiscum. Statote.'

Anno 852 Laodicea funditus diruta est a porta Antiochiae ad vicum²³ Iudaeorum. Hominum autem, qui quidem numerati sunt, septem millia quingenti perierunt. Multi Iudaei, Christiani pauci viri. . . . Ceterum Deo iuvante ne una quidem ecclesia subversa corruit. . . . Rex autem magnam misit pecuniam, qua et Laodicea reficeretur.

Anno 854 terra movit, quo motu

τὰ δὲ συμβάντα ἠκούσθη καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι καὶ²¹ πᾶσαι πενθοῦσαι ἐλιτάνεον.

ἔπαθε δὲ καὶ μέρη τῶν πέριξ τῆς πόλεως· τελευτῶσι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σεισμῷ ἄχρι ψυχῶν πεντακισχιλίων. οἱ δὲ περισωθέντες πολῖται [ἔφυγον] εἰς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, φανεροὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν [ἐν καλύβαις] ᾤκουν.

[γένετο δὲ καὶ χειμῶν μέγας καὶ βαρύτατος· καὶ ἐλιτάνεον οἱ ἀπομείναντες πάντες ἀνυπόδητοι κλαίοντες καὶ ρίπτοντες ἑαυτοὺς πηγεῖς εἰς τὰς χύονας, κράζοντες τό, 'Κύριε, ἐλέησον.'

(Λιτανεύοντων δὲ πάντων καὶ τρεμόνων)²² ἐφάνη ἐν ὄραματι τινὶ θεοσεβεῖ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὥστε εἰπεῖν πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπολειφθεῖσιν, ἵνα ἐπιγράψωσιν εἰς τὰ ὑπέρθυρα αὐτῶν· 'Χριστὸς μεθ' ἡμῶν· στήτε.'

ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ συνέβη παθεῖν ὑπὸ σειμοῦ Λαοδικεῖαν . . . κατηνέχθη δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου τὸ ἦμισυ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως καὶ αἱ συναγωγαὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων· ἀπόλοντο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ φόβῳ χιλιάδες ἑπτα ἦμισυ, Ἑβραίων τε πλήθος καὶ χριστιανῶν ὀλίγοι· αἱ δὲ ἐκκλησίαι τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἔμειναν ἀρραγεῖς, περισωθείσαι ὑπὸ Θεοῦ. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἐχαρίσατο τοῖς Λαοδικεῦσιν εἰς ἐκχούσιν τῆς αὐτῶν πόλεως. μηνὶ Ἑπτεμβρίῳ ἰνδ. ζ' ἐγένετο

²¹ ταῦτα μαθοῦσαι αἱ πλησιάζουσαι πόλεις (Theoph.)

²² These words come from George the Monk.

²³ The reading of this word is not clear in the Syriac.

urbs Cyzicus subversa et magna ex parte collapsa est.

Eodem anno tempore vespertino ab occidente apparuit stella magna et horribilis . . . quae magnum fulgur sursum emittebat: ex hoc, quod et ipsum valde splendebat, exibant parvi radii ignei. . . . Graeci eam cometen vocant. Eundem in modum per XX. dies orta est oculisque mortalium se obtulit. Postea multi . . . multa viderunt bella, terrorem evagatum, sitim, pluviae inopiam, atque series devastationum in urbibus factarum.

σεισμός ἐν Κυζίκῳ καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἔπεσε.²⁴

ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς βασιλείας [ινδ. θ'] ἐφάνη ἀστὴρ μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς κατὰ τὸ δυτικὸν μέρος, πέμπων ἐπὶ τὴν ἄνω ἄκτινα λευκὴν,²⁵ ὃ δὲ χαρακτῆρ αὐτοῦ ἀστραπαῦς ἀπέπεμπεν.

ὃν ἔλεγόν τινες εἶναι λαμπαδιαν. ἔμεινε δὲ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας κ' ἐκλάμπων, καὶ ἐγένοντο δὲ ἀνυδρίαὶ καὶ κατὰ πόλιν δημοτικοὶ φόνοι καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἀπειλῆς πεπληρωμένα.

A later fragment of John of Ephesos (II. 1) also shows considerable resemblances to the work of John Malala; but on this I do not insist, as the portions in which they occur all relate to events in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and John of Ephesos, who resided in that city, may have got his information from some civic records similar to the extracts published by Cramer,²⁶ and it is plain that some such records must have been used also by John Malala. The passages which I have given are sufficient to show beyond a doubt that the resemblance between the two authors is not accidental. If, therefore, it be not admitted that John of Ephesos copied John Malala, it will be necessary to suppose that he copied another John of Antioch, otherwise unknown, and that John Malala copied either this John or John of Ephesos himself. Such an assumption should clearly not be made without very cogent reason, unless indeed some evidence can be produced of the existence of such an historian. A passage in Evagrius may perhaps be brought forward as providing the evidence required, but I believe that his testimony, when properly examined, will be found to tell strongly in favour of the view that the John referred to is no other than John Malala. Evagrius relates the fire and earthquake of Antioch in the following terms:—

ὑπὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς Ἰουστίνου χρόνοις ἐμπρησμοὶ τε συχνοὶ καὶ δεινοὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου γεγόνασιν, ὥσπερ ἠγοούμενοι τῶν γεγενημένων ἐν αὐτῇ φοβερωτάτων κλόνων καὶ προοίμιον τοῖς παθήμασι παρεχόμενοι. Μετὰ γὰρ βραχὴν τινα καιρὸν, ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, μηνὶ δεκάτῳ, ἀνὰ τὸν Ἀρτεμίσιον μῆνα ἦτοι Μάιον, κθ' αὐτοῦ ἡμέρα κατ' αὐτὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας τὸ σταθερώτατον, τῆς ἕκτης ἡμέρας τῆς καλομένης ἑβδομάδος, βρασμὸς καὶ σεισμός ἐπελθόντες τῇ πόλει μικροῦ πᾶσαν ἀνατρέψαντες κατήγαγον ὅς καὶ πῦρ εἶπετο ὥσπερ τὴν συμφορὰν μετ' αὐτῶν διανεμόμενον. Ἄ γὰρ ἐκείνοι οὐ κατέλαβον, τὸ πῦρ

²⁴ σεισμός μέγας εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ὥστε πτωθῆναι τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς Κυζίκου (Theoph.)

²⁵ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἄκτινας ἀστραπτούσας (*ibid.*)

²⁶ *Anecd. Paris.* ii. 110 ff.

ἀμφινεμόμενον ἐξηθράκισέ τε καὶ ἀπετέφρωσε. καὶ ὅσα μὲν τῆς πόλεως πέπονθεν, ὅσοι τε τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τῶν σεισμῶν ἔργον γέγονασιν, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς ὑπέθετο, ὁποῖά τε παράδοξα καὶ λόγον κρείττω συμβέβηκε, περιπαθῶς ἀφήγηται Ἰωάννη τῷ ῥήτορι ᾧδε τῆς ἱστορίας καταλήξαντι.

Now, if this last statement represents the absolute fact, it is plain that John the Rhetor cannot be our John Malala (Malala is similar in meaning to Rhetor²⁷), for the latter, as we know, brought his chronicle down to 565.²⁸ But Dr. E. Patzig, in a pamphlet entitled 'Unerkannt und unbekannt gebliebene Malalafragmente,'²⁹ has produced very strong reasons for believing that the two authors are the same, and that the 18th book of John Malala is a later addition, a result at which I had arrived before I saw his work. As, however, the pamphlet is not very accessible in England, and as Dr. Patzig has not made his case nearly as strong as he might have done, I will give briefly the reasons which have led me to this conclusion.

In the passage quoted above the resemblance to the narrative of John Malala already given is remarkable. The passage in Evagrius is only a short compendium, and is naturally written in a more classical style than that of the Syriac-speaking chronographer; hence actual quotations cannot be expected. Still there are no details in Evagrius which are not to be found either in the epitome of John Malala or in Theophanes, and the coincidences are not a little striking: we have only to compare ὡς περ ἡγούμενοι . . . προοίμιον τοῖς παθήμασι παρεχόμενοι with ὅστις προεμήνυσε τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι ἀγανάκτησιν and with the τὰ προοίμια τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὀργῆς and αὕτη ἐγένετο ἄρχη ᾧδίνων of Theophanes, μικροῦ πᾶσαν ἀνατρέψαντες κατήγαγον with πτωθῆναι σχεδὸν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, and τὸ πῦρ ἐξηθράκωσέ τε καὶ ἀπετέφρωσε with ἐκεραυνοῦντο οἱ θέμελιοι . . . ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς τεφρούμενοι.

Moreover Evagrius shares the mistake of John Malala in placing the earthquake in the seventh year of Justin, and also, like him, inserts this date between the account of the fire and that of the earthquake, although the two events happened in the same regnal year and the same indiction. Soteriades, indeed, believes that John the Rhetor is the historian known to us as John of Antioch. The latter was, however, a sober political historian and did not write turgid (*περιπαθῶς*) accounts of earthquakes; and, even if we concede that he might have devoted some space to the great earthquake of 526, an examination of the passages in which Evagrius mentions John the Rhetor affords, I think, convincing proof that he is not refer-

²⁷ Malala is also written Malela, and therefore probably represents the common Syriac title 'Malilo' = *λόγιος*, which is often equivalent to *ῥήτωρ* when an ecclesiastic is referred to.

²⁸ He gives the length of Justinian's reign.

²⁹ *Abhandlung zu dem Jahresberichte der Thomasschule zu Leipzig, 1891.*

ring to our John of Antioch. The events which he relates on the avowed authority of John the Rhetor are five in number—(1) the translation of the bones of Ignatius, (2) the earthquake of Antioch in 457, (3) the murder of Bishop Stephen of Antioch, (4) the buildings of Mammian in Antioch and its suburbs, (5) the fire and earthquake of 525–6. Now it is hardly necessary to point out that these are not the kind of events which John of Antioch records, and in the case of 1 and 4 I have no hesitation in saying that he cannot have recorded them. Moreover, if Evagrius had such a valuable historian before him, it is not credible that he should have used him only for such unimportant facts as these. On the other hand, the pages of John Malala teem with such occurrences, and it should be noted that every one of these relates to the local affairs of Antioch, on which John Malala is particularly well informed, whereas John of Antioch, in spite of his traditional name, shows no special interest or knowledge. Moreover, three of these events are actually found recorded in the extant portions of John Malala. For the reigns of Marcian and Leo the epitomes are especially scanty; consequently we have no means of comparing John's account of the earthquake of 457, which, in the epitome, is no more than a bare statement of the fact, with the narrative of Evagrius; it may be noted, however, that both authors give the month and day of the month, and the year of the city³⁰ era; and both say that it happened at daybreak on a Sunday;³¹ both also state that Leo sent large gifts to the citizens personally and for the rebuilding of the city. The murder of Bishop Stephen, again, is related in similar language by the two historians, John Malala having *ἔσφάγη . . . εἰς καλάμια ὄξυνθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ κλήρου τοῦ ἰδίου*, and Evagrius *ὄν παῖδες Ἀντιοχείων καλάμοις διεχειρίσαντο ἵσα δόρασιν ὄξυνθεισιν*.

It follows, then, that, if we deny the identity of John Rhetor and John Malala, we must hold that there were two men who were both named John, were both described by a similar title, both lived at Antioch, both wrote histories, both gave special attention to events of no political importance, such as natural calamities, local affairs, and translations of relics, both recorded the earthquake of 457, with the month and day and year of Antioch, both mentioned the gifts of Leo to the city after that event, both described the peculiar manner in which Bishop Stephen was killed, and in the description used the expression *κάλαμοι ὄξυνθέντες*, both narrated in similar language the fire and earthquake of 525–6, both wrongly placed the earthquake in the seventh year of Justin, and both wrongly supposed that the fire and the

³⁰ The variation in the numbers (an easy corruption) is of no importance.

³¹ *διαφάουσης κυρ:ακῆς* (Jo. Mal.); *κυρίας ἐπικαταλαβοῦσης ἡμέρας* (Evagr.).

earthquake occurred in different regnal years. On this ground alone, then, it seems impossible to resist the conclusion that the two authors are identical. But, further, the passages in which John Rhetor is mentioned by Evagrius are not the only ones in which a use of John Malala can be detected; Evagrius 3, 37 (latter half), 43, 44, containing the accounts of the fortification of Dara, the rebellion of Vitalian, the invasion of the Huns, the earthquake of Rhodes, and the Trisagion riots, are derived from John Malala, as must be apparent to any one who compares them with the corresponding narratives in that author, though Dr. Patzig does not seem to have noticed the fact. It is not possible to hold that John drew from Evagrius, as he has many details which do not occur in that author, whereas, with the exception of a single statement in chapter 44, which, as he says himself, he derived from Severus, there is nothing in Evagrius which is not to be found in John Malala. The same is probably the case with the first four chapters of book iv., though here Evagrius has several details which do not occur in our present text of John Malala. It would hence appear that from 502, at which point Eustace of Epiphaneia stopped, as far as 526 John Malala was the chief authority followed by Evagrius, and the fact that Evagrius has gone to him for his account of Vitalian's rebellion is very strong evidence that he was not acquainted with our John of Antioch, for the latter has a much fuller account of that event, of which he seems to have been an eye-witness. The edition of John Malala used by Evagrius, from which the eighteenth book, or the greater part of it, was absent, might possibly have been an epitome; but, considering the date of Evagrius, it is more probable that the work of John Malala originally ended with the death of Justin, or rather with the year 528,³² at which point is inserted a reckoning up of the time from the creation,³³ followed by the expression *ἐν δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις τούτοις, ὡς προείπον*, which does not, I believe, occur elsewhere in John Malala, and that the author, like Marcellinus, afterwards added the events of his own day down to the death of Justinian. If, however, the statement of Evagrius be insisted on, and the identity of the two Johns rejected, the case for the identification of John Malala with the author mentioned by John of Ephesos becomes all the stronger; for, as we can hardly suppose that the latter used an authority for the earthquake of 528 and the earthquake of Laodikeia different from the one which he uses for the earthquake of 526, the author whom he followed must have continued his work later than 526, and cannot, therefore, be the same as John Rhetor; hence we shall have to postulate not only one but two unknown Johns of Antioch.

³² The statement of Evagrius cannot, of course, be pressed to mean that the earthquake was absolutely the last event recorded by John.

³³ Such a chronological recapitulation occurs elsewhere only at the birth of Christ

Seeing, then, how great are the difficulties raised by any other hypothesis, I hold it to be certain that the three Johns were one and the same person. This author must, then, have written before John of Ephesos wrote the second part of his 'Ecclesiastical History.' Now the third part of this work was written during a series of years of which the earliest that can be demonstrated is 581; the second part was, therefore, completed before that year, and the chronicle of John Malala must have been finished some considerable time earlier, as we have to allow time for John of Ephesos to write his second part. It is scarcely necessary to point out how well this agrees with the conclusion, already shown on other grounds to be probable, that the work ended with the death of Justinian. From the expression by which that emperor is designated in the Tusculan Fragments it would follow that the greater part of the eighteenth book was added during Justinian's reign, and the work would then naturally have been completed immediately after his death in 565. This, it may be mentioned, is essentially the same view as that maintained by Mommsen, though he does not show any knowledge of John of Ephesos, nor does he take any note of the confirmation derived from the Tusculan Fragments and from Evagrius.

E. W. BROOKS.

THE OXFORD COUNCIL OF DECEMBER 1197.

GREAT importance is rightly assigned to the first instances of 'a constitutional opposition to a royal demand for money,'¹ of which the two alleged earliest cases are 'the opposition of St. Thomas to the king's manipulation of the danegeld [1163], and the refusal by St. Hugh of Lincoln to furnish money for Richard's war in France [1197].'² These two precedents are always classed together: Dr. Stubbs writes of St. Hugh's action—

The only formal resistance to the king in the national council proceeds from St. Hugh of Lincoln and Bishop Herbert of Salisbury, who refuse to consent to grant him an aid in knights and money for his foreign warfare . . . an act which stands out prominently by the side of St. Thomas's protest against Henry's proposal to appropriate the sheriff's share of danegeld.³

And Mr. Freeman repeats the parallel:—

Thomas . . . withstands, and withstands successfully, the levying of a danegeld. . . . As Thomas of London had withstood the demands of the father, Hugh of Avalon withstood the demands of the son. In a

¹ Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* (1874), i. 510.

² *Ibid.* p. 577.

³ *Select Charters* (1870), pp. 28-9. So too preface to Rog. Hoveden (1871): 'It may be placed on a par with St. Thomas's opposition to Henry II in 1163' (iv. pp. xci-xcii). So also *Early Plantagenets* (1876), p. 126, and *Const. Hist.* i. 510.



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The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians

THE history of the Roman empire at the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth is a subject to which but little attention has been paid by historians. Gibbon, in whose pages the period is almost a blank, characterises it as follows :—

After the fall of the Roman empire in the west an interval of fifty years till the memorable reign of Justinian is faintly marked by the obscure names and imperfect annals of Zeno, Anastasius, and Justin, who successively ascended the throne of Constantinople.

But in spite of the opinion of Gibbon the subject is not without its special interest ; for during this period the power of the generals of barbarian birth, who had so long tyrannised over the empire of the east and at this very time destroyed the empire of the west, was overthrown by the mountaineers of Isauria, and an Isaurian chief reigned almost as a foreign conqueror over the eastern empire. These striking events are to my mind worthy of more attentive study than any that has yet been given to them ; though in justice to Gibbon it should be observed that the important fragments of John of Antioch were not known to him,¹ while in our own time much new light has been thrown upon the period through the publication of fresh fragments of this author and of John Malala by Müller in 1870² and in a more complete form by Mommsen in the 'Hermes' for 1872. Mr. Hodgkin, writing since the publication of these new sources of information, has made use of them in his account of the death of Odovacar and of the rebellion of Vitalian, but in his narrative of Isaurian affairs he has strangely neglected

¹ He knew only the excerpts *De virtute*, which do not bear upon this particular subject.

² *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, v. 27.

them altogether ;³ besides, as from the nature of his subject he relates the events only with regard to their effect upon Italian history, his account is necessarily an incomplete one. Mr. Bury, in his 'History of the Later Roman Empire,' has treated the Isaurian history of this period in a short and not altogether satisfactory manner ; his account of the rebellion under Anastasius, in which he has trusted too much to a German dissertation by Rose,⁴ is in particular full of inaccuracies, as I hope presently to show. No special work has, so far as I am aware, been written upon the subject of the Isaurian domination, and I have therefore thought it worth while to relate the events connected with it in some detail, so far as they can be made out from the original authorities, the fragments of Malchos, Eustace of Epiphaneia, and John of Antioch, the Epitome of Candidus, the Chronicles of Joshua the Stylite⁵ and Marcellinus, and the Chronographies of John Malala and Theophanes, with occasional help from Theodore the Reader, Jordanes, Liberatus, Evagrius, and the later Byzantines.

The barbarians, who since the time of Constantine had formed an ever increasing part of the Roman armies, were in the middle of the fifth century already building kingdoms of their own upon the ruins of the western empire, and even in the east scarcely a general could be found who was not of barbarian origin ; hence it might with good reason be expected that the empire of the east would in no long time suffer the fate of the west. Upon the death of the Emperor Marcian, the Alan Aspar, who played the same part in the east as Ricimer in the west, had placed his client Leo on the throne of Constantinople, and during the early part of Leo's reign, though the obscure Dacian bore the title of emperor, the imperial authority was in the hands of 'the patrician' (for in order to designate Aspar it was not necessary to mention his name), so that we actually find Pope Leo writing to the Arian barbarian to beg him to use his influence for the suppression of the disturbances directed against the faith of Chalcedon.⁶ The emperor had even promised to bestow upon Patrick, the son of Aspar, the title of Caesar and to give him his daughter in marriage,⁷ and it seemed but a step further to subject the eastern empire, like that of the west, to the avowed supremacy of a barbarian master.

But Aspar had mistaken the character of the man with whom

³ *Italy and her Invaders*, vol. iii.

⁴ Adolf Rose, *Kaiser Anastasius I.* Dissert. Halle-Wittenberg. 1852.

⁵ Joshua the Stylite, whose work has been little noticed by historians, was a native of Edessa, and wrote a Syriac chronicle of the events of his own times down to the year 507. It deals principally with the Persian war under Anastasius, but has also some important notices of earlier events. It was published with an English translation by the late Professor Wright. (Cambridge. 1882.)

⁶ Leo, *Ep.* 151, 153.

⁷ Marcell. ann. 471. Cf. Jo. Mal. ap. Mommsen, *Hermes*, vi. 369.

he had to deal. Leo had, indeed, readily accepted the empire at the hands of the Alan, and, lacking any authority of his own, had been forced to submit to the dictation of his barbarian patron; but he chafed under the yoke, and soon began to look about for some means whereby he might make himself emperor in deed as well as in name. But the Goths, Alans, and other barbarians, who filled the Roman armies, were the devoted servants of Aspar,⁸ and from the unwarlike Romans no help was to be expected; where then could the emperor find a weapon wherewith to overthrow the patrician? On the southern slopes of Mount Tauros there lived a race of hardy mountaineers, who in their native strongholds had for centuries defied the power of Rome. The victories of Servilius Isauricus and other Roman generals, if they ever penetrated the fastnesses at all, had been but passing occupations, and the Isaurians had maintained their independence against the Romans as securely as the Montenegrins against the Turks, supporting themselves, like the Highlanders of Scotland, by plundering raids into the plains below; and this independence had been so far recognised that they were designated as barbarians and seem never to have obtained the Roman citizenship. During the weakness of the empire after the death of the elder Theodosius they had extended their ravages over nearly the whole of Asia Minor, and a lively picture of the distress and terror caused by them at this time is preserved to us in the letters of John Chrysostom. These cruel inroads had never been forgotten, and Isaurian was still in Roman ears a name of abomination. The use which might be made of them as defenders of the sinking empire had not, however, been altogether overlooked, and in the reign of the younger Theodosius an Isaurian named Zenon had held the position of a Roman general and consul, and had become so powerful, probably by the support of his warlike countrymen, that the emperor's jealousy had been aroused, and he was preparing to make war upon the Isaurian, when his attention was diverted by the news of Attila's preparations against the west.⁹

It was towards this warlike people that Leo now turned his eyes. With the plan of an Isaurian alliance perhaps already in his mind, he had found courage to refuse a request of Aspar, whereupon the patrician treated him with the greatest insolence;¹⁰ and from this moment Aspar's influence began to decline. A comparison of the passages in the so-called Leo the grammarian and Kedrenos with the

⁸ See Jo. Mal. *l.c.*

⁹ Prisc. *Fr.* 14; Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 199, 1. The latter passage is plainly a continuation of the former, and might well have been printed among the fragments of Priscus. This Zenon must, I think, be the 'great commander of the east' referred to by Damascius (ap. Phot.) *Vit. Isid. Fr.* 290 (*Vitae Philosophorum*, Didot); if so, he was a heathen.

¹⁰ Cand. ap. Phot. (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iv. 135); Leo Gramm. 113; Kedr. 346 D; Zon. 14, 1.

epitome of Candidus and the code of Justinian¹¹ makes it probable that this scene is to be placed in 459. A few years later Leo sent for an Isaurian chieftain, Tarasikodissa of Rousoumlada,¹² and gave him his daughter in marriage, the daughter whom he had promised to the son of Aspar,¹³ and the Isaurian on becoming the emperor's son-in-law changed his uncouth barbarian name for the Greek one of Zenon in memory of his countryman, the general. The date of this marriage cannot be fixed with certainty. Theophanes places it in 459, and Mr. Bury follows him, but the authority of Theophanes as a chronologist is notoriously worthless, and the date must surely be too early.¹⁴ As the young Leo was seven at the time of his death in November 474,¹⁵ and we hear of no other children of the marriage, we should probably not be far¹⁶ wrong in placing that event in 466, though it may have been a year or two earlier. At the same time or shortly afterwards Zenon was made master of the soldiers in the east.¹⁷ Henceforth there were two factions at the court of Constantinople, the Isaurian and the barbarian, which for convenience we may call the Gothic faction. For the next twenty years the history of the empire turns upon the struggle between these factions, which, as long as Aspar lived, took the form of secret intrigues for the possession of power at court and the overthrow of the rival party, but afterwards became a condition of intermittent warfare. The history of these intrigues can unfortunately be recovered only from detached fragments and notices in various writers, many of them of much

¹¹ *Cod. Just.* 1, 3, 26. Unless PP is to be changed to PU, the quarrel must have been about the prætorian prefecture, not the city prefecture, as stated by Leo and Kedrenos.

¹² This is how I should naturally have understood 'Ρουσουμβλαδέωτου, and I see that Professor Ramsay (*Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 370 note) so understands it; other writers translate it 'son of Rousoumladeotos.'

¹³ *Cand. ap. Phot.*; *Eust. Epiph. ap. Evagr.* 2, 25; *Jo. Ant. Fr.* 206. It can hardly have been Leontia who was betrothed to Patrick, as Tillemont thought, for she was not born till after her father's accession in 457; besides a marriage with the younger daughter would not have had the same significance.

¹⁴ Not to mention historical considerations, as Leontia was not born before 457, it is not at all likely that Ariadne was of sufficient age to be married in 459.

¹⁵ *Nestorian ap. Jo. Mal.* p. 376. The *Paschal Chronicle*, though copying John Malala, gives his age as seventeen, but this is impossible on any showing, besides being inconsistent with John's context (ἦν δὲ παιδίον μικρόν). It is plain, therefore, that the number in John's text is the right one.

¹⁶ The fact that Zenon was not consul till 469 is in favour of placing the marriage as late as possible.

¹⁷ *Cand. ap. Phot.* According to John Malala (p. 375) he was made *mag. in praesenti*, but *Jo. Ant.* 206, 1, and *Cod. Just.* 1, 3, 29, make it almost certain that he was *mag. per orientem*. As Ardaburius held this office in 459 (*Jo. Mal.* p. 369), he was perhaps removed in favour of Zenon. From *Cod. Just.* 1, 3, 29, it appears that Zenon was still *mag. per orientem* on 1 June 471. It would seem indeed from *Jo. Ant.* 208, that Jordanes held that office in 470; ἄπαρος is, however, sometimes equivalent to ἀπὸ ὑδάτων. It is possible that Zenon became *mag. in praesenti* during the short interval between the death of Aspar and the appointment of Theoderic, and was then succeeded in the east by Jordanes.

later date, while for the chronology, as Marcellinus and the Paschal Chronicle have scarcely any mention of these events, we have to depend almost wholly upon Theophanes, who, writing history in annalistic form, was obliged to put each event under some year, whether he knew the date or not; hence, where he does not specially mention the year of the indiction, thereby showing that he obtained his information from some official source, his authority is worth next to nothing, and he must be used only for the order of the events, and even so with the greatest caution.

That Aspar would not quietly submit to the ascendancy of Zenon was only to be expected; the first counter-move on his side was an attempt made by his son Ardaburius to gain the Isaurians for his own party and thus to leave the emperor more helpless than before;¹⁸ but this plan was betrayed to Zenon by a certain Martin, and the general of the east was easily able to prevent its execution. Of the events of the next year or two we know nothing; but in 468 matters were brought to a climax by the great expedition against the Vandals. In this expedition no share was given to Aspar and his sons, but the command by sea was entrusted to Basiliskos,¹⁹ the emperor's brother-in-law, and that by land to Marsus, an Isaurian, and Herakleios, son of Florus,²⁰ who, as he was afterwards murdered by the Goths, probably belonged rather to the Isaurian than to the Gothic faction. The expedition was ruined by the incapacity of Basiliskos, and it was said that he had been instigated by Aspar to betray the fleet under the promise of the empire.²¹ Whether this really was so, or whether Leo made use of the opportunity to raise prejudice against Aspar, cannot now be determined; at any rate it is probable that it was at this time that the death of Aspar was resolved on. Not long after this a band of Isaurian pirates, who had been plundering the island of Rhodes, were brought to Constantinople by Zenon, where a riot followed,²² for the Greeks hated the Isaurians even more than they did the Goths. This event seems to have been the first introduction of an Isaurian garrison into Constantinople, and was probably directed against Aspar. It was perhaps about the same time that Leo tried to lull the suspicions of the Alan by fulfilling his long-postponed promise of raising his son Patrick to the

¹⁸ *Cand. ap. Phot.*

¹⁹ *Proc. Bell. Vand.* 1, 6; *Theoph. AM* 5961, 5963.

²⁰ This Florus was probably the prefect and count of Egypt in 452 (*Prisc. ap. Evagr.* 2, 5).

²¹ *Idat. Chron.*; *Theod. Lect.* 1, 25; *Proc. l.c.*; *Theoph. AM* 5961. The testimony of Idatius, who finished his chronicle in the very year of the expedition, is conclusive for the fact that the charge of treason was made against Aspar at the time, though he does not say that it was connected with Basiliskos. It is curious, however, that Priscus (*ap. Theoph. l.c.*), who wrote under Zenon, when there was every inducement to disparage Aspar, states positively that Basiliskos was bribed by Geiseric. From this we may perhaps infer that the charge against Aspar was without foundation.

²² *Jo. Ant. Fr.* 206, 1.

rank of Caesar.²³ There is, however, no trustworthy date for this appointment; Victor of Tununa, whose authority is of the slightest, places it in 470, while Kedrenos puts it in 468, but apparently only from a misunderstanding of Theophanes, who mentions it retrospectively without date.²⁴ It may possibly have been much earlier, but, if so, we should have expected more notice of it in the authorities, as it would then have been of much more importance, whereas it is not at all improbable that the crafty Leo would fulfil his promise at a time when it could be of no real service to Aspar.

Shortly after the introduction of the Isaurians into Constantinople, and possibly in consequence of it, Anagast, master of the soldiers in Thrace, whose name shows him to have been a barbarian, revolted, and on being interrogated accused Ardaburius, the son of Aspar, probably not without truth, of instigating his rebellion, a charge which he supported by the production of letters from Ardaburius, which he sent to the emperor.²⁵ This event, as well as the coming of the Isaurians to Constantinople, is apparently placed by John of Antioch in the consulship of Jordanes, *i.e.* 470, but the passage is obscure, and, as the next event mentioned by him is definitely placed in 469, it is possible that *ὑπατον τιμην* is to be understood of an honorary, not an actual consulship. Not long after this the Goths under Theodemir, who were settled in Pannonia, perhaps taking advantage of Anagast's revolt, overran Macedonia and Thessaly, and were appeased only by the grant of settlements on the Thermaic Gulf.²⁶ It was perhaps in connexion with these disturbances that Zenon was sent to Thrace, where his soldiers, said to have been instigated by Aspar, made an attempt to murder him, and he with difficulty escaped to Sardis.²⁷ The doom of Aspar was now sealed; Herakleios and Marsus, who seem to have been still carrying on the war in Africa, were recalled, peace was made with Geiseric, and in 471 Aspar and Ardaburius were cut down in the palace.²⁸ Patrick the Caesar, though sorely wounded, is said to have recovered,²⁹ but he appears no more in history. Hermanric, Aspar's youngest son, was absent at the time, and so escaped. Ac-

²³ According to Zonaras it was the delay in fulfilling this promise which led to the scene with Aspar mentioned above; Leo the grammarian and Kedrenos, however, give a different reason, and they are supported by Candidus.

²⁴ Theoph. *l.c.*

²⁵ Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 206, 2.

²⁶ Jo. Ant. *l.c.*; Jord. *Get.* 56. I identify the wars mentioned by these two authors, for I cannot think that Jordanes' statement that Widemir's departure took place in the reign of Glycerius is to be pressed; it is not likely that Widemir's departure, his arrival in the west, his death, and the buying off of his son all occurred during the fifteen months of Glycerius' reign. At the same time the account of Jordanes cannot be reconciled with an earlier date than 471, whereas John of Antioch seems, though in vague language, to place it in 469.

²⁷ Theoph. AM 5962.

²⁸ Prisc. ap. Evagr. 2, 16; Cand. ap. Phot.; Marcell. ann. 471.

²⁹ So Candidus; Priscus and Marcellinus say that he was killed.

ording to Theophanes he had been warned by Zenon, and it is further asserted that he took refuge in Isauria, that he married a daughter or granddaughter of Zenon,³⁰ and that he returned to Constantinople after the accession of the latter ;³¹ as in fact we find him afterwards serving under Zenon,³² and even revealing a conspiracy to him,³³ it is not unlikely that these statements of Theophanes are true, especially as they are probably derived from Priscus. But the Gothic party in the empire did not disappear with the death of Aspar ; Theoderic, son of Triarius, a Gothic chief in Thrace, whose aunt was Aspar's wife,³⁴ on hearing of the murder of his uncle, rose against the emperor,³⁵ while Ostrya, a commander of Gothic mercenaries in Constantinople, raised a tumult in the city,³⁶ and, being driven out, took refuge most probably with Theoderic. After the Goth had taken Arkadioupolis and ravaged the suburbs of Philippoi, Leo agreed to allow him 2,000 lbs. of gold yearly and to appoint him to Aspar's office of master of both services ; he was also to be recognised as chief of the Goths, and the emperor was not to receive any deserters from among his followers ; while Theoderic on his side was to be the ally of the emperor against all enemies except the Vandals.³⁷ This treaty was practically a compromise between the two factions ; by it Constantinople and the east were secured to the Isaurians on condition that the European provinces were abandoned to the Goths.

In this position affairs remained till the death of Leo in February 474,³⁸ the only event mentioned by the authorities being an obscure conspiracy on the part of Jordanes the Vandal, master of the soldiers in the east.³⁹ Leo's young grandson, who succeeded him, immediately associated his father Zenon with him in the empire, and, as the young Leo died in November of the same year, the Isaurian chieftain remained sole emperor of the east. Now, we may suppose, the Isaurian garrison of Constantinople was greatly increased ; certainly Isaurians of all kinds were summoned to court and appointed to high offices of state.⁴⁰ Conspicuous among these

³⁰ A daughter of Zenon's bastard son, according to the text of Theophanes, but this is hardly chronologically possible, and a bastard daughter of Zenon must, I think, be meant.

³¹ Theoph. AM 5964.

³² Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214, 4.

³³ Damasc. (ap. Phot.) *Vit. Isid. Fr.* 290.

³⁴ Theoph. AM 5970. Under AM 5964 Theophanes' text has τῆς δὲ Ἀσπαρος γαμετῆς ἀδελφός, where we should probably read ἀδελφός, as in the other passage.

³⁵ Malch. *Fr.* 2.

³⁶ Jo. Mal. p. 371 ; Theoph. AM 5964. These writers call him Ostrys, but he is no doubt the same as the Ostrya of Prisc. *Fr.* 39.

³⁷ Theophanes makes Theoderic attack Constantinople and be repulsed by Basiliskos and Zenon, but this is probably a confusion with the rising of Ostrya.

³⁸ Jo. Mal. p. 376.

³⁹ Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 208. As explained above (note 17), ὕπατος must be equivalent to ἀπὸ ὑπέρω, for Jordanes cannot have been *mag. per orientem* before 471.

⁴⁰ See especially Josh. Styl. 12, and cf. Anon. Vales. 40, *favens gentis suae*.

is the extraordinary figure of Illous, afterwards master of the offices, who for the next eight years enjoyed a power as great as or greater than that of the emperor himself, the two men standing towards each other not as Roman emperor and Roman magistrate, but as two Isaurian chiefs leagued together for the government of their Roman subjects. The hatred and contempt of the Romans for their Isaurian master knew no bounds. 'The officers of the palace,' says Joshua the Stylite, 'hated Zenon the emperor, because he was an Isaurian by race.'⁴¹ Zonaras, who no doubt follows some contemporary writer, perhaps Eustace of Epiphaneia, describes him as follows:—

τὸν Ζήωνα μὴ προσήκοντα τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἔκρινεν (ὁ Λέων), ὅτι μήτε τὴν γνώμην εἶχε βασιλικήν, μήτε μὴν εἶδος ἄξιον τυραννίδος· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἦν εἰδεχθέστατος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἶχε τῆς ὄψεως χείρονα . . . ἦν δὲ ὁ Ζήων ἐξ ἔθνους αἰσχίστου τοῦ τῶν Ἰσαύρων, αἰσχιστος καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὴν μορφὴν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν γεγωνῶς, καὶ οὐχ ὡς βασιλεὺς τὴν ἄρχην ἀνῶων ἀλλ' ὡς ἀντικρὺς τύραννος.⁴²

By Evagrius also, who certainly follows Eustace, his character is painted in the blackest colours,⁴³ and he is also by more than one writer taunted with the most abject cowardice.⁴⁴ But all these assertions must be taken for what they are worth; the Romans had now become the subjects of the robbers of Isauria, whom for more than five hundred years they had in vain tried to conquer, and their wounded pride found vent in heaping insults on the emperor whom they could not overthrow. Immediately after the accession of Zenon the Goths rose in rebellion⁴⁵ and seized Herakleios, who was now master of the soldiers in Thrace.⁴⁶ Zenon collected a ransom from the kinsmen of the general and paid it to the Goths, who took the money but immediately killed their prisoner; their ravages however were checked by Illous. But a determined and, for a time, successful effort was now made to throw off the Isaurian yoke. A court intrigue, headed by Verina, the widow of Leo, and her brother Basiliskos, was formed against the emperor:⁴⁷ Illous and his brother Trokoundes were persuaded, apparently by large promises on the part of Basiliskos, to join the plot;⁴⁸ Zenon was induced by means of a trick on the part of Verina to leave Con-

⁴¹ Josh. Styl. *l.c.*

⁴² Zon. 14, 1-2; cf. Leo Gramm. 117.

⁴³ Evagr. 3, 1.

⁴⁴ Malch. *Fr.* 16; Jo. Lyd. *De Mag.* 3, 45; Evagr. 3, 3; Zon. 14, 2; cf. Damasc. (ap. Phot.) *Vit. Isid. Fr.* 169.

⁴⁵ Malch. *Fr.* 4; Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 210.

⁴⁶ John of Antioch says that Theoderic held this office, but according to Malchos he was made *mag. in praesenti*.

⁴⁷ Malch. ap. Phot.; Cand. ap. Phot.; Josh. Styl. *l.c.*; Zach. *Myt.* 5, 1 (Land, *Anecd. Syr.*, iii.); Theod. *Lect.* 1, 28 ff.; Marcell. *ann.* 475, 476; Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 210; Proc. *Bell. Vand.* 1, 7; Jord. *Rom.* 341 ff.; Anon. *Vales.* 41-43; Evagr., 3, 3-8.

⁴⁸ John of Antioch makes Illous the chief instigator of the conspiracy, but this is scarcely credible, and is not borne out by the other authorities.

stantinople, which he did on 9 Jan. 475,⁴⁹ and the conspirators, supported by the people and favoured by the Goths, remained in possession of the city, where all the Isaurians who could be found were massacred by the mob. Verina and Illous intended to set up Patrick, master or ex-master of the offices, as emperor; but this was overruled by the imperial magistrates in the conspiracy, and Basiliskos was raised to the throne. But the exiled Zenon was in a different position from any other deposed emperor, for, though he had ceased to be emperor of the Romans, he still remained an Isaurian chief, and in his native mountains, whither he had fled, might defy any force that Basiliskos could bring against him. The latter, thinking perhaps that a successful campaign in Isauria could be conducted only by Isaurians, entrusted the command to the dangerous hands of Illous and Trokoundes, but, as he did not pay them what he had promised, these Isaurians went over to the side of Zenon, who thus became strong enough to advance on Constantinople. Either during this short campaign or more probably in Constantinople at the time of the emperor's flight, Illous seems to have got possession of Zenon's brother Longinus, whom he kept as a prisoner in an Isaurian castle for ten years,⁵⁰ and it may be conjectured that it was to this fact that he owed the extraordinary influence which he exercised over the emperor. Meanwhile, in Constantinople the people were not at all disinclined to receive Zenon, for the orthodox Kalchedonians, headed by Acacius the bishop, had been roused to fury against Basiliskos by the publication of his 'Encyclical,' in which he anathematised the synod of Kalchedon,⁵¹ and, theological animosities prevailing over all other considerations, they preferred even Zenon the Isaurian to Basiliskos the Monophysite. Hence, when Armatius, the nephew of Basiliskos, who was sent to oppose the advance of the Isaurians, had been induced, by the promise of the mastership of the soldiers for himself for life, and the rank of Caesar

⁴⁹ This date, which is given by John of Antioch, is in accord with Malch. 10 (the elevation of Odovacar took place 23 Aug. 476 [Fast. Cuspin.]), with Marc. ann. 476, and with the twenty months of Procopius, as compared with the statement of John Malala (p. 379) that Zenon's restoration was in the fourteenth year of the indiction, *i.e.* before 1 Sept. 476. It cannot, therefore, be upset by the corrupt dates in the *Codex*, especially as *Cod. Just.* 5, 5, 8, is suspicious on other grounds, since Epinikos was certainly prefect in 478.

⁵⁰ Marcellinus says that Longinus gained his freedom in 485, after a captivity of ten years; it has been commonly supposed that the number is wrong, but it agrees very well with the time of the war with Basiliskos, and it explains the strange ascendancy of Illous, and the fact that Longinus was not consul till 486. That he was in the power of Illous in 479 perhaps appears from Jo. Mal. p. 385. Mr. Bury thinks that Illous did not get possession of Longinus till his revolt in 483-4, and says that there is authority for supposing Longinus to have commanded against Illous. The authority is Kodinos. According to Theophanes (AM 5975) Illous had possession of Zenon's mother also.

⁵¹ Zach. Myt. 5, 2.

for his son, to go over to Zenon, the cause of the usurper was lost, and Zenon entered Constantinople without opposition at the end of August 476 after an exile of nearly twenty months. Basiliskos was sent to Cappadocia and there beheaded.⁵² The promise to Armatius was literally kept, but he was immediately afterwards assassinated and his son degraded.⁵³ But the real ruler of the empire was now Illous, who was perhaps at this time made master of the offices.⁵⁴ His extraordinary influence with the emperor earned for him the implacable hatred of Verina and her daughter the Empress Ariadne, who three times tried without success to procure his assassination. In the summer of 477⁵⁵ one of the emperor's slaves was sent to assassinate him, and, failing, was at once surrendered to Illous by Zenon. In the following year another attempt was made, the would-be assassin in this case being an Alan, who on being interrogated confessed that he had been sent by Epinikos the prefect, a creature of Verina. Zenon immediately deposed the prefect from his office⁵⁶ and gave him up to Illous, who sent him to one of his castles in Isauria. Illous then asked leave of absence on the ground of the death of his brother Aspalius,⁵⁷ and, going himself to Isauria, conferred with his prisoner, who admitted that Verina was at the bottom of the plot. Shortly afterwards, when Zenon required his presence in Constantinople,⁵⁸ he refused to enter the city, unless the empress were delivered over to him, a request which the emperor, who had crossed the straits to meet him, immediately granted. Verina was then given into the charge of Illous' brother-in-law, Matronian, who took her to

⁵² This is the plain statement of Malchos (in Photius' *Epitome*), *τὴν Βασιλίσκου διὰ ξίφους ἀναίρεσιν*; of Candidus, *ἀποσφάζεται*; and of Evagrius (who, as usual, no doubt copies Eustace), *ἀποσφάττεται* (3, 8) (*cf.* also Theoph. AM 5969); and is to be preferred to the horrible story related by Marcellinus and the later writers; this story is not necessarily implied by Theodore.

⁵³ Malch. *ap.* Phot.; Proc. *l.c.*; Evagr. 3, 24. He is perhaps the *τινες* of Jo. Ant. 211, 1 *ad init.*

⁵⁴ If the words of John Malala (p. 386), *ἐγένετο συγκλητικὸς καὶ ὕπατος καὶ μάγιστρος καὶ πατρικὸς διοικῶν τὴν πᾶσαν πολιτείαν*, are to be taken literally, he was not made *mag. off.* till after his return in 479; but the statement cannot be literally accurate, as he was consul in 478, and is probably to be understood retrospectively.

⁵⁵ Malch. *ap.* Phot.; Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 211, 1; *ὄπω τοῦ πρώτου διαγενομένου ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἐπανόδου Ζήνωνος.*

⁵⁶ Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 211, 2. This was probably later than 1 Sept., for *Cod. Just.* 5, 5, 8, addressed to Epinikos, should, I think, be transferred to 478, since Basiliskos was reigning in 475. At any rate it was later than 1 March, for Sebastian was then prefect (*Cod. Just.* 5, 9, 7; 8, 53, 31), and had been since Feb. 477 (*Cod. Just.* 5, 27, 5; 8, 4, 9; 1, 2, 16; 1, 23, 7).

⁵⁷ Mr. Bury, confusing this retirement of Illous with that in 481-2, imagines a contradiction, which does not exist, between John of Antioch and Theophanes (rather John Malala) as to the reason alleged by him. John Malala (p. 386) on this occasion says that Zenon sent him to fetch Longinus; he also states, what is plainly false, that he brought Longinus back with him.

⁵⁸ Because of an earthquake, according to a defective passage in John of Antioch, but we may guess that the Gothic outbreak had something to do with it.

Tarsos, where she was forced to become a nun, after which she was kept in custody at Dalisandos.⁵⁹ Epinikos was then recalled on the intercession of Illous, and Pamprepus, a philosopher and magician in the following of the latter, was made quaestor.⁶⁰ The adhesion of Illous was, in fact, just now particularly required, for about the same time as the attempt upon his life, a more than ordinarily dangerous attack was made by the Goths,⁶¹ who were also in constant communication with the Gothic faction at Constantinople.⁶² The two Theoderics, who had hitherto acted as a check on one another, now united and ravaged Thrace and Illyricum without opposition. Zenon had announced his intention of taking command in person, but afterwards changed his mind, whereupon the army dispersed. Accordingly Malchos represents him as a coward, but cowardice is a strange charge to bring against an Isaurian, and the reason for his action seems to have been that, if he had withdrawn the Isaurians from Constantinople, the city would, especially considering the doubtful attitude of Illous, have risen in rebellion behind him, while without his Isaurians his life in the army would not have been safe for a day. We can hardly doubt that he had the natural courage of a barbarian,⁶³ but he probably lacked the power of making up his mind in an emergency. The indignation against him was, however, so great that during an assault upon the city of Thessalonike the citizens threw down his statues and transferred the keys of the city from the prefect to the bishop.⁶⁴

The depredations of the son of Theodemir were at last checked by Sabinian, master of the soldiers in Illyricum, whom Marcellinus calls 'the great,'⁶⁵ though the war smouldered in Epirus⁶⁶ until Theoderic's great outbreak in 482 after Sabinian's death. The son of Triarius was for the time bought off,⁶⁷ but it was not long before an event occurred which brought him again into the field. For the banishment of Verina gave occasion for a second attempt to throw off the Isaurian rule. Marcian,⁶⁸ son of the western Emperor

⁵⁹ Eust. Epiph. ap. Evagr. 3, 27; Jo. Ant. *l.c.*

⁶⁰ Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 211, 3.

⁶¹ Malch. *Fr.* 14-16; Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 211, 4.

⁶² Malch. *Fr.* 11. This conspiracy was perhaps in 477.

⁶³ The Anon. Vales. (39) calls him *exercitus in arma*.

⁶⁴ Malch. *Fr.* 18.

⁶⁵ Marcell. ann. 479.

⁶⁶ Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 211, 4 *ad fin.*

⁶⁷ Malch. *Fr.* 17; Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 211, 2.

⁶⁸ Malch. *Fr.* 19; Cand. ap. Phot.; Eust. Epiph. ap. Evagr. 3, 25; Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 211, 3, 4; Theod. Lect. 1, 37; Theoph. AM 5971. The exact chronological order of these events is not quite clear. The second attempt on the life of Illous was in 478 (Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 211, 1), while the rebellion of Marcian was at the end of 479. The defeat of the son of Theodemir by Sabinian was in 479 (Marc.), while at the time of the peace with the son of Triarius, which was before the campaign in Epirus (Malch. 18), Verina had not been banished (*id.* 17). As the rebellion of Marcian seems to have followed closely upon the banishment of the empress, the latter event was probably not before summer 479. The absence of Illous will then have continued till

Anthemius, grandson of the Emperor Marcian, and like Zenon son-in-law of Leo, with the cry of vengeance for Verina raised a rebellion in Constantinople and claimed the empire for himself on the curious ground that his wife Leontia was born in the purple, while at the time of the birth of Ariadne Leo was but a simple tribune of the soldiers. Surrounded by a force of barbarians and assisted by the citizens, who hurled down missiles from the roofs of the houses upon the emperor's troops, he easily made himself master of the city, but postponed the attack upon the palace till the next day. This gave time to Illous to bring over a force of Isaurians from Kalchedon during the night, and on the following day, partly by bribes, partly by force, he succeeded in putting down the insurrection, though his own house was burnt by the mob during the fighting. Marcian was forced to become a presbyter and sent to Kaisareia in Cappadocia, while his brother Procopius and another leader in the revolt named Bousalbos escaped to the camp of Theoderic.⁶⁹ Shortly afterwards, Marcian escaped from his confinement at Kaisareia, and at the head of a rustic force made an attack upon Ankyra, from which he was repulsed by Trokoundes. Zenon, however, with extraordinary clemency still refrained from taking his life, but he was closely imprisoned in Isauria,⁷⁰ where he was still living four years afterwards.⁷¹ It is curious to find the Isaurians taking the opportunity of these disturbances to sack two towns in Cilicia; the mountaineers were evidently not inclined to give up their plundering habits, even when their countryman was on the throne of the empire, and indeed they could live in no other way. The son of Triarius, who was in league with Marcian, arrived before Constantinople too late to support the insurrection, but he expected to get possession of the city without difficulty, 'for he thought,' says Malchos, 'that no one

that time. As he was originally intended to take command against the Goths, while we afterwards find Martinian in command, it is most likely that his departure took place in the meantime, perhaps summer 478. The treaty with Theoderic was, according to John of Antioch (*Fr.* 211, 2), made about the same time, but this is probably rather too early. John's synchronisms are not always exact; thus he places the capture of Dyrhachion by the son of Theodemir at about the same time as the defeat of Marcian, but clearly it was earlier, for Marcian's revolt was, according to John's own account, at the end of 479, while the victory of Sabinian, which must have been some time after the capture of Dyrhachion, was also according to Marcellinus in 479.

⁶⁹ Theodore the Reader adds another brother Romulus.

⁷⁰ At Tarsos, in Cilicia, according to Eustace, whose account of these events is slightly different from that of John of Antioch. I follow John, though a later writer, because his detailed account seems to show an accurate acquaintance with the facts, and because Eustace exists only in the epitome of Evagrius.

⁷¹ At a later time Zenon was troubled by a certain Theosebius, who pretended to be Procopius *ὁ Μαρκιανοῦ* (*Jo. Ant. Fr.* 212), by which the brother of Marcian is probably indicated. Against the natural rendering 'son of Marcian,' we have to set the statement of John Malala (p. 375) that Marcian had only daughters; on the other hand, as no date is given, there is no serious chronological difficulty in supposing a son of Marcian to be meant.

would defend mere walls against him, since there was no bulwark or tower standing, and that, when he entered the city, all the people would join him out of hatred to the Isaurians.' And in fact a party in Constantinople seems still to have been in collusion with him, for Dionysios, the prætorian prefect,⁷² Epinikos, the notorious accomplice of Verina, and Thraustila, a barbarian general, were about this time found to be conspiring against the emperor and executed. However the Gothic chief was disappointed in his expectation of taking the city, for he found the walls strongly guarded by Isaurian troops; so, pretending that he had come to help Zenon, he accepted the emperor's gifts and promises and went away without fighting.⁷³ He refused, however, to deliver up Procopius and Bousalbos, and, perhaps on this excuse, the office of master of one service, which had been conferred on him at the previous treaty, was, as soon as he was safely away, transferred to the Isaurian Trokoundes, who had previously been count of Isauria. He therefore still continued his ravages, and a year or two later again attacked Constantinople; ⁷⁴ but, finding it impossible to take the city, owing to the precautions taken by Illous, he retired to Thrace, where he was accidentally killed by falling against a spear. As a few years afterwards his son Rekitach was murdered by the son of Theodemir,⁷⁵ the Goths were united under one leader, and the policy of playing off one chief against the other was at an end. It is, therefore, somewhat strange to find it stated that the murder was instigated by the emperor, but Illous was then in revolt and Zenon wished to make use of the Goths against him.

For, after the defeat of Marcian, the Isaurian rule was so strongly planted that it was able to survive even a civil war among the conquerors themselves. The Empress Ariadne⁷⁶ wished to obtain the recall of her mother Verina, but when she begged the emperor to grant it, he only answered, 'Ask the patrician Illous for her;' so she sent for Illous and with tears begged him to set Verina free. But he said, 'Why do you ask for her? Is it in order that she may again make another king in opposition to your husband?' Then Ariadne went back to Zenon with the ultimatum, 'Is Illous to be in the palace or I?' to which the emperor answered, 'If you can do anything, do it; I prefer you.' This ambiguous answer was naturally followed by a third attempt on the life of the patrician.

⁷² The name of this prefect does not occur in the *Code*; if the dates are right, his prefecture must be inserted between 9 Oct. 479, and 1 May, 480 (*Cod. Just.* 1, 49, 1; 6, 23, 22).

⁷³ Mr. Hodgkin (iii. 119, note) has confused this attack on Constantinople with that of 481; the earlier one is not mentioned by Marcellinus.

⁷⁴ *Jo. Ant. Fr.* 211, 4, 5; *Marcell. ann.* 481; *Evagr.* 3, 25.

⁷⁵ *Jo. Ant. Fr.* 214, 3. The date seems to have been 484.

⁷⁶ *Jo. Mal.* p. 387; *Theoph.* AM 5972. The conversation seems to be genuine, but how did John's authority get his information? I can only conjecture that it came through Ariadne's eunuchs or slave women.

During some games in the circus⁷⁷ a scholarian named Sporacius struck a blow at the head of Illous with his sword, and the attempt was more nearly successful than either of the preceding ones, for the assassin actually succeeded in cutting off his ear. Sporacius was put to death, and the emperor took a solemn oath that he knew nothing of the matter; but it was, of course, hopeless to ask for the surrender of Ariadne,⁷⁸ so Illous begged for leave of absence, on the ground of requiring change of air, owing to his wound. This Zenon at once granted, at the same time appointing him master of the soldiers in the east in place of his former post of master of the offices. Illous then left Constantinople and took up his residence at Antioch. The date of his departure may be gathered from the story told by Liberatus to the effect that John Talaia, who had been elected by the Kalchedonians to succeed Timothy Salofaciolus in the see of Alexandria, sent a magistrian to announce his election to Illous, but the messenger on arriving at Constantinople found that Illous had gone to Antioch:⁷⁹ the death of Timothy is fixed by a letter of pope Simplicius to the winter or spring of 482.⁸⁰ With this agrees the statement of John Malala that Illous remained two years at Antioch,⁸¹ for his open revolt is placed by Marcellinus and the chronicle of Edessa⁸² in 484, and this date is confirmed by John of Antioch and Theophanes.⁸³ He was certainly in Constantinople in 481, for he defended the city against Theoderic; the consulship of his brother Trokoundes in 482 cannot perhaps be adduced to show that he was then still living at the court, for Zenon carefully avoided an open rupture for some time after his departure. That event may however be fixed with a fair degree of precision to the winter of 481-2; for the winter which he spent at Nikaia with Pamprepus, as related by Soudas,⁸⁴ was probably the winter of 479, or perhaps 480, not that of 481.

That a war between the emperor and his powerful minister was now imminent was a fact plain to all; certainly it was so to Illous himself, who had taken with him a large body of supporters,⁸⁵ the most prominent of whom were Matronian, his brother-in-law, Marsus, the Isaurian general who had commanded against the Vandals in 468, Pamprepus the quaestor, and an Isaurian ex-

⁷⁷ Eust. Epiph. ap. Evagr. 3, 27; Josh. Styl. 13; Jo. Mal. *l.c.*; Theoph. *l.c.*

⁷⁸ Jordanes (*Rom.* 349 ff.) has an extraordinary story that Zenon was instigated by Illous to kill Ariadne, and, the attempt failing, Zenon and Ariadne were reconciled and tried to kill Illous. Illous then went to the east and rebelled. I can only regard this as a blunder; we might think it a Gothic version intended to disparage the Isaurians, but Jordanes is not otherwise unfavourable to Zenon.

⁷⁹ Liber. 17.

⁸⁰ Simpl. *Ep.* 17.

⁸¹ Jo. Mal. ap. Mommsen, *Hermes*, vi. 371.

⁸² *Chron. Edess.* ap. *Assemanum, Bibl. Oricnf.* i. 405.

⁸³ Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214, 4; Theoph. AM 5976.

⁸⁴ Soudas, s.v. Παμπρέπιος.

⁸⁵ Eust. Epiph. ap. Evagr. 3, 27; Jo. Mal. *l.c.*

prefect named Kouttoulos, whom, considering the great similarity of Isaurian names, we must not identify with Indakos Kottounes, the brother-in-law of Trokoundes; this Indakos, as well as Trokoundes himself, was afterwards in the company of Illous, but does not seem to have been among those who followed him from Constantinople. Eustace and John Malala add the name of Leontius, but I shall presently show reason for thinking that it was at a later stage that Leontius appeared upon the scene. The emperor, on the other hand, was not at all ready for a war with Illous; for Theoderic, freed from his confinement in Epirus by the assassination of Sabinian, which Zenon out of jealousy had procured, was again ravaging Macedonia and Thessaly.⁸⁵ This fact, added to his fears for his brother, and perhaps a genuine disinclination for a war with Illous, probably induced Zenon to stave off the conflict by all the means in his power; he even added to the functions of Illous as master of the soldiers in the east the dangerous right of appointing dukes,⁸⁷ which was generally reserved to the emperor. But in the following year he succeeded in buying off the Gothic king by gifts of money and lands in Dacia and Moesia, the office of master of the soldiers, and the promise of the consulship for the next year,⁸⁸ probably not without an understanding that he should serve against Illous if required. If this was the case, the murder of Rekitach would be a necessary preliminary insisted upon by the Goth, for he could not go to the east and leave his rival in undisputed possession of the provinces of Europe. As Illous did not cease his preparations for war, but did his best to secure popularity by erecting public buildings and performing other services for the citizens of Antioch,⁸⁹ Zenon now took the first step against him by demanding the surrender of his brother,⁹⁰ and on his refusal, for, as the return of Longinus is placed by Marcellinus in 485, I assume that he did refuse,⁹¹ appointed John the Scythian⁹² to succeed him in his office of master of the soldiers in the east. At the same time he made speeches against Illous to the people of Constantinople, expelled his friends from the city, and confiscated their property; but, probably in order to avoid turning him into a national leader of the Isaurians, he adopted the ingenious plan of bestowing the confiscated property upon the Isaurian cities. These proceedings were

⁸⁶ Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 213; Marcell. ann. 481, 482.

⁸⁷ Theoph. AM 5972. Cf. Jo. Mal. p. 388.

⁸⁸ Marcell. ann. 483.

⁸⁹ Jo. Mal. ap. Mommsen, *Hermes*, vi. 371.

⁹⁰ Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214, 1.

⁹¹ The compound *ἐξαιτούμενος* in the middle voice followed by the infinitive (see Eur. *Hec.* 49) cannot in such late Greek be pressed as implying that the request was granted, and it may be balanced by the tense.

⁹² *ἀποστρίλας* according to John of Antioch, but it does not appear that he actually started before the expedition mentioned in 214, 4. Both Mr. Hodgkin and Mr. Bury call this man John the Goth, but there is nothing to show that he was a Goth. *Σκύθης* is quite indefinite.

accepted by Illous as a declaration of war, and he at once began to prepare more vigorously than before for the coming struggle. Leaving Antioch,⁹³ he went to Isauria to raise forces among his countrymen, perhaps also with some idea of counteracting the measures of the emperor; at the same time he sent envoys⁹⁴ to the king of Persia, the satraps of Roman Armenia, and Odovacar the king of Italy, as in default of any other title I am obliged to call him,⁹⁵ asking for aid against the emperor. The Persians and Armenians are said to have consented, and Odovacar to have refused; but oddly enough, though the Armenians were in active communication with Illous,⁹⁶ no help is stated to have come from Persia, while three years later we actually find Odovacar preparing to send assistance. With regard to the Persians, however, this is easily explained by the fact that in January 484 they were utterly defeated by the Ephthalites,⁹⁷ and their king Piroz slain.⁹⁸ The same fact makes it practically certain that the embassy from Illous is to be placed in 483 before his open rebellion, for to ask assistance from the Persians in 484 would have been useless, a consideration which induces me to place these embassies before the proclamation of Marcian, in spite of the order of John of Antioch, which, as I have before had occasion to notice, is not always strictly chronological. But, as it was unlikely that Illous would be able to rally all the Isaurians to his standard against the Isaurian emperor, and he wished to be something more than a captain of robbers, it was necessary for him to choose a rival emperor; 'for alone,' says Joshua the Stylite, 'he could not rebel nor make himself emperor, because the Romans hated him too on account of his race, and on account of his hardness of heart.'⁹⁹ His first choice fell upon Marcian,¹⁰⁰ but perhaps Marcian had had enough of rebellions, perhaps he was too proud to become the puppet of the Isaurian adventurer; at any rate this plan was soon given up, and Illous determined to make use of a more fitting instrument, which was at this time thrown into his hands by the action of the emperor. Joshua tells us that Zenon sent envoys to

⁹³ Jo. Mal. p. 388.

⁹⁴ Josh. Styl. 14; Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214, 2; cf. Proc. *De Aedif.* 1.

⁹⁵ Cf. Vict. Vit. 1, 3, *Odoacri regi Italiae*.

⁹⁶ Proc. *l.c.* This passage shows that it is the Roman, not the Persian Armenians who are meant; the latter were in fact in rebellion against Persia at this time, and were not in a position to give help to anybody.

⁹⁷ The Persians promised help, *ἔπειθ' αὖ τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἤξει*. The news of their defeat probably prevented Illous from making any serious attempt to effect a junction with them.

⁹⁸ Laz. Pharp. 70 ff.; Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214, 9 (*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. v.); Proc. *Bell. Pers.* 1, 4. The date is fixed by an eclipse: see Nöldeke's *El Tabari*, p. 425. The short account in John of Antioch is, I think, retrospective, and it is the accession of Kawat, which he rightly places in 487-8, not the death of Piroz, but his expressions are, as usual in matters of chronology, very loose.

⁹⁹ Josh. Styl. 14.

¹⁰⁰ Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214, 2.

Illous to induce him, if possible, to return to Constantinople, and, not succeeding in this, sent a certain Leontius (a native of Dalisandos¹⁰¹ according to John of Antioch, and therefore not differing much from an Isaurian) with orders to bring him by force and in case of resistance to kill him. Illous, however, gained over the general by means of bribes, and the ultimate result was the proclamation of Leontius as emperor.¹⁰² This version is corroborated by Jordanes.¹⁰³ Eustace of Epiphaneia on the other hand, a contemporary like Joshua, makes Leontius one of the original companions of Illous,¹⁰⁴ and the same account is given by John Malala.¹⁰⁵ Theophanes may be neglected, as there can be no doubt that he copies John Malala. John of Antioch being neutral, we have therefore a conflict of testimony between Joshua and Jordanes on one side, and Eustace and John Malala on the other. Now Jordanes is beyond doubt independent of Joshua,¹⁰⁶ whereas John Malala was certainly acquainted with Eustace,¹⁰⁷ and probably used him in this portion of his history as his principal authority; ¹⁰⁸ it is most likely therefore that the authority for the second version is to be reduced to Eustace alone. On the other hand the account of Joshua is to some extent supported by the testimony of the African Liberatus, who, however, makes Leontius the rebel, and Illous the general sent against him.¹⁰⁹

I have, therefore, little hesitation in deciding in favour of the Stylite, at least as to the fact that Leontius was sent by the emperor, though I should be inclined to reject his statement that Leontius came as a general at the head of an army, a detail upon which the hermit of Edessa would not be likely to have the best information, and scarcely consistent with the description of Leontius in John of Antioch. This assertion is indeed in some degree supported by Theophanes, who makes Leontius master of the soldiers in Thrace,¹¹⁰ but this statement

¹⁰¹ Πόλις Ἰσαυρικῆ, according to Capito the Lycian (ap. Steph. Byz. s.v.), but it follows from Josh. Styl. *l.c.* that he was not an Isaurian in the same sense as Illous. See Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, pp. 379, 395. There were two Dalisandoi (*id.* p. 366).

¹⁰² Josh. Styl. *l.c.*

¹⁰³ Jord. Rom. 352.

¹⁰⁴ Eust. Epiph. ap. Evagr. 3, 27.

¹⁰⁵ Jo. Mal. p. 388; *id.* ap. Mommsen, *Hermes*, vi. 371.

¹⁰⁶ There is, however, a most extraordinary connexion between the two, which it would be interesting to investigate further (cp. Josh. Styl. 13 *ad init.* with Jord. Rom. 352 *ad fin.* and Josh. Styl. 23 [p. 18, l. 19, Wright], with Jord. Rom. 355 *ad fin.*). A use of Joshua by Jordanes is of course out of the question, and a use of a common authority is equally so, as Joshua plainly writes his own recollections

¹⁰⁷ See Jo. Mal. p. 399, and the preface in the old Slavonic translation (*Hermes*, xv. 235).

¹⁰⁸ See an article by Jeep in the *Rheinisches Museum*, 1882, 427 ff.

¹⁰⁹ Liber. 17. Mr. Bury here strangely throws over all the other authorities in favour of this blundering statement of Liberatus. Tillemont, to whom he refers, has great misgivings on the subject, and was besides not acquainted with Joshua.

¹¹⁰ Theoph. AM 5972.

of Theophanes appears to be contradicted by John Malala, who, while assigning offices to the other companions of Illous, gives none to Leontius, and by John of Antioch, who simply describes him as *γονέων τε ἀφανῶν καὶ πόλεως Δαλισάνδου*. I therefore conclude that Theophanes has made some mistake, and I am inclined to combine the account of Joshua with that of John of Antioch,¹¹¹ and to suppose that the military force which accompanied Leontius was the force of Isaurians under Konon the son of Fuscian, the militant bishop of Apameia,¹¹² and Linges, the bastard brother of Illous, mentioned by the latter writer.¹¹³ It was only natural that Zenon should send Isaurians to carry on a campaign in Isauria, and Isaurian troops could be commanded only by Isaurian leaders; Leontius therefore would have no control over the soldiers, but would accompany them only in the character of an envoy and would not lead them to follow him in his revolt. In order to give some semblance of legality to the elevation of his emperor of straw, Illous now chose the strangest of allies, the Empress Verina herself.¹¹⁴ This turbulent woman was actually not unwilling to become his tool; in her desire to avenge herself upon her Isaurian son-in-law, who had handed her over to the mercies of Illous, she was ready to ally herself with Illous himself, whose life she had twice attempted; and this although it was his refusal to release her from imprisonment which had been the original cause of his quarrel with the emperor. She had previously been removed from Dalisandos to a well-known robber-fortress in Isauria called the castle of Papius;¹¹⁵ from this castle she was now brought out and taken to Tarsos, where she crowned Leontius emperor and in her own name sent a proclamation to the people of Antioch and to the provincial governors of the east and Egypt, announcing his accession.¹¹⁶ The proclamation of Verina is so important and instructive a document that it will be well to give it in full; it ran as follows: ¹¹⁷

We, Aelia Verina, the ever august, to our magistrates and to our Christ-loving peoples greeting: know that since the death of Leo of divine memory the empire is ours, and that we appointed Tarasikodissa emperor, who was afterwards called Zenon, in order to further the interests of our subjects and the whole military administration. But, seeing that the

¹¹¹ Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214, 2.

¹¹² The name of his see is given by Evagrius (3, 35), and by John Malala (p. 393).

¹¹³ For Linges see also Soudas, s.v. *βίαιοι*.

¹¹⁴ Theod. Lect. 2, 3; Jo. Ant. *l.c.*

¹¹⁵ Theod. Lect. 1, 37; Eust. Epiph. ap. Evagr. 3, 27. For the history of this castle see Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 206, 2. According to Theodore (1, 37) Marcian also was confined there.

¹¹⁶ Jo. Mal. ap. Mommsen, *Hermes*, vi. 371; Theoph. AM. 5974.

¹¹⁷ I have combined the versions of John and Theophanes into the most likely form; the original would probably be in Latin, hence the baldness of the Greek.

commonwealth and our subjects are being ruined by his avarice, we have thought it necessary to crown for you a Christian emperor, distinguished for piety and justice, that he may preserve the Roman commonwealth, carry on war without distraction (*ἡσυχως*), and protect all our subjects in accordance with the laws. So we have crowned the most pious Leontius, who will bestow forethought upon all of you.

The pointed references to the piety of Leontius contain an obvious allusion to the 'Henotikon,' issued by Zenon two years before,¹¹⁸ by means of which he proposed to include the Monophysites within the pale of the church, probably in order to avoid driving them on to the side of Illous. Of course Illous cared nothing for the synod of Chalcedon, in fact the patron of Pamprepus was not without reason suspected of being a heathen; but the proclamation was a bid for the support of the fanatical Chalcedonians against the author of the 'Henotikon.' Whether any considerable number of adherents were thus gained, we cannot say, but that Zenon was afraid of the Chalcedonians seems probable from the statement of Theodore that during the troubles with Illous he made no attempt to force the 'Henotikon' on the bishops.¹¹⁹ That the Chalcedonians were at any rate accused of taking the side of Illous we learn from the fact that Kalandion, bishop of Antioch, who was certainly on good terms with Illous, was afterwards deprived on this charge.¹²⁰ Illous too had already some personal connexion with the Chalcedonian faction through John Talaia, the Chalcedonian anti-bishop of Alexandria, who according to Liberatus had won his favour by many costly gifts, when sent by his predecessor Timothy on an embassy to Constantinople.¹²¹

When the proclamation was read out at Antioch, the people received it with the cries, 'Great is God,' and 'Lord, have mercy; give us what is good and beneficial.'¹²² Theophanes assures us that they accepted it with approval,¹²³ otherwise we might have supposed that these words, preserved by John Malala, were meant as a token of dissent. After this Leontius went himself to Antioch, which he entered 27 June 484.¹²⁴ No opposition to his elevation is recorded except at Chalkis, where the people refused to receive his busts, thus necessitating his presence in the city for a month and a half,¹²⁵ and at Edessa, where Matronian, who appeared before the town with 500 horsemen, found the gates closed against him and was unable to effect an entrance.¹²⁶ The adhesion of Leontius and Verina had extended the rebellion over all the diocese of the east, and the Isaurians under Konon and Linges, who were sufficient for a moun-

¹¹⁸ Zach. Myt. 5, 7-8 (Evagr. 3, 13-14); Liber. 17; Vict. Tun. ann. 482.

¹¹⁹ Theod. Lect. 2, 1.

¹²⁰ Zach. Myt. 5, 9 (Evagr. 3, 16); Liber. 18.

¹²¹ Liber. 16.

¹²² Jo. Mal. ap. Mommsen, *Hermes*, vi. 372.

¹²³ Theoph. *l.c.*

¹²⁴ Theod. Lect. 2, 3; Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214, 2; Jo. Mal. p. 383; Theoph. *AM* 5976.

¹²⁵ Jo. Mal. ap. Mommsen, *Hermes*, vi. 372.

¹²⁶ Josh. Styl. 16.

tain-campaign in Isauria, were no longer of any service against the insurgents. A larger force of imperial troops under the command of Theoderic and John the Scythian was therefore sent to the scene of action; ¹²⁷ another Isaurian general named Kottais is mentioned by Theophanes as taking part in the war, ¹²⁸ but whether he came now or at some later time there is nothing to show. These were opposed ¹²⁹ by Artemidoros, a body-guardsmen of Trokoundes, and Papimos, the commander of the cavalry under Illous. In the battle which followed the emperor's troops gained a complete victory, and Illous summoned Leontius and Verina ¹³⁰ to join him at once in Isauria, where they shut themselves up in the castle of Cherris, which seems to have been the same as that of Papirius. ¹³¹ This was probably in the autumn of 484. All chance of a general rebellion against the emperor was now at an end, and the war had been reduced to a revolt of a few Isaurian robber-tribes; accordingly the emperor, fearing perhaps that the presence of the Gothic king might have a bad effect on the Isaurians on his own side and bring about a national revolt under the leadership of Illous, recalled Theoderic and his Goths, ¹³² and sent some Rugians under Hermanric, the son of Aspar, to take their place. John of Antioch indeed makes Zenon recall Theoderic when he had only got as far as Nikomedeia, but according to his own account the Goths served in Isauria, ¹³³ and it is very unlikely that they would do so after the recall of their king. Theophanes distinctly states that Theoderic took part in the campaign, ¹³⁴ and from the epitome in Evagrius it is probable that Eustace gave the same account. ¹³⁵ On the other hand, as there is no mention of it in the Panegyric of Ennodius, we must suppose that, perhaps owing to a division of forces, Theoderic was not present in the battle. After his recall his office of master of both services was transferred to an Isaurian named Kottomenes and another Isaurian, Longinus of Kardama, ¹³⁶ was made master of the offices. ¹³⁷

¹²⁷ Eust. Epiph. ap. Evagr. 3, 27; Josh. Styl. 15; Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214, 4; Theoph. AM 5977.

¹²⁸ Theoph. AM 5983; it is perhaps possible that he is the same as the Kottomenes of Jo. Ant. 214, 6, but John does not say that Kottomenes took any part in the war.

¹²⁹ Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214, 5.

¹³⁰ Verina seems to have accompanied Leontius to Antioch in spite of the statement of Theodore (2, 3) that she was sent back to the castle of Papirius.

¹³¹ This appears from Marcell. ann. 488, Eust. ap. Evagr. 3, 27, and Jo. Mal. ap. Mommsen, *Hermes*, vi. 372. Papirius is of course the name of a man, the father of Indakos (Jo. Ant. 206, 2), not of a place. The castle seems to have been used by Zenon as a treasure-house (Josh. Styl. 13; Jord. *Rom.* 352).

¹³² Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214, 4. Theophanes makes him return of his own accord (AM 5977).

¹³³ Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214, 6.

¹³⁴ Theoph. *l.c.*

¹³⁵ Evagr. 3, 27.

¹³⁶ Or, as Mommsen reads it, Kardala.

¹³⁷ Jo. Ant. *l.c.* The date was not earlier than 1 Sept. 484, for a certain John was then master of the offices (*Cod. Just.* 12, 21, 8). It is strange that Mr. Hodgkin should identify Longinus $\delta \epsilon \kappa \text{ Καρδάμων}$ with the brother of Zenon.

The position of Illous, besieged in his stronghold by his own countrymen, was now hopeless, and he had been obliged to dismiss a large part of the small force of 2,000 men which had followed him to Isauria, retaining with him according to John of Antioch only the most friendly; ¹³⁸ this seems to show that the reason for his action was not merely the difficulty of providing for so many in the fort, but the fear of treachery, which, as the event showed, was not ill-grounded. Nine days after the beginning of the siege Verina died, ¹³⁹ perhaps of shame and grief at finding herself thus shut up with the Isaurians in their robber-fastness. Thus the faint semblance of legality, which had been thrown over the elevation of Leontius, disappeared, and with it Illous' last hope of gaining allies in other parts of the empire. Thirty days later Marsus also died, ¹⁴⁰ and Trokoundes, who had been sent out in the vain hope of collecting barbarian auxiliaries, was cut off by John the Scythian and put to death. ¹⁴¹ The philosophic Illous now abandoned all hope; he entrusted the defence to a notorious robber-captain, ¹⁴² Indakos Kottounes, son of Papius and brother-in-law of Trokoundes, ¹⁴³ and probably the former owner of the castle, while he gave himself up to reading, ¹⁴⁴ a strange occupation for an Isaurian chief. Owing to this neglect an outwork (*ἀντικάσπελλος*) was betrayed to the enemy by its garrison, and it was perhaps about the same time that Longinus obtained his freedom and returned to Constantinople; ¹⁴⁵ according to Theophanes, Illous set him free of his own accord; ¹⁴⁶ if so, it must have been done in mere despair, or perhaps in the hope of influencing the emperor in his favour; possibly, however, the real fact was that Longinus contrived to escape owing to Illous' negligence. Thus Illous lost the last hold which he possessed over the emperor. Leontius, on the other hand, spent his time in fasting and lamentation, ¹⁴⁷ the former perhaps not an altogether useless employment during a siege. Pamprepus, who had prophesied a successful issue to the war, was put to death as an impostor. ¹⁴⁸ According to Theophanes this was done as soon as

¹³⁸ Jo. Ant. Fr. 214, 5. Joshua says 'chosen men and valiant' (Josh. Styl. 17) which comes to much the same thing.

¹³⁹ Jo. Ant. Fr. 214, 6.

¹⁴⁰ Damasc. (ap. Phot.) Vit. Isid. Fr. 290; Jo. Ant. l.c.

¹⁴¹ Theoph. AM 5976.

¹⁴² See Jo. Ant. Fr. 206, 2, and Soudas s.v. Ἰνδάκος.

¹⁴³ Theod. Lect. 2, 4. His own syntax and a comparison with Theoph. AM 5980 make it clear that the words τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ have dropped out. He is certainly wrong in saying that the traitor was sent by Zenon.

¹⁴⁴ Jo. Ant. Fr. 214, 6.

¹⁴⁵ Marcell. ann. 485.

¹⁴⁶ Theoph. AM 5975, ἀπέλευσαν. He puts it before the battle, but his authority is worth nothing against Marcellinus, who places it in 485.

¹⁴⁷ Jo. Ant. l.c.

¹⁴⁸ Damasc. (ap. Phot.) Vit. Isid. Fr. 110; Jo. Mal. p. 389; Theoph. AM 5976; cf. Josh. Styl. 15.

they heard of the fate of Trokoundes, for whom they had been waiting four years in ignorance of his death, but this we can hardly believe, though we may perhaps draw the inference that the death of Pamprepius took place during the last days of the siege. How the besieged supported themselves we are not told, but probably owing to the nature of the country it was not possible to keep up a strict blockade. A short respite was now given to them by the rebellion of Theoderic in Thrace,¹⁴⁹ the Goth being probably indignant at his recall and his dismissal from office, as well by some attempts on the part of King Odovacar to send them aid.¹⁵⁰ Zenon, however, first distracted the attention of the Italian king by instigating the Rugians to attack him,¹⁵¹ and then got rid of Theoderic, once for all, by sending him to west Italy from Odovacar.¹⁵²

Having thus delivered himself from both his enemies at once by the ingenious device of setting them to fight one another, Zenon was able to devote all his attention to the siege of Cherris. After a vain attempt to negotiate, Illous, owing to the death of his daughter, neglected the defence more than ever,¹⁵³ and after a siege of four years the fortress was taken by the treachery of Indakos, who admitted the imperial troops at night by means of a rope;¹⁵⁴ he and his fellow-traitors were, however, among the first persons killed. Illous and Leontius, who were asleep at the time, were awakened by the well-known cry, 'Zenon Auguste, tu vincas,' which told them that the emperor's soldiers were within the fort, and took refuge in the sanctuary of a martyr named Konon, where Leontius wished to put himself to death but was prevented by Illous. They were then brought out and securely bound by the Isaurians in the emperor's service, among whom were two former slaves of Illous named Paul¹⁵⁵ and Illous; the request of Illous that his daughter should be buried at Tarsos, that his wife should be well treated, and that the life of a certain Konon, who was perhaps his son-in-law,¹⁵⁶ should be spared, was granted, and then he and Leontius were beheaded.¹⁵⁷ According to John of Antioch, lightning, thunder, hail, and wind accompanied their death, and the executioner was struck mad and dumb on the spot. Strange as it may seem, we can hardly help concluding from this that they were

¹⁴⁹ Marcell. ann. 487; Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214, 7-8 (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* vol. v.); Proc. *Bell. Goth.* 1, 1.

¹⁵⁰ Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214, 7.

¹⁵¹ Odovacar defeated the Rugians 15 Nov. 487 (*Fast. Cuspin.*).

¹⁵² Anon. *Vales.* 49; Jord. *Rom.* 348; Proc. *Bell. Goth. l.c.*

¹⁵³ Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214, 7, 9.

¹⁵⁴ Josh. *Styl.* 17; Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214, 10.

¹⁵⁵ Paul was perhaps the imperial admiral (Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214, 4), though *αβροῦ* in that passage would refer to Zenon more naturally than to Illous.

¹⁵⁶ This is the opinion of Mommsen (*Hermes*, vi. 330).

¹⁵⁷ Damasc. (ap. Phot.) *Vit. Isid. Fr.* 290; Cand. ap. Phot.; Josh. *Styl. l.c.* Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214, 11; Marcell. ann. 488.

really looked upon as martyrs in the cause of the Synod of Chalcedon, though it is odd that the circumstance should be recorded only by a writer so free from theological bias as John of Antioch. Their heads were sent to Constantinople and exposed on poles, and all those who were taken in the castle had their hands cut off. Zenon, it is said, wished to spare the life of Konon, but he had already committed suicide. Artemidoros, the body-guardsmen of Trokoundes, an unnamed son of a certain Longinus,¹⁵⁸—whether to be identified with any other of the numerous Isaurians of that name we cannot say—and another Konon known as ‘the country-man,’ who seem to have had a share in the treachery of Indakos, all, as John of Antioch takes delight in telling us, perished miserably.¹⁵⁹ Of the fate of Matronian we hear nothing; after his repulse from the walls of Edessa, he appears no more in history, but, as the chronicle of Edessa makes the reign of Leontius last two years,¹⁶⁰ we may perhaps conjecture that Matronian continued the war in Mesopotamia, probably in combination with the Armenians, until 486, and then either died or escaped into Persian territory, for, if he had been killed or taken prisoner, it would most probably have been mentioned by the authorities. After the suppression of the revolt, which took place in 488, most of the castles in Isauria were dismantled.

The war with Illous had been mainly a war among the Isaurians themselves; but it was soon to be followed by one between Isaurians and Romans, in which the Isaurian rule was finally overthrown. On 10 April 491 Zenon died,¹⁶¹ and, as he left no son, the Empress Ariadne and the eunuch Urbicius in concurrence with the senate and the army invested Anastasius, a silentiary of high character, with the empire in preference to Zenon’s unpopular and incapable brother Longinus. The Isaurians must have been greatly weakened by the last war, and were therefore not in a position to offer any immediate resistance to the new appointment in Constantinople; but a revolt at once broke out in Isauria,¹⁶² headed by Linginines,¹⁶³ the count of the province, the fighting bishop Konon, who gave up his see in order to take part in the war, and a certain Athenodoros. Shortly afterwards a serious riot¹⁶⁴ took place in

¹⁵⁸ This is Mommsen’s reading: Müller has *Λογγίνος ὁ τοῦ Λογγίνου παῖς*. According to Mommsen’s reading he may perhaps be the same person as Konon.

¹⁵⁹ *Jo. Ant. Fr.* 214, 12; cf. *Josh. Styl. l.c.*

¹⁶⁰ *Assem. Bibl. Or.* i. 406. It makes him reign at Antioch two years, which is of course wrong; but the Edessenes would only know that he had been reigning at Antioch, and that Matronian was attacking them in his name.

¹⁶¹ *Zach. Myt.* 7, 1. On the Wednesday before Easter.

¹⁶² *Josh. Styl.* 23; *Zach. Myt.* 7, 2; *Jo. Ant. Fr.* 214 b. 3; *Jo. Mal.* p. 393 ff.; *Theoph. AM* 5985; *Jord. Rom.* 354 ff.

¹⁶³ Mommsen, Müller, Rose, and Mr. Bury, all identify this man with Linges, who commanded against Illous, but the identification seems to me very doubtful.

¹⁶⁴ *Jo. Ant. Fr.* 214 b. 2; *Marcell. ann.* 491; *Jo. Mal. ap. Mommsen, Hermes*, vi. 373.

the circus at Constantinople; the origin of it is not clearly explained by John of Antioch, but it had very probably some connexion with theological differences, for Anastasius was a well-known Monophysite, and Euphemius, the bishop of Constantinople, had on this ground vigorously protested against his elevation to the empire. The Isaurians were, however, suspected of being implicated in the sedition, and it is not unlikely that the Kalchedonians would be ready to act even with these hated barbarians against their common enemy Anastasius. The emperor accordingly made use of the opportunity to take strong measures against the Isaurians.¹⁶⁵ Longinus was forced to become a presbyter and banished to the Thebaid, where he died eight years afterwards, while his mother, wife, and daughter took refuge on the Bithynian coast, where they subsisted for the rest of their lives on charity.¹⁶⁶ At the same time all the Isaurians in Constantinople were expelled, and the pay which Zenon had given them was withdrawn.¹⁶⁷ Shortly afterwards all their property, including that of the late emperor, was confiscated, even Zenon's imperial robes being put up to auction.¹⁶⁸ The castle of Papius was also dismantled, though how this could be done while the Isaurians were in revolt it is not easy to see. Rose, indeed, holds that the dismantling of the castle was one of the causes of the revolt, but this, which is clearly inconsistent with John's account, is part of Rose's general theory as to the chronology of these events, and must, I think, stand or fall with it. Rose, followed by Mr. Bury, places this riot and the consequent expulsion of the Isaurians (with the exception of that of Longinus and a few others) after the battle of Kotyaeion and identifies it, not with the riot which Marcellinus mentions as occurring in 491, but with that which he relates under the year 493. The former Rose will not allow to have been an ordinary riot at all, but, insisting upon the word *bellum*, says that it was a civil war and is the same as that mentioned by Theophanes under the year 492, in which year he would place the banishment of Longinus. But Theophanes simply says, *ἔστασίασε κατ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Λογγίνος*, an expression which certainly does not imply anything more than the riot related by John. Besides this, Rose's whole theory is in the most glaring

¹⁶⁵ Priscian. *Paneg.* pp. 52, 53; Theod. Lect. 2, 9; Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214 b. 3; Theoph. AM 5984, 5985. According to Evagrius (3, 29), probably copying Eustace, the Isaurians were banished at their own request, so possibly they were really attacked by their enemies instead of being the aggressors.

¹⁶⁶ The daughter of Longinus was betrothed to a certain Zenon, son of Anthemius and Herais. A comparison with Jo. Lyd. *De Mag.* 3, 50, and Proc. *Hist. Arc.* 12, makes it practically certain that this Zenon was a grandson of the emperor Anthemius and nephew of Marcian; this has not, I think, previously been noticed.

¹⁶⁷ According to Jordanes (*Rom.* 352, 354) only the extra pay given them after defeat of Illous.

¹⁶⁸ Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214 b. 4.

contradiction to the plain and circumstantial account of John of Antioch as well as to Theodore and Theophanes,¹⁶⁹ and is not supported by any other authority. The reasons given by him for the chronology which he adopts are two only: first, that in the riot described by John the emperor's statues were thrown down, and that the same thing is related by Marcellinus as having occurred in the riot of 493 but not in that of 491; and, secondly, that the words of John, *καὶ ταῦτα ἤδη ἀγγελθείσης τῆς κατὰ χώραν αὐτῶν ἀποστάσεως*, are inconsistent with the date 491. But the throwing down of the emperor's statues was one of the commonest incidents of riots, of which the reign of Anastasius was, owing to his theological opinions, an almost perpetual series. Rose might as well have identified John's riot with that of 512, at which also Marcellinus tells us that the statues of Anastasius were thrown down. On the other hand, as Mommsen notices,¹⁷⁰ the burning of the circus, a much rarer incident, is expressly connected by Marcellinus with the riot of 491 and not with that of 493.¹⁷¹ As to the second objection urged by Rose, there is no reason why the revolt in Isauria should not have preceded the riot in Constantinople, even if the latter occurred in 491; the Isaurians would probably take up arms as soon as they heard of the accession of Anastasius. Besides, according to Rose, the battle of Kotyaeion had already been fought; as he must, therefore, reject altogether the account of John, he cannot rely upon a single expression like this, which is meaningless apart from the narrative in which it stands. The only argument that can fairly be alleged in favour of his chronology is the difficulty about the castle of Papirius alluded to above; but this is not adduced as an argument by him, and is plainly too weak to stand against the general consensus of authorities; if necessary, it would be better to reject John's statement on this point than to throw over his whole narrative, as is done by Rose. I have discussed this and another chronological theory of Rose's, to which I shall presently refer, at greater length than would otherwise have been necessary, because they have been adopted without comment by Mr. Bury in his 'History of the Later Roman Empire,' the only work which gives a narrative in any detail of the events of this much-neglected period of history. Mommsen in his article on the new fragments of John of Antioch follows his author closely, though he appears to hold that John has confused together the two riots of 491 and 493;¹⁷² but since the

¹⁶⁹ Theoph. AM 5985.

¹⁷⁰ *Hermes*, vi. 340.

¹⁷¹ To show how futile all such arguments are, it may be mentioned that even the burning of the circus was in part repeated in the riot of 507 (*Marc. sub ann.*). The riot described by John Malala (p. 394), copied by the Paschal chronicle, is probably the same in spite of the date (498) given by the latter, for the dates of the Paschal chronicle in the sections taken from John Malala are worthless.

¹⁷² *Hermes*, vi. 340, note 3.

date of Mommsen's article (1872) the value of John's testimony has been considerably enhanced by the strong arguments adduced by Soteriades¹⁷³ to show that he wrote soon after the death of Anastasius, not, as previously supposed, in the reign of Herakleios.

Prominent among the Isaurians expelled from Constantinople were Longinus of Kardama, the master of the offices,¹⁷⁴ and a second Athenodoros; these men immediately put themselves at the head of their insurgent countrymen, and their united force is said to have amounted to ten thousand men,¹⁷⁵ among whom were many Romans, some serving under compulsion, some voluntarily, the latter probably zealous Kalchedonians. The distinction made between Romans and Isaurians is to be noted, as it seems to show that the latter were really regarded as semi-independent and, therefore, had not obtained the citizenship under the edict of Antoninus. With this army they advanced as far as Kotyaeion in Phrygia,¹⁷⁶ where they were met by an imperial force under John the Scythian and John the Hunchback,¹⁷⁷ with whom were associated Justin, afterwards emperor, Apskal a Goth, and two Huns named Sigizan and Zolbo. The Isaurians, who seem to have been little suited for fighting in the open field, were utterly defeated, Linginines being killed, and they took refuge in their native mountains. The battle was fought towards the end of 492.¹⁷⁸ The imperial generals had now before them the difficult task of overcoming the Isaurians in their own homes, and when we remember that Zenon with a force of native Isaurians had taken four years to reduce Illous, the difficulty of reducing the united forces of the mountaineers with Roman and barbarian troops may easily be imagined. It is indeed very likely that the destruction of the fortresses after the defeat of Illous had considerably lessened

¹⁷³ *Jahrb. für classische Philologie*, suppl. vol. xvi.

¹⁷⁴ Mr. Bury calls this Longinus 'master of the soldiers'; but *μίστρος* always means 'master of the offices,' and his appointment is mentioned in *Jo. Ant. Fr.* 214, 6 (cf. *Cod. Just.* 12, 23, 3). A certain Longinus indeed seems to have been *mag. mil.* under Anastasius (*Cod. Just.* 12, 37, 16), but this may be the brother of Zenon, who, according to John Malala, was made master of the soldiers about 490 (*Jo. Mal.* p. 386). As Eusebius was *mag. off.* on 1 Mar. 492 (*Cod. Just.* 1, 30, 3), we may probably assume that the banishment of the Isaurians had taken place before that date.

¹⁷⁵ *Jo. Ant. Fr.* 214 b. 5. Hostilities seem to have been expected as early as 1 Jan. 492 (*Cod. Just.* 12, 35, 18).

¹⁷⁶ *Theod. Lect.* 2, 9; *Jo. Ant. l.c.*; *Marcell. ann.* 492; *Jo. Mal.* p. 394.

¹⁷⁷ According to Theophanes both the Johns were masters of the soldiers in Thrace; but John Malala makes John the Hunchback *mag. in pracs.*, and that one of them held the office appears from *Cod. Just.* 12, 35, 18. John the Scythian probably still held his former post of master in the east. John of Antioch's text says that they had only 2,000 men, and this is repeated by Mommsen and Mr. Bury; but surely the number is corrupt, as Müller supposes.

¹⁷⁸ *Διέμεινον τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὄραν* which Mommsen and Rose understand as above; but it is possible that it was at the beginning of 492, and the generals waited till the winter was over before undertaking a mountain campaign.

the resisting power of the Isaurians, but even so the task was a most formidable one.

In the following year the Isaurian city of Klaudioupolis, lying in a plain between two mountain-ranges, was taken by Diogenes, a kinsman of the Empress Ariadne,¹⁷⁹ whereupon the Isaurians came down from their mountains and completely surrounded his army so that it almost perished of hunger; but from this position he was released by John the Hunchback, who succeeded in penetrating the passes and by a sudden attack routed the Isaurian forces. In this battle Bishop Konon was mortally wounded. Henceforth the war was confined to the mountain fastnesses, and the Isaurians, unable any longer to plunder the plains, were supplied with food by another Longinus, known as the Selinountian, who contrived to bring in provisions by sea.¹⁸⁰

The emperor's attention was now distracted from the Isaurian war by a serious incursion of barbarians in Thrace, in which Julian, the master of the soldiers, was killed;¹⁸¹ perhaps also by a dangerous riot in Constantinople, in which the statues of the emperor and empress were dragged through the streets, probably by the Kalchedonian faction, who, as in the case of Illous, were accused of being in league with the Isaurians, a charge on which Bishop Euphemius¹⁸² was two years afterwards deprived. Thus the war in Isauria dragged on for some years without any events being recorded; at last, probably in 497, Longinus of Kardama and Athenodoros were taken prisoners by John the Scythian¹⁸³ and their heads sent to Constantinople, where they were exposed on poles, ἡδὲ θάμα τοῖς Βυζαντιοῖς, says Evagrius, who probably copies Eustace, ἀνθ' ὧν κακῶς πρὸς Ζήνωνος καὶ τῶν Ἰσαύρων ἐπεπόνθησαν. Marcellinus says that the head of Athenodoros was exposed at Tarsos;¹⁸⁴ if he is referring to the other Athenodoros, there is no certain date for the event related by Evagrius, and it will only be an inference from the strong expression of Marcellinus, *bellum Isauricum hoc sexto anno sedatum*,¹⁸⁵ that it took place at the same time; otherwise we must suppose that Evagrius has made a mistake as to the place where the head of Athenodoros was exposed; he may easily have thought that both heads were sent to Constantinople, when in fact only that

¹⁷⁹ Theoph. AM 5986. He places it in the year after Kotyaeion, i.e. between Sept. 493 and Sept. 494.

¹⁸⁰ Theoph. AM 5987.

¹⁸¹ Marcell. ann. 493.

¹⁸² Theod. Lect. 2, 9-12; Marcell. ann. 495; Theoph. AM 5987, 5988. I am not prepared to abandon the date of Marcellinus, though the account of Theodore would place it not earlier than 497. Victor of Tununa gives 496. Zachariah of Mytilene (7, 1) makes the episcopate of Macedonius last fifteen years, which is roughly consistent with any of these years, for Macedonius was deprived in Aug. 511 (Zach. Myt. 7, 8; cf. Marc. *sub ann.*).

¹⁸³ Evagr. 3, 35.

¹⁸⁴ Marcell. ann. 497.

¹⁸⁵ The consulship of John the Scythian in 498 is also in favour of this date (see below, p. 237).

of Longinus was sent thither. Longinus the Selinountian,¹⁸⁵ with a certain Indes and a brother of the latter, held out at the Isaurian Antioch for a year longer, after which they were taken prisoners by Count Priscus, an officer serving under John the Hunchback,¹⁸⁷ and sent to Constantinople, where they were exhibited to the mob in chains and then tortured to death at Nikaia.¹⁸⁸

Rose here rejects the chronology of Marcellinus, placing the end of the war not in 498 but in 496. He also transposes the captures of the two Longini, putting that of the Selinountian in 495 and that of Longinus of Kardama in 496, thus crediting Marcellinus with an error of no less than three years in his dating of the former event. In both these theories he is followed by Mr. Bury. For the antedating of the end of the war Rose appeals to Theodore and Theophanes. Of these writers Theodore distinctly says that the war lasted at least five years (*τοῦ δὲ πολέμου ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη κρατήσαντος Ἀναστάσιος, κ. τ. λ.*)¹⁸⁹ that is till 497, and says nothing as to how much longer it continued. Theophanes does certainly place the end of the war in 496, or rather perhaps we should say in 495, since he makes it last three years after the battle of Kotyaeion,¹⁹⁰ but why should Theophanes, who wrote in the ninth century, be preferred to Marcellinus, who wrote in the sixth? It is indeed most probable that the account of Theophanes is drawn indirectly from the contemporary Eustace, but, as there is no reason to think that Eustace was a chronographer, the dates are no doubt the invention of Theophanes himself, or of his intermediary, John Malala.¹⁹¹ For the transposition of the captures of the Isaurian leaders Rose gives no reason, and I have not been able to find any; it is true that Evagrius does not say that he is relating the events in chronological order, but in default of any evidence to the contrary it is surely reasonable to assume that he gives them in the order which he found in Eustace, especially as

¹⁸⁶ Marcell. ann. 498; Evagr. 3, 35; Jo. Mal. ap. Mommsen, *Hermes*, vi. 373.

¹⁸⁷ This is the most obvious way of reconciling Marcellinus with Evagrius.

¹⁸⁹ Müller (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* v. 30) and Rose most strangely identify the Indes of Evagrius and John Malala with Linginines, and Rose says that the battle of Kotyaeion is referred to, although that battle was fought six years before the capture of Longinus (three according to Rose's chronology), and in it Linginines was not taken prisoner, but killed: besides Linginines is actually mentioned by John Malala, and his death at Kotyaeion related. We can hardly help asking whom these authors suppose the brother of Indes to be; as Indes was Linginines, and Linginines was Linges, and Linges was the brother of Illous, the answer seems naturally to follow that the brother of Indes was Illous himself. If this somewhat startling conclusion be rejected, we are confronted with an array of no less than five brothers, Illous, Trokoundes Aspalus, Linges, and the unnamed brother of Linges, surely an improbably large family for these times.

¹⁹⁰ Theod. Lect. 2, 9.

¹⁹¹ Theoph. AM 5985, 5988.

¹⁹¹ There can be little doubt that John's work was originally a chronography, as it is in fact called, though the dates are not given in the existing form of the work, which is merely a series of extracts,

the same order is found in John Malala and in Theophanes ;¹⁹² besides the transposition necessitates, as I have already noticed, an extra year's divergence from the chronology of the accurate Marcellinus, a divergence which is the more gratuitous because, if Theophanes was to be followed at all, the captures of the two chiefs might just as well have been placed in the same year, as is done by him. The chronology of Marcellinus on the other hand, besides being supported by Theodore, is corroborated by the dates of the consulships of the two Johns ; for Theophanes says that they were rewarded with consulships, and it was a common practice to make a general consul in the year following a victory gained by him ; accordingly we find that John the Scythian, who took Longinus of Kardama in 497, was consul in 498, and that John the Hunchback, who took Longinus the Selinountian in 498, was consul in 499. I have therefore no hesitation in accepting the date of Marcellinus, though, as he seems to reckon by the years of the indiction, an event referred by him to one consulship may have taken place during the last four months of the previous one.

The exhibition of Longinus and Indes is said by Evagrius to have done more than anything else to reconcile the people of Constantinople to their Monophysite emperor ; for at the actual sight of the Isaurian leaders any temporary alliance which may have existed between the Kalchedonians and the Isaurians disappeared at once ; in fact seventeen years later we find the Isaurians defending Constantinople for Anastasius against the Kalchedonian champion Vitalian.¹⁹³ All chance of a fresh revolt was avoided by the wholesale transportation of Isaurians to the wasted lands of Thrace, where they might be usefully employed against their natural enemies, the barbarians of the Danube. Thus the Isaurians, though their time of mastery was over, still remained useful servants of the Romans, and in this way the great scheme of Leo was of permanent benefit to the empire. But the cause of the mountaineers as a political power was overthrown at Kotyaeion, and they do not again play a prominent part in politics till the accession of the Isaurian dynasty of emperors in the eighth century.¹⁹⁴ In fact their work was done, for the danger which Leo called them in to combat was already past. There were, indeed, many barbarian generals in the Roman service after this date, but these were all men of the stamp of John the Scythian, obedient servants of the emperor ; with the partial exception of Vitalian¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² Jo. Mal. p. 394 ; *id.* ap. Mommsen, *Hermes*, vi. 373 ; Theoph. AM 5988.

¹⁹³ Jo. Ant. *Fr.* 214 e. 17.

¹⁹⁴ A serious Isaurian war in the time of Herakleios is mentioned by Soudas (s.v. Ἡράκλειος), but I cannot find any other notice of it.

¹⁹⁵ Whether Vitalian was himself a barbarian may be doubted, but at any rate he was a leader of barbarians. It is not quite certain that even John the Scythian was a barbarian, as Σκυθῆς might mean an inhabitant of the province of Scythia (cp Marcell. ann. 514 with Jord. *Rom.* 357).

none ever attained to the position of Aspar, or even of Theoderic. Leo had taught the Romans to look at home for defence from their enemies, and in this way, too, his Isaurian policy must be pronounced to have been a complete success; nor can seventeen years' subjection to the Isaurians be thought too high a price to pay for the deliverance thereby gained. But for Leo the barbarians would in all probability have reigned in Constantinople as they did in Rome, and the ultimate results of his policy cannot be better observed than in the contrast between the African expedition of Leo, undertaken while Aspar was still powerful, and that of Justinian; for there can be little doubt that the comparatively efficient state of the army in the time of the later emperor, when it was largely composed of, and officered by, Armenians and Isaurians, was in great measure due to the policy introduced by the earlier.

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THE ENGLISH c #

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Notes and Documents

AN ARMENIAN VISITOR TO JERUSALEM IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

THE following account of the objects of interest in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood is taken from the Armenian 'History of the Albanians,' composed by Moses of Kalankaitukh, a native of the Caucasian Albania.¹ The complete work, which was published by Shahnazarean at Paris in 1860, and in the same year by Emin at Moscow, has been translated into Russian by K. Patkanean (St. Petersburg, 1861), and some account of the description of the holy places, with a revised translation of the chapter by the same author, is given by V. G. Vasilevskii in the *Transactions of the Orthodox Palestinian Society*, tom. iv. pt. ii. (St. Petersburg, 1886); but, as Russian works are scarcely better known than Armenian in this country, and as Vasilevskii says but little about the date of the visit to Jerusalem which is here implied, it may perhaps be worth while to devote a few pages to the matter here, thus supplementing Mr. Macpherson's articles on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the seventh volume of this Review.

The history of Moses was written in the tenth century; but in recording the events of the seventh century he frequently copies contemporary authors, sometimes even speaking in the first person, and there can be little doubt that this description of Jerusalem is the work of a writer of the seventh century (see Vasilevskii, p. 249). If this be so, the writer is easily discovered, since it is immediately preceded by an account in the first person of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem by a hermit named Joseph, and the inference naturally follows that the description of the holy places is also Joseph's composition. It is true that it is followed by a list of the Albanian monasteries at Jerusalem, taken, as the author tells us, 'from the letter of the blessed Anastasius to Wahan² Mamikonean;' but the very fact that the name of Anastasius is here introduced as the

¹ Mos. Kal. ii. 51.

² In Shahnazarean's text 'Wahram,' a Persian name; and so in Patkanean's translation, but he states in a note that Emin's text (which I have not been able to see) has Wahan, a common name in the Mamikonean family and no doubt the right reading here.

authority seems to show that he is not the author of the previous description.

Now the date of Joseph's visit may be fixed within very narrow limits. He begins his story by telling us that

in the reign of Herakleios, in the disordered reign of Yazkert, while Ezra was catholic of the Armenians and Mushel 'sparapet,' while Gregory was lord of Siunikh, in the episcopate of Mathusala, and while Waraz Grigor, lord of Gardman, was prince of the Albanians,

he left the wilderness of B'rti Airithz, in the province of Gelam, and went and settled in the district of Ardsach. Here he was well received by the bishop Mihr, who after twelve years died and was succeeded by Andrew, who held the see for eleven years. During Andrew's episcopacy a hermit named M'chithar went to Jerusalem, where he remained for a year and obtained some of the bones of St. Stephen and St. George. On his return he went to the district of Mount Tauros, where he obtained more relics, and then returned to Ardsach, where the relics were placed in a chapel and kept for three years, at the end of which time Joseph himself went up to Jerusalem in order to get some relics of John the Baptist. Now the reign of Herakleios extended from 6 Oct. 610 to 11 Feb. 641, and that of Yazkert from 632-3 to 651-2. As to Ezra, Sebeos, who wrote his history in 661, tells us that the catholic Kometas died during the short reign of Kawat II (Feb.-Sept. 628), and was succeeded by Christopher, who was deposed in the third year of his episcopate and succeeded by Ezra,³ whose accession therefore falls in 630-1. Sebeos does not mention the length of Ezra's episcopate, but a later Armenian historian, John the Catholic (*circ.* 900), gives him ten years, thus fixing his death to 640-1. With this agrees the statement of Sebeos that he died in the same year as the Arab invasion in which D'win was taken, on Friday, 20 Tre;⁴ for the only possible year in which 20 Tre fell upon a Friday is the Armenian year 89 (19 June 640-18 June 641).⁵ The dates of Mushel, Gregory, and Mathusala⁶ cannot be determined.

³ Seb. iii. 28.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 30.

⁵ So Dionysius the patriarch places the capture of D'win in the Seleucid year 952 (1 Oct. 640-30 Sept. 641). Dulaurier (*Recherches sur la Chronologie Arménienne*, pp. 230, 231) abandons Sebeos' day of the week and assigns the invasion to 642, on the ground that all the authorities place it in the reign of Constantine IV (Constans), and, as the next invasion is fixed to 643 (*ibid.* p. 232), it can only have been in 642. Sebeos, however, places it in the reign of Constantine son of Herakleios (Constantine III), which could only be 641 (11 Feb.-25 May), and the 'second year of Constans' mentioned by Asolik, a writer of the tenth century, is probably a confusion with the next invasion, which was in that year. Moreover Leontius, who wrote in the eighth century, expressly states that it preceded the next invasion by three years. To assign it to 642 is to throw the chronology of the Armenian catholics into confusion. See also note 9.

⁶ According to the dates of the Siunian bishops given by Stephen Orbelean, Mathusala sat from 608 to 626; but this is at variance with his own statement that

As to Waraz Grigor, it might indeed be inferred from Moses that his reign came to an end in 637, since he equates the fifteenth year of his son Dshewanshir with the twentieth of Yazdkert (651-2).⁷ But Moses' chronology is very confused and inconsistent, and but little confidence is to be placed in it; moreover it appears from his own account that Waraz Grigor was alive later than 637,⁸ and, as the succession of his son is nowhere clearly stated, we may perhaps suspect that there was for a time a divided sovereignty. Setting this point aside, therefore, we obtain 632-41 as the limit of time for Joseph's departure from B'rti Airithz.

We may, however, fix the date with much greater precision than this; for he tells us that at the time of his departure the Saracens were ravaging the country. Now the first Saracen invasion of Armenia was that to which reference has been made above, which took place in the latter half of 640, and it is therefore at this time that Joseph's departure must be placed, since no later invasion falls within the ascertained chronological limits.⁹ The death of Mihr, which was twelve years after Joseph's arrival in Ardsach, was therefore in 653, and the episcopacy of Andrew extended from 653 to 664. As M'chithar started for Jerusalem after Andrew's accession and remained there a year, his return can hardly be placed earlier than 655; but neither can it be placed later, since Joseph tells us that he turned aside into Asia Minor 'from fear of the enemy,'¹⁰ and the Arab raids into Armenia ceased, as Sebeos tells us,¹¹ after 655, and owing to the civil war were not renewed till 661-2. His return to Ardsach will then be at the earliest in 656; and, as the expedition of Joseph was at least three years later, the earliest possible date for it is 659; while, on the other hand, as Bishop Andrew assisted him on his journey, it cannot have been later than 664, or, indeed, as Andrew is not stated to have been dead when he came back, than 663. His visit, therefore, falls between 659 and 663; and, as the narrative scarcely admits of a long stay in Asia Minor on the part of M'chithar, the most probable date is near the beginning of this period—that is, in 660. Joseph's account is, therefore, the earliest which we have of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as rebuilt by Modestus after its destruction by the Persians in 614, preceding that of Arculf probably by at least twenty years.¹²

Mathusala was contemporary with the synod held by order of Herakleios in the third year of Ezra (633).⁷ Mos. Kal. ii. 19. ⁸ *Ibid. ad fin.*

⁹ Hence Dulaurier's date for the invasion must be wrong, for, if it were in 642, Joseph's departure would fall after the death of Herakleios. Dulaurier, indeed (pp. 225, 226), seems to suppose an earlier invasion in 637 or 639; but there is no authority worth mentioning for this, and Sebeos' silence is surely decisive against it.

¹⁰ These words are omitted in Patkanean's translation. ¹¹ Seb. iii. 38.

¹² The date of Arculf's visit is generally fixed at about 670; but all that is quite certain about it is that it was after the assumption of the caliphate by Mu'awiya in 659 and before the rebuilding of the mosque of 'Umar in 691. However, from the

When compared with other authorities, the most curious variation which it presents is that it places the lance, cup, and sponge in the Anastasis instead of in the Martyrion; from which we may probably infer that after the rebuilding they were at first placed in the Anastasis, which would naturally be restored first, and at some time between Joseph's visit and that of Arculf removed to their old position in the Martyrion. We have also here the first mention of the prison of Christ, for which the earliest authority previously known was Epiphanius (*circ.* 800).

As Patkanean's revised translation is founded upon a study of several manuscripts, I have, where a different reading seems to be implied, followed it in preference to Shahnazarean's text.

E. W. BROOKS.

Concerning the buildings in the holy church of Jerusalem with respect to their number and situation. And you will find here trustworthy information derived from an eye-witness. The sepulchre of Jesus, the Giver of Life, hewn out of the rock, is a fathom and a half from the middle of the dome of the holy life-giving tomb.¹³ And in the church, which is 100 cubits in height and 100 cubits in breadth all round, there are on each side 12 columns above and 12 below the gallery.¹⁴ And in that gallery are the lance, sponge, and cup of Christ, laid up in gold.¹⁵

In the principal¹⁶ church, which is called the Martyrs' Chapel, which is the Church of the Finding of the Cross, 20 cubits from the Resurrection, there are 65 columns¹⁷ along the length, above and below. The Holy Church of Golgotha, which is called the tomb of Adam,¹⁸ is 10 paces from the Resurrection. And above is a sacramental table at the place where Christ was crucified on the rock. The Holy Church of Sion is one stade from the Resurrection and is 100 cubits in length and 70 in breadth, and contains 80 arcaded columns. And there are no galleries, but only an attic (?),¹⁹ the floor of which is made of pieces of wood joined

mythical character of the story of Mu'awiya and the sacred cloth in i. 11 I should gather that the visit was some time after the date of the supposed event, and therefore nearer the end of this period than the beginning. Moreover, as Arculf was wrecked on the coast of Britain on his way back, where Adamnan wrote down his story and dedicated it to Aldfrith of Northumberland, who became king in 685, 670 seems much too early a date.

¹³ The distance is not elsewhere given.

¹⁴ This is the only mention of the clerestory.

¹⁵ There is much variety among the authorities as to the position of these relics. In the old church the Breviarus (sixth century) places the lance in the middle of the Basilica (Martyrion), Antoninus (*circ.* 570) in the church of Sion. In the new church Arculf places it in the porch of the Basilica and Epiphanius in a *λεπθρ* . . . *ἐνδω τῆς πύλης (τοῦ ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου)*. The sponge and cup are placed by the Breviarus in a *sacrarium de basilica S. Constantini*, by Antoninus in the Basilica, by Epiphanius in the same place as the lance, and by Arculf in an *exedra* between Golgotha and the Basilica.

¹⁶ Arm. 'catholic.'

¹⁷ The number is not elsewhere given.

¹⁸ Brev. *ibi plasmatus est Adam*. Arculf mentions a cave under Golgotha, but the earliest of the other writers who mentions the tomb of Adam is Epiphanius. The legend that Adam was buried under Calvary is, however, as old as Origen (*in Matth. Comm.*, Ser. 126). Arculf, on the other hand, places the tomb of Adam at Hebron.

¹⁹ *Tharb*, a word of unknown meaning.

together; and in the attic hangs the crown of thorns which they placed on the head of the Giver of Life. And on the right of the church²⁰ is a sacramental gallery and a wooden dome, on which the sacrament of the supper of the Saviour is depicted;²¹ here there is a sacramental table, and the sacrifice is offered in the upper chamber of Sion; and there is no gallery. And to the right of the holy Sion is the residence of Pilate, which is called Kappatha; and the rock on which the Saviour stood before Pilate, where the mark of his feet is visible to this day: and close under that is the basin in which he washed the feet of his disciples. And to the left of Sion is the prison where they incarcerated Christ,²² and the sacrifice is offered.

And in the place where the Jews seized the coffin of the holy Virgin outside the city, not allowing her to be buried, there is a dome supported by four columns; and the columns are decorated with copper crosses, and they are of marble. And thence 250 stone steps lead down to the tomb of the Virgin in the valley of Gethsemane; and thence to the Mount of Olives, where Christ ascended, are 800 steps.

On the site of the Ascension there is a beautiful dome-shaped building, after the pattern of the church of the Resurrection, 100 cubits in length and 100 in breadth. Thence are visible the river Jordan, Mount Hor, and many regions.

Bethlehem is 220 parasangs²³ from the Resurrection towards the west. The measure of the size of the church is 200 cubits in length and 100 in breadth, and it has 90 marble columns and stone arches. And in it there is a double cave, which Abraham bought for a burying-ground.²⁴ And under the sanctuary is a holy cave and a manger, where there is a table and the sacrifice is offered. And to the right of the church is a martyrs' chapel, where the relics of the infants slain by Herod are preserved.

And east of this in the direction of Jordan, three stades from Bethlehem, is a terrace, where there are two churches, in which the sacrifice is offered.

Seven parasangs²⁵ from Jerusalem towards the east is the place where the Saviour was baptised, where there is a stone church, built in the shape of a cross, 80 cubits in length and 80 in breadth, with three sacramental tables; and the sacrifice is offered.

And the Mount of Olives is east of Jerusalem.

²⁰ *I.e.* outside the nave, so that there is no contradiction to the previous statement that there was no gallery.

²¹ Not elsewhere mentioned.

²² This is the earliest mention of the prison.

²³ The distance is absurd. P. somewhat softens the absurdity by writing 'stades,' though he explains 'hrasach' to be the Persian 'farsakh' or parasang; but even this is far too much. The true distance of Bethlehem from Jerusalem is 6 Roman miles, and it is nearly due south.

²⁴ It is plain that there is here a confusion between the double cave at Bethlehem, where Christ was born, and the double cave at Hebron, which Abraham bought.

²⁵ P. again writes 'stades,' thus making the distance far too small.

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THE ARABS IN ASIA MINOR (641—750), FROM ARABIC SOURCES.

CONSIDERING the attention now paid to the geography of Asia Minor, it has struck me that a collection of the notices relating to the Arabic invasions of that district, which are scattered here and there in the Arabic annalists and must be sought through thousands of pages of Arabic print, would serve a very useful purpose. These extracts not only throw light on geography and the Arabic nomenclature of the localities, but, when compared with the accounts of the same events in Greek and Syriac writers, are of great value for the study of chronology.

The writers from whom extracts are given under years are the following :—

(1) The chronicler known as Ibn Wadhich or Al Ya'kubi, who wrote about 900. (ed. Houtsma. Leiden, 1883).

(2) Al Tabari d. 923. (ed. Barth and others. Leiden, 1879, &c.).

(3) The *Khitab Al 'Uyun* (Book of Springs).¹ (ed. de Goeje. Leiden, 1871). This work, though dating not earlier than the middle of the 11th century, preserves several valuable notices relating to this period.

(4) Ibn Al Athir (d. 1232). (ed. Tornberg. Leiden, 1851, &c.). This author generally copies Al Tabari, but occasionally has notices not found in that writer, and is useful for the period before AH 40, for which Al Tabari's text is not extant.

Much valuable information is also to be found in the work of Al Baladhuri (d. 893) (ed. de Goeje. Leiden, 1863), who gives a connected narrative of the conquest of each district; but, since his work is not arranged in annalistic form, I have not given the extracts from it with those of the other writers, but separately at the end. Notices derived from the same source as those of the Mohammedan writers are also to be found in the bilingual chronicle of Elijah of Nisibis (written 1019), most of these being quoted from the work of Mahomet the Khawarizmi (circa 835);² but, since this portion of Elijah's chronicle has been translated into German by Dr. Baethgen (*Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* Bd. 8), there is no need to repeat the notices here, but it will be sufficient to give references to them in the margin. The authority most frequently quoted by the Arabic writers is Al Wakidi (d. 823). Most of the notices are merely annalistic entries; but sometimes, especially in Al Baladhuri, longer accounts are given. These I have

¹ The extant portion of this work begins with the accession of Al Walid I. (705).

² A few are also quoted from the *Chronicle of the Arab Kings*, a work of the 10th century.

been obliged from considerations of space to shorten; but, however important for Arabic life and character the omitted passages may be, nothing essential to the purposes of this article is lost by their suppression. Only the long and interesting narrative of the expedition of 716—718 in the *Khitab Al 'Uyun* I have been obliged to pass over altogether.

In the margin of the annalistic notices I have given references to notices of the same events in other writers (not necessarily derived from the same source), including, besides Elijah of Nisibis, in Greek Theophanes and Nikephoros, and in Syriac Michael the Syrian,¹ the chronicle of 775 falsely attributed to Dionysios,² and the Chronicle of 846 (*Zeitschr. d. deutsch. morgenl. Gesellsch.* vol. 51, p. 569). In the extracts from Al Baladhuri, to avoid repetition, I have generally referred only to the preceding annalistic extracts. To avoid possibility of misleading, I have given all geographical names in the first instance in the Arabic form, placing the usually received names in brackets following, wherever they can be identified. I have added a few notices relating to Armenia and Syria, which are so closely connected with those referring to Asia Minor that it appears unreasonable to omit them.

CALIPHATE OF 'UMAR I.

A. H. 20 (Dec. 21, 640—Dec. 9, 641).

Ibn Al Athir. And in this year, I mean the year 20, Abu Bachriyya 'Abd Allah, the son of Kais, made a raid into the land of the Romans; and he was the first who entered it, as it is said (and it is also said that the first who entered it was Maisra, the son of Masruk, the 'Absi), and he carried off prisoners and spoil.

CALIPHATE OF 'UTHMAN.

25 (Oct. 28, 645—Oct. 16, 646).

Ibn Al Athir. And in this year Mu'awiya made a raid upon Roman territory and reached 'Ammuriya (Amorion); and he found the fortresses between Antakhiya (Antioch) and Tarsus deserted, and he stationed in them a large number of the men of Al Sham (Syria) and Al Gazira (Mesopotamia), until he returned from his raid. Then after that he sent Yazid, the son of Al Chur, the 'Absi, upon a raid in the summer; and he gave him orders, and he acted accordingly; and, when he went out, he destroyed the fortresses as far as Antakhiya.³

28 (Sept. 25, 648—Sept. 13, 649).

Ibn Al Athir. And in this year Chabib, the son of Maslama, made a raid upon Suriya,⁴ in the land of the Romans.

¹ In the Arabic version in the British Museum MS. Or. 4402.

² Published, with translation, by the Abbé Chabot (Paris, 1895).

³ This seems to show that Antioch in Pisidia is here meant, though the previous mention of

the name rather points to the Syrian city.

⁴ *i.e.*, Syria: the name seems to be used by the Arabs to denote Euphratesia and Cilicia. But perhaps we should read Sauriya (Isauria): cf. p. 194, note 3.

32 (Aug. 12, 652–Aug. 1, 653).

Sebeos 3, 36

Ibn Al Athir. It is said that in this year Mu'awiya, the son of Abu Sufyan, made a raid upon the straits of Al Kustantiniyya (Constantinople);¹ and with him was his wife 'Atkha, the daughter of Karaza; and it is said also that his sister was with him.

33 (Aug. 2, 653–July 21, 654).

Ibn Al Athir. In this year was the raid of Mu'awiya upon the fortress of Al Mara, in the land of the Romans, in the neighbourhood of Malatya (Melitene).

CALIPHATE OF MU'AWIYA.

41 (May 7, 661–Apr. 25, 662).

Ibn Wadh. He sent Chabib, the son of Maslama; and the Roman commander made peace, and did not care to engage with him.

42 (Apr. 26, 662–Apr. 14, 663).

Theoph. AM
6154

Al Tab. And in this year the Moslems made a raid upon the Romans and inflicted a severe defeat upon them, as men record, and killed many of their patricians.

43 (Apr. 15, 663–Apr. 3, 664).

El. Nis. 43.
Theoph. AM
6157

Ibn Wadh. Busr, the son of Abu Artá, made a raid into the land of the Romans, and wintered there.

Al Tab. adds: Until he reached Al Kustantiniyya, as Al Wakidi asserts; and some of the authorities deny this, and say that Busr did not winter in Roman territory at all.

44 (Apr. 4, 664–Mar. 23, 665).

El. Nis. 44.
Theoph. AM
6156(?)

Ibn Wadh. 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Khalid, the son of Al Walid made a raid until he reached Akluniya (Koloneia).

Al Tab. Among the events of this year was the invasion of the Roman territory by the Moslems under 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Khalid,² the son of Al Walid, who wintered there,³ and the sea expedition of Busr, the son of Abu Artá.

45 (Mar. 24, 665–Mar. 12, 666).

Theoph. AM
6156(?)

Ibn Wadh. 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Khalid, the son of Al Walid, made a raid and wintered in the land of the Romans, and reached Antakhiya (Antioch in Pisidia).

¹ This expedition is elsewhere recorded only by the Armenian Sebeos, who makes Mu'awiya march to Chalkedon in the 13th of Constantine (653-4).

² 'Son of Khalid' has dropped out of Al

Tab.'s text, and I insert it from Ibn Al Athir.

³ The Syriae fragments published by Dr. Nöldeke (*Z. D. M. G.* 29, p. 76ff.) agree in the date, giving A.S. 975 (Oct. 1, 663–Sept. 30, 664).

Al Tab. . . And in this year was the wintering of 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Khalid, the son of Al Walid, in the land of the Romans.

46 (Mar. 13, 666–Mar. 2, 667).

Ibn Wadh. . . Malikh, the son of 'Abd Allah, the Khath'ami made a raid; and it is said that it was Malikh, the son of Hubaira, the Sakhuni; and he wintered in the land of the Romans.

Al Tab. . . And among the events of this year was the wintering of Malikh, the son of 'Abd Allah,¹ in the land of the Romans; and it is said also that this was 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Khalid, the son of Al Walid; and it is said also that it was Malikh, the son of Hubaira, the Sakhuni.² And in this year 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Khalid, the son of Al Walid, returned from the land of the Romans to Chims (Emesa); and Ibn Uthal the Ansari gave him a poisoned drink, as it is said, and he drank it, and it killed him.

El. Nis. 46

47 (Mar. 3, 667–Feb. 19, 668).

Ibn Wadh. . . Malikh, the son of Hubaira, the Sakhuni, made a raid and wintered in the land of the Romans.

El. Nis. 47

Al Tab. . . And in this year was the wintering of Malikh, the son of Hubaira, in the land of the Romans, and the wintering of Abu 'Abd Al Rachman the Kaini at Antakhiya.

48 (Feb. 20, 668–Feb. 8, 669).

Ibn Wadh. . . 'Abd Al Rachman the 'Atbi made a raid and reached Antakhiya the black.³

Al Tab. . . And in it was the wintering of Abu 'Abd Al Rachman the Kaini at Antakhiya, and the summer expedition of 'Abd Allah, the son of Kais, the Fizari, and the raid of Malikh, the son of Hubaira, the Sakhuni, by sea, and the raid of 'Ukba, the son of 'Amir, the Guhani, by sea, with the men of Misr (Egypt) and the men of Al Madina; and over the men of Al Madina was Al Mundhir, the son of Zuhair, and over their combined forces was Khalid, the son of 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Khalid, the son of Al Walid.

49 (Feb. 9, 669–Jan. 28, 670).

Ibn Wadh. . . Fudhala, the son of 'Ubaid, made a raid; and by his hands God made captives and carried off many prisoners.

Al Tab. . . And in this year was the wintering of Malikh, the son of Hubaira, the Sakhuni, in the land of the Romans. And in it was the raid of Fudhala, the son of 'Ubaid, upon Garabba; and he wintered at Garabba, and

El. Nis. 49
Theoph. AM
6159(?)

¹ Text 'Ubaid Allah': we may correct from Ibn Al Athir and Ibn Wadh. . .

² MSS. 'Fizari': we may correct from Ibn Al Athir and Ibn Wadh. . .

³ I do not know any other authority for this epithet; if it is meant to distinguish this Antioch from that mentioned above, Antioch in

Isauria is perhaps intended.

⁴ The words 'Khalid, the son of,' are not in the MSS., but are supplied by conjecture in Thorbecke's text. Otherwise we should have a glaring contradiction to the statement of Al Tab. sub ann. 46.

El. Nis. 51
Theoph. AM
6159

it was captured by his hands, and he made many prisoners in it. And in it was the summer campaign of 'Abd Allah, the son of Khurz, the Bagli. And in it was the raid of Yazid, the son of Shagara, the Rahawi, by sea; and he wintered at the head of the men of Al Sham. And in it was the raid of 'Ukba, the son of Nafi', by sea; and he wintered at the head of the men of Misr. And in it was the raid of Yazid, the son of Mu'awiya, into Roman territory, till he reached Kustantiniyya; and with him were Ibn 'Abbas, and Ibn 'Umar, and Ibn Al Zubair, and Abu Ayyub the Ansari.

Instead of the last sentence Ibn Al Athir has: In this year (and the year 50 is also mentioned) Mu'awiya sent a powerful force upon a raid into the territory of the Romans; and he appointed Sufyan the son of 'Auf to the command, and ordered his son Yazid to join the raid; and he was disinclined to do so and made excuses, and his father abstained from pressing him. And during their raid the men were attacked by famine and grievous disease. . . .¹ And, when Mu'awiya heard of his verses, he enjoined him to join Sufyan in the land of the Romans, in order that whatever befell the men might befall him. And he went, and with him was a large body of men, whom his father sent with him; and in this force were Ibn 'Abbas and Ibn 'Umar and Ibn Al Zubair and Abu Ayyub the Ansari and others, and 'Abd Al 'Aziz, the son of Ruzara, the Khilabi. And they advanced into the territory of the Romans until they reached Al Kustantiniyya; and the Moslems and the Romans fought for some days, and the battle was severe between them. . . . Then Yazid and the army returned to Al Sham.²

50 (Jan. 29, 670—Jan. 17, 671).

Ibn Wadh.. Busr the son of Abu Artā made a raid; and Sufyan the son of 'Auf wintered.

Theoph. AM
6162(?)

Al Tab.. And in this year was the raid of Busr the son of Abu Artā and Sufyan, the son of 'Auf, the Azdi, into the land of the Romans. And it is said that in it was the raid of Fudhala, the son of 'Ubaid, the Ansari, by sea.

51 (Jan. 18, 671—Jan. 7, 672).

Theoph. AM
6162

Ibn Wadh.. Mahomet the son of 'Abd Al Rachman made a raid; and Fudhala, the son of 'Ubaid, the Ansari, wintered.

El. Nis. 51
Theoph. AM
6163

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year were the wintering of Fudhala the son of 'Ubaid in the land of the Romans, and the raid of Busr the son of Abu Artā in the summer.

52 (Jan. 8—Dec. 26, 672).

Ibn Wadh.. Sufyan the son of 'Auf made a raid; and he died and appointed 'Abd Allah, the son of Mas'ada, the Fizari, to take his place.

¹ I omit personal anecdotes which have no bearing on the expedition.

² The Syriac chronicle published by Nöl-

deke (see p. 184, note 3) places the expedition of Yazid in A.S. 971 (660); but, as that was a time of peace, the date is clearly wrong.

Al Tab. . And Al Wakidi states that in this year was the raid of Sufyan, the son of 'Auf, the Azdi, and his wintering in the land of the Romans; and that he died during the year and appointed 'Abd Allah, the son of Mas'ada, the Fizari, to take his place. And other authorities say: No, the man who wintered in the land of the Romans this year at the head of the men was Busr the son of Abu Arta, and with him was Sufyan, the son of 'Auf, the Azdi. And in the summer of this year a raid was made by Mahomet, the son of 'Abd Allah, the Thakafi.

El. Nis. 53
Theoph. AM
6165(?)¹

Theoph. AM
6164
Nikeph. p. 32

53 (Dec. 27, 672–Dec. 15, 673).

Ibn Wadh. . Mahomet, the son of Malikh, made a raid; and it is said that Tarsus was taken this year, its captor being Gunada, the son of Abu Umayya, the Azdi.

Al Tab. . And among the events of this year was the wintering of 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Um Al Chakham, the Thakafi, in the land of the Romans. And in it Rudus (Rhodes), an island in the sea, was taken; and its captor was Gunada, the son of Abu Umayya, the Azdi; and he settled the Moslems in it, as recorded by Mahomet the son of 'Umar²; and they sowed seed and acquired flocks and herds in it, which they pastured all round it; and, when men approached, they took them into the fortress; and they had watchmen who gave them warning of anyone upon the sea who wished to make war upon them, and they were on their guard against them. And they were the greatest annoyance to the Romans, and they attacked them on the sea and cut off their ships. And Mu'awiya supplied them plentifully with provisions and pay; and the enemy were afraid of them. And, when Mu'awiya was dead, Yazid, the son of Mu'awiya, removed them.

El. Nis. 54(?)

Ibn Al Athir adds: And it is said that it was taken in the year 60.

54 (Dec. 16, 673–Dec. 5, 674).

Al Tab. . And in this year was the wintering of Mahomet, the son of Malikh, in the land of the Romans, and the summer campaign of Ma'n, the son of Yazid, the Sulami. And in it, as Al Wakidi states, was the capture by Gunada, the son of Abu Umayya, of an island in the sea near Kustantiniyya, called Arwad.³ And Mahomet, the son of 'Umar, records that the Moslems remained in it for a space, as he says, of seven years, and the commandant was Mugahid, the son of Gabr.

There follows in Al Tabari a long personal story, the substance of which is expressed by Ibn Al Athir in the sentence:

And, when Mu'awiya died, and his son Yazid succeeded to the government, he ordered them to return, and they returned.

¹ Michael the Syrian records what seems to be the same expedition under the 2nd of Constantine = A.S. 982 (Oct. 1, 670–Sept. 30, 671).

² *i.e.* Al Wakidi.

³ This seems to be a mere duplicate of the occupation of Rhodes recorded under the previous year.

55 (Dec. 6, 674–Nov. 24, 675).

El. Nis. 56 Ibn Wadh. . Malikh, the son of 'Abd Allah, the Khath'ami, made a raid and wintered in the land of the Romans.

Al Tab. . And among the events of this year was the wintering of Sufyan, the son of 'Auf, the Azli, in the land of the Romans, as Al Wakidi says;¹ and some of the authorities say; No, the man who wintered in the land of the Romans this year was 'Abd Allah, the son of Kais, the Fizari; and some say; No, it was Malikh, the son of 'Abd Allah.

El. Nis. 55
Theoph. AM
6166

56 (Nov. 25, 675–Nov. 13, 676).

El. Nis. 57 Ibn Wadh. . Yazid, the son of Mu'awiya, made a raid and reached Al Kustantiniyya; and Mas'ud, the son of Abu Mas'ud, wintered; and the commander by land was Yazid, the son of Shagara, and by sea 'Iyadh, the son of Al Charith.² All these things are also said to have happened in the year 57.

Al Tab. . And in this year was the wintering of Gunada, the son of Abu Umayya, in the land of the Romans; and it is said that it was 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Mas'ud; and it is said that this year Yazid, the son of Shagara, the Rahawi, made a raid by sea, and 'Iyadh, the son of Al Charith, by land.

El. Nis. 54(?)

57 (Nov. 14, 676–Nov. 2, 677).

Theoph. AM
6166(?)

Ibn Wadh. . 'Abd Allah, the son of Kais, made a raid.

Al Tab. . And this year was the wintering of 'Abd Allah, the son of Kais, in the land of the Romans.

58 (Nov. 3, 677–Oct. 22, 678).

El. Nis. 56(?)
El. Nis. 58 Ibn Wadh. . Malikh, the son of 'Abd Allah, the Khath'ami, made a raid; and it is said that 'Amir, the son of Yazid, the Guhani, did so; and Yazid, the son of Shagara, was killed at sea.

Al Tab. . And this year Malikh, the son of Abd Allah, the Khath'ami, made a raid into the land of the Romans. And in this year Yazid, the son of Shagara, was killed³ at sea on a ship, as Al Wakidi says. He says: And it is said that 'Amr, the son of Yazid, the Guhani, was⁴ the man who wintered in the land of the Romans; and it is said that the man who made the raid by sea this year was Gunada, the son of Abu Umayya.

Ibn Al Athir. This year Malikh, the son of 'Abd Allah, the Khath'ami, made a raid into the land of the Romans, and 'Amr, the son of Yazid, the Guhani, by sea; and it is said that it was Gunada, the son of Abu Umayya.

¹ It is hard to reconcile this with the statement under A.H. 52 that Al Wakidi placed Sufyan's death in that year.

² MS. Al Charb. Al Charith is an obvious correction of Houtsma; cf. Al Tab. . The name 'Charb' does not take the article.

³ According to Houtsma's text, 'It is said

that Y., the son of S., (made a raid) by sea"; but by the change of a point ('kutila' for 'kila') we get the same as in Al Tab. .

⁴ I omit the copula before the verb with MS. C. The printed text must be rendered 'it was 'Amr . . . and he was the man who wintered.'

59 (Oct. 23, 678–Oct. 12, 679).

Ibn Wadh. . 'Amr, the son of Murra, the Guhani,¹ made a raid by land, El. Nis. 58(?) and there was not that year any raid by sea.

Al Tab. . And that year was the wintering of 'Amr, the son of Murra, the Guhani, in the land of the Romans on land. Al Wakidi says: There was not that year any raid by sea. And others say: Not so; Gunada, the son of Abu Umayya, made a raid by sea. El. Nis. 59

60 (Oct. 13, 679–Sept. 30, 680).

Al Tab. . And this year was the raid of Malikh, the son of 'Abd Allah, upon Sauriyya (Isauria), and the entry of Gunada, the son of Abu Umayya, into Rudus, and his building of the city there, as Al Wakidi says.²

CALIPHATE OF YAZID I.

61 (Oct. 1, 690–Sept. 19, 681).

Ibn Wadh. . Malikh, the son of 'Abd Allah, the Khath'ami, made a raid in the summer; and this was a raid upon Sauriyya.³

CALIPHATE OF 'ABD AL MALIK II.

70 (June 25, 689–June 14, 690).

Al Tab. . And in this year the Romans rose up and assembled together against the Moslems in Al Sham; and 'Abd Al Malikh made peace with the king of the Romans on condition of paying him a thousand denarii every assembly-day,⁴ fearing danger from him to the Moslems.

Theoph. AM
6178
Mich. fol. 260r
(without date)
Chron. of 846
(without date)

75 (May 2, 694–Apr. 20, 695).

Ibn Wadh. . Mahomet, the son of Marwan, made a raid in the summer; and the Romans came out against Al A'mak,⁵ and they were slain by Aban, the son of Al Walid, the son of 'Ukba, the son of Abu Mu'ait, and Dinar, the son of Dinar.

Theoph. AM
6186
El. Nis. 75
Mich. AS
1006
Chron. of 846
AS 1006

Al Tab. . Among the events of this year was the raid of Mahomet, the son of Marwan, in the summer, when the Romans came out from before Mar'ash (Germanikeia).

¹ There can be little doubt that this is the same as 'Amr, the son of Yazid, the Guhani. Under 58, where the Arabs have Ibn Yazid, El. Nis. has Ibn Murra.

² Al Tab. has probably confused Al Wakidi's date for the occupation with that for the evacuation; cf. ann. 53, 54.

³ This must be thrown back to 679, since peace was made before Mu'awiya's death (Apr. 6, 680).

⁴ *i.e.* Friday. Theoph. 'every day': so Michael.

⁵ *i.e.* 'the valleys,' the name of a place between Germanikeia and Antioch. The MS. has Al A'man, but Houtsma's correction is no doubt right, and Al A'mak is the name given by Al Baladhuri (see p. 207); cf. also ann. 112. The Syriac writers call the place 'the valley of Antioch.'

76 (Apr. 21, 695–Apr. 9, 696).

Ibn Wadh. . . Yachya, the son of Al Chakham, made a raid in the summer at Marg al Shacham between Malatya and Al Massisa (Mopsouestia).¹
 Theoph. AM 6187 Ibn Al Athir. And this year Mahomet, the son of Marwan, made a raid upon the Romans in the region of Malatya.²

77 (Apr. 10, 696–Mar. 29, 697).

Ibn Wadh. . . Al Walid, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid upon Atmar; and his raid was in the region of Malatya. And Chassan, the son of Al Nu'man, made a raid by sea.³
 El. Nis. 77 Theoph. AM 6189 Al Tab. . . And this year Al Walid made a raid in the summer.

78 (Mar. 30, 697–Mar. 19, 698).

Al Tab. . . And 'Abd Al Malikh sent Yachya, the son of Al Chakham, to make a raid this year.

79 (Mar. 20, 698–Mar. 8, 699).

Al Tab. . . And this year, as it is said, the Romans fell upon the men of Antakhiya. Ibn Al Athir adds: and defeated them.
 El. Nis. 79. Theoph. AM 6192 Mich. fol. 261v (without date).

80 (Mar. 9, 699–Feb. 25, 700).

Al Tab. . . And 'Abd Al Malikh sent his son Al Walid upon a raid this year.

81 (Feb. 26, 700–Feb. 14, 701).

Al Tab. . . I was informed by 'Umar, the son of Shabba; he said: I was told by 'Ali, the son of Mahomet; ⁴ he said: 'Abd Al Malikh sent his son 'Ubaid Allah ⁵ upon a raid in the year 81; and he took Kalikala (Theodosiopolis-Karin in Armenia).

82 (Feb. 15, 701–Feb. 3, 702).

Ibn Al Athir. And this year Mahomet, the son of Marwan, made a raid upon Arminiya (Armenia) and routed them. Then they asked him for peace, and he granted it to them; and he appointed Abu Shaikh, the son of 'Abd Allah, governor over them, and they acted treacherously towards him and killed him. And it is said also that they killed him in the year 83.
 Theoph. AM 6195(?)

¹ According to Yakut Marg Al Shacham was near Amorion. Similarly El. Nis. (ann. 23) makes Mu'awiya take Ankyra and advance to Marg Al Shacham.

² Armenia IV. according to Theoph. .

³ This is Houtsma's correction. The MS. has 'Al Bachr (= the sea) the son of Ch. the son of

Al W. made a raid.' After this several lines are missing down to AH. 83.

⁴ Better known as Al Madaini, a writer of the early part of the 9th century.

⁵ We should probably read 'Abd Allah, since no such name as 'Ubaid Allah appears among the sons of 'Abd Al Malikh.

83 (Feb. 4, 702–Jan. 23, 703).

Ibn Wadh. . 'Abd Allah also ¹ made a raid and took Al Massisa, and built a small fortress in it.²

El. Nis. 83,
84
Theoph. AM
6193
Mich. AS
1015, 1017
Chron. of 846
AS 1015

84 (Jan. 24, 703–Jan. 13, 704).

Al Tab. . And in this year was the raid of 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh the son of Marwan, into Roman territory; and in it he took Al Massisa. Such is the record of Al Wakidi.

85 (Jan. 14, 704–Jan. 1, 705).

Ibn Al Athir. And this year Mahomet, the son of Marwan, made a raid into Arminiya and passed summer and winter in it.

Theoph. AM
6195

CALIPHATE OF AL WALID I.

86 (Jan. 2–Dec. 22, 705).

Ibn Wadh. . Maslama made a raid and took two fortresses.

El. Nis. 86

Al Tab. . Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid into the land of the Romans.

87 (Dec. 23, 705–Dec. 11, 706).

Al Tab. . And in this year Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid into the land of the Romans; and with him was Yazid, the son of Gubair, and he met the Romans with a great force at Susana (Sision) in the neighbourhood of Al Massisa.³ Al Wakidi says: This year Maslama met Maimun the Gurgani⁴ (and with Maslama were about a thousand fighting men of the men of Antakhiya) at Tuwana (Tyana); and he killed many men among them, and God took the fortress by his hands⁵ (and it is said that the man who made a raid upon the Romans in this year was Hisham, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh); and God took by his hands the fortress of Bulak and the fortress of Al Akhrim and the fortress of Bulas (Pylai?) and Kamkim; and he killed of the Musta'riba⁶ about a thousand fighting men, and carried their children and their women into captivity.

Theoph. AM
6196

Theoph. AM
6201

¹ This word seems to show that Ibn Wadh. recorded an expedition by 'Abd Allah in the previous year.

² Theoph. and the *Chronicle* of 846 mention the building only. El. Nis. and Mich. record the capture and the building under separate years.

³ Al Tab. omits to mention the result of the meeting, which according to Theoph. was a great defeat of the Arabs. A comparison with Theoph. makes it probable that the subject of the last clause is not Maslama but Yazid (Ἀζίδος

δ τοῦ Χουνεί).

⁴ This means Hyrcanian; but we should no doubt read 'Gurgunami,' the Arabic name for the Mardaites, which is the title applied to Maimun by Al Baladhuri (see p. 203).

⁵ This seems to be an anticipatory statement, since Al Tab. afterwards records the capture under 88, to which year it is also assigned by Ibn Kutaiba, the earliest extant Arabic historian (d. 884).

⁶ Arabs not of pure birth.

88 (Dec. 12, 706–Nov. 30, 707).

Ibn Wadh. . Maslama and Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, made a raid and took Suriya (Isaura?), and Al 'Abbas took Ardaluniya.¹

Theoph. AM
6201
Nikeph. pp.
43, 44
Mich. AS
1019

Al Tab. . And among the events of this year was God's capture by the hands of the Moslems of one of the Roman fortresses called Tuwana in Gumada II. (May 9–June 6),² and they wintered at it; and over the army were Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, and Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh. And Mahomet, the son of 'Umar, Al Wakidi, records that Thur, the son of Yazid, told him on the authority of his masters: he said: The capture of Tuwana was effected by the hands of Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, and Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid; and the Moslems routed the enemy that day, so that they went to their church; then they returned, and the men³ were routed until they thought they should never recover from it. And Al 'Abbas remained, and some men with him, among whom was Ibn Muchairiz, the Gumachi; and Al 'Abbas said to Ibn Muchairiz, "Where are the men of the Kuran who are seeking Paradise?" And Ibn Muchairiz said, "Call to them to come to you." And Al 'Abbas called out, "Ye men of the Kuran!" And they came all together; and God routed the enemy, until they entered Tuwana.

And in it Maslama also made a raid into Roman territory, and by his hands three fortresses were taken, the fortress of Kustantin and Ghazala (Gazelon) and the fortress of Al Akhrim, and he killed of the Musta'riba about 1,000 men, besides carrying their children into captivity and taking possession of their property.⁴

Khitab al 'Uyun. And in the year 88 Maslama and Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, made a raid upon Tuwana and wintered at it. And the Romans assembled against them; and they met, and God Most High routed the Romans, and 50,000 of them were killed. And God Most High took Tuwana and another fortress near it with prisoners and spoil.

89 (Dec. 1, 707–Nov. 19, 708).

El. Nis. 89
Theoph. AM
6202(?)

Al Tab. . The Moslems in this year took the fortress of Suriya; and over the army was Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh. Al Wakidi states that Maslama made a raid into the land of the Romans this year, and with him was Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid; and they entered it together; then they separated, and Maslama took the fortress of Suriya, and Al 'Abbas took Adhruliyya; and he encountered a force of Romans and routed them. And others besides Al Wakidi say: Maslama went to 'Ammuriya (Amorion) and encountered the Romans there, a large force, and God routed them: and he

¹ This is the MS. reading. Houtsma would read Adruliya; cf. Al Tab. ann. 89.

² MS. B adds 'the first of it' (May 9), while Ibn Al Athir has Gumada I. (Apr. 9–May 8). Mich. places the capture in Mar. 708, after a

siege of nine months.

³ Ibn Al Athir 'the Moslems.'

⁴ The last clause is clearly a duplicate of the notice under the preceding year.

took Hirakla (Herakleia) and Kamudiya (Nikomedeia ?),¹ and Al 'Abbas made a summer campaign in the neighbourhood of Al Budandun (Podandos).

90 (Nov. 20, 708–Nov. 8, 709).

Ibn Wadh. . 'Abd Al 'Aziz, the son of Al Walid, made a raid and took a fortress. El. Nis. 90

Al Tab. . And in this year Maslama made a raid into the land of the Romans, as Mahomet, the son of 'Umar, records, in the neighbourhood of Suriya, and took the five fortresses in Suriya. And in it Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, made a raid, some say, till he reached Al Arzan,² and others say, till he reached Suriya. And Mahomet, the son of 'Umar, says: the account which says 'till he reached Suriya' is right. Theoph. AM
6202(?)

91 (Nov. 9, 709–Oct. 28, 710).

Ibn Wadh. . 'Abd Al 'Aziz, the son of Al Walid, made a raid.

Al Tab. . And in this year, as Mahomet, the son of 'Umar, and others record, 'Abd Al 'Aziz, the son of Al Walid, made a raid in the summer; and over the army was Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh.

92 (Oct. 29, 710–Oct. 18, 711).

Ibn Wadh. . Mahomet, the son of Marwan, made a raid.

Al Tab. . Among the events of the year was the raid of Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, and 'Umar, the son of Al Walid, into the land of the Romans; and three fortresses were taken by the hands of Maslama; and the people of Susana migrated into the interior of the land of the Romans.

93 (Oct. 19 711–Oct. 6, 712).

Ibn Wadh. . Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, and Marwan, the son of Al Walid, and Maslama made a raid and took Amasiya (Amaseia) and the fortress of Al Chadid. El. Nis. 92
Theoph. AM
6204

Al Tab. . And among the events of this year were the raid of Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, into the land of the Romans, and God's capture of Sabastiyya (Sebasteia)³ by his hands. And in it was also the raid of Marwan, the son of Al Walid, into the land of the Romans; and he reached Khangara.⁴ And in it was the raid of Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, into the land of the Romans; and he took Masa (Amaseia) and the fortress Mich. AS
1023
Chron. of 846
AS 1021

¹ vvl. Kuliya and Kamuliyah. Kamouliana in Cappadocia I. may be meant. Ibn Al Athir has 'Kamuniya.' The mention of Herakleia (Pontou?) points to Nikomedeia, but it is strange that its capture should not be recorded by the Greek writers.

² Arzan should be Arzanene or its chief town, but this is clearly out of place here.

³ The MSS. have Samastiyya: I emend from H.S.—VOL. XVIII.

Ibn Al Athir, who adds 'and Al Marzbanain and Tus' (cf. ann. 95). It is possible, however, that Mistheia is meant (cf. Theoph. A.M. 6204; Nikeph. p. 48; Chron. of 846 A. S. 1021).

⁴ vl. Gangra. Mich. records the capture of 'Gargarun' in A.S. 1022. On the other hand, Yakut mentions Khangara, 'a district in the territory of the Romans.' Cf. also ann.109.

of Al Chadid and Ghazala and Tarchamah¹ in the neighbourhood of Malatya.

94 (Oct. 7, 712–Sept. 25, 713).

Ibn Wadh. . . Al ‘Abbas and ‘Umar, the sons of Al Walid, made a raid.

El. Nis. 94
Theoph. AM
6205
Mich. AS
1023

Al Tab. . . And amongst the events of this year was the raid of Al ‘Abbas, the son of Walid, into the land of the Romans, and it is said that in it he took Antakhiya. And in it, as it is said, ‘Abd Al ‘Aziz, the son of Al Walid, made a raid into the land of the Romans till he reached Ghazala; and Al Walid, the son of Hisham, the Mu‘aiti, reached the land of Burg Al Chamam;² and Yazid, the son of Abu Khabsha, reached the land of Suriya.³

95 (Sept. 26, 713–Sept. 15, 714).

El. Nis. 95

Al Tab. . . And this year was the raid of Al ‘Abbas, the son of Al Walid, the son of ‘Abd Al Malikh, into the land of the Romans, and God took three fortresses by his hands, as it is said, and they were Tulas, and Al Marzbanain, and Hirakla.⁴ And in it Al Wadhachhi was killed in the land of the Romans, and about 1,000 men with him.

96 (Sept. 16, 714–Sept. 4, 715).

Ibn Wadh. . . Bishr, the son of Al Walid, made a raid.

Al Tab. . . And this year, as Al Wakidi says, was the raid of Bishr, the son of Al Walid, in the winter; and, when he returned, Al Walid was dead.

CALIPHATE OF SOLOMON.

Theoph. AM
6206(?)
Mich. AS
1026

Ibn Wadh. : Maslama made a raid and took the fortress of Al Chadid, and wintered in the lands of the Romans; and ‘Umar, the son of Hubaira, made a raid by sea; and they occupied all between Al Khalig⁵ and Al Kustantiniyya, and they took the city of the Slavs;⁶ and Solomon sent them reinforcements under ‘Amr, the son of Kais, the Khindi, and ‘Abd Allah, the son of ‘Umar, the son of Al Walid, the son of ‘Ukba.

Ibn W. also has a duplicate account as follows: And Solomon went out in the direction of Al Gazira and took up his abode at a place called Dabik,⁷ in

¹ This is the reading of the MSS. Guidi would read Bargama, which differs only by points. Bargama, however, is the Arabic name for Pergamos, which seems quite out of place here. The capture of Pergamos is recorded by Michael and the Chronicle of 846 under A.S. 1027 (716). Theophanes also records it under 716 (A.M. 6208), but, as he makes it contemporaneous with Leo's accession, he must mean to place it in 717.

² *i.e.* the tower of the pigeon.

³ Since Suriya (Syria, see p. 183, note 4) and Sauriya (Isauria) differ only by a point, it is often impossible to say which is meant; cf. ann. 90.

⁴ Ibn Al Athir, ‘he took Hirakla and other

places.’ He has already recorded the capture of Al Marzbanain and Tus (Tulas?) under AH 93 (p. 193, note 3). The last name might stand for Doara, which would go well with Sebasteia, but not with Herakleia, unless Herakleia-Kybistra is meant. Another reading is Tunas. Al Marzbanain = the two marzbans.

⁵ *i.e.* the canal. The name covers the Hellespont, Propontis, and Bosphorus.

⁶ Prof. Ramsay (*Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 351) identifies the city of the Slavs with Loulon, near the Cilician gates: but the city here mentioned would seem to have been near Constantinople.

⁷ MS. Dhanik.

the province of Kinnasrin (Chalkis); and he sent Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, upon a raid into the territory of the Romans, and told him to go to Al Kustantiniyya, and remain before it till he took it. And Maslama went on till he reached Al Kustantiniyya, and remained before it till he had sown and eaten of what he had sown; and he entered and took the city of the Slavs. And the Moslems were smitten by scarcity, and hunger, and cold; and Solomon heard of the condition of Maslama and his men, and sent them reinforcements under 'Amr, the son of Kais, by land; and he sent 'Umar, the son of Hubaira, the Fizari, to make a raid by sea; and that because the Romans had made an attack upon the city of Ladikiya (Laodikeia), in the province of Chims, and had burnt it, and had carried away some of what was in it. And 'Umar, the son of Hubaira, reached the canal (khalig) of Al Kustantiniyya.¹

El. Nis. 97

97 (Sept. 5, 715–Aug. 24, 716).

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year was the equipping by Solomon, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, of the armies intended to march to Al Kustantiniyya, and the appointment of his son David, the son of Solomon, to conduct the summer expedition; and he took the fortress of Al Mara. And in it, as Al Wakidi records, Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid into the land of the Romans;² and he took the fortress which had been taken by Al Wadhdhach, the chief of the Wadhdhachiyya. And in it 'Umar,³ the son of Hubaira, the Fizari, made a raid by sea upon the land of the Romans, and wintered in it.

Theoph. AM
6208
Mich. AS
1027

98 (Aug. 25, 716–Aug. 13, 717).

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year was the sending by Solomon, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, of his brother Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, to Al Kustantiniyya; and he told him to remain before it till he took it or an order from him came to him. And he passed winter and summer there. . . . I was told by Achmad, the son of Zuhair, on the authority of 'Ali, the son of Mahomet: he said: When Solomon assumed the government, he made a raid upon the Romans; and he stationed himself at Dabik, and sent Maslama in front; and the Romans were afraid of him; and Leo appeared from Arminiya. . . . And the patricians said to Leo, 'If you deliver us from Maslama, we will make you king'; and they made a covenant with him. And he came to Maslama and said, 'The people know that you will not make serious war upon them, but will give them a respite, as long as the corn lasts with you: and, if you burn the corn, they will submit.' And he burned it: and the enemy remained, and the Moslems were straitened until they nearly perished. . . . And

El. Nis. 98
Theoph. AM
6209
Nikeph. p. 53
Chron. of 846
AS 1028
'Dion.' AS
1028

¹ Though in the text these events are ascribed in the summary to 96, we should very probably read 97, since Ibn W. has already recounted the events of 96 under the Caliphate of Al Walid. This author records the campaigns not under

each year in the narrative, but all together at the end of each Caliphate.

² Ibn Al Ath. 'the land of the Wadhdhachiyya.'

³ Text 'Amr.' I correct from Ibn Al Athir.

that happened to the force which had never happened to an army before, until a man was afraid to go out of the camp alone; and they ate the beasts of burden and skins and the trunks and leaves of trees and everything except dust. And Solomon remained at Dabik, and continued there through the winter; and he was not able to send them help till Solomon died.¹ And this year the city of the Slavs was taken. Mahomet, the son of 'Umar, says: 'The Burgan (Bulgarians) made an attack in the year 98 upon Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, and he had few men with him; and Solomon sent him help under Mas'ada or 'Amr, the son of Kais, with a military force; and the Slavs made a treacherous attack upon them; then God routed them, after they had killed Shurachil, the son of 'Abda.

And in this year, as Al Wakidi states, Al Walid, the son of Hisham, and 'Amr, the son of Kais, made a raid, and some of the men of Antakhiya were cut to pieces; and Al Walid attacked some men in the outlying districts of the Romans, and took many prisoners from among them.

Chron. of 846 And this year David, the son of Solomon, the son of AS 1028(?) 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid into the land of the Romans, and took the fortress of Al Mara near Malatya.²

99 (Aug. 14, 717–Aug. 2, 718).³

Ibn Wadh. . . Solomon, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, sent his son David to the land of the Romans, and Maslama was remaining quiet before Al Kustantiniyya; and David took the fortress of Al Mara, in the neighbourhood of Malatya.

CALIPHATE OF 'UMAR II.

During his government in the year 99 'Amr, the son of Kais, the Khindi, made a raid in the summer.

Theoph. AM Al Tab. And in this year 'Umar, the son of 'Abd Al 'Aziz, sent to 6210 Maslama, who was in the land of the Romans, and told him to return from Nikeph. p. 55 it with the Moslems who were with him: and he sent him some high-bred horses and a large quantity of corn, and he urged the men to go to his assistance. And the number of high-bred horses which he sent to him was, as it is said, 500 horses.

100 (Aug. 3, 718–July 23, 719).

Al Tab. . . And in this year 'Umar, the son of 'Abd Al 'Aziz, sent Al Walid, the son of Hisham, the Mu'aiti, and 'Amr, the son of Kais, the Khindi, of the men of Chims, to make a raid in the summer.

¹ There is a much longer account of the expedition against Constantinople in the *Khitab Al 'Uyun*; but it would take too much space to translate it here.

² The *Chronicle* of 846 makes David take the

fortress of 'Antigun' in A.S. 1028 (Oct. 1, 716—Sept. 30, 717). For Al Mara cf. ann. 33.

³ We should perhaps read 98, since Ibn W. mentions an expedition of 99 under the reign of 'Umar.

Ibn Al Athir. In this year 'Umar, the son of 'Abd Al 'Aziz, ordered the men of Taranda (Taranton) to withdraw from it to Malatya; and Taranda is in the Roman territory, three days' journey from Malatya; and 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, had settled the Moslems in it after he had made a raid upon it in the year 83;¹ and Malatya was at that time deserted: and he introduced among them a military force from Al Gazira, to be stationed among them until the snow came down and they returned to their district. And this state of affairs went on until 'Umar succeeded to the government; and he ordered them to return to Malatya and left Taranda unoccupied, through fear of injury to the Moslems from the enemy: and he left Taranda deserted, and appointed as governor of Malatya Ga'wana, the son of Al Charith, one of the sons of 'Amir, the son of Sa'sa'a.

CALIPHATE OF YAZID II.

102 (July 12, 720–June 30, 721).

Ibn Wadh.. Under his government in the year 102 'Abd Al Walid, the son of Hisham, made a raid at the head of the men into the land of the Romans, and encamped at the ford near Antakhiya. And 'Umar, the son of Hubaira, attacked the Romans in Fourth Armyniya, and routed them and took 700 prisoners from among them.

Al Tab.. And in this year 'Umar, the son of Hubaira, made a raid upon the Romans in Armyniya, and routed them, and took many men prisoners from among them—it is said 700 prisoners.²

Ibn Al Athir adds: And in this year Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid upon the Romans, and took Dalisa (Dalisandos?).³

103 (Jul. 1, 721–June 20, 722).

Ibn Wadh.. Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, made a raid; and the men were cut to pieces in detachments. And 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Solomon, the Khalbi, and 'Uthman, the son of Chayyan, the Murri, made a raid, and encamped against a fortress, and took it. El. Nis. 103

Al Tab.. And in this year Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, made a raid upon the Romans, and took a city called Rasala.⁴

104 (June 21, 722–June 9, 723).

Ibn Wadh.. 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Solomon, the Khalbi, made a

¹ According to Theoph. the attack of 'Abd Allah on Taranton in A.M. 6193 (701) was unsuccessful. The occupation of Taranton is placed by Michael in A.S. 1022 (711), and by the Chronicle of 846 in A.S. 1021 (710). According to both these authorities the captor was Maslama.

² Ibn Al Athir 'and killed 700 prisoners.'

The difference between 'kila' (it is said) and 'katala' (killed) is only one of pointing.

³ See next note.

⁴ vvl. Ghasla and Wasala. Ibn Al Athir 'Dasala.' Perhaps Owasada is the place meant; but it seems probable that it is the same as that mentioned under the previous year under the name of Dalisa (the vowels are doubtful).

raid on the south in the summer; and 'Uthman, the son of Chayyan, the Murri, made a raid upon the north in the summer.

105 (June 10, 723–May 28, 724).

Ibn Wadh. . Sa'id, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, the son of Marwan, made a raid; then he returned and made a raid upon the regions of the Turks.

Theoph. AM
6216

Al Tab. . And in this year was the raid of Sa'id, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, into the land of the Romans; and he sent out a detachment of about 1,000 fighting men, and, as is recorded, they were all cut to pieces.

Ibn Al Athir. . And this year Marwan, the son of Mahomet, made a raid upon the south in the summer and took Kuniya (Ikonion) in the land of the Romans and Khamkh (Kamachos).¹

CALIPHATE OF HISHAM.

Khitab Al 'Uyun. . And this year Marwan, the son of Mahomet, made a raid at the head of the forces of Al Gazira and the forces of Al Sham (and he was governor of Al Gazira in the name of Hisham), and with him was Sa'id, the son of Hisham, at the head of the forces of Al Sham; and he entered by the road of Malatiyya and took a fortress called Muwasa by storm, after he had besieged them and assaulted them with engines. And they asked him to grant a capitulation, and he refused to grant them anything but a surrender at discretion. And, when he had taken it, he decided to kill the fighting men and carry the children into captivity; and he divided them among the Moslems, and destroyed the fortress.

106 (May 29, 724–May 18, 725).

Ibn Wadh. . And during his government, in the year 106, Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, made a raid at the head of the men; and he sent Al Wadh-dhach, the chief of the Wadh-dhachiyya, and he burnt the crops and the villages, because the Romans had burnt the pasture lands. And Sa'id, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid upon the north in the summer.

Al Tab. . And in this year Sa'id, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid in the summer.

107 (May 19, 725–May 7, 726).

Theoph. AM
6218

Ibn Wadh. . Mu'awiya also made a raid.²

Al Tab. . Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid by land.

El. Nis. 107
Theoph. AM
6218 ' Dion. ,
AS 1040
cf. Mich. and
Chron. of 846
AS 1037
(Neokaisareia)

Khitab Al 'Uyun. . Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid upon Kaisariyya (Kaisareia), and that is between Malatiyya and Khamakh (Kamachos), and took it.

¹ There is nothing to show whether the author would place this expedition before or after the death of Yazid (Jan. 724).

² Al Tab. makes this a raid upon Cyprus, which does not come within the limits of the article.

108 (May 8, 726–Apr. 27, 727).

Ibn Wadh. . Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid in the summer on the south; and 'Asim, the son of Yazid, the Hilali, made a raid in the summer on the north.

Al Tab. . And in this year was the raid of Maslama the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, until he reached Kaisariyya, a city of the Romans on the borders of Al Gazira;¹ and God took it by his hands.

And in it also Abraham, the son of Hisham, made a raid and took also one of the fortresses of the Romans.

109 (Apr. 28, 727–Apr. 15, 728).

Ibn Wadh. . Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, made a raid, and with him was Al Battal in command of his advance-guard, and he took Khangara.²

El. Nis. 108
Theoph. AM
6218

Al Tab. . And amongst the events of this year was the raid of 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Ukba, the son of Nafi', the Fihri, at the head of a force by sea, and the raid of Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, upon the land of the Romans; and he took a fortress in it called Taiba,³ and some of the troops of Antakhiya in his company were cut to pieces.

110 (Apr. 16, 728–Apr. 4, 729).

Al Tab. . And in this year, as is recorded, Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, made a raid upon the land of the Romans and took Samala. And in it 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Ukba, the Fihri, made a raid in the summer; and over the sea forces, as Al Wakidi records, was 'Abd Al Rachman, the son of Mu'awiya, the son of Chudaig.

Theoph. AM
6219(?)

Khitab Al 'Uyun. Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, made a raid in the summer; and he sent 'Abd Allah Al Battal in command of his advance-guard, and he took a fortress in the territory of the Romans, and in it some men were cut to pieces by them; and Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham besieged⁴

111 (Apr. 5, 729–Mar. 25, 730).

Ibn Wadh. . Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, made a raid in the summer upon the north, and Sa'id, the son of Hisham, made a raid in the summer upon the south.

Al Tab. . And among the events of this year was the raid of Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, in the summer upon the north, and the raid of Sa'id, the son of Hisham, in the summer upon the south until he reached Kaisariyya. Al Wakidi says: In the year 111 'Abd Allah, the son of Abu Maryam, made a raid at the head of the sea-forces; and Hisham appointed Al Chakham, the

¹ Ibn Al Ath. adds: 'and that is a celebrated city.' He also records under this year the raid recorded under 107 by Al Tab. .

² As there are no points in the MS., the name might also be read 'Gangra.' Mich. records the capture of Gangra under A. S. 1042 (731). Cf.

also ann. 93.

³ vl. Taina; possibly to be identified with 'τὸ κἀστρον' Ἀρεῶς (Theoph. A.M. 6219).

⁴ The name has fallen out. Perhaps it is Nikaia, the siege of which is recorded by Mich. under A. S. 1042 (731).

son of Kais, the son of Makhrama, the son of 'Abd Al Muttalib,¹ the son of 'Abd Manaf, to command all the men of Al Sham and Misr.

112 (Mar. 26, 730–Mar. 14, 731).

Ibn Wadh.. Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, made a raid upon the Romans; and he did not succeed in entering their territory, but remained at the frontier at Al 'Amk,² in the district of Mar'ash.

Theoph. AM
6222
Mich. AS
1042

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year was the raid of Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, in the summer; and he took Kharshana (Charsianon) and burnt Farandiyya in the district of Malatya.

Khitab Al 'Uyun. And this year 'Abd Al Wahhab, the son of Bukht, was killed while in company with Al Battal, in the land of the Romans; and that because the men were scattered from Al Battal and put to flight; and 'Abd Al Wahhab . . . advanced towards the enemy . . . and mingled with the host and was killed, and his horse was killed.

113 (Mar. 15, 731–Mar. 2, 732).

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year was the death of 'Abd Al Wahhab, the son of Bukht; and he was with Al Battal 'Abd Allah in the land of the Romans. And Mahomet, the son of 'Umar, records on the authority of 'Abd Al 'Aziz, the son of Umar, that 'Abd Al Wahhab, the son of Bukht, made a raid with Al Battal in the year 113, and the men were scattered from Al Battal, &c. (the rest as in Khit. Al 'Uyun, ann. 112).

And among the events was the raid of Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, into the land of the Romans; and he stayed on the frontier in the district of Mar'ash and returned.

114 (Mar. 3, 732–Feb. 20, 733).

Ibn Wadh.. Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, and Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid.

El. Nis. 114(?)
Theoph. AM
6224

Al Tab.. And among the events was the raid of Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, upon the north in the summer, and the raid of Solomon, the son of Hisham, upon the south in the summer; and it is recorded that Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, smote the suburbs of Akrun (Akroinon), and that 'Abd Allah Al Battal and Constantine met with their forces; and he routed them and took Constantine prisoner. And Solomon, the son of Hisham, reached Kaisariyya.

115 (Feb. 21, 733–Feb. 9, 734).

Ibn Wadh.. Mu'awiya and Solomon, the sons of Hisham, made a raid, and over the advance-guard was 'Abd Allah Al Battal; and he met Constantine and took him prisoner and routed the Romans.

Al Tab.. And among the events of this year was the raid of Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, upon the land of the Romans.

¹ The text of Al Tab. has Al Muttalib. I insert 'Abd' from Ibn Al Athir. ² *i.e.* the valley: see ann. 75 and note.

Khitab Al 'Uyun. Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, made a raid in the summer, and with him were the men of Al Sham and the men of Al Gazira and 'Abd Allah Al Battal. And, when the Moslems and the Romans met, and over the forces was 'Abd Allah Al Battal , the Romans were routed, and the Moslems fell upon them and made great slaughter, and took many captives, and took possession of their camp and made spoil of their property.

116 (Feb. 10, 734—Jan. 30, 735).

Ibn Wadh. . Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, made a raid.

Al Tab. . And among the events of this year was the raid of Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, in the summer, upon the land of the Romans. El. Nis. 116
Theoph. AM
6226(?)

117 (Jan. 31, 735—Jan. 19, 736).

Ibn Wadh. . Mu'awiya and Solomon, the sons of Hisham, made a raid.¹ El. Nis. 117
Theoph. AM
6227(?)

Al Tab. . And among the events of this year was the raid of Mu'awiya, the son of Hisham, upon the north in the summer, and the raid of Solomon, the son of Hisham, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, upon the south in the summer in the neighbourhood of Al Gazira; and he scattered his detachments over the land of the Romans.

118 (Jan. 20, 736—Jan. 7, 737).

Al Tab. . Among the events was the raid of Mu'awiya and Solomon, the sons of Hisham, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, upon the land of the Romans. El. Nis. 118
Theoph. AM
6228

119 (Jan. 8—Dec. 28, 737).

Al Tab. . Among the events was the raid of Al Walid, the son of Al Ka'ka', the 'Absi, upon the land of the Romans.

120 (Dec. 29, 737—Dec. 17, 738).

Al Tab. . Among the events was the raid by Solomon, the son of Hisham, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, in the summer, and his capture, as is recorded, of Sindira (Sideroun). Theoph. AM
6230

121 (Dec. 18, 738—Dec. 6, 739).

Ibn Wadh. . Maslama, the son of Hisham, reached Malatya.

Al Tab. . Among the events was the raid of Maslama, the son of Hisham, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, upon the Romans; and in it he took Matamir.

122 (Dec. 7, 739—Nov. 25, 740).

Ibn Wadh. . Solomon, the son of Hisham, made a raid upon the district of Malatya. Theoph. AM
6231

¹ From this point down to 121 the text of Ibn Wadh. is defective.

Al Tab. . In this year 'Abd Allah Al Battal was killed with a force of Moslems in the land of the Romans.

Theoph. AM
6231

Khitab Al 'Uyun. Al Battal, the son of Al Chusain, (his name was 'Abd Allah) and Constantine met with large forces; and God Most High routed them, and Constantine was taken prisoner. And Al Battal advanced with the captives, and he was attacked in the rear and killed, and with him was killed Malikh, the son of Shu'aib.

Ibn Al Athir. In this year Al Battal (and his name was 'Abd Allah Abu'lChusain, the Antakhi) was killed with a force of Moslems in the land of the Romans; and it is said also that it was in the year 123.

123 (Nov. 26, 740–Nov. 14, 741).

El. Nis. 123

Ibn Wadh. . Solomon, the son of Hisham, made a raid in the summer.

124 (Nov. 15, 741–Nov. 3, 742).

El. Nis. 124
Theoph. AM
6233

Ibn Wadh. . Solomon, the son of Hisham, made a raid, and he met Leo,¹ the Emperor of the Romans, and Artiyas (Artavazd); and he returned, and there was no battle between them.

Al Tab. . And in this year Solomon made a raid in the summer, and he met Leo, the king of the Romans, and carried off captives and spoil.

125 (Nov. 4, 742–Oct. 24, 743).

Theoph. AM
6234

Ibn Wadh. . Al Ghamr, the son of Yazid, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, made a raid.

Al Tab. . Among the events was the raid by Al Nu'man, the son of Yazid, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, in the summer.

CALIPHATE OF AL WALID II.

Ibn Al Athir. This year the Romans came out to Zibatra,² and that is an ancient fortress; and it had been taken by Chabib, the son of Maslama, the Fihri; and the Romans demolished it at that time; and it was rebuilt without strength; and the Romans demolished it again in the days of Marwan, the son of Mahomet, the Ass.³ . . . And in this year Al Walid sent his brother, Al Ghamr, the son of Yazid, to make a raid.⁴

¹ El. Nis. 'the son of Leo'; and this is obviously right, since Leo died in June 741.

² Between Melitene and Samosata and Al Chadath (see p. 208) according to Yakut. Perhaps it should be identified with Deba (mod. Tshebat). Abu'l Fida (Tab. Syr. pp. 28, 30) places Zibatra two days' journey south of

Melitene and in lat. 36° 50', long. 61° 20'.

³ 'The ass of Al Gazira' was a nickname of Marwan II.

⁴ Ibn Wadh. is therefore wrong in ascribing this raid to the reign of Hisham, who in fact died in Feb. 743.

EXTRACTS FROM AL BALADHURI.

*The Affair of the Guragima.*¹

And in the days of Ibn Al Zubair, after the death of Marwan, the son of Al Chakham, when 'Abd Al Malikh was seeking the succession to the Caliphate, . . . and was calling for the help of the men to go to Al 'Irak to fight against Al Mus'ab, the son of Al Zubair, a Roman army went out to the mountains of Al Lukham (Amanos) under one of their generals; then they went to Lubnan (Lebanon), where was collected a large force of the Guragima and Nabataeans and runaway slaves of the Moslems. And 'Abd Al Malikh was compelled to make peace with them on condition of paying 1,000 denarii every assembly-day; and he made peace with the Emperor of the Romans for the amount which he was to pay him in order to prevent him from fighting against him, and because he was afraid he would go out to Al Sham and conquer it. . . . And this was in the year 70. And Maimun the Gurgunami was a Roman slave belonging to the sons of Um Al Chakham, the sister of Mu'awiya, the son of Abu Sufyan, and they were Thakafis; and by birth indeed he came of the Guragima, so that he joined them and went out to Mt. Lubnan with them. And 'Abd Al Malikh heard that he was a man of prowess and valour; and he asked his masters to set him free, and they did it; and he gave him command of a military force and sent him to Antakhiya; and he made a raid upon Al Tuwana in company with Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, (and he was at the head of 1,000 of the men of Antakhiya), and he was martyred after showing distinguished courage. And 'Abd Al Malikh sent a large army to make a raid upon the Romans in order to exact vengeance for him.²

Cf. p. 189

Cf. p. 191

The Frontier of Al Sham (Syria).

I was informed by some elders of the inhabitants of Antakhiya: they said: The frontier of the Moslems in Al Sham in the days of 'Umar and 'Uthman (God be gracious to them) and the succeeding sovereigns, was Antakhiya and other cities, which Al Rashid called 'Awasim³; and the Moslems used to raid the country beyond just as now they raid the country beyond Tarsus. And between Al Iskhandaruna (Alexandria by Issos) and Tarsus the Romans had fortresses and armour-stores like the fortresses and armour-stores by which the Moslems pass at the present day. And sometimes their inhabitants left them and fled into the territory of the Romans

¹ *i.e.* Mardaites.² This account is at variance with that of Al Tab., at least according to the most obvious meaning of that writer's words, for he certainly seems to represent Maimun as being on the Roman side. The account of Theophanes (*ἐπε-*

στράτευσεν Μασαλαμᾶς καὶ Ἀβασὶ τὴν Τύανον διὰ τὴν μανίαν τοῦ ἀποκτανθέντος στρατοῦ σὺν τῷ Μαιουμῇ ὑπὸ Μαρριανοῦ) accords with Al Baladhuri.

³ *i.e.* defences.

in fear; and sometimes Roman fighting men were moved into them to occupy them. And it is said that Herakleios brought men with him and stationed them in those cities, when he retired from Antakhiya, lest the Moslems should come and colonize the land between Antakhiya and the territory of the Romans. And God knows. . . . And there is a difference as to who was the first to pass the Gates (these are the Gates of Baghras (Pagrai)). And some say: They were passed by Maisara, the son of Masruk, the 'Absi, who was sent by Abu 'Ubaida, the son of Al Garrach; and he met a Roman force accompanied by some Musta'riba from Ghassan and Tanukh and Iyad, who were going to join Herakleios; and he attacked them and slew a large number of fighting men from among them. Then he was joined by Malikh Al Ashtar, the Nakha'i, with reinforcements from Abu 'Ubaida, who was at Antakhiya. And others say: the first who passed the Gates was 'Umair, the son of Sa'd, the Ansari, when he was sent on the matter of Gabala, the son of Al Aiham.

Cf. p. 183

And Abu'l Khattab the Azdi says: I have heard that Abu 'Ubaida himself made a summer raid and passed by Al Massisa and Tarsus; and the population of these places and the neighbouring fortresses emigrated: and he passed through the Gates, and his raid extended as far as Zanda.¹ And another account says: he sent Maisara, the son of Masruk, and he reached Zanda.

I was informed by Abu Salich Al Farraa, who had it from a man of Dimashk (Damascus) called 'Abd Allah, the son of Al Walid, who had it from Hisham, the son of Al 'Az, who had it from 'Ubada, the son of Nusa, as Abu Salich thinks; he said: When Mu'awiya made a raid upon 'Ammuriyya in the year 25, he found the fortresses between Antakhiya and Tarsus deserted; and he stationed in them a force taken from the men of Al Sham and Al Gazira and Kinnasrin, until he returned from his raid; then a year or two years afterwards he sent Yazid, the son of Al Chur, the 'Absi, on a summer raid; and he gave him orders, and he acted accordingly, and the officers did his bidding. And this man said; And I found in the book of the raids of Mu'awiya that he made a raid in the year 31 in the district of Al Massisa, and reached Darauliyya²; and, when he went on the expedition, he did not pass by any fortress between him and Antakhiya without destroying it.

Cf. p. 183

Aug. 24, 651-
Aug. 11, 652.

And I was informed by Mahomet, the son of Sa'd, on the authority of Al Wakidi and others: he said: In the year 84 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, the son of Marwan, made a raid in the summer, and he entered by the Gates of Antakhiya; and he came to Al Massisa and built its fortress upon its old foundations. And he planted in it a colony taken from the army, among whom were 300 men, whom he had selected from among those possessed of valour and distinguished courage; and the Moslems had not

Cf. p. 191

¹ Yakut mentions Zandan near Mopsouestia and quotes Khalifa, the son of Khayyat, as recording a raid upon it by 'Abd Allah the son of Sa'd the son of Abu Sareh in the year 31.

² Perhaps we should read Adhruliyya or Ardaluniya (see p. 192). Dorylaion seems impossible, though that is the name usually represented by Darauliyya.

colonized it before that time. And he built a mosque in it close to the hill of the fortress. Then he went on with his army till he made a raid upon the fortress of Sinan and took it; and he sent Yazid, the son of Chunin, the Tai, the Antakhi; and he made an incursion and then returned to him. And Abu'l Khattab the Azdi said: The first in Al Islam who built the fortress of Al Massisa was 'Abd Al Malikh, the son of Marwan, acting through his son, 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, in the year 84 upon its old foundations: and the building and garrisoning were completed in the year 85. . . . He said: And 'Umar, the son of 'Abd Al 'Aziz, journeyed till he came to the granary of Al Massisa; and he wished to destroy it and to destroy the fortresses between it and Antakhiya. And he said, "I am afraid of the Romans besieging the inhabitants of it." And the men told him that it had been colonized in order to keep the Romans who were in it away from Antakhiya; and, if he laid it waste, there would be nothing to stop the enemy until they came to Antakhiya. And he gave up the idea and built a general mosque for the inhabitants in the district of Khafarbayya. . . . He said: Then Hisham, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, built the suburbs; then Marwan, the son of Mahomet, built the booths on the east of the Gichan (Pyramos), and round it he built a wall, and set up a wooden gate in it and dug a trench. . . .

They (the elders of the frontier) said: And the man who fortified Al Muthakkab¹ was Hisham, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, acting through Chassan, the son of Mahuwaih, the Antakhi. . . . And Hisham built the fortress of Katarghash² by the instrumentality of 'Abd Al 'Aziz, the son of Chayyan, the Antakhi; and Hisham built the fortress of Mura by the instrumentality of a man of Antakhiya. . . . And Hisham built the fortress of Buka³ in the territory of Antakhiya; then it was restored and renewed. . . . And Abu'l Khattab says: The bridge on the road to Adhana (Adana) from Al Massisa (and that is 9 miles from Al Massisa) was built in the year 125, and it was called the bridge of Al Walid; and that was Al Walid, the son of Yazid, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, the murdered. . . .

The Frontier of Al Gazira (Mesopotamia).

They said: When 'Uthman, the son of 'Affan, (God be gracious to him) became Caliph, he wrote to Mu'awiya, appointing him Wali of Al Sham; and he made 'Umair, the son of Sa'd, the Ansari, Wali of Al Gazira; then he superseded him, and united Al Sham and Al Gazira and their fortresses in the hands of Mu'awiya. And he ordered him to make a raid upon Shimshat (Samosata), and that is in Fourth Arminiya, or send someone else to make a raid upon it. And he sent thither Chabib, the son of Maslama, the Fihri, and Safwan, the son of Mu'attal, the Sulami: and they took it some days after

¹ See Tomaschek, *Zur Historischen Topogr. v. Kleinasien*, p. 71 (Wiener Akad. Sitzungsber. Bd. 126).

² Near Mopsouestia according to Yakut.

³ From Al Bal. p. 159 it appears that this place was close to Mt. Amanos.

they had encamped before it on the same terms as the capitulation of Al Ruha (Edessa); and Safwan remained in it, and there he died at the end of the Caliphate of Mu'awiya. And it is said: No, the man who made the raid upon it was Mu'awiya himself, and Hadhan with him; and he made Safwan Wali of it, and he settled in it and died there. . . .

And they said: Chabib, the son of Maslama, made a raid on the fortress of Khamkh after the capture of Shimshat, and could not take it. And Safwan made a raid upon it, and did not succeed in capturing it. Then he made a raid upon it in the year 59; and that is the year in which he died; and with him was 'Umair, the son of Al Chubab, the Sulami; and 'Umair mounted the wall and never ceased fighting upon it alone until the Romans retired, and the Moslems climbed up and took it for 'Umair, the son of Al Chubab. And he gloried in this and was glorified for it. Then the Romans recovered it, and Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malik, took it;¹ and it never ceased being taken and being recovered by the Romans. . . .

Malatiyya. And they said: 'Iyadh, the son of Ghanm, sent Chabib, the son of Maslama, the Fihri, from Shimshat to Malatiyya, and he took it; then the gates were shut. And, when Mu'awiya became Wali of Al Sham and Al Gazira, he sent Chabib, the son of Maslama, thither, and he took it by storm: and he settled a colony of Moslems in it with an administrator. And Mu'awiya came to it when he wished to enter Roman territory; and he garrisoned it with a force taken from the men of Al Sham and Al Gazira and others. And it was on the road of the summer expeditions. Then its inhabitants migrated from it in the days of 'Abd Allah, the son of Al Zubair, and the Romans came out and pulled it down; then they left it, and some Armenian and Nabatean Christians settled in it.

Cf. p. 197 And I was informed by Mahomet, the son of Sa'd, on the authority of Al Wakidi in his tradition; he said: The Moslems settled in Taranda after 'Abd Allah, the son of 'Abd Al Malik, had made a raid upon it in the year 83; and they built houses in it: and it is about 3 days' journey from Malatiyya, in the territory of the Romans; and Malatiyya was at that time deserted, there being no one in it except some of the subject-peoples, Armenians and others. And some scouts from the army of Al Gazira used to come there in the summer and remain in the town until the winter came on and the snow fell; and, when this happened, they withdrew. And, when 'Umar, the son of 'Abd Al 'Aziz, (God be gracious to him) succeeded to the government, he removed the population of Taranda against their will; and this was because he feared danger to them from the enemy. . . . Then he settled them in Malatiyya, and left Taranda deserted; and he made Ga'wana, the son of Al Charith, one of the sons of 'Amir, the son of Sa'sa'a, Wali of Malatiyya.

They said: And 20,000 Romans went out in the year 123 and encamped against Malatiyya; and the inhabitants shut their gates, and the women mounted the wall with turbans on their heads, and fought. And a messenger

¹ Theoph. records its capture under AM 6203 (711). Another capture in 723/4 is recorded by Ibn Al Athir (above, p. 198).

from the inhabitants of Malatiyya went out to ask for help, and the courier rode on until he came to Hisham, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, who was at Al Rusafa (Resapha); and Hisham despatched the men to Malatiyya. Then the news reached him that the Romans had withdrawn from it, and he called the messenger and told him; and he sent with him some horsemen to keep guard in it. And Hisham conducted a raid himself; then he came down to Malatiyya, and stayed in it until the building was completed. . . .

And they said: Abu 'Ubaida, the son of Al Garrach, when he was at Manbig (Hierapolis), sent Khalid, the son of Al Walid, to the district of Mar'ash; and he took the fortress upon condition of the people migrating. Then he left it deserted; and Sufyan, the son of 'Auf, the Ghamdi, when he made a raid upon the Romans in the year 30, started from before Mar'ash, and marched through the territory of the Romans. And Mu'awiya built the city of Mar'ash, and stationed a military force in it. And after the death of Yazid, the son of Mu'awiya, the Roman attacks upon them increased, and they withdrew from it; and 'Abd Al Malikh made peace with the Romans after the death of his father Marwan, the son of Al Chakhm. . . . And in the year 74 Mahomet, the son of Marwan, made a raid upon the Romans, and broke the peace. And in the year 75 Mahomet, the son of Marwan, also made a summer raid; and the Romans came out from before Mar'ash to Al A'mak¹ in Gumada I.,² and the Moslems overcame them; and their commander was Aban, the son of Al Walid, the son of 'Ukba, the son of Abu Mu'ait, and with him was Dinar, the son of Dinar, a mauli³ of 'Abd Al Malikh, the son of Marwan, and he was governor of Kinnasrin and its territory. And they met in the valley of Mar'ash and engaged in a stubborn fight, and the Romans were routed, and the Moslems pursued them, slaying and taking prisoners. And this year Dinar met a Roman force at the bridge of Yaghra,⁴ which is about 10 miles from Shimshat, and defeated them. Then Al 'Abbas, the son of Al Walid, went to Mar'ash, and stayed there and fortified it, and removed the men into it. . . . And in the days of Marwan, the son of Mahomet, when he was occupied in fighting against the inhabitants of Chims, the Romans came out and besieged the city of Mar'ash, until its inhabitants capitulated on condition of being allowed to migrate. And they went towards Al Gazira and the province of Kinnasrin with their families. Then they destroyed it. And Marwan's governor over it at that time was Al Khauthar, the son of Zufar, the son of Al Charith, the Khilabi; and the Emperor at that time was Constantine, the son of Leo. Then, when Marwan had finished the affair of Chims, and had destroyed its wall, he sent an army

Sept. 4, 650-
Aug. 23, 651

Theoph. AM 6184(?);
Nikeph. p. 36(?)
Mich. fol. 260 r(?)
(without date)

Cf. p. 189

¹ See p. 189, note 5.

² Aug. 28-Sept. 26, 694. The Syriac writers place the battle in AS 1006=AH 76, in which Gum. I.=Aug. 17-Sept. 15, 695.

³ *i.e.* slave or freedman.

⁴ Perhaps the bridge over the Singas. This, however, according to Kiepert's map is 25 Roman miles from Samosata. There is a smaller river

about 11 miles from Samosata, which may perhaps be meant. The lake Al Yaghra near the Syrian Gates (Tomaschek p. 74) is of course out of the question. Abu'l Fida (Tab. Syr. p. 153) makes the river Al Yaghra a tributary of a river which flows into the Lake of Antioch, but no such river passes anywhere near Samosata.

to build Mar'ash; and it was built and re-founded. And the Romans came out during the civil war and destroyed it. . . .

They said: And the fortress of Al Chadath¹ was among those that were taken in the days of 'Umar, its captor being Chabib, the son of Maslama, in the name of 'Iyadh, the son of Ghanm; and Mu'awiya restored it after that. And the sons of Umayya called the gate of Al Chadath 'Al Salama Al Taira,'² because the Moslems were cut to pieces in it; and that was Al Chadath, as some men say. And some say: A young (chadath) lad with his companions, met the Moslems at the gate, and fought against them; and it was called the gate of Al Chadath. And in the time of the civil war of Marwan, the son of Mahomet the Romans came out and destroyed the city of Al Chadath, and removed the inhabitants from it, as they did at Malatiyya. . . . They said: And Malikh, the son of 'Abd Allah, the Khath'ami, who was called 'King (malikh) of the summer raids' and was one of the men of Filastin (Palestine), made a raid upon the territory of the Romans in the year 46, and carried off much spoil. Then he retired; and, when he was about 15 miles from the gate of Al Chadath, at a place called Al Rahwa, he stayed there three days and sold the spoil and divided the captured arrows: and that Al Rahwa was called Rahwa Malikh. They said: And Marg 'Abd Al Wachad was a pasturage reserved for the horses of the Moslems. And, when Al Chadath and Zinatra³ were built, they had no need of it, and it was sown. They said: And Zinatra was an old Roman fortress; and it was taken at the same time as the old fortress of Al Chadath, its captor being Chabib, the son of Maslama, the Fihri. And it stood until the Romans destroyed it in the days of Al Walid, the son of Yazid; and it was rebuilt without strength; and the Romans encamped before it in the days of the civil war of Marwan, the son of Mahomet, and razed it to the ground.

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¹ Between Melitene and Samosata and Ger-manikeia according to Yakut.

² *i.e.* 'the unstable security.'

³ So the MSS.: de Goeje would substitute 'Zibatra,' which differs only by a point and is the form given by Ibn Al Athir (see p. 202).

ADDENDUM.

P. 208, Note 3.—Zibatra is no doubt the Sozopetra of Kedrenos (2, p. 130); but, as there seems to be no earlier authority for this name, it is perhaps only a Hellenization of Zibatra.



Additions and Corrections to J. H. S. Vol. XVIII: The Arabs in Asia Minor (641-750), from Arabic Sources

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And he sent Maslama with him until he encamped at it; ¹ and he collected all the corn round about it and besieged the inhabitants. And Leo came to them, and they made him king; and he wrote to Maslama, telling him what had happened and asking him to allow enough corn to be brought in to enable the people to subsist, and to make them believe that he and Maslama were at one, and that they were secure from captivity and removal from their country, and to grant them a night to carry off the corn. And Leo had prepared boats and men; and he gave him permission, and nothing remained in those enclosures except a quantity not worth mentioning. It was carried away during the night, and in the morning Leo fought; and he had tricked him by a trick with which a woman would not have been deceived. And that happened to the force which never happened to any other army, until a man was afraid to go out of the camp alone. And they ate draught-animals and skins and the trunks and leaves of trees and everything except dust. And Solomon remained at Dabik and took up winter-quarters; and he was not able to help them till Solomon died.

P. 23, l. 22.
P. 24, l. 31.
P. 28, l. 11.
P. 28, l. 20.

E. W. BROOKS.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO *J.H.S.* VOL. XVIII. Pp. 182-208.

P. 183, l. 20 ff. The defective portion of Al Tabari extends only from AH 32 to AH 40. The notices given under the years 20, 28, and 32 might therefore have been quoted from Al Tabari. The variations in his text are too slight to be worth recording; but it should be mentioned that for the notices of 28 and 32 the authority of Al Wakidi is quoted. Instead of the notice given under 25 he has merely, 'And in this year was the capture of the fortresses, and their commander was Mu'awiya the son of Abu Sufyan.' The two following notices should be added.

AH 22 (Nov. 30, 642-Nov. 18, 643).

And Al Wakidi thinks that Mu'awiya made a summer-raid this year and entered the territory of the Romans with 10,000 Moslems.

23 (Nov. 19, 643-Nov. 6, 644).

And this year Mu'awiya made a summer-raid and reached 'Ammuriya; and with him of the companions of the Apostle of God (God be gracious and merciful to him) were 'Ubada the son of Al Samit, and Abu Ayyub Khalid the son of Zaid, and Abu Dhar, and Shaddad the son of Aus.

P. 188, l. 8 from bottom. The reference ⁽³⁾ should be three lines higher.

P. 190, l. 3. Burg Al Shahm (Tower of fatness), which is probably identical with Marg Al Shahm ² (Meadow-land of fatness) is mentioned by Ibn Khurdadhbah (ed. de Goeje, p. 108) as situated in the theme of the Anatolikoi.³ Jaubert in his translation of Al Idrisi (vol. ii. p. 305) identifies it with Germa.

¹ This must mean 'at Constantinople,' though the name has not previously been mentioned.

² In the previous article I wrote 'Shacham.' The second vowel is wrong. As to the middle consonant, it is better, if possible, to distin-

guish between the soft and hard aspirates, but, as the use of 'ch' for the latter is apt to be misunderstood, I now write 'shahm.'

³ Ibn Khurdadhbah wrote about 850: see de Goeje's Introduction.

P. 192, l. 3 and note, and l. 36. Ardaluniya and Adhruliyya are no doubt mere errors for Darauliyya (Dorylaion).

P. 193, l. 2 from bottom. I have no doubt that both here and at p. 199, l. 12 we should read 'Gangra.' The 'Khangara' of Yakut is, like that of our text, due to erroneous pointing.¹

Id. note 3. The reading 'Kuliya' points to Nakoleia. For 'Hirakla' see below.

P. 194, l. 1 and note. Bargama (Pergamos) is no doubt right. The statement that it was near Melitene is merely a guess by some ignorant chronicler.

Id. p. 14, 15 and note 4. For Tulas (vvl. Tus and Tunas) and Al Marzbanain Prof. Ramsay has suggested to me Tonosa and Marsovan. As to the former, though Tonosa is in itself probable enough, the variety of reading makes it unsafe to rely upon its correctness. The name 'Marsovan' seems to be in form Armenian, but it does not follow that it is of Armenian origin, and the resemblance to 'Al Marzbanain' is very striking. If 'Al Marzbanain' represents the original name and is not an Arabic corruption, it probably commemorates some event in the Persian war of Herakleios. From a comparison with the accounts of the campaigns in the time of Al Rashid it would appear that by 'Hirakla' Herakleia-Kybistra is meant.

Id. note 6. For the City of the Slavs, see p. 21, note 3 above. Prof. Ramsay points out to me that he has withdrawn the identification of this place with Loulon. It appears from Ibn Khurdadhbeh p. 110 that Podandos lay between the two.

P. 196, note 2. If Al Mara is identical with Antigon, it is no doubt the Antighu which is placed by Ibn Khurd. (p. 108) in the Cappadocian theme. Yakut,² who calls it Antighus, also places it in Cappadocia. From Al Tab. iii. p. 1104 we learn that Al Mamun passed it on his way from Adana to Herakleia-Kybistra.

P. 197, l. 24. For 'Dalisa,' or, as in the absence of vowel-points it would be better to write it, 'Dlsa,' Prof. Ramsay has suggested 'Dabisa' (Thebasa). I cannot, however, doubt that it is the same place as that mentioned with many variations under the following year, and, as all the variations contain an 'l,' it is scarcely justifiable to accept the name of any place which does not contain that letter. Both Dabisa and Owasada (which I proposed in the note) must therefore be rejected. The variation 'Ghasla' perhaps points to Dagalassos, but of course no confidence can be placed in this.

P. 199, l. 20. Samala is Semalous³ in the Armeniac theme (Theoph. AM 6272, where the Arabs have 'Samala,' 'Samalu,' and 'Samalik'). Ibn Khurd. (p. 109) calls it Samalu and places it in the Boukellarian theme.

P. 201, l. 4 from bottom. 'Matamir' should not be taken as a proper name, but should be rendered 'some subterranean granaries.'⁴

P. 202, l. 6 from bottom and slip-note at end. For Zibatra, see the article of Mr. J. G. C. Anderson, in *Classical Review*, vol. x. p. 136 ff. The earliest instance of the name 'Sozopetra' is in Theoph. Cont. p. 124, a compilation of the latter half of the ninth cent. Genesis pp. 64, 66 has 'Ozopetra,' and Theoph. Cont. p. 268 (the portion dealing with Basil's reign is not by the same hand as the rest) 'Zapetra.' All this is some confirmation of the view that Sozopetra is an artificial name, not the original one. Michael the Syrian calls it 'Zubatra.'

P. 204, l. 19 and note. Zanda is found in some MSS. of Ibn Khurdadhbeh (p. 102) as the name of the fourth station from Podandos on the road to Nakoleia. De Goeje reads 'Wafra,' but our text is in favour of the reading 'Zanda.' Al Idrisi, however, calls it 'Randa,'⁵ and, as r and z in Arabic differ only by a point, it is probable that this is right,

¹ Al Idrisi (ed. Jaubert vol. ii. p. 312) calls Gangra 'Gharghara,' which is very close to the 'Gargarun' of Michael.

² Vol. 4 p. 26.

³ 'τὸ Σηματοῦς κάστρον.'

⁴ Ibn. Khurd. (p. 108) mentions a district in the Cappadocian theme called the district of the 'Matamir.'

⁵ Vol. 2 p. 308.

and that the place meant is Laranda. Al Idrisi makes it 86 miles from Podandos¹ and 242 from Nakoleia. Laranda is not on the direct road from Podandos to Nakoleia, but the accounts of the Byzantine roads in these writers are very inexact.²

Id. line 10 from bottom and note. There is no reason to change the reading 'Darauliyya.' The statement that it was near Mopsouestia, like most geographical explanations in the Arabic historians, is worthless.

P. 205, line 3 from bottom and p. 207 note 4. Shimshat is not Samosata (Sumaisat), but, as is clear from Ibn Khurdadhbah and Yakut, Arsamosata. Samosata was not in Armenia IV., but in Euphratesia. This makes it still harder to connect the bridge of Al Yaghra with the river of that name.

Id. note 3. Buka was one of the 'Awasim or frontier-fortresses which were erected into a separate province by Al Rashid (Ibn Khurd. p. 75).

P. 208, l. 3. Al Hadath = Adata.

Id. l. 17. Al Rahwa³ is mentioned by Ibn Khurdadhbah (p. 100) as the second station on the road from Tarsos to Podandos, between 12 and 24 miles from Tarsos, and between 14 and 26 from Podandos.⁴ De Goeje would identify it with Mopsoukrene.

The following extract from the chapter of Al Baladhuri entitled 'The conquest of islands in the sea' should be added.

They said : And Mu'awiya the son of Abu Sufyan sent out expeditions by land and sea, and he sent Gunada, the son of Abu Umayya, the Azdi, to Rudis (Rhodes).

And Gunada is one of those from whom traditions are derived : and he came in contact with Abu Bakhr and 'Umar and Mu'adh the son of Gabal ; and he died in the year 80. And he took it by force ; and along the coast it was marshy jungle. And Mu'awiya gave him orders, and he established some of the Moslems in it, and that was in the year 52.

They said : And Rudis is one of the most fertile of islands ; and it is about 60 miles long and contains olives and vines and fruits and water and pasturage.

And I was informed by Mahomet, the son of Sa'd, on the authority of Al Wakidi and others : they said : the Moslems remained in Rudis seven years in a fortress which they had taken : and, when Mu'awiya died, Yazid wrote to Gunada ordering him to destroy the fort and return. And Mu'awiya was continually changing the men stationed there ; and Mugahid the son of Gabr stayed in it teaching the men the Kuran.

And Gunada the son of Abu Umayya took Arwad in the year 54, and Mu'awiya settled the Moslems in it. And among those who took part in its capture were Mugahid and Tubai', the stepson of Kha'b the doctor⁵ ; and in it Mugahid taught Tubai' the Kuran ; and it is said that he taught him the Kuran in Rudis.⁶ And Arwad is an island near Al Kustantiniyya.

699

672

674.

J.H.S. l.c.

E. W. BROOKS.

¹ If we omit a station which in Ibn Khurd. is not given as on the direct route, the distance will be 66 miles.

² The 'Zandan' of Yakut may be the Cappadocian Laranda (Ramsay *H.G.* p. 311).

³ *i.e.* the elevation.

⁴ According to Al Idrisi (vol. 2 p. 308), who calls it Al Zahra (the splendour or blossom), it was 24 miles from Tarsos and 31 from Podandos.

⁵ 'Ah Ahbar,' a special term for a Jewish

doctor. Kha'b the Jew is celebrated in the history of Mahomet.

⁶ The confusion between Rudis and Arwad tends to show that they were really one and the same place : see *J.H.S.* xviii. p. 187 note 3. It is possible that the name Arwad is due to a reminiscence of the name of the Phoenician island of Arados or Ruwad, the native name of which was Arwad (Ezek. 27. 8, 11). This however was taken about 650 (Theoph. AM 6141).

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The Chronology of Theophanes 607—775.

It has long been recognised that from 727 to 775 the years of the world in Theophanes do not agree with the years of the indiction. The most obvious explanation of this is that through an oversight he related the events of two years under one, and 50 years lower down, discovering his error, distributed the events of one year over two. Another solution has however been propounded by Prof. Bury¹⁾, who supposes that in 726 Leo III raised double taxes, while in 774 or 775 his successor remitted a year's taxation. In this theory he has been followed by M. Hubert²⁾, who has attempted to confirm it by the dating of the Papal letters.³⁾ Neither of these writers however has taken into account the fact that the discrepancy is not peculiar to the years 727—775, but is found also in the years 607—714. Hence, if Leo doubled the taxes in 726, we must suppose that Phokas did the same in 607, and in both cases the chronology must at a later time have been set right by a corresponding remission. Both have also confounded together passages in which the number of the indiction is actually mentioned, i. e. passages derived from a Western source, in which the indictional reckoning was used, and passages in which it can only be inferred by calculation, these latter being generally passages derived from an Eastern source, in which the reckoning was by Seleucid years. In this article therefore I propose to consider these two classes of passages separately, discussing every case in which the year indicated can be inferred from correspondence between the day of the week and month, from parallel passages derived from the same source, or by other means. As no one has maintained that in the period 607—714 the years of the indiction are to be reckoned in any other than the usual way, I do not propose, while dealing with the former class of passages, to occupy space by

1) History of the Later Roman Empire vol. 2 p. 425.

2) Byz. Zeitschr. vol. 6 p. 491.

3) Also by Mr Hodgkin in English Historical Review vol. 13 p. 283.

discussing the chronology of this period, but shall begin with the year 727.

AM 6221. Deposition of Germanus Tues. Jan. 7 ind. 13. According to the old reckoning this was 730, in which Jan. 7 was a Saturday, according to the new reckoning 729, in which it was a Friday. Now Germanus was consecrated on Sun. Aug. 11, 715, and according to Theophanes sat 14 y. 5 m. 7 d. If we reckon the days inclusively, this brings his deposition to Tues. Jan. 17, 730, and it is therefore the most reasonable supposition that the letter ι has by a very common omission fallen out. Moreover, if his deposition was in 729, it is hard to explain why all the catalogues assign him 15 years.

id. Ordination of Anastasius. Jan. 22 ind. 13. Jan. 22, 730 fell on a Sunday, which was the regular day for performing ordinations.

AM 6232. Earthquake at Constantinople Wed. Oct. 26 ind. 9. Oct. 26 fell on a Wednesday in 740, which agrees with the old reckoning.

id. Death of Leo June 18 ind. 9 after a reign of 24 y. 2 m. 25 d. His accession being on Mar. 25, 717, his death, if the term is correct, must have been in 741, which is the year to which the old reckoning would assign it. Further his successor died on Sept. 14, 775 after a reign of 34 y. 2 m. 26 d., which fixes his accession to 741. Moreover in spite of the arguments of M. Hubert I believe that the same date may be deduced from the Papal documents. The earliest document after Leo's death (Jaffé 2262) is dated Apr. 1 'Imp. Constantino a. XXIV PC eius a. II ind. XI'. Now the coronation of Constantine was on Mar. 25, 720; and, as it can hardly be contended that the new method of reckoning the indiction was in use at Rome¹), both indications bring us to 743 for the date of the letter and 741 for Leo's death. The same is the case with the dating of the Synod of Rome held Oct. 25 'Imp. Const. a. XXVI PC eius V ind. XIII' i. e. Oct. 25, 745. The letter Jaffé 2274 was obviously written immediately after the Synod, with which the indiction agrees, and we must therefore read 'a. XXVI' for 'a. XXVII'. In Jaffé 2276, dated Jul. 1 'Imp. Const. a. XXVI PC eius a. IV ind. XIV', the indiction and the regnal year do not agree, and, as in all such cases, we must give the preference to the indiction and place the letter in 746. The postconsulate does not agree with either date for Leo's death; but, if it was in 741, we need only make the easy

1) Mr Hodgkin seems to suppose that it was; but, as Rome was practically independent at this time, it is surely incredible, and in M. Hubert's article the whole argument depends on the opposite assumption. I have dealt with this point in a note in *English Historical Review* vol. 13 p. 503.

correction 'VI' for 'IV', whereas, if it was in 740, we must read 'VII'. A similar divergence between indiction and regnal year is found in Jaffé 2277, dated Jan. 5 'Imp. Const. a. XXVIII imperii eius a. VI ind. XV'. If we accept the indictional date, the letter was in 747 and Leo's death in 741. The same date results from the two letters Jaffé 2291 and 2292, dated 'Imp. Const. a. XXXII PC eius a. XI ind. V' Nov. 4, i. e. Nov. 4 751.

The documents of the pontificate of Zachariah are therefore all in favour of the old date. The first document which points to the year 740 is the bull of Stephen II (Jaffé 2307), dated 'a. d. XIII Kal. Iun. Imp. Const. a. XXXII PC eius a. XII ind. V', which, if we, as usual, accept the indictional in preference to the regnal date, is May 20, 752, from which it would follow that Leo's death was assigned to 740.¹⁾ In Jaffé 2331, dated Febr. 26 'Imp. Const. a. XXXVIII PC eius a. XVIII Leone a. IV ind. X', the indictional date points to 757, and the postconsulate does not agree with either date for Leo's death, but would fix it to 739. It would however require a smaller change to bring it into accord with 740 than with 741. Jaffé 2342, dated 'Imp. Const. a. XL PC eius a. XX Leonis VII ind. XII' Feb. 5, i. e. in accordance with the indictional dating Feb. 5, 759, would like the last assign Leo's death to 739. The Synod of Rome, dated June 2 'Imp. Const. a. XLI PC eius a. XXI ind. XIV', must in accordance with the indictional date be assigned to 761, and the postconsulate points to 740 as the date of Leo's death. One more document remains, the bull of Hadrian I (Jaffé 2395), dated 'Imp. Const. a. LIII PC eius a. XXIII Leone a. XXI ind. X' Feb. 20. Here the indictional date points to 772, and the postconsulate assigns Leo's death to 739.

From a comparison of all these data it is clear that in the chancery of the contemporary Pope Zachariah Leo's death was consistently assigned to 741, while in those of Stephen II, Paul I, and Hadrian I it was assigned sometimes to 740, sometimes to 739. Under these circumstances I am unable to see how the Papal documents can be reasonably quoted in support of the year 740. The secretaries of Zachariah could not possibly have been ignorant of the date of Leo's death, and the fact that they unquestionably placed it in 741 appears to me a conclusive proof of the accuracy of that date.

AM 6233. Accession of Artavazd. June 27 ind. 10, according to the old reckoning 742, according to the new 741.

¹⁾ The very slight change 'Iul.' for 'Iun.' would bring it into accord with 741.

There are three Papal documents dated by the years of Artavazd. 1) The Synod of Rome held 'Ardabasti a. II Liudprandi a. XXXII ind. XII', i. e. between Sept. 1, 743 and January 744, from which we get 742 as the date of Artavazd's accession. 2) Jaffé 2270, dated 'Imp. Artavasdo a. III PC eius a. III sed et Nicephoro imp. a. III ind. XII' June 22, i. e. June 22, 744. 3) Jaffé 2271, dated Nov. 5 'Imp. Art. a. III PC eius a. III sed et Nicephoro imp. a. III ind. XIII' (744). It is difficult to suppose that these two very consistent dates are corrupt, and I have therefore little hesitation in adopting M' Hodgkin's inference that the reign of Artavazd lasted a year longer than is represented in Theophanes; but this does not affect the question of the indictions. The former of these letters points to 741 as the date of his accession, the latter to 742; but, if 742 is the correct date, the error in the earlier letter is only 5 days, and at Rome men might well be ignorant of the exact day from which his years were to be reckoned. The evidence is therefore strongly in favour of the date 742.

AM 6232. Overthrow of Artavazd. Nov. 2 ind. 12, by the old reckoning 743, by the new 742. The date 742 may be at once rejected; for, since we have a Papal letter of Apr. 1, 743 dated by the years of Constantine, while the earliest document dated by those of Artavazd is not earlier than Sept. 1, 743, we should have the absurdity that the Popes did not begin to reckon by Artavazd's years till at least 5 months after his overthrow. But, as indicated above, I believe that Theophanes is here in error and Artavazd reigned till 744.¹⁾ This is in favour of the old reckoning, since Theophanes is more likely to have made a mistake of one year than of two.

AM. 6242. Coronation of Leo IV. Whit Sunday ind. 4; by the old reckoning Apr. 18, 751, by the new Mar. 29, 750.

There are three Papal documents dated by the years of Leo. 1) Jaffé 2331 (see above), dated Feb. 26 ind. X (757) in the 4th of Leo. This would give 753 for the date of his coronation, but the slight correction 'VI' for 'IV' gives 751, while to get 750 we must read 'VII'. 2) Jaffé 2342, dated Feb. 5 ind. XII (759) in the 7th of Leo. This gives 752 for the date of his coronation, but 'VIII' is an easier correction than 'VIII'. 3) Jaffé 2395, dated Feb. 20 ind. X (772) in the 21st of Leo, which fixes his coronation to 751. The Papal dating therefore, though not conclusive, is in favour of the old date, and there is no document which points to the new.

AM 6245. Death of Anastasius between Sept. 1 and Feb. 10

1) The Spanish author of the Chronicle of 754 (Mommsen Chron. Min. vol. 2 p. 366) makes Constantine besiege Constantinople 'pene per triennium'.

ind. 7. Synod of Constantinople Feb. 10—Aug. 8. Designation of Constantine to the patriarchate Aug. 8. According to the old reckoning these events happened in 754, according to the new in 753. I have already shown that the deposition of Germanus was on Jan. 17, 730 and the ordination of Anastasius on Jan. 22 in that year. Therefore, as all the catalogues give him 24 years, his death was at the end of 753 or beginning of 754¹⁾, which agrees with the old reckoning. Further the catalogues give Constantine 12 years and Niketas 13 y. 2 m. or 13 y. 4 m. Now Niketas died on Feb. 6, 780, and his ordination was in November of the 5th indiction, which, as is clear from the term assigned to him, must have been Nov. 766. The deposition of Constantine, which was on Aug. 30 of the previous indiction, was therefore on Aug. 30, 766, and his ordination in 754. The same date is given by Michael the Syrian²⁾, who places the Synod of Constantinople in AS 1065 (Oct. 1, 753—Sept. 30, 754).

AM 6254. Battle of Anchialos. Thurs. June 30 ind. 1. June 30 fell on a Thursday in 763, which agrees with the old reckoning.

AM 6257. Deposition of the patriarch Constantine Aug. 30 ind. 4. I have already shown that this happened in 766, which agrees with the old reckoning.

AM 6258. Ordination of Niketas Nov. 16 ind. 5. I have already shown from the catalogues of the patriarchs that this was in 766; and this is further confirmed by the fact that Nov. 16, 766 was a Sunday.

AM 6260. Coronation of Eudokia Easter Eve Apr. 1, ind. 7. The year was manifestly in accordance with the old reckoning 769, in which year Easter fell on Apr. 2. The same applies to the elevation of Christopher and Nikephoros to the rank of Caesar on the next day, Apr. 2, being Easter Day.

AM 6261. Coronation of Eirene. Dec. 17 ind. 8. Under the Isaurian dynasty these minor coronations seem to have followed the rule of ordinations and been celebrated on Sundays or festivals. Thus Mary was crowned on Christmas Day, Constantine on Easter Sunday, Leo IV on Whit Sunday, Eudokia on Easter Eve, the younger Constantine on Easter Sunday. Now Dec. 17 fell on a Sunday in 769, which agrees with the old reckoning.³⁾

Accordingly every passage containing an indictional date which

1) He is recorded in the menologies under Feb. 10.

2) In the Arabic version in Brit. Mus. MS Or. 4402 (fol. 275 a).

3) It is true that I cannot name another case of a coronation on a day other than a festival, but the analogy of ordinations is in favour of supposing that in default of a festival a Sunday would be chosen.

we are able to control tells in favour of the old reckoning. Outside Theophanes the only evidence bearing upon the point of which I am aware is the dating of the Ekloge of Leo; but, as in this the MSS vary in the year of the world, little stress can be laid upon it. The idea of a double indiction must therefore be dismissed as baseless; for the passages in Theophanes which are derived from the Eastern source, interesting as they are in considering the author's methods of chronology, are entirely irrelevant to the question of the indictions. The dating of the Ekloge, if it proves anything, can only prove another method of reckoning the years of the world.

The question of the reckoning of the years of the world in Theophanes is an exceedingly complicated one. That down to 606 and from 775 onwards, as well as from 715 to 726, the year AD is to be obtained from the year AM by deducting 5492 (which I shall denote scheme A) is admitted; on the other hand from 607 to 714 and, as has been shown above, from 727 to 775 it is in the passages derived from a Western source to be obtained by deducting 5491 (which I shall denote scheme B). It remains to consider the scheme followed in the passages derived from the Eastern source in these two periods. On this question it is scarcely possible, as yet, to arrive at any certain results, and this article will be practically limited to collecting facts on which a decision may be based.

The basis of this investigation must obviously be a comparison with other chronicles drawn from the same source, of which the chief is the great work of Michael the Syrian, which is at present accessible only in an Arabic version in Brit. Mus. MS Or. 4402¹⁾ and in an Armenian epitome; it is also epitomized in the Syriac chronicle of Gregory Abu 'l Farag. There are also a few correspondences with Theophanes in a Syriac chronicle ending in 846 which has been published by me in the *Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* vol. 51 p. 569 ff., possibly also in the Chronicle of 775, falsely attributed to Dionysios.²⁾ The work of Michael, like that of Theophanes, consists of two parts, a narrative and a chronological canon, which is inserted here and there in the margin and corresponds closely with that of Theophanes. In a note on fol. 264 we are informed that down to 710 this canon was copied from that of James of Edessa³⁾, and this

1) I believe there is also a MS in the Vatican. The original Syriac is extant, but inaccessible (Guidi in *Giorn. della Soc. Asiat. Italiana* 3, 167).

2) Perhaps the work of Joshua the Stylite of Zuknin: see article of M. Nau in *Bulletin Critique* Jan. 1897. It has been edited by M. Chabot (Paris 1895).

3) James died in 708, but the note explains that the canon was continued by a pupil.

is confirmed by a comparison with the fragments of the chronicle of James in Brit. Mus. Add. MS 14, 685.¹⁾ It would therefore appear that at least for the chronological canon the common source²⁾ of Theophanes and Michael was James of Edessa; and, if so, it can hardly be doubted that they used him for the narrative also.

Now James equates the 7th year of Phokas with Ol. 346, 4 and the 284th year from the Synod of Nikaia³⁾, or, as stated by Michael, AS 920 (609 AD), which agrees under the A scheme with the AM 6101 of Theophanes. The latter however gives Phokas only 7 years instead of the 8 allotted to him by James, and therefore equates the 1st of Herakleios with AM 6102, while Michael equates it with AS 922⁴⁾ (611). Theophanes therefore reckons the years of Herakleios according to the B scheme. The early events of the reign, the defeat near Antioch, the capture of Kaisareia and Damascus, the occupation of Palestine and capture of Jerusalem, the conquest of Egypt, and the capture of Chalkedon, are in Michael dated by regnal years only, which with slight exceptions, due to erroneous copying⁵⁾, agree with Theophanes, and it would therefore appear that the dates of these events are to be reckoned by the B scheme. On the other hand, where Michael gives a Seleucid date, it does not agree with Theophanes under either scheme. Thus the murder of the patriarch Anastasius, the freezing of the sea, and the Saracen expedition against Syria (AM 6101, 6104) are in Michael all assigned to AS 922 (611).

The 1st year of Mahomet is equated by James with the 12th of Herakleios, the 297th from the Synod of Nikaia, and Ol. 350, 1, and by Michael with the 12th of Herakleios and AS 933 (622). Theophanes mentions Mahomet only in his 9th year, which he equates with AM 6122; and he would therefore equate his 1st year with AM 6114 and the 13th of Herakleios, which is in accordance with the A scheme. On the other hand the capture of Ankyra, assigned by Michael to the 1st year of Mahomet, is recorded by Theophanes under AM 6111, which

1) M. Nau (*Journ. Asiatique* 1898) denies the identity of the author of these fragments, who styles himself James Philoponos, with James of Edessa. With this point I am dealing in an edition of the fragments which will shortly appear in the *Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.*

2) Not necessarily the direct source.

3) Strictly the 284th year of the canon, which begins with 326.

4) So James (286). The difference is perhaps due to the fact that Phokas is the only Emperor after Marcian to whom James assigns months as well as years, which caused Theophanes to neglect the months.

5) The capture of Jerusalem and conquest of Egypt are assigned to the 6th and 7th instead of the 5th and 6th years.

does not agree with either scheme. James and Michael give Mahomet 7 years, and therefore equate the 1st of Abu Bakhr with Ol. 351, 4 = AS 940. Theophanes however, perhaps following more accurate information, gave him 9 years, and equated the 1st of Abu Bakhr with AM 6123, which does not agree with James under either scheme. The 1st of Ardashir is equated by James and Michael with Ol. 352, 1 = AS 941 and by Theophanes with AM 6120, the discrepancy being due to the fact that Theophanes has passed from the 33rd to the 35th year of Khosru; if the missing year were inserted, his dates for Shiruwi¹⁾ and Ardashir would agree with James under the B scheme. All the later Persian rulers Theophanes confuses together under the name of Hormizd, to whom he assigns the 11 years allotted by Michael to Yazdkert. Both writers assign the death of Abu Bakhr to the 24th of Herakleios, and, as Theophanes reckons the regnal years by the B scheme, his AM 6125 = AD 633/4²⁾; and with this agrees the fact that Michael assigns it to AH 13 (Mar. 7, 634 — Feb. 24, 635). In this place Michael erroneously equates the 24th of Herakleios with AS 946, whereas by his own canon it is 945, which agrees with Theophanes. Similarly the capture of Jerusalem is assigned to the 26th of Herakleios, AH 15 (Febr. 14, 636 — Feb. 1, 637), and the end of AS 948 (637) instead of, as it should be, 947. From the agreement in the regnal year it follows that Theophanes' year of the world is here also to be reckoned by the B scheme and equated with AS 947 (636). The same is the case with the capitulation of Edessa; for, though Michael's text has the 27th of Herakleios, his Seleucid and Arabic years are both three above those of the last event, which is also the interval given by Theophanes, so that we should clearly read '29th', as in Theophanes. The error of a year in the Seleucid reckoning disappears in the next two notices, the census of 'Umar and the death of Herakleios, which are rightly assigned to 951 and 952, numbers which agree with Theophanes under the B scheme. In the latter notice the indictional date makes it probable that Theophanes has combined two sources.

In consequence of the antedating of the death of Mahomet the 1st year of 'Umar is in Michael's canon equated with AS 943; but in reckoning 'Umar's years it is clear that he followed a double system,

1) In the text of Michael, though Shiruwi is mentioned, his year is not inserted, but the year given to him by James is called the 39th of Khosru. The fragments of James break off at the accession of Ardashir.

2) In the notices derived from the Eastern source the years should of course be equated with Seleucid years, beginning on Oct. 1.

for he agrees with Theophanes in assigning the death of Herakleios to the 7th of 'Umar, which he there equates with AS 952.¹⁾ The same reckoning is probably followed in dating the capitulation of Edessa, which in the text is dated in the 6th of 'Umar, but, as the Syriac signs for 5 and 6 are easily confused, we should probably read '5th', as in Theophanes.

The date of the battle of the Hiermouchthas is given by Theophanes as Tues. Aug. 23 AM 6126, on the A scheme 634, on the B 635; and, since Aug. 23, 634 was a Tuesday, the notice points to the former being here used. The researches of Profs. de Goeje and Nöldeke²⁾ have shown that the battle was fought in 636; but this is no justification for adopting the inferior reading 'Ιουλίου'. Perhaps Theophanes has confused two battles fought in the same region, which, as his narrative here shows signs of having been derived from two sources, is on other grounds probable. Michael has the 5th of 'Umar, which by the canon is 636, by the reckoning adopted in the narrative 639. The case is doubtful, but the evidence points to Theophanes having in the absence of a regnal year followed the A scheme.

The two authors share the error of assigning 12 years to 'Umar, which brings the 1st of 'Uthman in Michael to AS 955 and in Theophanes to AM 6138; but, as in the case of 'Umar, Michael follows a double reckoning, assigning the expedition against Constantinople to the 9th of 'Uthman, as in Theophanes, and equating it with AS 966, though in the canon it is 963. Theophanes assigns only 10 years to 'Uthman, and thus his equation 1st of Mu'awiya = AM 6148 agrees under the A scheme with Michael's 1st of Mu'awiya = AS 947.

The 1st of Constantine IV is equated by Michael with AS 954, and the 1st of Constantine V with AS 981, both of which agree with Theophanes under the B scheme. The years of the world therefore in notices dated by the regnal years of these Emperors must be reckoned by that scheme. These are 1) The rebellion of Gregory (AM 6138), dated by Michael in the 5th of Constantine, AH 25 (Oct. 28, 645 — Oct. 16, 646), AS 958 (646/7). 2) The invasion of Africa, which through an error in copying is dated by Theophanes in the following, by Michael in the same year. 3) The² expedition against Constantinople (AM 6146), dated AS 966, AH 35 (Jul. 11, 655 — June 29, 656), the 9th of 'Uthman, and the 10th of Constantine, for which a reference to the

1) With this agrees the fact mentioned above that he places the death of Abu Bakhr in the 24th of Herakleios = AS 945.

2) De Goeje, Mémoires d'histoire et de géographie orientales n° 3 p. 87 ff.; ZDMG 29, 76.

canon and the datings of other events shows that we must read 13th. 4) The divergence as to Lent (AM 6156), dated AS 976, AH 44 (Apr. 4, 664—Mar. 23, 665), the 23rd of Constantine. 5) The rebellion of Shahpuhr (AM 6159), dated the 26th of Constantine, AS 978, for which the regnal year shows that we should read '979', thus making the interval after the last event the same as in Theophanes. 6) The rebellion of the Mardaites (AM 6169). In the following notices, where no regnal years are given, the Seleucid year shows that the years in Theophanes are to be reckoned by the same scheme. 1) The expedition against Cyprus (AM 6140 = AS 960). 2) Occupation of Rhodes (AM 6145 = AS 965). 3) Murder of 'Uthman (AM 6147 = AS 967 AH 35 [Jul. 11, 655 — June 29, 656]). 4) Campaign of Mu'awiya against 'Ali (AM 6148 = AS 968). 5) Murder of Constantine (AM 6160 = AS 980). 6) Earthquake in Mesopotamia (AM 6170 = AS 990). Michael places this on Easter Eve, the Chronicle of 846 on Sun. Apr. 30, and the Chronicle of 775 on Sun. Apr. 3, 990 (679). As Easter 679 fell on Apr. 3, the year is indisputably correct. 7) Death of Yazid (AM 6175 = AS 995). To these may be added the expedition against Africa placed by Michael at the beginning of the reign of Constantine, which from the canon should be AS 981 = AM 6161. There is not in the reigns of these Emperors a single correspondence which points to the A scheme. The following notices however do not accord with either scheme. 1) The fall of Kaisareia. Mich. AS 951; Theoph. AM 6133. The Chronicle of 775 however has 953, which agrees with Theoph. under the B scheme. 2) Murder of 'Umar. Mich. AS 955; Theoph. AM 6137. This divergence depends upon the divergence in the canon as to the Caliphs at this period. 3) Severe winter. Mich. AS 980; Theoph. AM 6162. 4) Rainbow at night.¹⁾ Mich. AS 989; Theoph. AM 6164. 5) Defeat of the Arabs by 3 patricians. Mich. AS 982 = 2nd of Constantine; Theoph. AM 6165. 6) Locusts in Syria. Greg. (not in Michael's text) AS 990; Theoph. AM 6168. 7) Death of Mu'awiya. Mich. AS 992 (681) AH 63 (Sept. 10, 682 — Aug. 29, 683); Theoph. AM 6171.²⁾ Here, as in the case of the death of Herakleios, the indictional date³⁾ perhaps shows that Theophanes drew from a Western source as well.⁴⁾ 8) Rebellion of Al Mukhtar. Mich. AS 995; Theoph. AM 6174.

1) Theoph. loses the point by omitting the statement that it was at night.

2) The Chronicle of 846 has 991, which agrees with the B scheme.

3) If the date is genuine, we must read 'η' for 'α'.

4) There is one indictional date in Theoph., where a Western source seems impossible, viz. in the record of the earthquake and plague related under AM

In reckoning the years of Mu'awiya the two authors follow a somewhat different system. Michael assigns the first 5 years to Mu'awiya and 'Ali and equates the 1st year of Mu'awiya alone with AS 972, while Theophanes reckons the years of Mu'awiya straight on without break. Hence the divergence as to Lent (AM 6156) is in Theophanes dated the 9th, in Michael the 5th of Mu'awiya. The fact that the difference is 4, not 5, is due to the fact that in Theophanes the correspondence between the years of the world and the years of Mu'awiya follows the A scheme, while the correspondence between the years of the world and the years of Constantine follows the B scheme. Michael assigns 25 years in all to Mu'awiya, while Theophanes allows him only 24; hence the equations for the 1st of Yazid (AM 6172, AS 992) accord with the B scheme.

The 1st of Justinian is equated by Michael with AS 997, by Theophanes with AM 6178, which is therefore to be reckoned by the A scheme; and the same is the case with all succeeding Emperors as far as the canon of James extends. In the canon of the Caliphs the 1st of 'Abd Al Malikh is equated by Michael with AS 997 and by Theophanes with AM 6176, which do not correspond under either scheme, while the 1st of Al Walid is equated by Michael with AS 1017, and by Theophanes with AM 6198, which agree under the A scheme. The removal of the Cypriotes is placed by Michael in the 7th of Justinian, by Theophanes in AM 6183 = the 6th of Justinian. Since according to the canon of Michael the 7th of Justinian = AS 1003, the year of the world accords with Michael under the B scheme. Perhaps however the date given by Theophanes is due to the common confusion of ς and ζ , in which case the common source dated by the regnal year, which in the case of Justinian follows the A scheme. The appointment of Al Chaggag to the governorship of Al 'Irak is placed by Michael in the 2nd of 'Abd Al Malikh, which by the canon is AS 998, by Theophanes in AM 6181, which do not agree under either scheme. After 692 no regnal date of an Emperor is given by Michael¹⁾, from which we may infer that this mode of reckoning was no longer used by the common source; hence the connexion

6150, a passage absent in Anastasius. In this case the indiction must have been obtained by calculation.

1) There is one regnal date of a Caliph, the capture of Mopsouestia being placed in AS 1015, the 19th of 'Abd Al Malikh. The date 6th of Al Walid assigned by Gregory to the rebellion of Philippikos is not in Michael. In Langlois's translation of the Armenian version the marriage of Constantine and Eirene is placed in the 24th of Leo, but this date is not in the Armenian printed text.

between the canon and the narrative is henceforward much less close. Of the dated events of the period 693—714 the following correspondences point to the A scheme. 1) Capture of Amaseia (AS 1023 = AM 6204). 2) Earthquake in Syria Feb. 28 (AS 1024 = AM 6205). The Chronicle of 846 places this earthquake on Tues. Feb. 8, 1029, corrected in the margin to 1024 (713). Now Feb. 28, 713 was a Tuesday; and we must therefore accept the day given by Theophanes and Michael and place the earthquake in that year, reckoning the date of Theophanes by the A scheme.

The following on the other hand point to the B scheme 1) Death of 'Abd Al Malikh (AS 1017 = AM 6197). 2) Plundering expedition of Maslama (AS 1026 = AM 6206). With regard to the latter however it must be noted that with this exception in the period AM 6204 — 6208 the correspondences regularly point to the A scheme, so that we have probably a case of the common confusion of the Syriac numerals '5' and '6' and should read '1025'. Moreover the fact that Michael places an expedition of Maslama against the Turks in 1026 makes it incredible that the expedition to Asia Minor should also have been assigned to that year.

The eclipse recorded on Sun. Oct. 5 AM 6186 is doubtful. The actual year must have been 693, which points to the A scheme; but Michael, in whose text the Seleucid year has dropped out, assigns it to AH 75 (694), which points to the B scheme. Sun. Oct. 5 AH 75 is in fact the date given by Elijah of Nisibis¹) from James of Edessa, which seems to place the use of James beyond question. Probably however James²) gave the correct Seleucid year (1005), though he erred in the Arabic year, and Theophanes naturally followed the former. In this case the dating is an instance of the A scheme.

The following agree with neither scheme. 1) Building of Mopsouestia. Theoph. AM 6193; Mich. AS 1017. This variation is perhaps due to the fact that Michael represents 'Abd Al Malikh as going to Mopsouestia immediately after its building and dying there, which made him place it in the year of the Caliph's death. 2) Al Walid forbids the use of Greek in the public accounts. Theoph. AM 6199; Mich. AS 1022. 3) Capture of Antioch in Pisidia, Theoph. AM 6205; Mich. AS 1023.

It seems clear then that from 610³) to 685 the years of the world

1) Baethgen, *Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* vol. 8 n° 3 p. 35.

2) Or the continuator.

3) The error began in 607, but in the notices derived from the Eastern source, which were reckoned by regnal years, it would not appear till the beginning of a new reign.

in Theophanes, possibly with the exception of the date of the battle of the Hiermouchthas, are to be reckoned by the B scheme, not because Theophanes adopted a new method of reckoning the years of the world, but because he accidentally passed over a year, and, as in his sources events were dated by indictions and regnal years, he did not notice that his years of the world were wrong. The period 685—692 is doubtful; but after 692 the events were not reckoned by regnal years, and he therefore reduced the Seleucid years by a simple addition sum to years of the world¹); accordingly we find his years in the notices derived from an Eastern source to be correct. The single exception of the death of 'Abd Al Malikh is easily explained by supposing that he simply added the years assigned to him to the year under which his accession was recorded. In the notices derived from a Western source on the other hand the years of the world remained incorrect up to 714.

In the period 715—726 the years are indisputably to be reckoned in accordance with the A scheme, and none of the dates given by Michael points to the B scheme. In the canon indeed the equations of the years of Theodosius, Leo, Solomon, 'Umar, and Yazid accord with the B scheme; but, since the events are not reckoned by regnal years and there is no reason to suppose the canons derived from the same source, the fact need not be taken into account; the correspondence in the narrative however continues to 746. In this period it will be the simplest plan to take the notices in order, beginning with the year 727.

AM 6221. Defeat of Maslama by the Turks. Mich. Chron. of 846 AS 1039, Greg. 1038. This accords with neither scheme.

AM 6222. Capture of Charsianon by Mu'awiya (Theoph. wrongly 'Maslama'). Mich. AS 1042. This accords with the B scheme.

AM 6223. Expedition of Maslama against the Turks. Mich. AS 1042. This accords with the A scheme, but the correspondence of the notices is somewhat doubtful.

1) If the ultimate source was the Chronicle of James, in the existing fragments of which the events are usually recorded opposite the years in the canon, we have a difficulty; but it is very probable that when James (or his continuator) came nearer to his own time, where there were more events to be recorded, he separated the narrative from the canon, as is the case in parts of the existing text. It is not unlikely that this change took place at the point at which the work of James himself come to an end. The existing MS of James seems to be only a collection of extracts, so that the absence of a notice in it does not prove that it was not derived from James. [It should however be remarked that in the period 693—710 the doubtful case of the eclipse is the only evidence for the A scheme except the reckoning of the regnal years in the canon.]

AM 6229. Appearance of a Pseudo-Tiberius. Mich. AS 1048. This accords with the A scheme, but there are considerable variations in the notices.

AM 6232. Martyrdom of Eustace. Mich. AS 1042, for which we should probably substitute 1052, which accords with the B scheme.

AM 6234. Death of Hisham. Mich. AS 1056, which accords with neither scheme. The Chronicle of 846 has the correct date 1054, which points to the B scheme.

id. A sign in the heaven in June. Banishment of Peter of Damascus (Mich. 'the Chalcedonian patriarch'). Michael assigns both these events to AS 1056, which accords with neither scheme.

AM 6235. Sign in the north. Mich. AS 1057. This accords with neither scheme.

With regard to these last four notices it is clear that the chronological connexion is the same in the two authors, though the dates are different; and in the case of the death of Hisham Theophanes, if we reckon his years by the B system, is undoubtedly right, while Michael is 2 years too late, though the correct date is given by the Chronicle of 846, which probably draws from the same source. It is further to be noted that Michael has the same error of 2 years at the death of Yazid, which he assigns to AS 1037 instead of the correct date given by the Chronicle of 846, which is 1035. Probably therefore Michael, having started with an error in the date of Yazid's death, was induced by the number of years assigned to Hisham to place his death also 2 years too late; and then, finding in his source, 'the same year there was a sign in the heaven, and the Chalcedonian bishop of Damascus was banished; and the next year there was a sign in the north' or words to that effect, assigned these events to 1056 and 1057 instead of 1054 and 1055. His dating therefore points to the B scheme in Theophanes.

id. Murder of Al Walid. This is dated by Theophanes Thurs. Apr. 16. Now Apr. 16 fell on a Thursday in 744, which accords with the B scheme, and Thurs. Apr. 16, 744 is in fact the date assigned to the murder in the Arabic writers. Michael does not give any date.

AM 6236. Comet in Syria. Mich. AS 1057. This accords with neither scheme.

After the year 746 I do not find any proof of correspondence between Michael and Theophanes, and therefore assume that for the succeeding period they followed different sources, which is perhaps supported by the second notice of Marwan's victory in Theoph. AM 6239 with the addition 'ὁ; προέφην'. For the period 747—775

therefore it must be sufficient to adduce notices of events, of which the dates are certainly known or can be tested by correspondence between the days of the week and month; but this method is of course much less satisfactory than comparison with a work derived from the same source.

AM 6240. Rising of the *'Μαυροφόροι'*. Defeat of *'Ιβινδάρα'*. Defeat of Ibn Hubaira. Battle of the Zabatos.

The rising of the Abbasid partisans was in Mar. 747, the defeat of 'Amir, son of Dhabara, (who must be meant by *'Ιβινδάρα'*) in Mar. 749, the defeat of Ibn Hubaira in Aug. 749, and the battle of the Zabatos in Jan. 750. It is here clear that Theophanes has for the sake of convenience related a series of connected events under one year, so that no inference can be drawn as to the reckoning of the years.

AM 6241. Death of Marwan. The Arabs place his death in Aug. 750. This however does not give time for the events after the battle, and the date Sunday 3 days before the end of Dhu 'l Chigga is not consistent. On the other hand the Egyptian deacon John, quoted by Severus of 'Ushmunain¹), says that Marwan came to Egypt in the Egyptian year 467 (begins Aug. 29, 750), and that he and other clergy were imprisoned, and were released on Messori 1 (Jul. 25, 751) after the Caliph's death. Now 3 days before the end of Dhu 'l Chigga AH 133 was Jul. 26, 751, which was a Sunday; and, as the difference of one day is easily explained²), the date Jul. 751 seems certain. This does not agree with Theophanes under either scheme; but clearly the antedating of the battle of the Zabatos caused him to antedate the Caliph's death.

AM 6246. Death of Abu 'l 'Abbas. This was in June 754, which points to the A scheme.

id. Defeat of 'Abd Allah. Murder of Abu Muslim. These events happened in Nov. 754 and Feb. 755, which points to the B scheme. It is probable however that they were recorded under this year for the purpose of bringing them into connexion with the Caliph's death.

AM 6248. Earthquake Mar. 9. The Chronicle of 775 places this on Tues. Mar. 3, 1067 (756), in which year Mar. 9 was in fact a Tuesday. This points to the A scheme.

AM 6252. Dispute about Easter (Apr. 6 or Apr. 13). Easter fell on Apr. 6 in 760, which points to the A scheme.

1) Renaudot, Hist. Patr. Alex. p. 227.

2) Perhaps by the Arabic practice of beginning the day at sunset; perhaps also Sun. Jul. 26 was the day on which the dispatch announcing his death was sent to Abu 'l 'Abbas.

id. Meteor in the East 10 days, and in the West 21 days. The Chronicle of 775 mentions a sign in the sky in the NE, which appeared in Mar. 760 and lasted 15 days to the Eve of Pentecost (i. Easter), and again on the evening of Whit Monday (May 26) in the SW for 25 days. The *Khitab al 'Uyun* also mentions a tailed star which appeared from Fri. 25 Al Much. 143 (Fri. May 16, 760) to 15 Saf. (June 5). This points to the A scheme, for in spite of the discrepancies I cannot doubt the identity of the appearances.

id. Eclipse of the sun Fri. Aug. 15. Aug. 15 fell on a Friday in 760, which points to the A scheme.

AM 6255. Rebellion of two brothers in Arabia and Al Basra. Mahomet rebelled in Sept. and was overthrown in Dec. 762, Abraham rebelled in Nov. 762 and was overthrown in Feb. 763. This points to the A scheme.

It would appear then that in the passages derived from the Eastern source in the period 727—746 the usage of Theophanes fluctuates, but that he more usually follows the B scheme. The error of a year in the passages derived from the Western source¹⁾ would of course be likely to lead to a similar error in those derived from the Eastern source, since many events would be recorded in both, and the chronological sequences would extend the error. There are however a few notices in which the other scheme appears to be followed. In the period 747—775 on the other hand the correct reckoning of the years is universal.²⁾ The source followed in this period was probably a more purely Eastern one, the invasions of Asia Minor, of which several are recorded in Arabic writers, being conspicuously absent; hence there was little to connect the notices derived from Western sources with those derived from the Eastern source, and the error in the Western chronology would therefore not affect the Eastern passages.

The year of Artavazd's elevation may be fixed in another way. Pope Zachariah, who was ordained in Dec. 741, sent a letter to Constantine, the bearers of which on their arrival found Artavazd in possession. Now it is clear that, if his elevation had been in 741, Zachariah would have known the fact before sending the letter.

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1) This error I believe to have arisen simply from his having narrated the rising of the Helladikoi by anticipation in order to bring it into connexion with the attack upon the images.

2) For the period 756—775 this is indisputable, and there is no ground for assuming a different reckoning for the period 747—755.

The Chronological Canon of James of Edessa.

Von

E. W. Brooks.

In Brit. Mus. Add. MS 14, 685, dating from the 10th or 11th century¹⁾, are contained fragments of a chronicle by a certain **ܝܫܘܥ ܝܘܢܝܘܨ** or James Philoponos. On fol. 1 the title is given as "A Chronicle in continuation of that of Eusebius of Kaisareia composed by James **ܝܫܘܥ ܝܘܢܝܘܨ**". This title is however preceded by a few lines recording the deaths of Licinius and Martin, which must be supposed to form the conclusion of a version of the Chronicle of Eusebius; but whether this is by the same author as the chronicle following there is nothing in the MS to show. The chronicle begins with a long introduction, which is published in full in Wright's Catalogue of the Syriac MSS p. 1062 ff., followed by a discussion of an error of 3 years in the reckoning of Eusebius and a list of dynasties contemporary with the Roman Empire (Wright CBM p. 1064)²⁾. After this introductory matter, which occupies 9 folios, we have the chronicle proper, which begins on fol. 10 with the 21st year of Constantine (326), and extends with several gaps down to the year 630, where it breaks off. In the middle of each page is a chronological canon, in which the years from the beginning of the chronicle are equated with the Olympic years and the years of the Roman, Persian, and Arabic sovereigns. It would appear also that originally an equation with the Seleucid reckoning was given every ten years; but in our MS only a few of these remain, and of these a large proportion are incorrect³⁾. At each side of the canon, and sometimes also above and below it, historical notices are inserted. It is probable that originally each notice was written against a particular year in the canon; but such juxtaposition is easily lost in copying,

1) Wright CBM p. 1062.

2) It also contains a fragment of a list of Emperors (fol. 6v) extending from Augustus to Maximinus Thrax. This seems to have formed part of the discussion of the error in Eusebius.

3) The Seleucid years, being placed not in the canon proper but in notes at the side, are easily misplaced.

and little confidence can be placed in the dates derived from the position of the notices in our MS¹⁾. In a few cases however a consulate or a Seleucid or regnal year is given in the text.

As the fragments are at present bound up, several of them are in the wrong order: thus a little examination makes it clear that the fragments on fols. 11 and 13 belong to the same folio, while other corrections may be made by simply observing the years in the canon: such corrections are mentioned in the notes on the text below.

As to the author, the same name *ܝܫܘܥ ܒܢ ܝܘܢܝܢ* occurs also as that of the scribe of Add. MS 17, 134, written in 675 (Wright CBM p. 336). Wright in both cases identifies the writer with James of Edessa, and in the case of 17, 134 supports the identification by arguments given on p. 338; and I may here add that the careful transliteration of Greek names noted by Wright in 17, 134 is found also in 14, 685, but, as is natural in the case of a copy, with less perfect accuracy.

M. Nau however in an article in the *Journal Asiatique* 1898 contests the identification on the following grounds.

1. James of Edessa is never called *ܝܫܘܥ ܒܢ ܝܘܢܝܢ*; and, as his chronicle was written after his elevation to the bishopric, he must necessarily have given his episcopal designation, or at any rate it must have been added by a scribe; and even in 17, 134 it would have been added afterwards.

To this it may be answered that James resigned his see in 688 after an episcopate of 4 years and was not restored till 4 months before his death in 708; hence, if the chronicle was written during these 20 years, he could scarcely have used the episcopal title; and, though a scribe might have been expected to supply it, we can hardly affirm that such must necessarily have been the case. In 17, 134, written before his elevation, the title could not possibly have been given, and it is surely unreasonable to say that some reader must have added it in the margin. The reason that *ܝܫܘܥ ܒܢ ܝܘܢܝܢ* is not elsewhere found applied to James of Edessa may be sought in the practice of transcribers of giving the titles of works in their own words. If we had the beginning of the chronicle, we should perhaps find the author described as *ܝܫܘܥ ܒܢ ܝܘܢܝܢ*²⁾.

2. Our chronicle is too short to be the celebrated work of James of Edessa, and the citations from James in Michael are not found in it. Moreover our chronicle is a continuation of Eusebius, whereas Gregory quotes James as supporting Eusebius, and the *Bibliothèque*

1) In some instances a mark of reference is inserted to show to which year the notice belongs.

2) That is if the lost earlier portion of the MS was also the work of James: see below.

Nationale possesses a MS¹⁾ which contains extracts from the chronicle of James, dealing with a period anterior to Constantine.

To this I answer that our chronicle is not the full work of James but only a series of extracts from it. This may be proved from the existing fragments; for on fol. 21 v we find the following statement: "And, when he soon died, John came in, the predecessor of Felix, of whom it has been previously stated that he had been expelled", whereas the succession of Felix to John is mentioned on the same page, where there is no gap in the MS, without any mention of an expulsion. Other passages which point to the same conclusion are mentioned in the notes. As to Michael's citations, I have examined the MS of Michael²⁾ for quotations from James not contained in our text, and the only one which I can find relates to a period long after the point where our MS breaks off; but, even if I have missed any, the fact that our text contains only extracts is a sufficient explanation of their absence.

In the period covered by our MS I find the following citations from James in Elijah of Nisibis³⁾; (i) Building of Amida AS 660, (ii) Appearance of a cross AS 664, (iii) Death of Ephraim AS 684, (iv) Death of Maurice AS 914, (v) Eclipse of the moon AS 915. Of these (i) occurs word for word, (iii) with only verbal differences, (iv) with some details omitted, in our text: (v) is absent, while, as to (ii), it is not in our present text, but, since something has been lost at the bottom of fol. 11 v, we cannot be sure that it was not originally contained in the MS. Besides these Elijah gives a reference to James under AS 698, but through an oversight no historical notice is written there. There can be little doubt that the notice intended was the death of Eulogius of Edessa, which the Edessene Chronicle records under that year. This is not mentioned in our MS, but the accession of Cyrus, which must have formed part of the same notice, is recorded opposite the year 60 (385). This state of things is just what we should expect to find, if the MS contains, as I suppose, a series of extracts from the chronicle of James.

As to the passages which show that the chronicle of James began before the time of Constantine, I have already mentioned that the continuation of Eusebius is preceded by a chronicle dealing with earlier events, and it appears to me most probable that this was the work of the same author. I may add that Michael⁴⁾ expressly states that James of Edessa wrote a translation as well as a continuation of the Chronicle of Eusebius.

3. A hymn of James of Edessa, which is found in the Paris⁵⁾ and Vatican MSS⁶⁾ which contain the revision of Paul's translation

1) Syr. 306.

2) Brit. Mus. Or. 4402.

3) Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 7, 197.

4) fol. 81 v.

5) Syr. 337.

6) Assem. BO 1. p. 487.

of the hymns of Severus and others by James of Edessa, is not found in Brit. Mus. Add. 17, 134, which contains the revision of the same translation by James *ܝܫܘܥ ܝܫܘܥ*; and in the case of a hymn of Severus which is found both in the Paris and in the London MS the corrections of James found in the latter are absent in the former.

This is easily explained by supposing that the hymn of James was not written in 675, the date of the London MS, but belonged to a later recension, and that in the hymn of Severus the scribe of the Paris MS did not trouble himself to add the corrections. If James did not make any corrections, the collection would not be a revision at all, which it is expressly stated to be¹).

On the other hand the canon of Michael, which is with very few exceptions identical with that of our author, is expressly stated in notes on fol. 81v and fol. 264r to be taken from the canon of James of Edessa from 326, where our author's canon in fact begins, down to 710²). Yet more, in the former of these passages Michael also informs us that James made a correction of 3 years in the chronology of Eusebius and gave lists of dynasties omitted by him, both of which we find in our MS. Accordingly, if James of Edessa and James *ܝܫܘܥ ܝܫܘܥ* are different persons, we must suppose that between 675 and 708 there lived two men who were both named James, both wrote chronological canons beginning in 326, both made a correction in 3 years in Eusebius, both gave lists of dynasties omitted by him, both revised Paul's translation of the hymns of Severus, and were both learned Greek scholars.

I am unable therefore to feel the least doubt as to the identification and have no hesitation in entitling the work "The Chronological Canon of James of Edessa".

It is not possible to reproduce in print the exact relation between the canon proper and the historical notices; but in the translation I have placed before each notice the year of the era of James (beginning in 326) to which it appears to correspond; but it must be understood that in many instances it is impossible to say with certainty to which year the scribe meant to refer a notice. I have not thought it necessary to reproduce the canon proper in the translation, but have contented myself with giving the term assigned to each sovereign and the equation for the first year of each together with the equations for the Seleucid years, wherever such are given in the MS. I have added the citations from James in Elijah of Nisibis, which are not contained in our MS: of these those which relate to the period after 622 have

1) *ܠܝܫܘܥ ܝܫܘܥ ܝܫܘܥ ܝܫܘܥ*.

2) James died in 708, but the note on fol. 264r explains that the canon was continued by one of his pupils down to 710.

already been published by Dr. Baethgen in his edition of the later portion of the chronicle of Elijah (*Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* Bd. 8); but for the sake of completeness I repeat them here. I have also added a citation in Michael, which, as it relates to a period after the death of James, must be taken from the continuator. The introductory portion of the chronicle (fols. 1—9) does not appear to be worth publication, and I have therefore confined myself to the chronological canon which begins on fol. 10.

As the MS unfortunately breaks off before the Arab invasion, the fragments are valuable rather for the light which they throw on the works of Theophanes, Michael, and other authors who drew directly or indirectly from James than for any direct historical information which they supply. The MS gives us however more detailed information as to the length of the reigns of the Persian kings, Ardashir II, Shahpuhr III, and Warahran IV, than is provided by any other authority, and it adds several names to our list of the bishops of Edessa in the 6th and 7th centuries. Among these occurs the name of Paul, whose accession is assigned to the year 604; and, since under the year 606¹⁾ we are told that the bishops of the East fled to Egypt before the Persians, and we know from other sources that after the conquest of Egypt the patriarch and other Egyptians fled to Cyprus, there can be little doubt that this is the Paul, bishop of Edessa, who, while seeking refuge from the Persians in Cyprus²⁾, translated the hymns of Severus, John, son of Aphthonia, and John Psaltes, whose identity has hitherto been a matter of considerable doubt.

Words and letters supplied from conjecture to fill gaps in the MS are enclosed in square brackets, but no alteration has been made in the text.

In the translation I have placed all the notices on the right of the canon proper on each page before those on the left. This of course violates the chronological order and sometimes causes awkwardness, as on fol. 21 v, where the reference to the notice of the succession of Pope Felix appears to precede the notice itself; but on the other hand to arrange the notices chronologically would often separate notices which are clearly meant to be read together, and, seeing how very doubtful the dates are, it would be an unsatisfactory plan to arrange the notices in accordance with them.

1) The date is clearly too early, but this does not affect the accuracy of the fact. That the chronology is here confused is shown by the fact that the ordination of Cyrus of Alexandria, which did not take place till 631/32, is assigned to 610.

2) Wright CBM p. 336. Moreover Paul, the translator of Gregory, was in Cyprus in 624 (*id.* p. 423).

ܦܘܠܘܣ ܘܢܘܢܘܣ ܘܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ

ܘܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ ܘܢܘܢܘܣ ܘܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ

ܘܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ ܘܢܘܢܘܣ ܘܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ

ܘܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ ܘܢܘܢܘܣ ܘܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ

ܘܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ ܘܢܘܢܘܣ ܘܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ

ܘܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ ܘܢܘܢܘܣ ܘܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ

ܘܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ ܘܢܘܢܘܣ ܘܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ

ܘܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ ܘܢܘܢܘܣ ܘܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ

ܦܘܠܘܣ ܘܢܘܢܘܣ ܘܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ

ܘܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ ܘܢܘܢܘܣ ܘܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ

1) The number is supplied from Mich., who also shows that the name is *ܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ*, not *ܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ*.

2) Read *ܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ*.

3) It seems clear that the word *ܡܝܚܐܢܘܣ* or something to that effect has dropped out.

<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ ܘܝܢܘܢ </p>	<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ </p>	<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ </p>	<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ </p>	<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ </p>	<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ </p>	<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ </p>	<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ </p>	<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ </p>	<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ </p>
<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ ܘܝܢܘܢ </p>	<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ </p>	<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ </p>	<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ </p>	<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ </p>	<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ </p>	<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ </p>	<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ </p>	<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ </p>	<p> ܘܝܢܘܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܘܢ </p>

1) Perhaps we should read ܘܝܢܘܢ.

2) Read ܘܝܢܘܢ.

3) At the bottom of the page is written in Greek Θεοδοσιουπολις.

ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ
ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ

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ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ		

ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ
ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ
ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ

ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ:

ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܝܫܐ

ܩ

1) We should probably read ܩܕܝܫܐ.

2) There is a mark of reference at the notice of the defeat of Eugenius, which perhaps refers to this note.

ܐܘܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ	ܐܘܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ	ܐܘܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ
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ܐܘܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ	ܐܘܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ	ܐܘܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ
ܐܘܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ	ܐܘܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ	ܐܘܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ
ܐܘܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ	ܐܘܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ	ܐܘܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ

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 ܐܘܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ ܐܘܘܪܘܫܠܝܡ

Fol. 16 v.

عنه نلاه. دة صبا / ينفو صلا / وتمعلا صمعا / وبة داب

عنه نعه. دة صبا / وصال / وتمعلا / وانبص صمعا / حلايه وهدا¹⁾

<p>ده سالو؛ دة وانبص / وتمعلا /</p> <p>ده</p>
<p>ده وانبص / وتمعلا /</p>

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Fol. 20 v.

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1) Supplied from Chron. Edess. Since these last events are there assigned to AS 810 = 174 of the era of James, little, if anything, can have been lost between these fragments.
 2) Supplied from Greg.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

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| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 30 | 31 | 32 | 33 | 34 | 35 | 36 | 37 | 38 | 39 | 40 | 41 | 42 | 43 | 44 | 45 | 46 | 47 | 48 | 49 | 50 | 51 | 52 | 53 | 54 | 55 | 56 | 57 | 58 | 59 | 60 | 61 | 62 | 63 | 64 | 65 | 66 | 67 | 68 | 69 | 70 | 71 | 72 | 73 | 74 | 75 | 76 | 77 | 78 | 79 | 80 | 81 | 82 | 83 | 84 | 85 | 86 | 87 | 88 | 89 | 90 | 91 | 92 | 93 | 94 | 95 | 96 | 97 | 98 | 99 | 100 |
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1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

1) A mark of reference seems to place this note between the accession of Dioskoros and the comet (188—191).
 2) Read
 3) The gaps are supplied from Mich. and Greg.
 4) Supplied from Chron. Edessa.
 5) Supplied from the Chronicle of 846. (Brit. Mus. Add. MS 14, 642 fol. 27r; see ZDMG. 51 p. 569.)
 6) Read

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

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| | ج | ج | ج | ج | ج | ج |
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1) There is no name in either of these columns, and no sign of any having been written there.

2) Over the letter ه is written و.

3) Over the letter و is written و.

4) Mich. موله فتمم لحصه.

Translation.

— — — the 1]9th [year] of Shabur, the 9th king of the kingdom [of the Persians]. But according to the era of the Greeks this first [year] is the year 637, and by the Olympiad reckoning it is the first year of the 276th Olympiad, and by the era of Antioch it is the year 374, and by that of Diocletian it is the year 42¹).

Constantine made his two elder sons, Constantine and Constantius, Caesars.

1. [Aithalloho,] the 19th bishop, [was] celebrated in Edessa, [and James] in Nisibis; and both of them were present [at] the [Synod of Nikaia]. — — — — —

1. Constantine the king apportioned and assigned money to the churches, and [apportions it] also to the widows and to all who were occupied in divine service.

1. Constantine [sent] letters everywhere, both to all the bishops *Sokr.* 1. 9. about [the peace] of the churches, and also to Ma[karios,] bishop of Jer[usalem] about the building of [the church] of our Saviour, and — — — — to the bishops, [and also ordered] Eusebius to [prepare copies of]²) the Holy Scriptures.

13. [Jul]ius [the 33rd bishop,] was appointed in the church of [Rome] for 15 years.

13. Maximus, the 42nd [bi]shop, was appointed in the church *Theod.* 2. 22. of Jerusalem. His right eye had been knocked out in the heathen persecutions.

13. Barni was appointed to succeed Habsi as 21st bishop in Edessa³).

13. [At] this time time this Synod was assembled⁴).

13. — — Ath[anasiu]s [returned] at [the beginning] of the reign *Sokr.* 2. 3. of Constantine the younger. For < his father(?) > also, [before] he died, was ready to restore him. He sent a message also to the Alexandrines by a royal letter, in order that they might receive him.

13. At this [time] the Iberians also are attracted to Christianity *Sokr.* 1. 20.

1) The two last indications agree in pointing to the year 326, and the Seleucid year is the same. The Olympiad reckoning is very confused. According to the usual equation (Ol. 1, 1 = 776 BC) the 1st year of the 276th Olympiad is 325, but Eusebius according to Jerome equated the 20th of Constantine with Ol. 276, 2 and therefore the 21st of Constantine with Ol. 276, 3, while James equates it with Ol. 276, 1, which he must therefore have regarded as equivalent to 326 AD. The same follows from his equation AS 690 = Ol. 289, 2 (fol. 15r). The Olympic year, which properly began in July, was therefore equated with the Seleucid year beginning in October following.

2) It is clear from Sokrates that this is the sense required, but I do not know what Syriac words to supply.

3) Michael (fol. 86r) mentions these bishops, but not the Edessa Chronicle or Gregory, in both of which authorities Abraham is the immediate successor of Aithalloho. In the list of bishops in Mich. fol. 415r the succession is Aithalloho, Abraham, Eulogius, Rabbulo, Aithalloho, Habsi, Barni, Abraham, Barse, Eulogius.

4) Possibly the Synod of Tyre is meant. The imperfect notice shows that our MS did not contain the full chronicle of James.

by means of a certain Christian woman, who had gone to that country as a captive.

Soz. 2. 9—14.

13. At this time again Shabur raises a persecution against the Christians throughout his country, and in it many are martyred for Christ's sake.

13. Shabur goes up to make war against Nisibis, and he returns from it in shame through the prayers of James the bishop; and immediately he goes in wrath and carries off captives from the whole of the land between [the rivers] and devastates it in the year — — — — —

[But, since Eu]stace, bis[hop of Antioch, had been sent into] exile in the lifetime of the elder Con[stantine, the ortho]dox ordain in place of Eustace P[aulinus], while [the Arians] appoint Eulalius: and, when he [lived] but a short time, they put [Euphro]nius in his place: and, when [he] also did not [live long]¹), Flaccilletelas(?) was appointed by the A[ri]ans to succeed him, [and after] his death they ordain Stephen. And the Arians occupied all the churches of Antioch, while Paulinus [had] only [one] little one.

[Now] in Constantinople, after Alexander fell asleep, who ruled the church 23 years, the orth[od]ox ordain Paul, and the Arians Macedonius: [and, when] Paul was driven out by [the Arians], Macedonius came in — — — — — he brought Eusebius from [Nikomedea — — —] and rejected both of them.

16. Constantine, the eldest king, died, when he had reigned 3 years.

Hist. Metr. Nis.
ap. El. Nis. AS
649.

14. When James, bishop of Nisibis, died, Walgash was appointed to succeed him.

Sokr. 1. 21.

16. At this time Antony the hermit was celebrated for asceticism.

Sokr. 2. 8.

14. A synod [at Antioch], and it performed the dedication.

14. Constantius the king [inclined] to the opinion of the Arians, [and] through him [they did] whatever [they wished].

16. Athanas[ius] is immediately banished for the 2nd time; and he fled and went to Julius at Rome; and with him [was]

Sokr. 2. 15.
id. 20. Constans the king, who [assembled] a synod at Serdica in the matter of Athanasius. And [two] bishops are sent by Constans

Theod. 2. 7. from Rome to Antioch [to] Consta[n]tius, Eu[phratas] and Vince[nt]: and Stephen prepared] a plot [against them.]

19. — — — — —

[Constant]ine the younger, the son — — 3 years, they are both killed [— — — by] the advice of Magnentius and Bretanio, while [Nepotian] also, who was of the royal family [and — — —] had assumed the sovereignty in Rome, [is killed by the soldiers of] Magnentius. Magnentius accordingly [was in possession of]¹) the whole of Italy and

id. 28, 32. Africa, while Bretanio [was] proclaimed [at Si]rmium. But Constantius the king, when [he heard of] all these things, marched hastily against

1) This is the sense required.

the tyrants, and he fought and [overcame] them — — — — —

19. [A]thanas[ius is banished for the 3rd time, and] the Arians Theod. 2. 10, 11.
ordain George, [a man of] their [opinions, to succeed him] at Alexandria.

22. [There are some] who say that in the year [6]58 of the Greeks the city of Amida was built.

25. Liberius, the 34th bishop, was appointed in the church Sokr. 2. 37.
[of] the Romans for 7 years.

27. Ephraim, the Syrian doctor, was distinguished at Nisibis at this time.

27. [The city of] Thello between the rivers was built and Chron. Edess. XX.
was called [Cons]tant[ia], which [was] formerly called [Antipolis]¹.

27. [Liberius, bishop] of Rome, is sent into exile — — — — Sokr. 1. c.

19. Constantine²) makes war with the Franks and overcomes cf. Sokr. 2. 10.
them. And the same year there were many earthquakes in the East, and especially at Antioch, throughout the year.

21. The year 660 of the Greeks. This year Constantius built Chron. Edess. XIX.
the city of Amida between the rivers; and the same year the Romans fought a battle with the Persians by night.

25. A synod is held at Milan about the faith and about Sokr. 2. 36.
Athanasius; and they hold to the definition of faith drawn up at Nikaia and acquit Athanasius.

27. This year, the 15th [of C]onsta[n]t[ius], was the battle between Constantius and Ma[g]nentius.

[The year 664. This year a cross appeared in the sky in Chron. Pasch. p. 540.
the East on the 5th of May]³).

29. Da[masus], the 35th bishop, [was appointed] in the church of the Romans for 19 years.

28. Magnentius killed himself, and Decentius his brother was Sokr. 2. 32.
strangled.

28. Constant[ius] gives orders, and Gallus the Caesar is put id. 34.
to death in the year 666.

29. Constantius makes Julian, the brother of Gallus, Caesar ibid.
in the year 667.

30. Leontius of Antioch died, and immediately Eudoxius of id. 37.
Germanikeia seizes the see of that city. At this time — — — —

Upon the death of Arseni[us], whom the Arians appointed in id. 45.
Jerusalem, [who] was the 44th bishop, Herakleios, an Arian, succeeded as the 45th, and after him Hilarion, the 46th.

At this time Aetius, who was the teacher of Eunomius, was id. 35.
distinguished.

Julian the Caesar rebels against king Constantius; and, when Theod. 2. 28.

1) See Hallier, Untersuchungen über die Edessenische Chronik p. 97.

2) Constans is meant.

3) El. Nis.

the king heard of the rebellion of Julian, he went out from Antioch to march against him and died in Cilicia.

Sokr. 2. 45;
Theod. 2. 21, 23.

When Eudoxius was expelled from Antioch, he expelled Macedonius from Constantinople and occupied the church there. After-

Sokr. 2. 44.

wards the Arians appoint Meletius to succeed Eudoxius at Antioch. When then Meletius did not teach in accordance with the opinion of the Arians, they expel him and appoint Euzoi[us] in his place; but he was appointed in the church of the orthodox in the city. And some of [the orthodo]x, avoiding the communion of Melet[us], ap-

Sokr. 3. 6.

pointed [Paulinu]s, an old man, to be their bishop [by the instrumentality of Lucifer], because of what has already previously [been stated] above [that he was appointed to succeed Eus]tace — — At [this] time — — was celebrated — — — — —

Sokr. 3. 22;
'Dion.' (Nau Re-
vus de l'Orient
Chrétien 1897).

39. Upon the death of Julian they appoint Jovian [king] over them. He, making amity and peace [with Shabur, gave] him Nisibis.

39. Athanasius returns to Alexandria from his fourth exile and occupies the see for 6 years.

Sokr. 3. 26.

39. Jovian after reigning 7 months only died in Bithynia.

Sokr. 4. 7.

39. And upon Eunomius being expelled by the Arians then they become two parties.

id. 3. 4.

40. There was a great earthquake; and there was a synod of bishops [at L]ampsakos in the 7th year [after] that of Seleukeia.

id. 5.

41. Procopius the tyrant died in the 2nd year of the kings.

id. 11.

43. There is a great and marvellous hail in Constantinople.

ibid.

44. Gratian became king on the 24th [of] August in the 3rd [year] of the kings.

id. 12;

Theod. 4. 7.

44. One synod [is assembled in Il]lyricum, and another at Rome, and they confirm the confession [of the co]-essentiality.

Theod. 1. c.

44. The kings write to the bishops of Asia and to all the bishops of the diocese of the East, and they confirm the confession and faith of Nikaia.

Sokr. 4. 11.

41. In the year 680 of the Greeks there was a severe earthquake, and Nikaia was overthrown on the 11th of October; and the same year there was another earthquake.

44 (?). [Eudoxius died in] the 3rd [year] of the two kings, which is [the year 678 of the Greeks, and] the Arians [ordained] D[e]m[ophilos]¹). — — — — —

Theod. 4. 12.

48. [Valen]s [makes] a persecution against the orthodox and sends many bishops into exile. Athanasius the combatant also is

1) It is hard to see how this sentence can be filled up except as above; but, as $\omega\omega$ cannot agree with $\text{D}\mu\alpha$, either some unusual expression was used or $\omega\omega$ is a copyist's error for $\omega\omega$. Eudoxius did not in fact die till 370, the 6th year of Valentinian and Valens: cf. also ann. 45 (370), where Eudoxius is represented apparently as still alive.

expelled from his church for the 5th time, and the Arians ordain Lucius in his place, whom the Samosatenes expelled from their city.

51. At this time Gregory, bishop of Nazianzos, is established in Constantinople by the orthodox bishops to look after the believers there; for he was celebrated at that time, as were Basil of Kaisareia, and Gregory of Nyssa and Peter of Sebasteia, the brothers of Basil. Sokr. 4. 26.

51. Valentinian died after a reign of 12 years, and Gratian his son ruled after him, who had also been made Emperor in his father's lifetime at Rome.

45. Valens went out against the barbarians, who had crossed the river Istros; and he fought and overcame them, and expelled them from the land of the Romans. Further also, when he made peace with them, he put constraint upon them, and all the Goths became Arians by the advice of the impious Eudoxius. Soz. 6. 37.
Theod. 4. 33.

47. After Athanasiu[s] had served the bishopric 40 years, and had made 28— bishops, and had been sent into exile 5 times, he fell asleep piously on the 2nd of May; and after him Peter, the 20th bishop, was appointed in the church of the Alexandr[ines] for 7 years.

49. The orthodox are expelled from the church of the Edess[enes] by the Arians, and Bar[se] the bishop is also [sent] into exile.

51. The blessed my lord Ephraim, having been celebrated in Edessa up to this time, died in the year 684 of the Greeks on the 9th of June. Chron. Edess.
XXX.

52. At this [time] Libanius the s[ophist] was distinguished at Antioch, while [at] Al[exandria] Didymos, [a blind man], was celebrated as an expounder of the Scriptures and of the authors. In the same Antioch also Afrahat the monk too was celebrated for asceticism, who also reproved Valens. Sokr. 4. 25.
Theod. 4. 23.

52. The Saracens rise up against the land of the Romans [— and] a woman, [whose name was Mu'awiya,] reigned over them. — — — — — they made peace — — — — —

53. Isaac the monk, who was celebrated at this time, was distinguished in Constantinople; who reproved Valens, when he went out to fight with the Goths and Avars(?) and was killed there. For, when [the Romans] were defeated [and] fled, the barbar[ians] found him [in a village] and burnt him with fire together with it. [As] they said(?), when his brother was alive, [and he asked him for help] against the ba[r]barians, [he said, "It is not lawful to help a man who fights with God". — — — — —

53. — — — — —¹⁾ id. 21.

1) These fragments represent "ἄπασι μὲν ἄδειαν ἐδεδώκει καὶ Ἕλλησι καὶ Ἰουδαίοις κτλ", but I am unable to fill up the Syriac sentence.

Sokr. 4. 15, 16. Only against the orthodox he stirred up a persecution, allowing the Arians to do with them whatever they pleased. For this reason therefore, when he was in Nikomedeia, he gave orders that some presbyters, [who] had come to him from Byzantion [to] accuse the Arians, should be burnt with the ship [on which] they had come in the midst of the sea; and in fact they were burnt.

Chron. Edess.
XXXV.

57. The city of Rhesaina between the rivers was built.

58. [In the year 69]1 of the Greeks, which is the 4th year of Theodosius¹), [he assembled a synod of bish]ops in the royal city of Constantino[ple, who] anathematized Macedonius, the fighter against the Spirit, and those who shared his [opinions]. When the synod met, it dismissed Gregory, that he might go to Nazianzos, and appointed Nectarius 6th bishop there.

Sokr. 4. 30; 5. 8.

58. At this time were celebrated the bishops Amphilocheius of Ikonion, Ambrose of [M]ilan, [Op]timus of Antioch in Pisidia, and Diodoros of Tarsos.

59. Theophilus was appointed 22nd bishop in Alexandria for 27 years.

'Dion.' (Rev. de
l'Or. Chrét. 1897).

60. Cyr[u]s was appointed 25th bishop in Edessa.

Soz. 7. 22.

67. King Valent[inian] died, and Eugenius rebelled.

Sokr. 5. 9.

58. Upon the death of Meletius the great in the Synod Flavian is appointed in his place as 33rd bishop in the church of Antioch.

id. 10.

58. Arcadius was proclaimed king by his father.

id. 9.

58. The other orthodox party in Antioch appoint Paulinus bish[op] over them²).

67. — — — — — of Theophilus the bishop — — —
— showed intense eagerness to — — — Constantinople.

id. 25.

69. Theodosius marched against Eugenius the tyrant: and, when they joined battle, the tyrant was defeated and killed in the 394. 3rd consulship of Arcadius and the 2nd of Honorius.

69. — — — the ascetic was distinguished at this time in Egypt.

1) According to the canon of James AS 691 (380) is the 2nd year of Theodosius. The error is perhaps due to a confusion between two authorities, since the Chronicle of Edessa places the synod in AS 693. The year 58, to which the notice seems to be assigned, answers to the 5th of Theodosius; but, as the notice is at the top of a page, we should perhaps refer it to the last year on the preceding page, i. e., 57 = the 4th of Theodosius.

2) It is clear that the MS is here disarranged and that these last two notices should be transposed.

114. Dioskoros was appointed 24th bishop in the church of Alexandria for 8 years.

116. Leo was appointed 43rd bishop in the church of Rome for 21 years.

1) [The year 761. This year Theodosius, King of the Romans, died on the 11th day of July, and Marcian. reigned after him.]²⁾

125. Upon the expulsion of [Domnos and Hibo Nonnos was appointed] in Edessa, [and] in Antioch Maximus, [the 41st bishop] [In Constantinople Anatolius was appointed] 13th bishop.

126. At this time

[The year 768. This year Marcian, King of the Romans, died on the 15th day of January, and Leo reigned after him.

Chron. Edess.
LXVIII.

The year 770. This year Hibo, bishop of Edessa, died, and Nonnos succeeded him.]³⁾

shunning [the communion of the bishops who had swerved from [the faith — — — —], those of Jerusalem [appointed Theodosius] [in place of Juvenal], while those of Alexandria [appointed Timothy]. He also in like manner in many places — — — — —. But the bishops who had swerved from [the faith, since] they were [not accepted] by the churches, and they would not endure their [communion], not considering their folly, — — — — [out of] desire of power make use of worldly authorities and [the sword of tyranny — — — —] to get possession of churches and sees [and the flock — — — — which] was purchased with the blood of Christ. — — — — —

[The year 786. This year Leo, King of the Romans, died on the 11th day of January, and Leo his daughter's son reigned after him for less than a year; and he died, and Zenon reigned after him]⁴⁾.

'Dion.' (Rev. de
l'Or. Chrét. 1897).

5) — — — — And [Peter was expelled], and [Stephen,] a Nestorian, succeeded him as] 45th [bishop. In Alexandria] on the death of [Timothy Salofaciolus]⁶⁾ Peter, [who is called] Mongos, [succeeded him

1) At the end of the lacuna is a fragment containing the name Bar Tsaumo.

2) El. Nis.

3) El. Nis. Chron. Edess. gives the date as 769. In El. Nis. the notice is in a different hand to the rest and is absent in the Arabic version, while the name of the authority is in black instead of red.

4) El. Nis.

5) In this lacuna is a fragment containing the name of Kalandion, and another containing the name of Patrick or 'patrician'.

6) Clearly an error for Timothy Ailouros.

as] 26th [bishop. But,] when [Zenon heard of it,] Pet[er] is expelled [after a] short [time] from Alex[andria, and] Sa[l]ofacio[us took his place.] In Jerusalem Mart[yr]ius was appointed 52nd [bishop].

[The year 802. This year Zenon, King of the Romans, died, and Anastasius reigned after him.]¹⁾

166. Sallustinus [was appointed 5]3rd bishop in Jerusalem.

166. — — — — — Kalandion of Antioch [was] also an accomplice. For this reason, when after 3 years these men had been overcome by Zenon, Kalandion also was expelled from Antioch, and Peter came in again by the king's orders.

Mich. fol. 155 v.

166. Leontius and Illous are taken and killed.

'Zach.' 6. 6;

Mich. l. c.

166. Theoderic came as far as Rhegion Malanthiodes(?), and he went on and passed into Thrace; and he burnt and destroyed much property and withdrew.

'Zach.' l. c.; Mich. l. c.

166. [Theode]ric the tyrant entered Rome; and [Odoace]r the Anti-Caesar, who had been appointed there by Zenon, fled before him to Ra[venna]; and [he carried off captives from — —] Italy.

'Zach.' l. c.; Mich. l. c.

166. Zenon gave orders, [and] Pelagius, [bishop of Crete,] was strangled²⁾.

Jo. Mal. p. 390; Chron. Pasch. p. 606; Mich. l. c.

167. Upon the death of [Palladius Flavian was appointed 47th bishop in Ant]ioch.

169. [In Alexandria John was appointed] 28th bishop.

[Upon the expulsion of Euphe]m[us] [M]acedonius [was appointed 18th bishop in Constantin]ople³⁾.

The payment of gold⁴⁾ [was remitted] to the workmen [throughout the land] of the Romans. [A large number of locusts] came, but [did] not [do much damage. There was] a great earthquake, [and the hot spring of Abarne⁵⁾] was dried up [for three days.]

Chron. Edess.

LXXIV.

id. LXXVI.

ibid.

176. [A comet] appeared.

ibid.

177. A large number of locusts [damaged] all the crops, and [there was] a severe famine throughout the land between the rivers.

'Josh. Styl' 88;

Chron. Edess.

LXXVIII.

178. A great fire appeared in the northern quarter and burned throughout the night. And immediately after a short time the Huns went out and made war with the Persians.

id. LXXIX.

178. Kawad came from Armenia [and encamped against] the city of Amida between the rivers, [and, when] he had taken it, he massacred within [it eighty] thousand men.

179. Anastasius was appointed 48th [b]ishop in the church of Rome.

1) El. Nis.

2) See note on text (p. 293).

3) The fragment which follows refers to the rebellion of the Isaurians.

4) i. e. the *χρυσάγυρον*: cf. Evagr. 3. 39; "Josh. Styl" 31; Jo. Mal. p. 398; Theod. Lect. 2. 53.

5) See Hallier, Untersuchungen über die Edessenische Chronik p. 119.

179. Elias was appointed 54th bishop in the church of Jerusalem.

180. John was appointed 29th bishop in the church of Alexandria for 11 years.

181. Simeon, bishop of Beth Arsham, was celebrated in prison at this time.

185. Paul was appointed 34th bishop in Edessa.

187. When Macedonius was banished from Constantinople, Timothy took his place as 19th bishop.

188. And in Antioch, when Flavian was banished, Severus was appointed 48th bishop.

192. Symmachos was appointed 49th bishop in Rome for 6 years.

'Zach.' 8. 2. 195. In the first year of Justin Vitalian after being reconciled was killed, he and Paul the notary and Celerian his domestic.

id. 7. 195. In the 2nd year [of] Justin John, b[ish]op [of Con]stantinople, died, and [Epiphanius] took his place [as 21st bishop].

'Zach.' 7. 4-6; Mich. fol. 158 r.; Greg. Chr. Syr. p. 77. 179. [Five] Roman [generals] are sent out; and they fought [against Nisibis] and could not take [it. For this reason [the city of Dara] is built on the frontier of the Romans.

Chron. Edess. LXXXIII. 183. The king gives orders [to open the coffin] of the martyr Euphe[mia and bring out] from there the ordinance laid down by the Synod of Chalkedon] and burn it.

'Zach.' 7. 13. 187. Vitalian rebelled [against the king]; and, when H[y]patius] went against him, he was defeated and taken prisoner by him.

188. Dioskoros was appointed 30th bishop in Alexan[dria for 3] years.

191. A great and terrible comet appeared in the East.

192. Elijah was banished from Jerusalem, and John was appointed 55th bishop.

191. Anastas[ius] died on [the 9th] of July.

193. John was appointed 20th bishop in Constantinople, while in Rome Hormisda was appointed 50th bishop.

195. When Justin became king, [he accepted] the synod of Chalk[edon; and] Severus [withdrew] from Anti[och, and] Paul the Jew [was appointed 49th] bishop there. [And after] one year they banished him; and Euphrasius [was appointed] 50th bishop.

'Zach.' 8. 1. 195. Amantius the provost and Theo[kritos] and Andrew the chamberlain were put to death, because they tried to prevent the proclamation [of the Synod].

196. [Paul assembled the bish]ops [of Syria and restored to] their churches [all those who] accepted [the S]ynod [of Chalke]don.

196. [Asklepi]os was appointed [35th] bishop in Edessa.

197. [Timothy was appointed 31st] bishop [in A]lexandria for 17 years.

199. [In Jerusalem Makar]jios [was appointed] 56th bishop; after him was [Peter, the 57th bishop]¹).

1) James has transposed these two bishops.

201. Ephraim was appointed 51st [bis]hop [in Anti]och.
202. Anthimos was appointed 22nd bishop in Constantinople.
202. Andrew was appointed 36th bishop in Edessa.
204. Addai was appointed 37th bishop in Edessa.
205. In Rome Bonofatius was appointed 53rd bishop; and, when he soon died, John entered upon the see, the predecessor of Felix, of whom it was previously stated that he had been expelled¹): and after [surviving] a short time he died, [and] Agapetos became 54th bishop.
207. [And] Justinian assembled before him the expelled [bi]shops; and Severus came to him with many others, and they speak about the peace of the churches: and they did not effect anything, because [A]gapetos prevented it.
213. Upon the departure of [A]nthimos Menas was appointed 23rd bishop in Constantinople.
196. Co[rinth] was overthrown by an earthquake².
196. The Homerites were martyred in Nigrun. 'Zach.' 8. 3; 'Dion' (Ass. B. O. 1. 364)
196. There was a flood in Edessa. 'Zach.' 8. 4.
197. John was appointed 51st bishop in Rome; after him as the 52nd bishop was Felix.
198. Antioch and Seleukeia were overthrown in an earthquake.
199. A cross of light appeared in the sky in the northern quarter, and the church of Antioch was burnt.
200. There went out an order [from the king to] the soldiers that they should all assent [to the Synod] of Chalkedon: and in fact they assented.
201. The Persians and Saracens came as far as the districts of Antioch and Apameia. Mich. fol. 169 r.
202. There was a riot in Constantinople, and the church was burned, and Hypatius was put to death. ibid.; cf. 'Zach.' 9. 14.
203. The Persians came to the land between the rivers and fought against Martyropolis, and they laid many places waste and carried off captives from them. Mich. 1. c.
205. The Huns went out and carried off captives and devastated as far as the districts of Antioch. 'Zach.' 9. 6.
205. Rufinus and Hermogenes, the master of the offices, were sent by Justinian to Khosru; and he made peace for 7 years. id. 7.
207. The Samaritans rebelled and set up a chief for themselves; and the Romans came and massacred them. id. 8.
209. Belisarius the general went and took Carthage and brought the tyrant, who had rebelled there, prisoner; and with him came id. 17.

1) The succession of John and Felix is mentioned in the opposite column of the same page in the MS (see p. 263), but nothing is there stated as to John being expelled, which shows that our MS is only an epitome of the work of James.

2) Evagrius (4. 8) also places the earthquake of Corinth in the reign of Justin. 'Dionysios' places it in AS 841.

'Zach.' 9. 19. also Agapetos of Rome and died in Constantinople; and Silverius took his place in Rome as 55th bishop.

197(?). The orthodox in Alexandria are divided; some [ordain Gaian, and others] The[o]dosiu[s, the] 32nd [bisho]p — — —

'Zach.' 10. 1. 214. There was a hard and severe persecution in the land between the rivers, and upon all those who would not consent to communicate with the S[ynod] of Chalkedon: and all the monks were expelled from their cloisters and lived in the open air in the frost; and the winter happened to be a hard one with much frost and snow, so that many men and animals died in it.

id. 5. 214. Ephraim assembled a synod of 132 bishops in Antioch

id. 2, 3. and anathematized the Synod: and there was a severe persecution in Amida, and many were killed.

215. Severus died.

215. Vigilus was appointed 56th bishop in Rome.

id. 185 v; Greg. Chron. Syr. p. 81. 215. [John] Philop[o]nos was celebrated in Alex[andria] at this time.

Mich. fol. 173 r. 215. Zoilos was banished from Alexandria, and Apollinarius was appointed.

217. And after Ephraim Domninus becomes 52nd bishop in Antioch.

218. Mark became 58th bishop in Jerusalem.

'Zach.' 10. 12; Mich. fol. 186 v. 220. Two bishops are now ordained in the East by those who did not assent to the Synod of Chalkedon, James and Theodore, because their bishops had failed on account of the persecution of the Chalcedonians.

225. Eutychos was appointed 24th bishop in Constantinople.

227. Amazon was appointed 38th bishop in Edessa.

'Zach.' 10. 15; Mich. fol. 185 v; Greg. p. 81. 227. There was a pestilence among oxen throughout the countries of the East for 2 years, so much so that the fields were left uncultivated for lack of oxen.

Jo. Eph. (Land Aneed. Syr. 2. 385); 'Dion.' (Rev. de l'Or. Chrét. 1897); Mich. fol. 187 v. 227. In the 25th year of the reign [of] Justinian the king [the bish]ops [were assembled in Constan]tino[ple, and the synod was held] which is called [the fifth Synod: and] he commanded them, [and they anathematized Theodoret] and Theodore [and Hib]o and their writings.

'Zach.' 10. 6; Mich. fol. 173 r.; Greg. p. 79. 215. The peace between the kingdoms was broken; and the same year in Khonun¹⁾ there was a great comet in the evening for 40 days; and then in the same year, [which is the year 850] of the Greeks, Khosru went up [and carried off captives from] Soura and Berrhoia and Ant[ioch] and Apameia and their territories. And the Romans [also] carried off captives from the lands of the K[urds] and the Arzanenians and the Arabs.

'Zach.' 10. 7; Mich. 1. c.; Greg. 1. c. 221. Khosru went up and carried off captives from Kallinik[os] and the whole of the southern portion of the land between the rivers.

221. There was a great pestilence [throughout] the earth, 'Zach.' 10. 9. which began in Ethiopia [above] gypt in the year 858 of the Greeks, while in the year 854 it spread over the whole district of the East.

224. The Romans went down [with an army] and destroyed 'Zach.' 10. 10. much property in the country [of the Persians].

226. Khosru again went and took Petra, a city in Lazica, and placed a garrison there. id. 18; Mich. fol. 185 v.

227. Khosru went and fought against Edessa and carried off captives from Batnai. And thenceforward it happened that the Romans fought against it for [a time; and after] 7 years they defeated the Persians and took it from [them]¹⁾. 'Zach.' 10. 11; Mich. fol. 173 r.; Greg. 1. c. 'Zach.' 10. 18; Mich. fol. 185 v.

227. There was a great famine and scarcity throughout the district of the East; and all this was so severe that, though many ate men, they could not satisfy themselves. 'Zach.' 10. 14; Mich. 1. c.; Greg. p. 81.

227. Th[eodora] the queen died.

227. Theo[dosius] and Anthimos and many archimandrites were summoned to Constantinople by the king [concerning] the peace of the churches. Jo. Eph. (Land Anecd. Syr. 2. 890).

227. The barbarians took [Rome and] utterly destroyed it; [and Vigilius]²⁾ fled from it [to Constantinople]. — — — —

228. The king commanded that the monks who had been driven away should return to their cloisters.

228. At this time [arose] the heresy of the Agnoetes.

Mich. fol. 186 r.

228. Pelagius was appointed 57th [b]ishop [in Rome].

229. The persecution of the believers in the East having [ceased] a little, [they ordained] for themselves as archbishop [in place of] Severus a man of Thello called Sergius of the [archive-]house; and he soon died. ibid.; Greg. Chron. Eccl. p. 218.

233. [In Jerusalem] Eustace was appointed 59th bishop.

235. [John] was appointed 39th [bis]hop in Edessa³⁾.

236. [John] was appointed 58th bishop in Rome.

236. In Antioch Anastasius was appointed 53rd bishop.

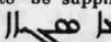
238. John of Sarmin was appointed 25th [bis]hop in Constantinople after the expulsion of Eutychos his predecessor.

240. In Edessa Epiphanius was appointed [40th] bishop³⁾. Mich. fol. 193 v.

240. Now the orthodox had the following bishops; in Syria were James and Theodore; and in Constantino[p]le were John of Asia and Theodosius of Alexandria, who died at this time. ibid.

229. There appeared fire in the sky in the North for several days. In this way it also appeared like a terrible comet.

1) The MS is here out of order, since it is clear that this statement applies not to Edessa, which was never taken by the Persians, but to Petra, and so it in fact appears in Mich., who follows the same authority as James.

2) If a name is to be supplied, Vigilius is the only one possible; but perhaps we should read  "many people".

3) Not known from any other source.

232. There was an assembly of many monks from the East before the king concerning the peace of the churches; and with them went up also James the bishop.

Mich. fol. 189 v;
Greg. Chron.
Ecll. p. 223.

236. The heresy of the Tritheites arose at this time.

Jo. Eph. 1. 32. the monk.

236. Those evil things which were done among men by Photius

'Dion.' (Rev.
de l'Or. Chrét.
1897).

237. The king drew up an edict concernig the faith, and ordered that no one should stir up any question about the faith at all, but that everyone should believe in accordance with the edict, and those who did not assent to it should be driven out.

Mich. fol. 186 r;
Greg. Chr. Ecll.
p. 233.

229 (?). The orthodox appoint as archbishop in Syr[i]a Paul [who came from Alex]andria, who is called "of Beth Ukhme".

229 (?). [Anastasius is expelled] from Antioch, and Gregory becomes bishop.

229 (?). John is sent to Alex[andria from Co]nstant[inople] by the [Ch]alcedonians in succession to Ap[ollinarius]. — — — — —

[The year 886. This year Justin the Caesar made Tiberius the Caesar partner in the kingdom on the 7th of December.

The year 890. This year Justin, King of the Romans, died on the 4th of October, and Tiberius succeeded him.

The year 893. This year Tiberius, King of the Romans, died, and Maurice succeeded him.

The year 915. This year the moon was eclipsed on the night of the fifth day of the week on the 16th of July.]¹⁾

277. Severu[s], bishop of Edessa, was stoned.

277. The believers in the East made Athanasius archbishop.

279. The believers in Edessa had Paul for their bishop, while the Chalcedonians appoint Theodosius for themselves²⁾.

281. The bishops of the district of the East (and with them were monks and many people) fled to Egypt before the Persians.

285. In Alexandria Cyrus was appointed bishop for the Chalcedonians.

286. [The union] of the believers made in Alexandria³⁾.

287. The bishops are expelled — — — — —

277. Maurice is killed, [and] all his sons with him⁴⁾.

1) El. Nis.

2) This Paul is no doubt the translator of the hymns of Severus and others (Wright CBM. p. 336; cf. Schröder in ZDMG. 31 p. 400; Hallier Untersuchungen über die Edess. Chronik p. 77). Theodosius is not known from any other source.

3) Mich. (fol. 237 r) places this union in AS 921 (AD 610), but, since he ascribes it to the action of Niketas, the date in our text (= AD 611) is more probable. The Liber Chalifarum however assigns it to 618.

4) El. Nis. (quoting James) "The year 914. This year Maurice, King of the Romans, was killed, and his wife and his sons, on the 23rd of November: and Phokas reigned after him."

277. The peace between the Romans and the Persians is broken.
278. Narses rebelled against Phokas and came to Edessa and occupied it and was besieged in it.
280. The Persians took the city of Dara.
282. The Persians took the fortress of Tur 'Abdin.
284. The Persians took the city of Ami[da], also Thello, also Rhesaina.
286. The Romans kill Phokas and make Herakl[eios] king.
287. The Persians took Edessa.
288. The Persians conquered the whole of Syria and Phoenice and Pa[lesthine].
289. Herakleio[s] made [his son] Constantine [Caesar].
292. The Persians took [Egypt] and conquered [Libya].
293. Isaiah is sent to Edessa as bishop from the land of the Persians.
294. In Alexandria the believers ordained Andronikos bishop.
296. [In] Alexandria Benjamin was appointed [b]ish[op] for the believers.
296. Khosru gave orders, and Edessa went into captivity.
300. Cyrus made a persecution against the believers in Alexandria.
301. The believers in the East ordained John archbishop¹).
304. Of Shahr Warz and of Boran and of Khosru [and of] Firuz and of Azruiyindhkth [and of Ho]rmizd, of all of them — — — — —
293. And [Ma]homet goes down for [purposes of traffic] to the country of Palestine and of Arabia and of Phoenice and of Tyre.
296. There was an eclipse of the sun.
296. The Persians carried off captives from the whole of the land of the Romans as far as Bithynia and Asia and as far as the sea of Pontus and devastated it.
296. The kingdom of the Arabs, whom we call Saracens, began when Herakleios, King of the Romans, had reached²) his 11th year, and Khosru, King of the Persians, his 31st year.
301. The Saracens began to make incursions into the land of Palestine.
303. The Persians killed Khos[ru], and Shirwi became king — — — — —
303. And the Edessenes who — — — — — returned from [captivity].
304. Hera[kleios] and Shahr Bar[z] made [a treaty], and [the Persians] began to come out from [the land of the Romans] and [to go down to their own country]. The Jews — — — — —
— — — — —

1) It is clear that the copyist has placed this notice too early, since the death of John's predecessor Athanasius is recorded by Elijah from James under AH 10 (631): see below.

2) Lit. "had brought"; but the construction is a strange one, and *هو* is perhaps corrupt.

[The year 10. This year died Athanasius, Patriarch of the Jacobites.

The year 18. This year there was a severe pestilence throughout the districts of Syria.

The year 56. This year appeared a terrible comet in the morning; and it began on the 28th day of August and lasted till the 26th day of October.

The year 66. This year Psomiro¹⁾, King of the Romans, came to the throne.

The year 75. This year there was a total eclipse of the sun on the first day of the week, the 5th of October, at the fifth hour of the day.]²⁾

[In the year 1019 of the Greeks in July there was a sign, and that was stars which shot or moved about in the air, which some men call falling stars. And they appeared in every part of the sky, moving about quickly and rapidly the whole night from the southern to the northern quarter, a thing never heard of before since the creation of the world. And learned and holy men, in particular James of Edessa³⁾ and Moses the son of Al Hugr, wrote with regard to them what was said at the time by those natural philosophers who teach that they are vapour, that is condensed air, and, when it ascends, it comes in contact with the fire above and is burnt. And then the questioner asked them, "Whence has all this condensed air ascended? And where is it concealed?" And they could not then return any answer at all, but were reduced to saying, "Whatever the Lord pleases he does." And the outcome of events showed that these shooting stars denoted the Arabs, who at this time entered the district of the North and slew and burnt and destroyed the district and its inhabitants.]⁴⁾

Synchronisms of James.

Constantine 32 years. Shabur 69 years.

Year 1 = Ol. 276, 1 = 21st of Constantine = 20th of Shabur.
Constantine with his brothers [24] years⁵⁾.

1) Justinian II is meant, but the name clearly stands for Apsimar. Elijah or some earlier copyist took the name Tiberius Apsimar for two Emperors and substituted the latter name for Justinian which followed. The same error occurs in his list of Emperors (Brit. Mus. Add. MS 7197 fol. 11r).

2) El. Nis.

3) i. e. the continuator. James died in June 708. This fact shows that it is the chronicle, not some other work of James, which is here quoted.

[M. Nau has however called my attention to a very similar passage in 'Dion' AS 937, where the allusion to the Arabs is more in place than here. Perhaps therefore there is some error in our text, and it was really the event of 626 which James recorded.]

4) Mich.

5) The number is supplied from Michael.

- Year 13 = Ol. 279, 1 = 1st of Constantius = 32nd of Shabur.
 [Year 37 = Ol. 285, 1 = 1st of Julian = 56th of Shabur.]¹⁾
 Jovian 7 months.
 Year 39 = Ol. 285, 3 = 1st of Jovian = 58th of Shabur.
 Valentinian, the 39th king, with Valens his brother and Gratian
 14 years.
 Year 40 = Ol. 285, 4 = 1st of Valens = 59th of Shabur.
 Ardashir, the son of Shabur, the 10th king, 3 years 8 months²⁾.
 Year 51 = Ol. 288, 3 = 12th of Valens = 1st of Ardashir.
 Theodosius, the 40th king, 16 years 8 months.
 Year 54 = AS 690 = Ol. 289, 2 = 1st of Theodosius =
 4th of Ardashir.
 Shabur, the 11th king, 4 years 4 months.
 Year 55 = Ol. 289, 3 = 2nd of Theodosius = 1st of Shabur.
 Warahran Germanshah, the son of the elder Shabur, brother of
 Ardashir and Shabur who preceded him, the 12th king, ten years
 eleven months.
 Year 59 = Ol. 290, 3 = 6th of Theodosius = 1st of Warahran.
 Year 64 = AS 700.
 Yezdegerd, the son of Shabur, the 13th king, 21 years.
 Year 70 = Ol. 293, 2 = 17th of Theodosius = 1st of Yezdegerd.
 Arcadius succeeded as 41st king together with Honorius for 13 years.
 Year 71 = Ol. 293, 3 = 1st of Arcadius = 2nd of Yezdegerd.
 [Year 84 = Ol. 296, 4 = 1st of Theodosius = 15th of Yez-
 degerd³⁾.
 Year 91 = Ol. 298, 3 = 8th of Theodosius = 1st of Warahran.]
 Yezdegerd, the son of Warahran, the 15th king, 19 years.
 Year 113 = Ol. 304, 1 = 30th of Theodosius = 1st of
 Yezdegerd.
 Marcian, the 43rd king, 6 years 6 months.
 Year 126 = Ol. 307, 2 = 1st of Marcian = 14th of Yezdegerd.
 [Year 132 = Ol. 308, 4 = 1st of Leo = 1st of Piroz.]⁴⁾

1) This equation results from the number of years ascribed to Constantius. The MS is here defective.

2) The odd months of Ardashir and the next two kings are known from this source only. The list given by El. Nis. (Brit. Mus. Add. MS 7197 fol. 11 v) is quoted by Nöldeke (Al Tabari p. 400) as the work of Jac. Edess. Elijah however, though in his list of Emperors he mentions James among other authorities, does not in the list of Persian kings name any source at all. Moreover in his chronicle, in which the source of every statement is mentioned, the

dates of the Persian kings are always quoted from a work called **تاریخ یزدگرد** down to the accession of Khosru II, and in no instance from James.

3) The MS is here defective, but these two equations follow from the number of years ascribed to Arcadius and Yezdegerd respectively.

4) The equation for Piroz is derived from the term assigned to his predecessor and from the equation for his 22nd year, with which the MS again begins; that for Leo is supplied from Mich.

- Year 151 = Ol. 313, 3 = 1st of Zenon = 20th of Piroz¹⁾.
 Year 163 = Ol. 316, 3 = 13th of Zenon = 1st of Kawad²⁾.
 Anastasius the silentiary, the 47th king, 27 years.
 Year 167 = Ol. 317, 3 = 1st of Anastasius = 5th of Kawad.
 [Year 174 = Ol. 319, 2 = 8th of Anastasius = 1st of Zamasp.]³⁾
 Kawad the son of Piroz, the 17th king, 30 years.
 Year 176 = Ol. 319, 4 = 10th of Anastasius = 1st of Kawad.
 Year 181 = AS 820.
 Justin, the 48th king, 9 years.
 Year 194 = Ol. 324, 2 = 1st of Justin = 19th of Kawad.
 Year 195 = AS 830.
 Justinian, the 49th king, 38 years.
 Year 203 = Ol. 326, 3 = 1st of Justinian = 28th of Kawad.
 Khosru, the son of Kawad, the 18th king, 47 years.
 Year 206 = Ol. 327, 2 = 4th of Justinian = 1st of Khosru.
 Year 227 = AS 860.
 Justin, the 50th king, 13 years.
 Year 241 = Ol. 336, 1 = 1st of Justin = 36th of Khosru.
 [Year 253 = Ol. 339, 1 = 13th of Justin = 1st of Hormizd.
 Year 254 = Ol. 339, 2 = 1st of Tiberius = 2nd of Hormizd⁴⁾.
 Year 258 = Ol. 340, 2 = 1st of Maurice = 6th of Hormizd.
 Year 266 = Ol. 342, 2 = 9th of Maurice = 1st of Khosru.]⁵⁾
 Phokas, the 53rd king, 7 years 8 months.
 Year 278 = Ol. 345, 2 = 1st of Phokas = 13th of Khosru.
 Year 285 = AS 920.
 Herakleios, the 54th king, 32 years.
 Year 286 = Ol. 347, 2 = 1st of Herakleios = 21st of Khosru.
 Mahomet became first king of the Arabs for 7 years.
 Year 297 = Ol. 350, 1 = 12th of Herakleios = 32nd of Khosru = 1st of Mahomet.
 Shirwi, the son of Khosru, the 21st king, 9 months.
 Abu Bakhr, the 2nd king of the Saracens, 2 years 7 months.
 Year 304 = AS 940 = Ol. 351, 4 = 19th of Herakleios = 1st of Shirwi = 1st of Abu Bakhr.
 Ardashir, the son of Shirwi, the 22nd king of the Persians, 1 year 10 months.

1) The MS begins with the 3rd of Zenon, from which this equation is calculated.

2) The MS begins with the 4th of Kawad.

3) Supplied from Mich.

4) Mich., whose canon is defective from the 6th of Justin to the 1st of Tiberius, by assigning only 12 years to Justin equates the 1st of Tiberius with the 1st of Hormizd. The equations in the text result from the terms assigned to Justin and Khosru by James. Mich. assigns only 12 years to Hormizd, and thus falls again into line with James at the accession of Khosru II.

5) The MS begins with the 20th of Maurice and 12th of Khosru, from which these equations are calculated.

- Year 305 = Ol. 352, 1 = 20th of Herakleios = 1st of Ardashir = 2nd of Abu Bakhr⁴).
[AS 943 = Ol. 352, 3 = 22nd of Herakleios = 1st of daughters of Khosru = 1st of 'Umar.
AS 944 = Ol. 352, 4 = 23rd of Herakleios = 1st of others = 2nd of 'Umar.
AS 945 = Ol. 353, 1 = 24th of Herakleios = 1st of Yezdegerd = 3rd of 'Umar.
AS 954 = Ol. 355, 2 = 1st of Constans = 10th of Yezd. = 12th of 'Umar.
AS 955 = Ol. 355, 3 = 2nd of Constans = 11th of Yezd. = 1st of 'Uthman.
AS 956 = Ol. 355, 4 = 3rd of Constans = 12th (and last) of Yezdegerd = 2nd of 'Uthman.
AS 967 = Ol. 358, 3 = 14th of Constans = 1st of 'Ali and Mu'awiya.
AS 972 = Ol. 359, 4 = 19th of Constans = 1st of Mu'awiya.
AS 981 = Ol. 362, 1 = 1st of Constantine = 10th of Mu'awiya.
AS 992 = Ol. 364, 4 = 12th of Constantine¹) = 1st of Yazid.
AS 997 = Ol. 366, 1 = 1st of Justinian = 1st of 'Abd Al Malikh.
AS 1007 = Ol. 368, 3²) = 1st of Leontius = 11th of 'Abd Al Malikh.
AS 1010 = Ol. 369, 2 = 1st of Tiberius = 14th of 'Abd Al Malikh.
AS 1017 = Ol. 371, 1 = 1st of Justinian = 1st of Al Walid.]

4) Here the MS of James ends: what follows is taken from Mich.

1) El. Nis. in his list of Emperors taken from "Ptolemy, Theon, James of Edessa, and trustworthy writers" (Brit. Mus. Add. MS 7197 fol. 10 v) has "Constantine and Tiberius and Herakleios his sons 9 years. Constantine alone 7 years."

2) From this point onwards the Olympic years in Mich. are faulty, being one year in advance of the Seleucid dates. I restore the correct reckoning in accordance with the scheme of James.

Addenda.

- p. 262. According to El. Nis. (fol. 88r) the chronicle of James was written in AS 1003 (692).
p. 263. El. Nis. also cites James for the death of Phokas and accession of Herakleios (AS 921), where his sentence is in a somewhat different form from that in our MS.

Die Saptapadārthī des Śivāditya.

Von

A. Winter.

I.

The *Saptapadārthī* (of the Vaiśeṣika system) of Śivāditya together with its Commentary the *Mitabhāṣiṇī* of Mādhava Sarasvatī edited by Rāmasāstrī Tailāṅga, Assistant Professor, Sanskrit College, Benares (in: The Vizianagram Sanskrit Series vol. VI, Benares 1893).

Die Wichtigkeit der Saptapadārthī konnte sich nicht besser erweisen, als dadurch, dass unabhängig von einander in demselben Jahre zwei „erste Ausgaben“ von ihr erschienen sind, eine in Deutschland und eine in Indien. Es verlohnt sich deshalb wohl der Mühe, die obengenannte Ausgabe des Rāmasāstrī Tailāṅga einer kurzen Besprechung zu unterziehen.

Diese Ausgabe hat ihren besonderen Wert in der ziemlich reichhaltigen, in Sanskrit abgefassten Vorrede und in dem dem Texte beigedruckten Kommentare; in richtiger Weise hat der Hrsg. die *Mitabhāṣiṇī* gewählt, den bei weitem besten Kommentar; die Hoffnung, die ich in der praefatio meiner Ausgabe in die Worte kleidete: maior horum scholiorum pars digna est, quae typis edatur, hat sich also wider Erwarten schnell erfüllt.

Die Praefatio zerfällt in drei Teile: Untersuchungen über Śivāditya, den Verfasser des Textes, über Mādhavasarasvatī, den Autor der *Mitabhāṣiṇī*, und Notizen über die gebrauchten MSS. des Textes und des Kommentares. Der erste Teil gliedert sich wieder in drei Unterabteilungen, deren Inhalt Untersuchungen über den Namen des Verfassers, seine Lebenszeit und sein zweites Werk, *Lakṣaṇamālā*, bilden; über die verschiedenen Namen der Saptapadārthī selbst (*Saptapadārthasūtra*, *Saptapadārthaprakaraṇa*, *Saptapadārthanirūpaṇa*) finden sich keine Angaben.

Dass der Autor des Werkchens Śivāditya (Śivādityamiśra) heisst, steht so fest, dass das Vorkommen eines anderen Namens — R. T. findet in der Subscriptio eines MS. der *Mitabhāṣiṇī* den Namen Vyomaśivācārya als den des Verfassers der Saptapadārthī — keine Beachtung verdient.



The Campaign of 716-718, from Arabic Sources

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THE CAMPAIGN OF 716-718, FROM ARABIC SOURCES.

IN the work known as *Khitab Al 'Uyun*, or *Book of Springs*,¹ pp. 24-33, is contained a long narrative of the disastrous siege of Constantinople by the Arabs in 717-8, which, owing to its great length, I was unable to include in my article on the 'The Arabs in Asia Minor' in *J.H.S.* xviii. p. 182 ff. This work dates from the latter half of the 11th century, and in its present state appears to have been written in Spain, but is clearly drawn from early Eastern sources. Unfortunately the author does not, like most Arabic historians, mention his sources; but from a comparison with the narrative of *Al Tabari* it is clear that his chief, if not his only, authorities were *Al Wakidi* and *Al Madaini*, both of whom wrote in the early part of the 9th century and are earlier in date than any extant Arabic chroniclers.

Out of these two accounts he has constructed a continuous narrative, which, though graphic enough, in many places leaves traces of the method in which it has been put together, which may be detected partly by the inconsequence of the narrative itself, partly by comparison with other writers. The contradictions, however, must not be ascribed entirely to our author, since in many instances it is clear that they already existed in his authorities, who also followed varying traditions, though, unlike him, they probably gave each tradition separately with a reference to the source from which it was derived. That any written authorities existed before their time is unlikely, and their narratives must therefore have been derived from oral tradition; hence in such matters as chronological order and locality little confidence can be placed in them.² It must not, however, be supposed that the narrative is a merely legendary one; the many curious correspondences with Greek sources, such as the mention of the general Solomon, known only from *Theophanes*, and the name *Tessaraktapechys*, known only from the Acts of the 7th Synod, show that it is in the main historical, but accompanied by legendary details, which however, can in many instances be shown to be not mere inventions, but perversions or misunderstandings of historical fact. On the other hand the correspondences with the narrative of *Michael the Syrian*³ cannot be fairly used to corroborate our author; for they are so close that it is difficult not to think that *Michael* here draws in part from Arabic sources; and this is

¹ Ed. de Goeje and de Jong (*Fragmenta Historiarum Arabicorum* Vol. I., Leiden 1869).

² The mere fact that no exact dates are given

tends to show that the chronology of the siege was unknown to the Arab writers.

³ Arabic translation in *Brit. Mus. MS. Or.* 4402.

supported by the divergences from Theophanes, with whom his narrative is generally parallel.¹

Some sources of confusion are easily discovered. One of these is the error common to all Arabic writers, and apparently to the Eastern source followed by Theophanes,² that the siege took place under Solomon and the army was recalled immediately after the accession of 'Umar; whereas in fact Solomon died about two months³ after the siege began, and the siege continued $10\frac{1}{2}$ months after 'Umar's accession. 'Umar no doubt recalled the army; and hence in the absence of dates the Arabs concluded that he did so immediately after his accession. A second and yet more fruitful source of error is a confusion between the imperial salutation of Leo at Amorion at the instigation of the Arabs in the summer of 716 and his coronation at Constantinople on March 25, 717.⁴ Owing to this confusion the campaign in Asia Minor is almost entirely passed over, and events which happened at Amorion are, as I point out in the notes, transferred to Constantinople. Accordingly, since the salutation of Leo at Amorion took place during the siege of that place, the siege of Constantinople was made to begin before his accession, whereas in fact it began about 3 months afterwards; and it was made to last $1\frac{1}{2}$, or even $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, whereas in fact it lasted, according to the higher estimate, 13 months. The chronological confusion is greatly assisted by the peculiarity of the Arabic calendar; for, since the siege was made to last 2 winters, and the army to be recalled immediately after the second winter, it would follow that Solomon's death was placed at the end of the winter. But, since he in fact died in September, and the date of his death was perfectly well known, this mistake would clearly have been impossible if the Arabs had used a fixed instead of a moving calendar.

From the narrative of Al Tabari I in my previous article gave extracts only; but, as in connexion with the narrative of the *Khitab Al 'Uyun* his whole account is of considerable interest (though not perhaps in itself of any great historical value), I give it in full⁵ at the end of the translation of the narrative of the *Khitab*, which here follows.

And it is said that, when Solomon became Caliph, he was informed by many learned men that the name of the Caliph who should take Al Kustanti-niyya (Constantinople) should be the name of a prophet; and there was none among the Omniad kings whose name was the name of a prophet except him. And he was eagerly desirous of doing it and made preparations for this

¹ The divergences can hardly be explained by supposing that Theophanes drew throughout from his western source, for the long narrative under AM 6208 down to Leo's accession is not in Nikephoros, and can scarcely have been wholly omitted by him, if he found it in his authority.

² Michael makes certain messages pass between 'Umar and the army before its retreat (see p. 29 note 7), so that the expression of

Theophanes (p. 29 note 5) is perhaps a loose one.

³ Owing to the variation between Theophanes and Nikephoros the exact date at which the siege began cannot be determined.

⁴ Theoph. AM 6232.

⁵ *I.e.* without omissions. I do not think it necessary to repeat over again the opening and concluding sections, which were given in full in the previous article.

purpose, never doubting that it was he who should perform this.¹ And he despatched his brother Maslama, and with him he sent levies raised from the forces of Al Sham (Syria) and Al Gazira (Mesopotamia); and he collected implements of war for summer and winter and siege-engines and naphtha² and other things. Then he appointed Maslama his brother to the command of the forces by land and sea; and there went forth with him a large number of lawyers from Al Sham and Al 'Irak (Babylonia). And Maslama went on till he reached Dabik, and the contingents from all quarters came to him. Then he set out and marched along the road through Mar'ash (Germanikeia) and took the city of the Slavs³; and the winter came upon them, and he turned aside to the city of Afif⁴ (Epiphaneia?) and wintered there. And, when the winter had passed,⁵ he went along on the way to Kustantiniyya, until he reached 'Ammuriya (Amorion); and the patrician of that city⁶ was Leo, the son of Constantine,⁷ the Mar'ashi; and Maslama came to terms with him and gave him security and received the like from him; and the terms were that he should give him advice and information for attacking the people of Kustantiniyya and should be a helper to him.⁸ And the king of Kustantiniyya at that time was Bidus (Theodosius).⁹

Ibn Wadh.
(*J.H.S.* xviii.
195).

And a wonderful story is that of the fortunes of Leo and his renown and his valour and how he obtained from the Romans such a position that he became king among them. And, as for his early state and condition, he was a Christian inhabitant of Mar'ash,¹⁰ where to this day there is a celebrated church called after him.

And his wife saw in a dream a cock spreading his wings in her court, and all the cocks of the Romans answered him. And he said to her, 'Keep this vision secret and let no one hear of it.' Then he went to Kustantiniyya, and he entered it during the time of the civil war which was going on in it,¹¹

¹ According to Theoph. AM 6206 the preparations for the expedition began before the death of Al Walid.

² For the use of naphtha in sieges see Dio Cass. 36, 3, 1; 75, 11, 4; Proc. *de Bell. Goth.* 4, 11. In all these cases however it was used by the defenders, and I do not know another instance of its use in attack.

³ Here the city of the Slavs appears in its right place; hence the note in *J.H.S.* xviii. p. 194 may be corrected.

⁴ As there are no points over the last letter, it might also be read 'Afik,' and so de Goeje prints; but Aphaka in Phoenicia is absurdly out of place. Even Epiphaneia (in Cilicia) seems to be too far back.

⁵ This must be the winter of 715-6. Solomon's accession was in Feb. 715, while in 716 we know from Theophanes and Michael that Maslama was in Asia Minor.

⁶ *I.e.* General of the Anatolikai. Ibn Khur-

dadhbah (ed. de Goeje p. 109) also calls the Anatolic general 'patrician of Amorion.'

⁷ This name is probably only an inference from the fact that the name of Leo's son was Constantine. Similarly our author calls Leo V. 'son of Constantine,' though we know that his father's name was Vard.

⁸ 'And, when the Arab army reached the city of Amorion, Leo met them and made an agreement with them with regard to the capture of the city' Mich. fol. 264 v; 'promised to help them to take the royal city' Greg. p. 116.

⁹ The reason for negotiating with Leo was his enmity to Theodosius 'ἀκούων δὲ ὁ Μασαλμᾶς τὴν ἔχθραν, ἣν εἶχε Θεοδ. ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν στρατηγόν, βουλόμενος τοῦτον δελεᾶσαι καὶ εἰρηνεῦσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὴν Ῥωμανίαν ὑποτάξαι' (Theoph. AM 6208).

¹⁰ 'ἐκ τῆς Γερμανικέων καταγόμενος' Theoph. AM 6209.

¹¹ Perhaps in 698.

and he became celebrated as a wine-merchant; and he spoke correctly in Arabic¹ and in Roman. And, when God Most High wishes a thing, He makes a way of bringing it about. Then he was present in those conflicts and showed energy in them, and his admirable courage was made plain; and they promoted him,² and he went on being advanced from post to post till he became patrician of 'Ammuriya.³ And it is said of him that, when he came to 'Ammuriya with the king's commission appointing him patrician, they rejected him and said to him, 'Such a man as you shall not rule over us, for you are a Nabataean Arab.' And he said to them, 'I will not rule over you except by your commands; but you have heard of my character and my valour and ability, and your affairs are in confusion, and your kingdom is sore smitten, and the civil war is raging, and this Maslama, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, has come close to your territory, and he will attack you. Therefore let me in and entrust your government to me; and, if I bear myself in it in accordance with your wishes, well; but if not, turn me out and do with me what you please.' And they said, 'He speaks the truth.' And they admitted him into their city and placed their government in his hands.⁴ And meanwhile Maslama encamped at 'Ammuriya on his way to Al Kustantiniyya.⁵⁶ And they made him king and placed the crown on his head. And, when the followers of Bastas (Anastasius) saw that Bidus had become master of Al Kustantiniyya, they wished to gain his favour, and they took Bastas and put him in bonds and brought him to Bidus; and he banished him to the land of the Burgan (Bulgarians); and Bidus became king. And he was weak in judgment, and the same in administration, and feeble in the task which he had undertaken of governing the Romans.⁷ And the government of the Romans was sore smitten, and their days were days of confusion and disorder.⁸

¹ This is a striking confirmation of the conjecture of Prof. Bury (*History of the later Roman Empire*, vol. 2, p. 380) that Leo could speak Arabic. If he remained in Germanikeia after the Arabic occupation, which was probably in 695 (*J.H.S.* xviii. pp. 189, 207), it is easily explained without adopting the suggestion put by our author into the mouths of the Amorians that he was a Nabataean. Theoph. (AM 6209) makes him remove to Thrace before 695; but, even so, Germanikeia as a frontier-town must have been in frequent intercourse with the Arabs for fifty years before that time.

² This was in 705 (Theoph. l.c.) 'έρχόμενου αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν Βουλγάρων ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ μετὰ δάρων προβάτων φ'. θεραπευθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς σπαθάριον αὐτὸν εὐθέως πεποίηκεν.'

³ The appointment was made by Anastasius (713-715). Theoph. l.c.

⁴ According to Theoph. (AM 6208) the quarrel between Leo and the Amorians was owing to the fact that he supported Anasta-

sus, while they supported Theodosius (τὸ Ἀμάριον...πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐν ἔχθρᾳ διακειμένον διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀρτέμιον συμμαχίαν). According to Michael (fol. 264 v) it was owing to his dealings with the Arabs. It is not likely to have happened on his first appointment to the office of general.

⁵ The attack on Amorion was made by Solomon according to Theoph. (l.c.), who does not bring Leo into the presence of Maslama at all.

⁶ It is here clear, as de Goeje points out, that some words introducing the revolt against Anastasius have dropped out.

⁷ 'ἀπράγμονά τε καὶ ιδιώτην' Theoph. AM 6207; cf. Nikeph. p. 51. 'ἦν δὲ Θεοδ... ἀπράγμων...ἀνὴρ καὶ πρὸς πραγμάτων διοίκησιν καὶ ταῦτα βασιλείας σφόδρα γε ἀποπεφυκός.' Zon. (ed. Bonn), 14, 28, 1.

⁸ 'τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας συγκεχυμένης οὐσίας' Theoph. AM 6209. 'ἐπεὶ...ἡ τυραννὶς ἐκράτει τὰ τε τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς πόλεως κατημελείτω καὶ διέπιπτε πράγματα, ἔτι μὴν καὶ.. τὰ τακτικὰ διελύετο' Nikeph. p. 52.

And Maslama reached the Khalig and crossed it till he arrived at Al Kustantiniyya; and he passed over at a place called Abidus (Abydos),¹ where the Khalig is the width of an arrow shot. And this Khalig, which is called the sea of Buntus (Pontos), starts from Arminiya (Armenia), until, when it comes to Al Kustantiniyya, it separates off in two directions, towards the north and towards the east,² and there it is broad; but, when it reaches Abidus, it has narrowed down until it is the breadth of an arrow-shot between two cliffs. And, when a man has crossed the Khalig at Abidus, there lie between him and Kustantiniyya 100 miles of flat and level land. And the Khalig flows on from over against Abidus until it reaches the Sea of Al Sham, and it discharges and empties itself into the Sea of Al Sham. And Al Kustantiniyya stands upon it, stretching from east to west of it, its eastern side being upon the sea, and another side towards the north upon the sea, and its southern side towards the land of the Burgan on the land <and its western side on the land>³ also; and round it upon the two sides which are wholly on the land is a trench containing water.

And Leo used to go to Maslama in his position at 'Ammuriya⁴ and converse and negotiate with him with fraud and deceit, until he said, 'If Maslama had been a woman, and I had then chosen to seduce her, I would have done it, and he would never have refused me anything that I desired of him.'

And, when Maslama had encamped at Kustantiniyya, he blockaded the inhabitants and attacked them with siege-engines; and he collected together the provender and the corn, and they were conveyed to him from the outlying and exposed lands of the Romans; and they came to him in waggons, until that which was brought to him became like mountains, and these stores abounded in his camp; and he excluded the inhabitants of Kustantiniyya from all gainful occupation by land and sea. And the district of Marakiya⁵ (Thrace) was at that time waste, having been laid waste in that civil war; but at the present time it is well-peopled. And this was in their time one of the greatest weaknesses of Al Kustantiniyya. If an army went at the present day to Al Kustantiniyya, when it was in need of provisions, and there was no importation of corn, their provender-dealers would bring them more than they wanted from the places nearest to them.⁶

And Maslama prosecuted the siege vigorously; and, when the siege pressed heavily upon them, they asked him to grant them a delay. And they conferred with him, and he gave them hopes of certain things, and they

Al Mad. ap.
Al Tab.

Al Wak. ap.
Al Tab.

¹ 'ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἀβυδὸν ἀντεπέρασε λαὸν ἰκανὸν εἰς τὴν Θράκην' Theoph. l.c.; cf. Nikeph. p. 53.

² There is some confusion here, since it is clear that this account is correct only if the description begins from the south.

³ It is clear that these words must be inserted with de Goeje from Ibn Khurdadhbeh, who in his 'Book of Roads' has an account of Con-

stantinople similar to this (ed. de Goeje p. 104).

⁴ Or, during his (Leo's or Maslama's) continuance at 'Ammuriya.' If the rendering given above is the right one, we have here one of the instances of confusion in the narrative.

⁵ An error for 'Tarakiya' (de Goeje).

⁶ This is in all probability taken from either Al Wakidi or Al Madaini, and 'at the present day' therefore means soon after 800.

gave him hopes, and he remitted his attacks upon them; and in the meantime they on their part gained consolation and comfort.¹

And Maslama was powerless,² with no counsel in him for the war, nor among his companions was there any man at his disposal with any counsel in him; yet he was a valiant man. And the Romans continued in this condition, until he hoped to make himself master of them, and thought that he should overcome them, so much so that he wrote to Leo at 'Ammuriya, ordering him to come to him, and telling him that he was on the point of taking Kustanti-niyya. And Leo came in haste without waiting for anything; and he wrote to Leo, saying, 'I will make you king over them.'³ And this increased his cupidity, and he came to him, and he entertained him and showed him honour and explained the state of his affairs. Then he sent him to the inhabitants of Kustantiniyya, and with him he sent a large number of his confidential officers; and Maslama said to them, 'I will not depart from you until you make my *marula*⁴ Leo king and commit your kingdom to him; then I will depart from you and will leave you and your country and your religion and your churches in peace.' And Leo went in with the testimony of the letter; and he worked for himself and swore to them that, if they made him king, he would break faith with Maslama and renounce him and fight against him⁵; and he said to them, 'You know my valour and prowess in war and my military capacities, and you know his ways and his soft character, and I can obtain from him whatever I wish.'

Then this Leo brought a false report to Maslama, and took a false report from him to them; and with him were a large number of men, among them Solomon, the son of Mu'adh,⁶ the Antakhi, and 'Abd Allah Al Battal,⁷ and 'Abd Allah was at that time in command of the guard; and he was accompanied by squadrons of cavalry. And so matters went on; and Maslama said: 'I will not leave you until you make Leo king.' And they did not trust Leo, but were afraid that he would break faith with them and hand over the remnants of their property to Maslama until they agreed to what he asked. Then Leo had a secret meeting with the bishops and patricians and swore oaths to them until the matter was settled.

Al Mad. ap.
Al Tab.

¹ These negotiations are probably the same as those recorded in the Arabic Gregory: see p. 28 note 5. Our author by combining several different versions has produced a somewhat inconsequent narrative.

² This sentence seems quite out of place here and must have come in from some other account: see last note.

³ Cf. Mich. fol. 264 v 'Maslama told Leo that, when he took Constantinople, he would make him king over the Romans.' This was while Maslama was still at Amorion. Theoph. (AM 6208) makes the writers of the letter Solomon and Bakhara: 'Σουλειμὸν δὲ καὶ Βάκχαρος ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμώριον φθάσαντες γράφουσι πρὸς Λέοντα... ὅτι οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἡ βασιλεία τῶν Ῥωμαίων

σοὶ ἀρμόζει, ἐλθεῖ οὖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἄς λαλήσωμεν τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην.'

⁴ The idea is that Leo by submitting to Maslama had put himself in the position of a freedman with regard to him.

⁵ Michael (l.c.) represents this as taking place at Amorion: 'The people of the city (Amorion) were afraid of Leo; and, when Leo approached the wall, he told them that he was dealing treacherously with the Arabs.'

⁶ This Solomon is not mentioned by any other Arab writer, but only by Theoph., who makes him conduct the negotiations with Leo at Amorion (AM 6208).

⁷ Cf. *J.H.S.* xviii. pp. 200, 202; Theoph. AM 6231.

And then he came out to Maslama on one of his expeditions and said to him,¹ 'No contrivance remains for conciliating this people except one which if I carry out and act upon then they will hand over the government at one stroke.' He said, 'And what is it?' He said, 'They do not believe that we mean to fight them and trust to delay on your part.' He said, 'And why is that?' He said, 'When they saw these provisions, which you have gathered together like mountains, they came to be confident of this intention; but, if you give orders, and they are burnt, they will give up hope of your delaying and believe that you mean to fight, and that in two or three days, until they come to the state of mind that suits you, and you will take the city with very little trouble.' And he accepted this suggestion from him, and ordered these provisions to be burnt, except a small quantity of them.²

Al Mad. ap.
Al Tab.

Then Leo went in to them, and the men appointed to guard him went in with him; and they assembled and made him king and placed the crown on his head,³ after Maslama had bound him by the most solemn promises and compacts to hand over to him all the property of the Romans in money and vessels and silver and brocade and jewels and arms and silken stuffs, and all that the kings had stored up in past times, and to pay him tribute and hand over to him the kingdom of the Romans, and to be his slave as long as he lived, never opposing him in anything or breaking faith or truth.

Al Mad. ap.
Al Tab.

And, when he became king and his end had been gained, the men stayed away from him three days; and, when the fourth day came, Solomon said to him, 'Will you not come out to the Amir?' He said, 'I will not come out of my kingdom.' He said, 'Was this the understanding on which you left him?' He said, 'No.' He said, 'And what has brought you to this?' He said, 'The thought of my position and the desire of continuing in the kingdom.' He said, 'And where are the promises which you gave of your own accord?' He said, 'I am of the opinion that in breaking faith with him lies the exaltation of Christianity, and the defence of that is the best of rewards.' And Solomon said, 'If the Amir Maslama does not learn this except from me, by God he will kill me, Leo.' And Leo said to him, 'Your death is of less consequence to me than the loss of my kingdom. Do you think that I will leave all that the kings have collected in times past up to this day and come out to you? If I do this, I have neither intelligence nor religion.'

Then Leo said to them, 'I have left you no provisions or provender, but he has burnt it all at my orders; and you will perish in a short time, and there is no succour for you and no one to seek aid, and you have nothing.

¹ This is de Goeje's correction. The MS. has 'Maslama went out...and said to them.'

² Even this absurd story is not altogether without basis. According to Theoph. (AM 6208) Maslama avoided ravaging the territory under Leo's governorship in the belief that he was a friend to the Arabs, and Leo was careful to protract the negotiations until Maslama had passed beyond his territory. This would of

course limit the amount of provisions in the army. All authorities agree that Leo in some way tricked the Arabs.

³ This really refers to his proclamation at Amorion in 716; 'ἤρξαντο οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ εὐφημεῖν τὸν στρατηγὸν Λ. βασιλέα, παρακαλοῦντες καὶ τοὺς ἔσω τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖν. ἰδόντες οὖν οἱ τοῦ Ἀμ. ὅτι οἱ Σαρ. πόθῳ αὐτὸν εὐφήμουσαν καὶ αὐτοί.' (Theoph. l.c.).

If Maslama is willing to evacuate the country, passing through it to his own land in any way that suits him without anyone attacking him, we agree to this. But, if he is not willing to do this, then he will meet with real war, very different from that in which he has been engaged.'

And the men returned to Maslama with the news of the great calamity; and, when they told this speech to Maslama, it dismayed and frightened him, and his wrath was extreme, and he was overcome by sorrow and great grief. And he said to Al Battal, 'You are in my sight free from suspicion as regards Al Islam or any of its interests. Had this Solomon, the son of Mu'adh, knowledge or information of anything?' And he said, 'Yes.' And, when Solomon heard that, he removed from his ring a stone that had poison on it, and he sucked it and died on the spot.¹ And Maslama gave orders, and he was crucified. Then he made them fight morning and afternoon, and inflicted such hardships upon them that they nearly perished. And the Moslems remained in this state of disorder amidst constant death and famine and bad weather until many men had perished and most of the draught-animals had perished; and what remained of the provender remained with Maslama, who retained it in order to frighten the enemy with it.

Al Mad. ap.
Al Tab.

Ibn Wadh.
(*J.H.S.* xviii.
195).

And, when the siege pressed heavily upon the Romans, they chose one of the patricians, a man of sagacity and cunning, and said to him, 'Go out to Maslama and confer with him in any way you choose, and we will place ourselves in your hands, and do you satisfy Maslama in any way you please until he go back out of our country.'

And the patrician went out to Maslama and said, 'I am an ambassador from the inhabitants of Al Kustantiniyya, and the people have placed themselves in my hands.'

And the men of counsel came together to Maslama and said, 'This is a man of cunning called "the son of forty cubits";² and, if he should perchance make a proposal to you, do not pay any attention to him or answer him.'

¹ Solomon's death is not mentioned by Theoph., but he has nothing inconsistent with it, for the Solomon who brought the fleet to Constantinople in Sept. 717 (Theoph. AM 6209; Nikeph. p. 53) must be a different person from the Solomon who commanded the army before Amorion. By the eastern writer followed by Theoph. and Michael the second Solomon seems to have been confused with the Caliph, for Theoph. makes Maslama summon Solomon 'τὸν πρωτοσύμβουλον,' a word which in Theoph. always stands for the Caliph, and Michael (fol. 264 v.) makes Solomon 'the king' come and encamp at Chalkedon. Much confusion in the narratives is probably due to the existence of these three Solomons; see p. 30, note 6. The death of Solomon the son of Mu'adh probably happened before the siege began, and may be attributed to his having allowed Leo to slip

through his hands at Amorion (Theoph. AM 6208).

² Tessarakontapechys. In the Acts of the 7th Synod (Mansi 13, pp. 197-200) a Jew of this name is stated to have advised Yazid II. (720-724) to issue his decree against images and to have been put to death by Al Walid II. (743-744). From this passage it seems not improbable that the Synod was mistaken, and that he was an adviser not of Yazid but of Leo. There is however nothing against supposing that he was by origin a Jew of Tiberias, as the Synod states, which would explain his being chosen to negotiate with the Arabs. Constantine Serantapechos, brother-in-law of the Empress Eirene (Theoph. AM 6291), was probably a descendant, for the unwieldy and ill-sounding name would naturally be shortened.

And Maslama said to 'Umar, the son of Hubaira, 'You confer with him.' He said, 'I will.' And he said, 'The Amir says to you, "If Leo were a man who had obtained his kingdom by a just title or were a man of noble birth, I should have no objection to meeting his ambassador and conferring with him. But the ambassador stands in the same estimation as the accreditor, and I do not care to confer with an ambassador of Leo on account of his deficient estimation and low birth."'

And the son of forty said, 'I am an ambassador from myself and my countrymen and my people, to guard and defend them; and I do not care which of you confers with me.' And the conference was protracted between them, until the son of forty said, 'I will lay a proposal before you, which is an opportunity for you, and a means of making a profit without trouble.' He said, 'What is it?' He said, 'It is a thing which no Roman has ever granted or thought to grant. Note every man of full age in Al Kustantiniyya, and for each man we will give you a denarius; and we will not dispute about his maturity, but the decision on the point shall rest with you.'¹

Al Mad. ap.
Al Tab.

And Ibn Hubaira said, 'This is good; but I expect Maslama will not agree to this.' And he said, 'He will not be deceived through you, if I may trust the proof which I have had of the extent of your intelligence; and I hope he will not show favour to you, if God Most High pleases.' And 'Umar, the son of Hubaira, went to Maslama and found him sleeping; and he asked permission to come in, and said, 'I have brought you a proposal, which if you reject, you will never be contented with any offer from him; and it is a means for you to make profit without trouble. Accept it then quickly, and you do not know what the end will be. And it is so and so.'

And Maslama said, 'No, by God I will take it by storm, or else Leo shall come out to me on the conditions on which he left me.' And Ibn Hubaira returned to the son of forty and told him what he had said.

And he said, 'You came to him when he had just risen from his sleep, and a sleeper's intelligence does not return to him for an hour; but ask him again.' And he said, 'He will not do it.' And he said, 'When he repents, he will hope for a thing that will not be granted him, and he shall not obtain possession of this thing, and this will not be his time nor his opportunity; and, when this happens, there shall be no re-awakening of siege or battle, and matters will be easier than they are now, and we shall be engaged in fighting for our country and our religion and our land. And the usual thing here is that every seven years there comes a rain called "the torrent," which carries off everything that comes in its way; and this is the year in which it comes, and you are men of knowledge.'²

Cf. Al Mad.
ap Al Tab.

Cf. Al Mad.
ap Al Tab.

And the son of forty returned to Leo and told him the answer that Maslama had given him. And the reason for Maslama refusing this offer

¹ It seems clear that this proposal must have been made at an earlier stage than that mentioned above (p. 26). Gregory (*Chron. Arab.* ed. Salihani p. 196) in fact places it before the

negotiations of the patricians with Leo.

² This is perhaps a reference to the storm which according to Theoph. AM 6210, Nikeph. p. 55 attacked the Arabs on their retreat.

after the trick that had been played upon him was that his brother Solomon, when he sent him to Kustantiniyya, told him to remain before it until he took it or an order from him came to him. And he had continued besieging the Romans for a winter¹ and a summer, and he sowed in their land; and, when the second winter came upon him,² it was one of intense cold.³ And before this trick Maslama had been superior in force to the Romans and had broken their spirits, and above all things they were <in despair>⁴ when they saw the corn stored up in his camp like mountains, and the men eating of what they had carried off in plundering raids, and the seed that they had sown. And Leo, when he advised Maslama to burn the corn, had added in a sentence of his speech, "And allow the people of Al Kustantiniyya to convey a small quantity of the corn into the city, in order that they may see your good intentions towards them." And he allowed them to take one or two boats full in an hour. And Leo seized this opportunity, and in part of a day conveyed away a large quantity of the corn;⁵ and the hearts of the Romans were encouraged by the corn that they had with them and the burning of most of the corn of the Moslems.

And the winter came upon them; and, when the winter came, Maslama gave orders to his followers, and they made houses of wood and dug caves. And Leo applied himself to fight Maslama, and the victory was gained by this artifice which could not have been played upon women,⁶ and the Moslems remained with a scanty stock of provisions, while the Romans gained enough to keep them for a long time. And the Moslems met with hardships such as no one had ever met with before, till a man was afraid to go out of his camp alone; and the Moslems ate draught-animals and skins and the trunks and roots and leaves of trees.⁷

While this was going on, Solomon, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, remained in Dabik, unable to help them with any provisions by reason of the severity of the cold and the snow. And, as for Leo, he secretly sent a man to Bidus,

¹ The first winter (716-7) according to Theoph. (AM 6208) was spent in Asia 'κατελθὼν εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐκεῖ παρεχέμασεν.' Cf. AM 6209 'Μασαλμᾶς δὲ χειμάσας ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐξεδέχεται τὰς τοῦ Λέοντος ὑποσχέσεις.' Theoph. nowhere states what these 'ὑποσχέσεις' were, and the Arabic narratives therefore form a useful supplement.

² Gregory (*Chron. Arab.* p. 197) makes the siege last 30 months, while the Spanish Chronicle of 741 (Mommsen, *Chron. Min.* vol. 2, p. 355) makes it last two years. Such differences may be due to varying interpretations of the term 'siege.'

³ 'χειμῶνος δὲ γενομένου βαρυτάτου ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ' Theoph. AM 6209; cf. Nikeph. p. 53.

⁴ The text is here corrupt: I adopt de Goeje's second suggestion and insert this verb.

⁵ Al Madaini (ap. Al Tab., see below) places this after Leo's accession; and that this was the

original account appears from the fact that the narrative there goes straight on, 'This was done in the night, and in the morning Leo fought. The same words occur in our author, but with a sentence taken from Al Wakidi in between, and the literal meaning of the verb, 'to do a thing in the morning,' is therefore lost. Gregory (*Chron. Arab.* pp. 196, 197) makes Leo induce Maslama to absent himself for a time and relax the siege on the understanding that he would surrender the city. He then gets himself made Emperor and carries off the corn during Maslama's absence.

⁶ There is some corruption in this sentence, but the meaning is clear.

⁷ Mich. (fol. 265 r) 'they ate dead bodies and dung.' Chron. of 846 'they ate the flesh and the dung of their draught-animals.' Chron. of 775 'their cattle and horses.'

who killed him,¹ and he sent Bastas to the city of Salaf² (Thessalonike ?) and made him a deacon³ there; and he remained in the kingdom alone without a competitor. And he pressed the Moslems hard in war, until they were reduced to great difficulties; and, when any draught-animals died, they bought them for money through hunger and distress,⁴ until it drove them to the extreme limit of distress.

And it happened that at this time Solomon, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh died at Dabik, and 'Umar, the son of 'Abd Al 'Aziz, succeeded to the government. And, as soon as 'Umar succeeded to the government, he sent orders to Maslama by the governor of Malatya (Melitene) to return:⁵ and he sent them clothes and provisions and horses, with which he⁶ went to meet them; and he gave orders to the messenger that, if Maslama made any delay about this, he was to make proclamation for return among the men. And, when the messenger arrived, Maslama put him off and said, 'Wait for me a few days, and I am on the point of taking it.' And he said, 'No, by God not an hour.'⁷ And Maslama set forth, and they were met by the horses and the clothes and the provisions. And Maslama returned, and the men were in very evil plight.

Al Tab.
(*J.H.S.* xviii.
196).

AL TABARI.

And Mahomet, the son of 'Umar,⁸ records that Thur, the son of Yazid informed him on the authority of Solomon, the son of Moses: he said: When Maslama approached Kustantiniyya, he ordered every horseman to carry on his horse's hind-quarters two muds⁹ of corn until he had brought it to Al Kustantiniyya. And he gave orders as to the corn, and it was thrown into a certain place like mountains. Then he said to the Moslems, 'Do not eat any of it; go into their country and sow.' And he made houses of wood and wintered there. And the men sowed, and that corn remained in the open with no cover to it; and the men ate of what they carried off in plundering

P. 23, l. 25.

P. 28, l. 18.

P. 28, l. 8.

¹ This is perhaps a confusion with Anastasius, who was beheaded after a rebellion in 719 (*Theoph.* AM 6211; *Nikeph.* p. 55).

² We should perhaps, as de Goeje suggests, read 'Salunik,' which is not a great departure from the text. Anastasius was banished to Thessalonike by Theodosius (*Theoph.* AM 6207; *Nikeph.* p. 52).

³ τὸ μοναδικὸν περιεβάλετο σχῆμα' *Theoph.* l.c.; cf. *Nikeph.* p. 51.

⁴ Ἄλιμον τε μεγάλου γεγονότος ἐν τοῖς Ἀραβῶν πάντα τὰ ἀποθνήσκοντα ζῶα αὐτῶν κατήσθιον ἴππους τε καὶ ὄνους καὶ καμήλους.' *Theoph.* AM 6209.

⁵ So *Theoph.* (AM 6210) 'Ὀθμαρος δὲ κρατήσας τῶν Ἀράβων ἐπέτρεψεν ἀνακᾶνται τὴν Μασσαλμᾶν.' This is however quite inconsistent with Theophanes' own chronology, for he makes the siege last from Aug. 15, 717 to Aug. 15, 718 and places the death of Solomon on Oct. 8, 717. Nikephoros also makes the siege

end on Aug. 15, 718 (p. 55), but states that it lasted 13 months (p. 53), and therefore supposed it to have begun in Jul. 717.

⁶ The subject of this and the following sentence must be not the Caliph but the governor.

⁷ According to Mich. (fol. 265 r; cf. *Greg.* p. 117) 'Umar sent to ask for news of the army, and Maslama falsely answered that he was on the point of taking the city. 'Umar however heard the truth from the messengers and sent an order to Maslama to return, and, if he did not obey, the messengers were to order the troops to return.

⁸ Al Wakidi b. 747 d. 822. For the beginning of his narrative see *J.H.S.* xviii. p. 195 l. 18. The narrative here given follows upon the introductory sentence of Al Tab. in *J.H.S.* xviii. p. 195 l. 24-28.

⁹ The 'mud' is variously reckoned as 1½ pints and 2 pints.

raids, and afterwards they ate of what was sown.¹ And Maslama remained at Al Kustantiniyya, overcoming its inhabitants, and with him as chiefs of the men of Al Sham were Khalid, the son of Ma'dan, and 'Abd Allah, the son of Abu Zakhariyya, the Khaza'i, and Mugahid, the son of Gabr, until the news of Solomon's death reached him. And some one has said :

'They carry their muds, and the muds of Maslama.'²

I was informed by Ahmad, the son of Zuhair, on the authority of 'Ali, the son of Mahomet :³ he said : When Solomon assumed the government, he made a raid upon the Romans ; and he encamped at Dabik and sent Maslama in front, and the Romans were afraid of him. And Leo came forth from Arminiya, and he said to Maslama, 'Send me a man to talk with me.' And he sent Ibn Hubaira. And Ibn Hubaira said to him, 'What kind of man do you reckon the most foolish among you ?'⁴ He said, 'A man who fills his belly with anything he can find.' And Ibn Hubaira said to him, 'We are religious men, and it is part of our religion to obey our commanders.' He said, 'You speak the truth. We and you are fighting for religion and are angry for its sake ; and to-day indeed we shall fight for victory and the kingdom. We will give you a denarius for each man.'⁵ And Ibn Hubaira returned to the Romans on the next day and said, 'He refuses to agree. I went to him when he had had his breakfast and filled his belly and gone to sleep and woken up, and phlegm had possession of him, and he did not understand what I said.'

And the patricians said to Leo, 'If you deliver us from Maslama, we will make you king' : and they made a covenant with him. And he came to Maslama and said, 'The people know that you will not make serious war upon them but will delay action against them, as long as the corn lasts with you ; but, if you burn the corn, they will submit.' And he burned it ; and the enemy took courage, and the Moslems were reduced to distress until they nearly perished. And they remained in this condition until Solomon died.

P. 25, l. 1.

P. 26, l. 13.

He said : And Solomon, the son of 'Abd Al Malikh, when he encamped at Dabik, had made a vow to God that he would not return until the army which he had sent to the country of the Romans entered Al Kustantiniyya.

He said : And the king of the Romans died, and Leo came to him and told him, and undertook to deliver the land of the Romans into his hands.⁶

¹ Mahomet the Khuwarizmi (circ. 833) ap. El. Nis. (*Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 8, 3, p. 122) 'The Arabs sowed fields and reaped them and ate of what they had sown.'

² For the conclusion of Al Wakidi's narrative see *J. H. S.* xviii. p. 196 l. 6-15.

³ Al Madaini b. 753 d. circ. 840.

⁴ This conversation is unintelligible as it stands, and is clearly an unreasoning summary of a longer account, perhaps the same as that from which the author of the *Khitab* got his narrative of the conversation between Ibn Hubaira and Tessarakontapechys.

⁵ Here again the abrupt transition cannot

have been in the original narrative.

⁶ This, though also quoted from Al Madaini, is clearly a different account altogether from the preceding. There is a somewhat similar story in Mich. fol. 264 v, Greg. p. 116, where it is stated that the Caliph Solomon encamped at Chalkedon with 12,000 men, and Leo, hearing that Theodosius had arrested some of his followers, came to him, whereupon Solomon gave him 6,000 men and sent him to Amorion. The origin of this story is probably Leo's visit to the general Solomon before Amorion (*Theoph. AM* 6208).

And he sent Maslama with him until he encamped at it; ¹ and he collected all the corn round about it and besieged the inhabitants. And Leo came to them, and they made him king; and he wrote to Maslama, telling him what had happened and asking him to allow enough corn to be brought in to enable the people to subsist, and to make them believe that he and Maslama were at one, and that they were secure from captivity and removal from their country, and to grant them a night to carry off the corn. And Leo had prepared boats and men; and he gave him permission, and nothing remained in those enclosures except a quantity not worth mentioning. It was carried away during the night, and in the morning Leo fought; and he had tricked him by a trick with which a woman would not have been deceived. And that happened to the force which never happened to any other army, until a man was afraid to go out of the camp alone. And they ate draught-animals and skins and the trunks and leaves of trees and everything except dust. And Solomon remained at Dabik and took up winter-quarters; and he was not able to help them till Solomon died.

P. 23, l. 22.
P. 24, l. 31.
P. 28, l. 11.
P. 28, l. 20.

E. W. BROOKS.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO *J.H.S.* VOL. XVIII. Pp. 182-208.

P. 183, l. 20 ff. The defective portion of Al Tabari extends only from AH 32 to AH 40. The notices given under the years 20, 28, and 32 might therefore have been quoted from Al Tabari. The variations in his text are too slight to be worth recording; but it should be mentioned that for the notices of 28 and 32 the authority of Al Wakidi is quoted. Instead of the notice given under 25 he has merely, 'And in this year was the capture of the fortresses, and their commander was Mu'awiya the son of Abu Sufyan.' The two following notices should be added.

AH 22 (Nov. 30, 642-Nov. 18, 643).

And Al Wakidi thinks that Mu'awiya made a summer-raid this year and entered the territory of the Romans with 10,000 Moslems.

23 (Nov. 19, 643-Nov. 6, 644).

And this year Mu'awiya made a summer-raid and reached 'Ammuriya; and with him of the companions of the Apostle of God (God be gracious and merciful to him) were 'Ubada the son of Al Samit, and Abu Ayyub Khalid the son of Zaid, and Abu Dhar, and Shaddad the son of Aus.

P. 188, l. 8 from bottom. The reference ⁽³⁾ should be three lines higher.

P. 190, l. 3. Burg Al Shahm (Tower of fatness), which is probably identical with Marg Al Shahm ² (Meadow-land of fatness) is mentioned by Ibn Khurdadhbah (ed. de Goeje, p. 108) as situated in the theme of the Anatolikoi.³ Jaubert in his translation of Al Idrisi (vol. ii. p. 305) identifies it with Germa.

¹ This must mean 'at Constantinople,' though the name has not previously been mentioned.

² In the previous article I wrote 'Shacham.' The second vowel is wrong. As to the middle consonant, it is better, if possible, to distin-

guish between the soft and hard aspirates, but, as the use of 'ch' for the latter is apt to be misunderstood, I now write 'shahm.'

³ Ibn Khurdadhbah wrote about 850: see de Goeje's Introduction.



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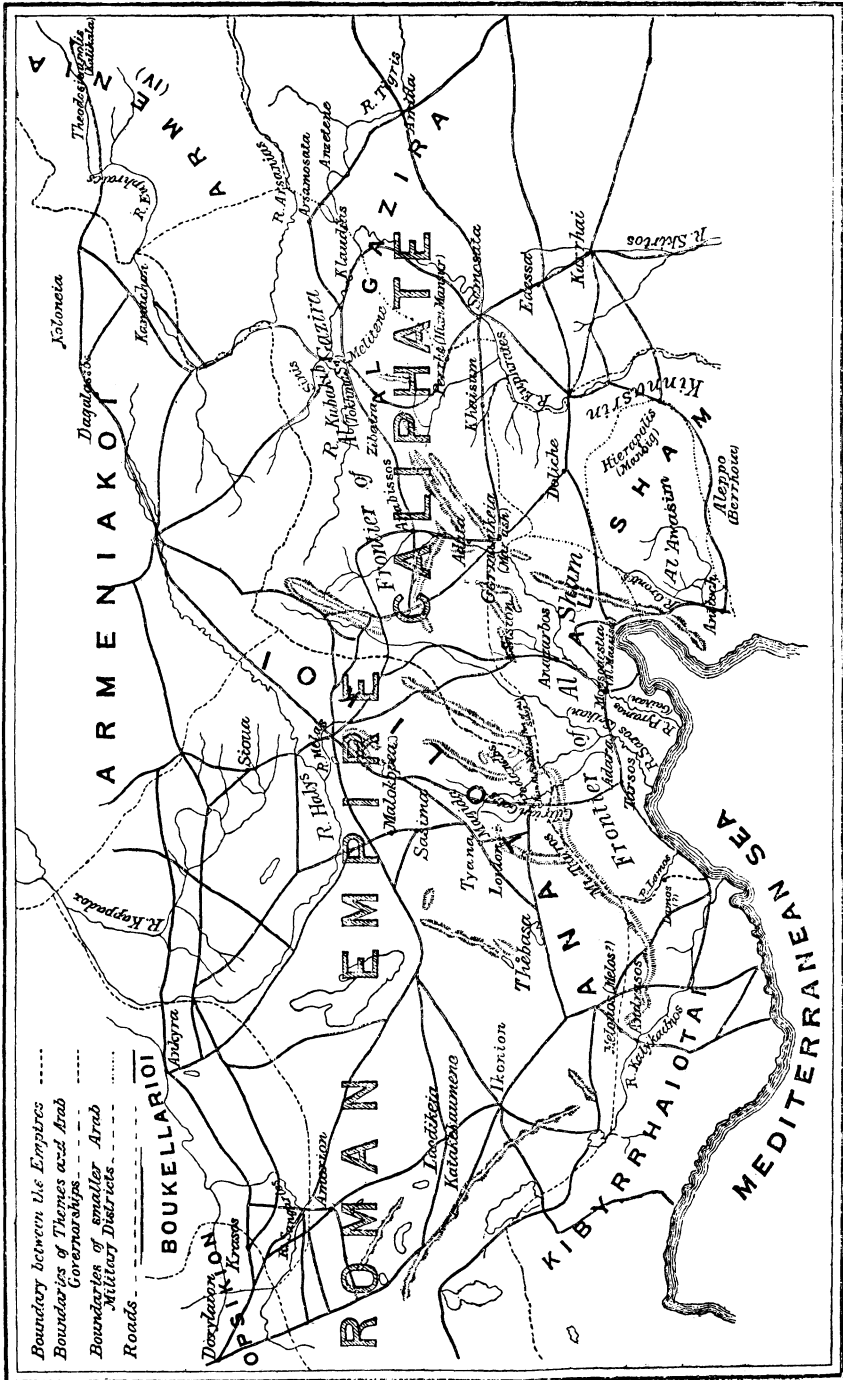
BYZANTINES AND ARABS IN THE TIME OF THE EARLY ABBASIDS.

THE Arabic historians Al Baladhuri (*circ.* 868), Ibn Wadhih, otherwise known as Al Ya'kubi (873), and Al Tabari (915), and the work known as 'Kitab Al 'Uyun,' or 'Book of Springs' (of the latter half of the eleventh century) contain much important information upon the wars, treaties, and other relations between the Byzantine and Arab empires, which even to Arabic scholars is only accessible by laborious search through matter relating to quite different subjects. In Weil's 'Geschichte der Chalifen' many valuable extracts and citations from Arabic authors are given; but none of the writers above mentioned was accessible to Weil,¹ whose information was drawn from the often corrupt epitome of Al Tabari given by Ibn Al Athir (1224) and from other inferior writers. I have therefore given below translations with a commentary and comparisons with Greek, Syriac, and Armenian writers of all passages in the above Arabic chronicles relating to the frontier wars of Arabs and Byzantines from the accession to power of the Abbasid dynasty in 750 down to the death of the Caliph Al Amin in 813, after which time there was a long cessation of hostilities. In Ibn Wadhih, Al Tabari, and the 'Kitab Al 'Uyun' the events are related in chronological order with dates,² and I have therefore arranged the extracts under the years of the Hira. In Al Baladhuri, on the other hand, who is in many ways the most valuable of all, they are arranged according to subjects, the fortunes of each province and of each town in the province being narrated separately, sometimes without dates; hence it was impossible to give these extracts with the others, and I have therefore placed them separately in Part II.

Although all these writers lived some time after the events recorded, their narratives relating to this period are largely derived from lost contemporary authors, of whom Al Wakidi, generally recognised as the best Arabic authority on these subjects, was

¹ Except parts of Al Tabari in MS.

² Ibn Wadhih gives short notices of each year's campaigns at the end of each caliphate, but he sometimes also has longer accounts in his ordinary narrative.



born in 747 and died in 823,³ and is therefore for the greater part of the period a contemporary source. Ibn Wadhih and Al Tabari, who in the Omniad period follow in the main the same traditions,⁴ are in the period before us for the most part entirely divergent; and it may therefore be assumed that with few exceptions they drew from different sources. Whenever, therefore, their testimony agrees, it is all the more valuable. It does not, however, follow that, because they give the names of different men as leading a raid in one year, one of the two is wrong. In the first place several raids were often made at the same time in different places, and in the second place, where some exploit, such as the capture of a fort, was performed, one author might ascribe this to the man who actually achieved it, who was perhaps only the leader of a detachment, and another to the commander-in-chief. Further, Kudama informs us that it was the practice to make three raids each year, a winter-raid at the end of February and beginning of March, a spring-raid from 10 May to 10 June, and a summer-raid from 10 July to 8 Sept.⁵ Now a spring-raid is never mentioned by our authors and a winter-raid only once,⁶ and we may therefore assume that they as a rule classed them all under the ordinary term 'summer-raid,' in which the idea of any particular season was almost lost.⁷ Of course, where the raids are given all together in a summary, as is done by Ibn Wadhih, it is easy to enter one under a wrong year,⁸ but we must not hastily suppose this to be the case wherever he differs from other authors. In the case of nearly all important campaigns, however, we are not left to the guidance of the Arabic writers, but are able far better than in the earlier period to control them from external sources. For most of the period with which this article deals we have two contemporary authorities, the Pseudo-Dionysios,⁹ who wrote in 775, and Theophanes, who wrote in 818. Michael the Syrian¹⁰ (1196), who at least down to 746 follows in the main the same source as Theophanes, supplies in this period independent testimony, which is probably

³ The latest citation that I can find from him relates to the year 810.

⁴ An article dealing with the campaigns in Asia Minor in the time of the Omniads appeared in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xviii. 182 ff.

⁵ Ed. M. J. de Goeje, p. 259. De Goeje believes this geographer to have composed his work about 932; but the facts here given must be derived from some earlier writer, probably Al Garmi, who was a captive in 845 (Al Mas'udi, *Tanbih*, p. 190).

⁶ See p. 741. ⁷ See p. 737, where the 'summer-raid' began in February. The 'summer-raids' of A.H. 175 and 179 (see p. 741, note 116) were also clearly in the winter.

⁸ Where a new year began during the campaign, it might be entered under the expiring or the beginning year, and the peculiarity of the Arabic calendar makes such confusion particularly likely to occur.

⁹ Edited and translated by M. Chabot (Paris, 1895).

¹⁰ Quoted from the Arabic version (Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 4402). The original Syriac is being edited by M. Chabot. The Armenian version (translated into French by Langlois) is very inferior.

drawn for the most part from the chronicle of the true Dionysios (written in 843), whom he once quotes by name as an eye-witness.¹¹ Elijah of Nisibis,¹² or rather Al Khuwarizmi (*circ.* 835), from whom his notices of campaigns in Asia Minor are cited, unfortunately deserts us in 785, where a long lacuna in the manuscript begins. The Armenian Leontius,¹³ though his history only comes down to 790, seems to have written in the latter half of the ninth century. To all these authors I have given references in the margin, wherever they relate the same facts as are found in the Arabic writers.

It can hardly be said that the writers here cited mention any important invasion not recorded elsewhere; but from them we learn, what we should not otherwise have known, that there was a raid of some kind nearly every year, though the majority of these were no doubt wholly insignificant, while with regard to many of the more important events, such as the expeditions of Constantine against Melitene and Theodosiupolis, the capture of Semalous in 780, the expedition of Al Rashid in 783, and the campaigns and negotiations of the reign of Nikephoros, they supply many interesting details not recorded by other authors. They also frequently record facts which enable us to locate an expedition mentioned only in general terms by Theophanes: thus the capture of Laodikeia Katakakaumene in 770 and the advance to Ankyra in 776 are known only from Arabic sources. Further, the Arabs, and in particular Al Baladhuri, relate facts not otherwise known as to the captures and recaptures of Adata and other fortresses, and throw interesting light on the Arab system of colonising and garrisoning the frontier districts. They also frequently correct and supplement the chronology, fixing, for instance, the exact date of the Arab capture of Kamachon in 793: where, however, their chronology differs from that of Theophanes, it is often exceedingly difficult to decide between them. To other points of interest attention is called in the notes on the particular passages concerned.

E. W. BROOKS.

I. ANNALISTIC EXTRACTS.

A.H. 133.¹⁴ *Ibn Wadhîh*. In his ¹⁵ days in the year 133, the Emperor of the Romans (and that was Constantine) advanced until he laid siege to Melitene and blockaded it; and he accepted terms of peace from it.¹⁶

¹¹ See p. 741, note 116. The name of Dionysios is not in the Arabic, but, being in Gregory Abu'l Farag, who follows Michael, must have been in the original.

¹² Edited with translation by Bâthgen (*Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. 8).

¹³ Ed. Ezeanths (St. Petersburg, 1887). For convenience the references are to Shahnazarean's translation (Paris, 1856).

¹⁴ 9 Aug. 750 to 29 July 751.

¹⁵ The Caliph Abu'l 'Abbas.

¹⁶ The writer seems purposely to avoid stating what the terms were. On the

Ard Moses the son of Ka' b, the Tamimi, advanced towards him, but there was no meeting between them. And Abu'l 'Abbas wrote to 'Abd Allah the son of 'Ali, telling him that owing to neglect on his part the enemy had wrought havoc; and he told him to go to the spot with the forces that he had with him, and to throw his forces into the frontier-districts. And he advanced until he passed through the pass; and he continued making his dispositions until the news of the death of Abu'l 'Abbas reached him.

Al Tabari. And in it Salih the son of 'Ali sent Sa'id the son of 'Abd Allah to make a summer-raid beyond the passes.

A.H. 136.¹⁷ *Al Tabari.* And in this year 'Abd Allah the son of 'Ali came to Abu'l 'Abbas at Al Anbar; and Abu'l 'Abbas appointed him to conduct the summer-raid with the men of Khurasan and the men of Al Sham [Syria] and Al Gazira [Mesopotamia]¹⁸ and Al Mausil. And he started and went as far as Doliche, but had not passed beyond the passes when the news of the death of Abu'l 'Abbas reached him.¹⁹

And 'Abd Allah the son of 'Ali returned with the forces that were with him.

A.H. 137.²⁰ *Ibn Wadhik.* And in his²¹ days in the year 137 a raid was conducted by Salih the son of 'Ali at the head of the army of Al Sham and Al 'Abbas the son of Mahomet the son of 'Ali at the head of the army²² of Khurasan. And no raid had been made upon the territory of the Romans since the raid of Al Ghamr the son of Yazid in the year 125 until this time. And Salih the son of 'Ali remained as wali of Al Sham and the frontier, and he sent deputy amirs to raid the territory of the Romans under the command of his son Al Fadhl the son of Salih and others.

Al Tabari. And the men made no summer-raid this year, because the Sultan was occupied in fighting Sunbadh.²³

A.H. 138.²⁴ *Al Tabari.* And among the events of the year was the entry of Constantine, the Emperor of the Romans, into Melitene by force;²⁵ and he overcame its inhabitants and razed its wall to the ground; and he spared the fighting men and the women and children in it.

And among the events of the year according to the statement of Al Wakidi was the summer-raid of Al 'Abbas the son of Mahomet the son of 'Ali the son of 'Abd Allah the son of Al 'Abbas, in company with Salih the son of 'Ali the son of 'Abd Allah; and Salih gave him 40,000 denarii. And with them went 'Isa the son of 'Ali the son of 'Abd Allah; and he gave him also 40,000 denarii. And Salih the son of 'Ali built

other hand, the statement of Al Tabari (under the year 138) that it was taken by force seems to err on the other side. Cf. part ii. note 204.

¹⁷ 7 July 753 to 26 June 754.

¹⁸ I give these names throughout in the Arabic form, because they do not exactly correspond to Syria and Mesopotamia.

¹⁹ He died 9 June 754.

²⁰ 27 June 754 to 15 June 755.

²¹ The Caliph Al Mansur.

²² The word *gund* (army) seems to have fallen out.

²³ A Magian who revolted in Khurasan in the spring of 755.

²⁴ 16 June 755 to 4 June 756.

²⁵ The date is clearly wrong (see part ii. note 204). 'Dion.,' however, makes Khushan the Armenian invade Anzetene with a Roman force in A.S. 1066 (755), which may explain the error (see part ii. note 222). It is hardly necessary with Weil (*Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. p. 35) to assume two destructions of Melitene.

what the lord of the Romans had destroyed in Melitene. And it is said that the expedition of Salih and Al 'Abbas to Melitene on the raid was in the year 139.

A.H. 139.²⁶ *Al Tabari*. And among the events was the stay of Salih the son of 'Ali and Al 'Abbas the son of Mahomet at Melitene until they had completed the building of Melitene. Then they made a summer-raid by the pass of Adata, and invaded the land of the Romans; and Salih was accompanied on the raid by his sisters Um 'Isa and Lubaba, the daughters of 'Ali; and they had made a vow that, if the dominion of the Ommiads were ended, they would wage war in the path of God. And Ga'far the son of Hanzala, the Bahrani, made a raid by the pass of Melitene.

Theoph.
A.M. 6248

And in this year was the ransoming that was effected between Al Mansur and the lord of the Romans; and Al Mansur delivered the Moslem prisoners from them; and after this, as is stated, no summer-raid was made by the Moslems until the year 146, because Abu Ga'far was occupied with the affair of the sons of 'Abd Allah the son of Al Hasan, except that some record that Al Hasan the son of Kahtaba made a summer-raid in company with 'Abd Al Wahhab the son of Abraham, the Imam, in the year 140, and Constantine, the lord of the Romans, came with 100,000 men and reached the Gaihan [Pyramos]; and he heard of the numbers of the Moslems and was afraid to attack them; then after it there was no summer-raid until the year 146.

A.H. 141.²⁷ *Al Tabari*. And in this year was the completion of the building of Mopsouestia by the hands of Gabriel the son of Yahya, the Khurasani. And Mahomet, the son of Abraham the Imam, was stationed on the frontier at Melitene.²⁸

Theoph.
A.M. 6261 (?)

A.H. 142.²⁹ *Ibn Wadhik*. Al 'Abbas the son of Mahomet conducted the raid.³⁰

A.H. 143.³¹ *Ibn Wadhik*. Al 'Abbas again conducted the raid.

A.H. 145.³² *Ibn Wadhik*. Humaid the son of Kahtaba conducted the raid.

A.H. 146.³³ *Ibn Wadhik*. Mahomet the son of Abraham conducted the raid.

Al Tabari. And in this year Ga'far the son of Hanzala, the Bahrani, made a summer-raid.

A.H. 147.³⁴ *Ibn Wadhik*. Al Sara the son of 'Abd Allah the son of Al Harith conducted the raid.

A.H. 148.³⁵ *Ibn Wadhik*. Al Fadhl the son of Salih conducted the raid.

Al Tabari. And in this year Salih the son of 'Ali encamped at Dabik, as is recorded, and made no raid.

A.H. 149.³⁶ *Ibn Wadhik*. Yazid the son of Usaid conducted the raid.

²⁶ 5 June 756 to 24 May 757.

²⁷ 14 May 758 to 3 May 759.

²⁸ Under this year Ibn Wadhik records the rebuilding of Kamachon on the occasion of the invasion of the Chazars. But see part ii. note 201.

²⁹ 4 May 759 to 21 April 760.

³⁰ Theophanes records a great Arab victory on the Melas.

³¹ 22 April 760 to 10 April 761.

³² 1 April 762 to 20 March 763.

³³ 21 March 763 to 9 March 764.

³⁴ 10 March 764 to 26 Feb. 765.

³⁵ 27 Feb. 765 to 15 Feb. 766.

³⁶ 16 Feb. 766 to 5 Feb. 767.

'Dion.' A.S.
1078;
Theoph. A.M.
6261 (?)

Al Tabari. And among the events of the year was the summer-raid of Al 'Abbas the son of Mahomet into the land of the Romans; and with him were Al Hasan the son of Kahtaba and Mahomet the son of Al Ash'ath; and Mahomet the son of Al Ash'ath died on the way.

A.H. 150.³⁷ *Al Tabari.* And no summer-raid was made by the men this year. It is said that Abu Ga'far had appointed Usaid³⁸ to command in the raid this year, and he did not lead the men into the enemy's land but encamped in the meadows of Dabik.

A.H. 151.³⁹ *Al Tabari.* And 'Abd Al Wahhab the son of Abraham the son of Mahomet made a summer-raid this year.

A.H. 152.⁴⁰ *Al Tabari.* And, as is recorded, 'Abd Al Wahhab the son of Abraham made a summer-raid, but did not pass the passes. And it is said that the man who made the summer-raid this year was Mahomet the son of Abraham.

Theoph.
A.M. 6262 (?)

A.H. 153.⁴¹ *Al Tabari.* And in this year Ma'yuf the son of Yahya, the Haguri,⁴² made a summer-raid and came to one of the forts of the Romans by night, and its garrison was asleep, and he made captive and took prisoners all the fighting men in it. Then he went to Laodikeia the burnt [Laodikeia Katakekaumene] and took it, and he brought from it 6,000 captives besides the men of full age.

Theoph.
A.M. 6264 (?)

A.H. 155.⁴³ *Ibn Wadhîh.* Yazid the son of Usaid⁴⁴ conducted the raid. *Al Tabari.* And in this year the lord of the Romans asked peace of Al Mansur on condition of paying him tribute. And in this year Yazid the son of Usaid, the Sulami, made a summer-raid.

A.H. 156.⁴⁵ *Al Tabari.* And in this year Zufar the son of 'Asim, the Hilali, made a summer-raid.

A.H. 157.⁴⁶ *Ibn Wadhîh.* Zufar the son of 'Asim, the Hilali, conducted the raid.

Al Tabari. And in it Yazid the son of Usaid, the Sulami, made a summer-raid: and he sent Sinan, a maula⁴⁷ of Al Battal, to one of the forts, and he carried off prisoners and booty. And Mahomet the son of 'Umar⁴⁸ says that the man who made the summer-raid this year was Zufar the son of 'Asim.

A.H. 158.⁴⁹ *Al Tabari.* And in it Ma'yuf the son of Yahya made a summer-raid by the pass of Adata; and he met the enemy and they fought: then they made a truce.

A.H. 159.⁵⁰ *Ibn Wadhîh.* The Romans came to Samosata and carried many persons into captivity; and he⁵¹ sent Saghîr his maula to them and delivered the Moslems. And Al 'Abbas the son of Mahomet conducted the raid this year and reached Ankyra.

³⁷ 6 Feb. 767 to 25 Jan. 768.

³⁸ Perhaps an error for Yazid the son of Usaid.

³⁹ 26 Jan 768 to 13 Jan. 769.

⁴⁰ 14 Jan. 769 to 3 Jan. 770.

⁴¹ 4 Jan. to 23 Dec. 770.

⁴² Theoph.: Βανδάκας, i.e. Ibn Wakkas. This seems to have been Thumama (see note 57), who may have joined Ma'yuf in the raid. Theophanes mentions him also under the next year, where the Arabs do not record any raid.

⁴³ 13 Dec. 771 to 1 Dec. 772.

⁴⁴ Theoph.: Ἀλφάδαλ Βαδινάρ, i.e. Al Fadhl ibn Dinar.

⁴⁵ 2 Dec. 772 to 20 Nov. 773.

⁴⁶ 21 Nov. 773 to 10 Nov. 774.

⁴⁷ I.e. slave or freedman.

⁴⁸ I.e. Al Wakidi.

⁴⁹ 11 Nov. 774 to 30 Oct. 775

⁵⁰ 31 Oct. 775 to 18 Oct. 776.

⁵¹ The Caliph Al Mahdi,

Al Tabari. And among the events was the summer-raid of Al 'Abbas the son of Mahomet⁵² this year until he reached Ankyra; and over the advance-guard of Al 'Abbas was Al Hasan the slave with the maulas: and Al Mahdi had sent with him all the chiefs of Khurasan and others. And Al Mahdi went out and encamped at Al Baradan⁵³ and remained there till he had dispatched Al 'Abbas the son of Mahomet and those whom he had charged to supply troops to accompany him. And he did not set Al 'Abbas over Al Hasan the slave or any one else with the power of deposition (?).⁵⁴ And on this raid of his he took a city of the Romans and a subterranean granary with it;⁵⁵ and they returned safe and sound, and none of the Moslems was struck down.

Theoph.
A.M. 6268;
Leont. p. 160

A.H. 160.⁵⁶ *Ibn Wadhik.* Thumama the son of Al Walid,⁵⁷ the 'Absi, made a raid.

Theoph.
A.M. 6269

Al Tabari. And in it Thumama the son of Al Walid, the 'Absi,⁵⁸ made the summer-raid.

And in it Al Ghamr the son of Al 'Abbas, the Khath'ami, made a raid on the sea of Al Sham.

A.H. 161.⁵⁹ *Ibn Wadhik.* 'Isa the son of 'Ali made a raid; and he met a Roman army, and they surrounded him.

Al Tabari. And in it Thumama the son of Al Walid made a summer-raid, and encamped at Dabik.⁶⁰ And the Romans assembled troops; and he was taken by surprise. And his scouts and spies brought him the news, and he did not pay attention to the news which they brought. And he went out against the Romans, and they were under the command of Michael, with the advance-guard, and many of the Moslems were smitten: and 'Isa the son of 'Ali⁶¹ was posted on the frontier in the fortress of Mar'ash [Germanikeia] at that time. And the Moslems made no summer-raid that year on that account.

Theoph.
A.M. 6270;
Leont. l.c.

A.H. 162.⁶² *Ibn Wadhik.* Al Hasan the son of Kahtaba, the Tai, made a raid.

Al Tabari. And in it he appointed Thumama the son of Al Walid, the 'Absi, to command in the summer-raid, but he did not carry this out. And in it the Romans went out to Adata and destroyed its wall. And Al Hasan the son of Kahtaba made a summer-raid with 30,000 regularly paid men besides volunteers, and he reached the hot springs of Adhruliya [Dorylaion];⁶³ and he did much wasting and burning in the country of the Romans without taking a fort or meeting an army;⁶⁴ and the

Theoph.
A.M. 6271;
Leont. p.
161; El. Nis.
A.H. 162

⁵² Theoph.: 'Αβασβαλί, i.e. Al 'Abbas (ibn Muhammad) ibn 'Ali.

⁵³ The first station from Bagdad on the western road.

⁵⁴ This sentence is very obscure.

⁵⁵ Theoph.: τὸ σήλαιον τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον Κάσιν ἀπὸ καπνοῦ. See Vasilyev, *Vizantijska i Arabij*, p. 95, note 2.

⁵⁶ 19 Oct. 776 to 8 Oct. 777.

⁵⁷ Theoph.: Θουμάμας δ τοῦ Βάκα, i.e. son of Wakkas (see note 42). Either Wakkas was his grandfather, or Theophanes has confused *Ibn* and *Abu*.

⁵⁸ MS. here 'Kaisi;' corrected by Guyard.

⁵⁹ 9 Oct. 777 to 27 Sept. 778.

⁶⁰ Theoph.: ἐκάθισε Θουμάμας εἰς τὸ Δάβεκον καὶ ἐστασίασεν.

⁶¹ Theoph.: 'Ισβααλί, i.e. 'Isa ibn 'Ali.

⁶² 28 Sept. 778 to 16 Sept. 779.

⁶³ Theoph.: κατῆλθεν ἕως τοῦ Δουρυλαίου.

⁶⁴ Theoph.: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς διετάξατο τοῖς στρατηγοῖς μὴ πολεμῆσαι αὐτοὺς δημόσιον πόλεμον ἀλλ' ἀσφαλίσασθαι τὰ κάστρα. Both Theophanes and Leontius speak of an attack on Amorion, and this is therefore perhaps the raid mentioned in a letter of Pope

Romans called him 'the serpent.' And it is said that Al Hasan only went to this spring in order to refresh himself in it on account of the saltness of it. Then he returned with his men safe and sound. And over the judicial business of his camp and the spoil that was collected was Hafis the son of 'Amir, the Sulami. He says: And in it Yazid the son of Usayyad, the Sulami, made a raid by the gate of Kalikala [Theodosiopolis] and carried off booty and took three forts⁶⁵ and made many prisoners and captives.

Mich.
A.S. 1095

A.H. 163.⁶⁶ *Ibn Wadhik*. And he built the frontier-town called Adata in the year 163, and in it was a check for the enemy and a barrier; ⁶⁷ and that because the Romans made an attack upon Mar'ash and made captures and slew men. And, when Al Mahdi built Adata, the men of the frontier found great assistance in it. And he sent Aaron his son this year, and with him a number of the chiefs and the army; and he went out in company with him to the Gaihan.⁶⁸ And in this raid Aaron took Samalik [Semalous⁶⁹] and a large number of forts.

Al Tabari. And in it Al Mahdi levied contingents⁷⁰ for the summer-raid from all the forces of the men of Khurasan and others; and he went out and encamped at Al Baradan and stayed there about two months, making preparations and dispositions and paying the troops; and there he produced presents for the members of his family who had come with him.

And 'Isa the son of 'Ali died on the last day of Gumada II [Mar. 11] in Bagdad; and Al Mahdi went out on the following day to Al Baradan, starting for the summer-raid.⁷¹

Theoph.
A.M. 6272;
Mich.
A.S. 1091;
El. Nis.
A.H. 163

He said:⁷² And Al Mahdi sent Khalid the son of Barmak with Al Rashid (and he was successor-designate) when he sent him to raid the Romans, and with him he sent Al Hasan and Solomon, the sons of Barmak; and he sent with him as superintendent of the camp and of his finances and his dispatches, and to preside over his affairs, Yahya the son of Khalid, and all Aaron's affairs were in his hands; and Al Rabi' the chamberlain was sent with Aaron on the raid by Al Mahdi; and this was the relation between Al Rabi' and Yahya (?): and he consulted them and acted according to their advice; and God made great conquests by their hands, and bestowed conspicuous favour upon them in that country,

Hadrian, who brings them to 'Amoria' (*Cod. Car.* 74). He calls the leader the caliph's uncle, but, as Leontius also speaks of Al 'Abbas as commanding, he perhaps co-operated with Al Hasan. The letter is not earlier than 781, but can hardly refer to any other raid.

⁶⁵ Leont. 'Koloneia, Govatha, and Kastilon.' He says they occupied the country of the Marithenes.

⁶⁶ 17 Sept. 779 to 5 Sept. 780.

⁶⁷ Reading with Houtsma *daf* for *raf*, and *tasdid* for *sadid*.

⁶⁸ Mich. makes him encamp near Arabissos.

⁶⁹ Theoph.: τὸ Σημαλοῦς κάστρον. It seems to have been on the borders of the Armeniac and Buccellarian themes, Theophanes placing it in the former, Ibn Khurdahbah (ed. De Goeje, p. 108) in the latter.

⁷⁰ Reading with Guyard *bu'uth* for *thughur*.

⁷¹ Some long-winded anecdotes are here omitted: so in other places.

⁷² The last authority quoted was Abu Budail, who took part in the expedition; but 'he said' is sometimes inserted by a scribe and refers to Al Tabari.

and on this expedition at Samalu [Semalous] Khalid gained conspicuous distinction such as fell to no one else.

And he gave orders to march,⁷³ and took all the members of his family who had come to him with his son Aaron to the land of the Romans; and Al Mahdi accompanied his son Aaron until he passed the pass and reached the Gaihan; and there he chose the site of the city which was named Al Mahdiyya; and he left Aaron on the Gaihan.

And Aaron went on till he encamped at a village in the land of the Romans in which was a fortress called Samalu; and he stayed before it 38 days, and he set up siege-engines against it until God took it, after he had done destruction in it, and after its inhabitants had been smitten with thirst and hunger, and after slaughter and wounds among the Moslems. And its capture was on conditions which they made for themselves that they should not be killed or removed or separated from one another. And they were granted these terms and surrendered, and he kept faith with them. And Aaron returned with the Moslems safe and sound except those who had been smitten there.⁷⁴

A.H. 164.⁷⁵ *Ibn Wadhîh*. Then he sent him [Aaron] on a raid in the year 164, and he reached Constantinople.⁷⁶ And the Romans asked peace of him; and he made peace with them and returned.

Al Tabari. And among the events was the raid of 'Abd Al Kabir⁷⁷ the son of 'Abd Al Hamid the son of 'Abd Al Rahman the son of Zaid the son of Al Khattab by the pass of Adata. And Michael the patrician advanced against him, as is recorded, with about 90,000 men, among whom was Tazadh⁷⁸ the Armenian, the patrician. And 'Abd Al Kabir was afraid of him and prevented the Moslems from fighting, and returned.⁷⁹ And Al Mahdi wished to cut off his head, but intercession was made for him, and he shut him up in prison.

A.H. 165.⁸⁰ *Al Tabari*. And among the events was the summer-raid of Aaron the son of Mahomet Al Mahdi; and his father sent him, as is recorded, on Saturday 18 Gumada II⁸¹ to make a raid upon the country of the Romans, and he appointed Al Rabi'⁸² his maula to accompany him. And Aaron entered the country of the Romans and took Magida.⁸³ And

Theoph.
A.M. 6273;
Mich.
A.S. 1092 (?);
El. Nis.
A.H. 164

Theoph.
A.M. 6274;
Mich.
A.S. 1049;
Leont. p.
152; El. Nis.
A.H. 165

⁷³ *I.e.* from Aleppo.

⁷⁴ Theophanes records a defeat of the Arabs in 780.

⁷⁵ 6 Sept. 780 to 25 Aug. 781.

⁷⁶ In the summary at the end of the caliphate 'the Khalig of Constantinople' (see p. 738, note 83).

⁷⁷ Theoph.: Κεβήρ.

⁷⁸ Theoph.: Ταζάρης, Leontius 'Tatshat.'

⁷⁹ Theophanes makes him defeated at Melos. Michael brings the Arabs to the territory of Ephesos. The same year he makes a Roman army carry off some Syrians, but, as he puts this before Leo's death, the date is perhaps wrong.

⁸⁰ 26 Aug. 781 to 14 Aug. 782.

⁸¹ By the usual reckoning this is 7 Feb., a Thursday; but owing to the practice of beginning a month when the moon is visible the Arabic calendar is very irregular. The day was probably Saturday, 9 Feb. See the remarks of Mr. Kropf and Mr. S. Lane-Poole in the *ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW*, xiii. 700 ff.

⁸² Theoph.: Βούνοσον, *i.e.* Ibn Yunus (Ibn Al Athir, vi. p. 65). He seems to have been also accompanied by one of the Barmakis, for Theophanes speaks of Βουρμική, *i.e.* Al Barmaki.

⁸³ The first fort on the Syrian frontier, 20 miles from Loulon (Al Mas'udi, *Al Tanbih wal Ishraf*, p. 178). As yet, however, the frontier had not advanced so far.

the horsemen of Niketas, Count of Counts,⁸⁴ met him ; and Yazid the son of Mazyad went out against him. And Yazid waited for a time and then fell upon Niketas unawares ; and Yazid smote him until he was routed. And the Romans were put to flight, and Yazid took possession of their camp. And he went to the domestic ⁸⁵ at Nikufudiya [Nikomedeia] ⁸⁶ (and he is commander of the forces).⁸⁷ And Aaron marched with 95,793 men ; and he carried for them in gold 198,450 denarii, and in silver 21,414,800 drachmai. And Aaron marched until he reached the Khalig ⁸⁸ of the sea, which is over against Constantinople ; and the ruler of the Romans at that time was Ghustah [Augusta], the wife of Leo ; and that because her son was a child, his father having died, and he was under her guardianship. And messengers and ambassadors passed between her and Aaron the son of Al Mahdi, seeking peace and accommodation and the payment of ransom. And Aaron accepted this from her, and stipulated for the payment by her of what she in fact paid him, and that she should supply him with guides and markets on his way, and that because he had come by a road that was difficult and dangerous to the Moslems ; and she agreed to what he asked. And the sum for which peace was established between him and her was 90,000 or 70,000 denarii, which she was to pay in April ⁸⁹ every year and in June. And he accepted this from her, and she supplied him with markets on his return, and with him she sent an envoy to Al Mahdi with what she gave, the terms being that she was to pay as ransom such sum as she could provide in gold and silver and goods. And they drew up an agreement for a truce for three years, and the prisoners were handed over ; and the number which God delivered into the hands of Aaron until the Romans submitted to pay tribute was 5,643 persons ; and there were killed of the Romans in the battles 54,000, and there were killed of the prisoners in bonds 2,090 prisoners. And the number of beasts trained to bear burdens which God delivered into his hands was 20,000 beasts, and there were slain of cattle and sheep 100,000 head. And the regularly paid troops exclusive of the volunteers and the traders were 100,000. And a horse ⁹⁰ was sold for a drachma, and a mule for less than 10 drachmai, and a cuirass for less than a drachma, and 20 swords for a drachma. And Marwan the son of Abu Hafsa said about this :

⁸⁴ *I.e.* Count of Opsikion. He may be the ex-general killed in 792 or the *δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν* of 799 (Theoph. A.M. 6284, 6291).

⁸⁵ Theoph. : *Ἀντώνιον τὸν δομέστικον*. Weil (ii. 100, n. 2), misled by Ibn Al Athir's summary, has given a wholly erroneous account of these events.

⁸⁶ *I.l.* 'son of Kuriya.'

⁸⁷ According to Theophanes Antony surrounded the Arabs, but Tatshat deserted. Tatshat, according to Leontius, helped the Arabs out.

⁸⁸ *I.e.* the canal, the Arabic name for the Bosphoros, Propontis, and Hellespont, sometimes also including the Euxine and the Aegean (see *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xix. 23). Michael makes Al Rashid meet the Romans on the Sangarios, but places this and the three years' peace in A.S. 1094. Theophanes brings him to Chrysopolis. According to Michael the Arabs were caught in a trap and asked for peace.

⁸⁹ Text 'Nisan I,' but as there was only one Nisan, *al awwal* should probably be omitted. Guyard proposes 'the 1st of April.' That the sentence is corrupt appears from the fact that the copula before 'in June' is omitted. Possibly Nisan I is an error for Khonun I (December), which goes more naturally with June.

⁹⁰ The word expresses an inferior kind of horse.

Thou didst extinguish the Romans at Kustantina by resting the lance⁹¹ against it until its wall clothed itself in submission. And thou hurledst no stone against it until its kings brought its tribute to thee, and it is war with which its pots boil.

Kitab Al 'Uyun. And in the year 165 Al Mahdi appointed his son Aaron to command in the summer-campaign; and he marched until he came to Constantinople. And a Roman force came against him.⁹² . . . And a large number of swords were sold for a drachma, and horses⁹³ for a denarius. And he took away the best articles and burnt what remained. It is said: And Aaron had such a force as had never been got together in Al Islam. And she⁹⁴ sent and gave him a gift and asked him for a truce; and he made a truce with her for three years on condition that she paid him every year 1,000,000 denarii, 10,000 silk garments, and that she paid him at once. And he received part of this sum and arranged that the rest should be forwarded to him by messengers. And on his return from this raid Al Mahdi appointed him to the position of successor-designate after Moses Al Hadi and named him Al Rashid.

A.H. 166.⁹⁵ *Ibn Wadhik.* Thumama the son of Al Walid made a raid.

Al Tabari. And among the events was the return of Aaron the son of Al Mahdi and those who were with him from the Khalig of Kustantina in Al Muharram on the 17th of it [Aug. 31]: and the Romans came bringing the tribute with them, and that was, as is stated, 64,000 denarii according to the Roman standard, and 2,500 Arabic denarii and 30,000 lbs. of goat's wool.

And there was no summer-raid this year on account of the truce made in it.

A.H. 167.⁹⁶ *Ibn Wadhik.* Al Fadhl the son of Salih made a raid.

Al Tabari. And there was no summer-raid in it on account of the truce between the Moslems and the Romans.

A.H. 168.⁹⁷ *Ibn Wadhik.* Mahomet the son of Abraham made a raid.

Al Tabari. And among the events was the rupture made by the Romans⁹⁸ in the peace which had been made between them and Aaron the son of Al Mahdi, which we have recorded above, and their perfidy; and that was in the month of Ramadhan [17 Mar.-15 April] of this year. And between the beginning of the peace and the perfidy of the Romans and their breach of it were 32 months.⁹⁹ And 'Ali the son of Solomon,

⁹¹ Reading *alkana* with Guyard for *alfi*.

⁹² The account of the defeat of the Romans must, as De Goeje remarks, have fallen out.

⁹³ See p. 738, note 90.

⁹⁴ *I.e.* Irene; either the name has fallen out or it was mentioned in the lacuna above.

⁹⁵ 15 Aug. 782 to 4 Aug. 783.

⁹⁶ 5 Aug. 783 to 23 July 784.

⁹⁷ 24 July 784 to 13 July 785.

⁹⁸ If the statement of Ibn Wadhik under A.H. 167 is correct, the rupture was on the side of the Arabs. According to Theophanes (A.M. 6277) the peace had not been broken at the beginning of 785, nor does he record any hostilities till Sept. 788.

⁹⁹ This places the peace in Al Muharram 166, and the date given by Al Tabari for Al Rashid's return must therefore be that on which he began his retreat. It is probably, in fact, the day on which the truce was signed.

who was then in command of Al Gazira and Kinnasrin [Chalkis], sent Yazid the son of Al Badr the son of Al Battal with a cavalry force against the Romans; and they took spoil and were victorious.

Mich.
A.S. 1097 (?)

A.H. 169.¹⁰⁰ *Al Tabari*. And Ma'yuf the son of Yahya made a raid in the summer of this year by the pass of Al Rahib; ¹⁰¹ and the Romans had advanced to Adata with the patrician; and the wali and the garrison and the merchants had fled, and the enemy had entered it. And Ma'yuf the son of Yahya entered the enemy's land and reached the city of Ushna; ¹⁰² and they took prisoners and captives and carried off spoil.¹⁰³

Mich.
A.S. 1094

A.H. 170.¹⁰⁴ *Al Tabari*. And in it Tarsos was rebuilt by the hands of Abu Sulaiman Farag the slave, the Turk, and men were settled in it. . . . And Solomon the son of 'Abd Allah, the Bakhkhai, made the summer-raid this year.¹⁰⁵

Mich.

A.H. 171.¹⁰⁶ *Ibn Wadhik*. Yazid the son of 'Anbasa, the Harashi, deputy-governor under Isaac the son of Solomon, made a raid.

Theoph.
A.M. 6281 (?)

A.H. 172.¹⁰⁷ *Ibn Wadhik*. Mahomet the son of Abraham made a raid.

Al Tabari. And Isaac the son of Solomon the son of 'Ali made the summer-raid this year.

A.H. 173.¹⁰⁸ *Ibn Wadhik*. Abraham the son of 'Uthman made a raid.

A.H. 174.¹⁰⁹ *Ibn Wadhik*. Solomon the son of Abu Ga'far made a raid.

Al Tabari. And 'Abd Al Malik the son of Salih made the summer-raid.

A.H. 175.¹¹⁰ *Ibn Wadhik*. 'Abd Al Malik the son of Salih made a raid.

Al Tabari. And in it 'Abd Al Rahman the son of 'Abd Al Malik the son of Salih made the summer-raid and reached Ikritiya.¹¹¹ And Al Wakidi says that the man who made the summer-raid this year was 'Abd Al Malik the son of Salih. He says: And in this raid they met with such cold that their hands and feet fell off.

A.H. 176.¹¹² *Ibn Wadhik*. Hashim the son of Al Salt made a raid.

Mich.
A.S. 1104

Al Tabari. And 'Abd Al Rahman the son of 'Abd Al Malik made the summer-raid this year and took a fort.¹¹³

¹⁰⁰ 14 July 785 to 2 July 786.

¹⁰¹ *I.e.* 'the monk' or 'the lion.'

¹⁰² Yakut mentions a town of this name, but it was in Atropatene.

¹⁰³ Michael places the raid of Ma'yuf, whom he calls Malshuf, in September, but after Al Rashid's accession, and therefore not before 786.

¹⁰⁴ 3 July 786 to 21 June 787.

¹⁰⁵ Before this sentence Ibn Al Athir has, 'And it is said that he [Al Rashid] made a raid in the summer himself.' Michael calls Solomon governor of Adata.

¹⁰⁶ 22 June 787 to 10 June 788.

¹⁰⁷ 11 June 788 to 30 May 789.

¹⁰⁸ 31 May 789 to 19 May 790.

¹⁰⁹ 20 May 790 to 9 May 791.

¹¹⁰ 10 May 791 to 27 April 792.

¹¹¹ Probably not Crete (Ikritish), in which case 'by sea' would be added, but, as Guyard suggests, the town which Yakut (ii. 865) calls Ikrita and states to have been the seat of the general of Chaldia. The extreme cold places Crete out of the question.

¹¹² 28 April 792 to 17 April 793.

¹¹³ Michael calls it Rabsa (*l. Dabsa, i.e. Thebasa*) in Cappadocia, and says that 400 men died of thirst in it before the surrender. He says that 'Abd Al Malik also made a raid this year.

A.H. 177.¹¹⁴ *Ibn Wadhîh*. David the son of Al Nu'man made a raid as deputy of 'Abd Al Malik.

Al Tabari. And in it 'Abd Al Razzak the son of 'Abd Al Hamid, the Taghlibi, made the summer-raid.

A.H. 178.¹¹⁵ *Ibn Wadhîh*. Yazid the son of Ghazwan made a raid.

Al Tabari. And in it Mu'awiya the son of Zufar the son of 'Asim made the summer-raid; and in it Solomon the son of Rashid made the winter-raid, and with him was Elpidius, patrician of Sicily.¹¹⁶

A.H. 179.¹¹⁷ *Ibn Wadhîh*. Al Fadhl the son of Mahomet made a raid.

A.H. 180.¹¹⁸ *Ibn Wadhîh*. Isma'il the son of Al Kasim made a raid.

Al Tabari. And in it Mu'awiya¹¹⁹ the son of Zufar the son of 'Asim made the summer-raid.

A.H. 181.¹²⁰ *Ibn Wadhîh*. Aaron Al Rashid made a raid and took the forts of Al Su'af.

Al Tabari. And in it was the raid of Al Rashid into the land of the Romans, and in it he took by force the fort of Al Safsaf.¹²¹ And Marwan the son of Abu Hafs says:

Verily the commander of the believers, the elect,¹²² hath left Al Safsaf a plain and a desert.¹²³

And in it 'Abd Al Malik the son of Salih made a raid on the Romans and reached Ankyra and took a subterranean granary.¹²⁴

Kitab Al 'Uyun. Then 'Abd Al Razzak made the summer-raid, and he was wali of the frontier, and he was good in the conduct of affairs and a mighty man of valour.

A.H. 182.¹²⁵ *Ibn Wadhîh*. Abraham the son of Al Kasim made a raid as deputy of 'Isa the son of Ga'far.

Al Tabari. And in it 'Abd Al Rahman the son of 'Abd Al Malik the son of Salih made the summer-raid and reached Dafasus [Ephesos], the city of the inmates of the cave.¹²⁶

And in it the Romans put out the eyes of their king, Constantine the

¹¹⁴ 18 April 793 to 6 April 794.

¹¹⁵ 7 April 794 to 26 March 795.

¹¹⁶ See Theoph. A.M. 6274. Michael and Gregory say that they came to Simisun (Semisos?), where the winter came on and 4,000 died, after which in January they left the place. Many are said to have had their feet frostbitten, and a quotation is given from Dionysios (see p. 731, note 11), who saw 400 of them in Edessa after the retreat. This is placed before the reconciliation between Constantine and Irene (15 Jan. 792), but perhaps there is a confusion with the campaign of A.H. 175. It is strange to find Semisos (Ptol. 5, 7, 6) in Roman hands. Possibly Sasima is really meant.

¹¹⁷ 27 March 795 to 15 March 796.

¹¹⁸ 16 March 796 to 4 March 797.

¹¹⁹ Ibn Al Athir 'Mahomet the son of Mu'awiya.'

¹²⁰ 5 March 797 to 21 Feb. 798.

¹²¹ *I.e.* the willow. The form 'Su'af' found in Ibn Wadhîh does not mean anything.

¹²² *Mustafa*; perhaps a play on 'Safsaf' is intended.

¹²³ *Safsafa*.

¹²⁴ Theoph.: 'Αβιμέλεχ ληϊζόμενον τὰ μέρη Καππαδοκίας καὶ Γαλατίας.

¹²⁵ 22 Feb. 798 to 11 Feb. 799.

¹²⁶ *I.e.* the Seven Sleepers. This seems to be the expedition which Theophanes records under A.M. 6291 (799), and ascribes to 'Abd Al Malik (κατῆλθον ἕως Λυδίας). As this was only a division of the army, its leader may have been 'Abd Al Rahman. The Arabs, however, seem to have been in some confusion between Ephesos and Arabissos as the site of the legend of the Sleepers (De Goeje in *Versl. en Meded. d. kon. Ak. d. Wetenschappen*, 4. iii. p. 23 ff.)

Theoph.
A.M. 6286 (?);
Mich. (*cf.*
Greg. p. 129).
Theoph.
A.M. 6287 (?)

Theoph.
A.M. 6288 (?)

Mich.
A.S. 1108

Theoph.
A.M. 6290

Theoph.
A.M. 6291 (?)

son of Leo, and they confirmed his mother Rina [Irene] in the kingdom, and she was surnamed Ughutsah [Augusta].¹²⁷

A.H. 183.¹²⁸ *Ibn Wadhīh*. Al Fadhl the son of Al 'Abbas made a raid.

A.H. 184.¹²⁹ *Ibn Wadhīh*. Mahomet the son of Abraham made a raid.

A.H. 185.¹³⁰ *Ibn Wadhīh*. Abraham the son of 'Uthman made a raid.

A.H. 186.¹³¹ *Ibn Wadhīh*. Abraham the son of 'Uthman again made a raid.

A.H. 187.¹³² *Ibn Wadhīh*. Al Kasim the son of Al Rashid¹³³ and 'Abd Al Malik the son of Salih¹³⁴ and Abraham the son of 'Uthman the son of Nahik made a raid; and in it Al Rashid put Abraham the son of 'Uthman to death.¹³⁵

Al Tabari. And in it Al Rashid sent his son Al Kasim on the summer-raid; and he gave him to God and made him an oblation for himself and a propitiation; and he appointed him wali of Al 'Awasim.¹³⁶

And in this year Al Kasim the son of Al Rashid entered the land of the Romans in Sha'ban [25 July–22 Aug.]¹³⁷ and besieged Kurra [Koron]¹³⁸ and blockaded it; and he sent Al 'Abbas the son of Ga'far the son of Mahomet the son of Al Ash'ath, and he besieged the fort of Sinan¹³⁹ until they were sore distressed. And the Romans sent to him offering¹⁴⁰ him 320 Moslem prisoners if he would retire from them. And he accepted their offer and retired from Kurra and the fort of Sinan in peace. And 'Ali the son of 'Isa the son of Moses died on this raid in the land of the Romans, and he was with Al Kasim.

And in this year the ruler of the Romans broke the peace made between his predecessor and the Moslems, and refused what their previous king had undertaken to pay.

And the reason of this was that peace had been made between the

¹²⁷ At some time during the sole reign of Irene (797–802) Michael places a defeat of the Arabs by Aetius, and in the next year an Arab victory.

¹²⁸ 12 Feb. 799 to 31 Jan. 800.

¹²⁹ 1 Feb. 800 to 19 Jan. 801.

¹³⁰ 20 Jan. 801 to 9 Jan. 802.

¹³¹ 10 Jan. to 29 Dec. 802.

¹³² 30 Dec. 802 to 19 Dec. 803.

¹³³ This is in the summary at the end of the caliphate. In the narrative *Ibn Wadhīh* places this in 188; see below, p. 744.

¹³⁴ According to Michael 'Abd Al Malik was in command of an army at the time of Nikephoros's accession (Oct. 31, 802).

¹³⁵ *Al Tabari* states that Al Wakidi placed Abraham's death in this year, other authors in 188.

¹³⁶ *I.e.* the defences; a portion of Syria and Euphratesia made a separate province in A.H. 170. The towns are given by *Ibn Khurdadhbih* (p. 75).

¹³⁷ *Ibn Wadhīh* in the narrative places it in 188, in which Sha'ban is 14 July to 11 Aug. Probably, however, it should with Weil (ii. 158, n. 2) be assigned to 186 (5 Aug. to 2 Sept.). The date may have been changed in order to reconcile it with the story of the breach of peace (note 141). Against the date 188 see above, note 135, and p. 744, note 150.

¹³⁸ In what was later the Cappadocian theme (*Ibn Khurd.* p. 108). According to *Yakut* (ii. 864) it was the seat of the kleisourarch of Cappadocia.

¹³⁹ *I.e.* lance-point; see *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xviii. 205. In *Ptol.* 5, 6, 15, where the Greek text has Σίονα, the Latin has 'Sina,' and this may be the place meant, though its situation makes the identification improbable. Sinis near Melitene is, of course, out of the question.

¹⁴⁰ Adopting Guyard's emendation, *tabdhul* for *tubaddil*.

Moslems and the ruler of the Romans (and their ruler at that time was Rina, and we have recorded above the reason of the peace made between the Moslems and her¹⁴¹): and the Romans turned against Rina and deposed her and made Nikephoros king over them. And the Romans record that this Nikephoros was a descendant of Gafna of Ghassan, and that before his accession he was comptroller of the revenue-accounts. Then Rina died five months after the Romans had deposed her. And it is recorded that, when Nikephoros became king, and the Romans were confirmed in allegiance to him, he wrote to Al Rashid.¹⁴²

He says: And, when Al Rashid read the letter, his wrath was roused so much that no one could look at him, much less speak to him; and his household separated, fearing to increase it by any speech or action on their part; and the wazir was in doubt whether to give him advice or to leave him to his own deliberations without him. And he called for an inkpot and wrote on the back of the letter:¹⁴²

Then he set out the same day and marched until he reached the gate of Herakleia;¹⁴³ and he made captures and took spoil and carried off the best of everything and slew and wasted and burnt and extirpated. And Nikephoros asked for a treaty on condition of paying annual tribute,¹⁴⁴ and he accepted his offer. And, when he had returned from his raid and reached Al Rakka [Kallinikos], Nikephoros broke the treaty and violated the compact. And the cold was severe, and Nikephoros made sure that he would not return against him. And the news came that he had gone back from the conditions which he laid upon him,¹⁴⁵ and it was not easy for any one to tell him this through fear of returning at such a season on his account and their own. And an artifice was used with him by means of a poet, a man of Gada (?)¹⁴⁶ called Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah the son of Joseph (and it is said that he was Al Haggag the son of Joseph), the Taimi; and he said:¹⁴⁷

¹⁴¹ Al Tabari has not mentioned any peace since that of A.H. 165, which was for three years only, though he has not recorded any fighting since A.H. 182. No peace is mentioned by Theophanes or Michael as existing at Nikephoros's accession, and the whole story seems to be an Arab invention. The letters following are therefore spurious, though Michael says that Nikephoros wrote an insulting letter to the caliph. Michael here says that Nikephoros was more vigorous than any emperor since the rise of the Arabs, but later he states that one Chalcedonian historian (Theophanes?) heaps much abuse on him.

¹⁴² The letters are well known, being given in Gibbon (ch. 52) and Weil (ii. 159), and need not be repeated here.

¹⁴³ Michael places the capture of Herakleia in April. He is referring to its capture in 806; but as the capture was, in fact, in August or September after a month's siege (see p. 745), we may perhaps apply the April date to the campaign of 803, though of course it is not here stated that Herakleia was taken.

¹⁴⁴ Michael says they encamped opposite one another for two months negotiating, and then made peace without fighting. Theophanes records no peace before 806, and mentions no invasion in 803.

¹⁴⁵ Theophanes seems to refer to this when he says that contrary to the treaty he restored the dismantled forts. He places this, however, after the treaty of 806.

¹⁴⁶ The reading is doubtful. Ibn Al Athir has *gundihi*, 'his army.'

¹⁴⁷ Here follow three long pieces of poetry, which cannot be given here. The first

And, when he had finished his recital, he said, 'The action of Nikephoros has kindled this;' and he knew that the wazirs had used an artifice with him in this matter. And he retraced his steps amidst the greatest hardships and the sorest fatigues, until he encamped in his possessions, and he did not return until he was satisfied and went as far as he wanted.¹⁴⁸

A.H. 188.¹⁴⁹ *Ibn Wadhih*. And Al Rashid sent his son Al Kasim on the summer-raid in this year, that is the year 188, and with him was 'Abd Al Malik the son of Salih, the Hashimi,¹⁵⁰ and over his affairs was Abraham the son of 'Uthman the son of Nahik. And he besieged the fort of Sinan and Kurra, and the men¹⁵¹ were smitten with severe hunger and distress and afflicted with thirst; and the Romans asked for peace on condition of handing over to him 320 Moslems; and he accepted and returned.

Al Tabari. And among the events of the year was the summer-raid of Abraham the son of Gabriel and his invasion of the land of the Romans by the pass of Al Safsaf.

And Nikephoros came out to meet him, but there was brought to him from behind the news of an event which caused him to turn aside from coming to meet him, and he fell in with a party of Moslems and received three wounds and was routed.¹⁵² And there were slain of the Romans, as is recorded, 40,700 men, and 4,000 beasts of burden were captured.

And in it Al Kasim the son of Al Rashid was stationed on the frontier at Dabik.

A.H. 189.¹⁵³ *Ibn Wadhih*. Al Fadhl the son of Al 'Abbas made a raid.

Al Tabari. And in this year was the ransoming between the Moslems and the Romans,¹⁵⁴ and no Moslem remained in the land of the Romans who was not ransomed, as is recorded. And Marwan the son of Abu Hafsa said of this :

And through thee were the captives freed, for whom high prisons were built, wherein was no friend to visit them, for so long as the price of their redemption passed the Moslems' power to pay. And they said, 'The prisons of the polytheists are their graves.'

And in it Al Kasim was stationed on the frontier at Dabik.

two are repeated by Al Mas'udi, and may be read in the French version of Barbier de Meynard (ii. 337-40). According to Al Mas'udi it was an illness of the caliph which prevented the wazirs from speaking to him for some time after the news arrived.

¹⁴⁸ Here follows another piece of poetry, which may be read in the French version of Al Mas'udi (ii. 350-1). Ibn Al Athir adds: 'And it is said that the action of Nikephoros and these verses were the cause of Al Rashid's march; and he took Herakleia, as we shall record under the year 190, if it please God Most High.'

¹⁴⁹ 20 Dec. 803 to 7 Dec. 804.

¹⁵⁰ According to Al Tabari, 'Abd Al Malik was imprisoned in 187, and the campaign of Al Kasim must therefore be placed not later than 187.

¹⁵¹ *I.e.* the Arabs, who are always meant by 'the men.' In Al Tabari the expression is ambiguous, but in Ibn Al Athir it is applied to the garrison. The easy terms tell in favour of Ibn Wadhih.

¹⁵² At Krasos in Phrygia, according to Theophanes. ¹⁵³ 8 Dec. 804 to 26 Nov. 805.

¹⁵⁴ At Al Lamis (Lamos) 35 miles from Tarsos (Al Masas'udi, *Tarikh*, p. 189). This is not the river, but the town, for Al Mas'udi mentions it among the towns of the theme of Seleukeia.

A.H. 190.¹⁵⁵ *Ibn Wadhīh*. Al Rashid made a raid and took Herakleia and the subterranean granaries. And he sent Humaid the son of Ma'yuf on a raid by sea; and the people of Cyprus had broken the peace;¹⁵⁶ and he raided them and slew and took captives.

Al Tabari. And in this year Al Rashid made the summer-raid.

And in it the Romans went out to Anazarbos and Kanisa Al Saudaa¹⁵⁷ and overran the country and took prisoners: and the men of Mopsouestia recovered all that were in their hands.¹⁵⁸ And in it Al Rashid took Herakleia and dispersed his troops and his horsemen over the land of the Romans; and he entered it, as is recorded, with 185,000 regularly paid men besides the camp-followers and volunteers and those who were not registered. And 'Abd Allah the son of Malik besieged Dhu'l Kila;¹⁵⁹ and he sent David the son of 'Isa the son of Moses on a march into the land of the Romans with 70,000 men. And Shurahil the son of Ma'n the son of Zaida took the fort of the Slavonians¹⁶⁰ and Dabsa¹⁶¹ [Thebasa]; and Yazid the son of Makhlad took Al Safsaf and Malakubiya [Malakopea].¹⁶² And Al Rashid's capture of Herakleia was in Shawwal [20 Aug.-17 Sept.]; and he laid it waste and carried its people into captivity after remaining before it thirty days. And he appointed Humaid the son of Ma'yuf wali of the coast of the sea of Al Sham as far as Egypt, and Humaid reached Cyprus and destroyed and burnt and carried 16,000 of its people captive; and he brought them to Al Rafika;¹⁶³ and Abu'l Bakhtara the judge was appointed to sell them, and the bishop of Cyprus fetched 2,000 denarii.¹⁶⁴ And Aaron's entry into the land of the Romans was on 20 Ragab [11 June]; and he made a pointed cap on which was written 'Raider and pilgrim,' and wore it. And Abu'l Mu'ali the Kilabi said:

Theoph.
A.M. 6298;
Mich.
A.S. 1115

Theoph.
A.M. 6299

And who would seek or wish to contend with thee, whether in the holy cities or on the farthest frontier, whether in the enemy's land on a high-bred horse or in the land of ease upon a camel's saddle? And none beside thee subdued the frontiers, of those that were appointed to rule over affairs.

Then Al Rashid went to Tyana and encamped there. Then he removed from it and left 'Ukba the son of Ga'far in command of it and

¹⁵⁵ 27 Nov. 805 to 16 Nov. 806.

¹⁵⁶ *I.e.* that made in the time of Mu'awiya and confirmed in that of 'Abd Al Malik, by which Cyprus was in a way neutralised, remaining apparently under Roman rule but paying equal tribute to both parties and helping neither in war.

¹⁵⁷ *I.e.* the black church. Ibn Khurdadhbih (p. 100) places it among the frontier towns of Syria in possession of the Arabs.

¹⁵⁸ Michael, who places the event in 804, says that they carried off prisoners from Anazarbos and Mopsouestia and were defeated at Tarsos.

¹⁵⁹ *I.e.* possessing strength. This seems to point to Sideropolos. See part ii. note 195.

¹⁶⁰ See *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xix. 21.

¹⁶¹ *V.l.* Daisah. Ibn Al Athir 'Dalsa' (see *J. H. S.* xviii. 197, xix. 32) or 'Dabsah.'

¹⁶² Theoph.: παρέλαβε τό τε Ἡρακλέως κάστρον . . . καί τήν Θήβασαν καί τήν Μαλακοπέαν καί τήν Σιδηρόπαλον καί τήν Ἀνδρασόν. Malakopea may perhaps be identified with the place called Kamudiya (with several variants) (*J. H. S.* xviii. 193). Ibn Khurdadhbih (p. 108) says it means 'mill-quarry' (Mylokoepa?)

¹⁶³ Near Kallinikos (Al Tabari, A.H. 155).

¹⁶⁴ Ibn Al Athir 'a ransom of 2,000 denarii.' Al Baladhuri (p. 154) says that Al Rashid sent the captives back.

ordered him to build a station there.¹⁶⁵ And Nikephoros sent Al Rashid the contribution and tribute for himself and his successor-designate and his patricians and the other inhabitants of his country, 50,000 denarii, of which 4 denarii were for his own person and 2 denarii for that of his son Stauracius.¹⁶⁶ And Nikephoros wrote a letter and sent it by two of his chief patricians about a female slave among the captives of Herakleia, which I have copied :

To God's slave, Aaron, Commander of the believers, from Nikephoros, king of the Romans. Peace to you. To proceed, O King, I have a request to make of you that will not injure you in your religious or your worldly life,¹⁶⁷ a small and easy matter, that you will give my son a female slave, one of the inhabitants of Herakleia, whom I had sought as a wife for my son ;¹⁶⁸ and, if you think good to perform my request, do so. And peace be to you and God's mercy and blessing.

And he also asked him for some perfume and one of his tents. And Al Rashid ordered the slave to be sought,¹⁶⁹ and she was brought and decked out and seated on a throne in his tent in which he was living ; and the slave was handed over, and the tent with all the vessels and furniture in it, to the envoy of Nikephoros.¹⁷⁰

And he sent him the scent which he asked, and he sent him some dates and figs and raisins and treacle. And Al Rashid's envoy handed over all this to him, and Nikephoros gave him a load of Islamic drachmai upon a bay horse,¹⁷¹ the amount of which was 50,000 drachmai, and 100 silk garments and 200 embroidered garments and 12 falcons and 4 hunting dogs and 3 horses.¹⁷¹ And Nikephoros had stipulated that he should not lay waste Dhu'l Kila' or Samaluh or the fort of Sinan ; and Al Rashid stipulated with him that he should not restore Herakleia,¹⁷² and that Nikephoros should undertake to pay him 300,000 denarii.

And the people of Cyprus broke the treaty, and Ma'yuf the son of Yahya raided them and carried the people captive.

A.H. 191.¹⁷³ *Ibn Wadhik*. Al Rashid started with the intention of going on the raid, but, when he reached Adata, he sent them on the raid in charge of Harthama the son of A'yan and stayed on the frontier till Harthama returned.

Al Tabari. And in it Yazid the son of Makhlad, the Hubairi, raided the land of the Romans with 10,000 men ; and the Romans occupied the

¹⁶⁵ Theoph. : ἐλθὼν εἰς Τύανα ἐκοδόμησεν οἶκον τῆς βλασφημίας αὐτοῦ.

¹⁶⁶ Theoph. : τρία νομίσματα κεφαλαιῶν αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τρία τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. According to Michael, Al Rashid was afraid of the Romans and asked for peace.

¹⁶⁷ This Moslem formula shows the letter to be spurious.

¹⁶⁸ According to Theoph. (A.M. 6300) Stauracius's wife was an Athenian and had a husband living, from whom she was divorced in order to marry Stauracius.

¹⁶⁹ Mich. : 'Aaron built a city near Kallinikos and named it Herakleia because of the woman whom he had taken from Herakleia.' Ibn Kutaiba (d. 889) says that he carried off the daughter of the patrician and took her for himself.

¹⁷⁰ Mich. : 'Aaron gave him all the tents in which he was sitting, and their decorations.'

¹⁷¹ See p. 738, note 90.

¹⁷² Theoph. : ἐστοίχησαν . . . τὰ παραληφθέντα κάστρα μὴ κτισθῆναι.

¹⁷³ 17 Nov. 806 to 5 Nov. 807.

pass against him and slew him two days' march from Tarsos with fifty men, and the rest escaped.

And in it Al Rashid appointed Harthama the son of A'yan to command the summer-raid and assigned him 30,000 of the army of Khurasan, and with him was Masrur the slave in charge of the finances and everything except the military command. And Al Rashid went to the pass of Adata, and posted 'Abd Allah the son of Malik there; and he posted Sa'id the son of Salm the son of Kutaiba at Mar'ash. And the Romans came against it and met some of the Moslems and retreated; and Sa'id the son of Salm stayed there and sent Mahomet the son of Yazid the son of Mazyad to Tarsos. And Al Rashid stayed at the pass of Adata three days of Ramadhan [July 11-13] and then returned to Al Rakka.

And after this year the Moslems made no summer-raid till the year 215 [830].

Kitab Al 'Uyun. And in the year 191 Yazid the son of Makhlad went on a raid with a Moslem force, and a large number of the Moslems were slain, and he was slain with them. And Al Rashid set out to avenge his blood and encamped at Dair Khirmanil; and he divided the forces and sent Mahomet the son of Yazid to Tarsos and sent Harthama the son of A'yan with a large force to go into the land of the Romans to meet Nikephoros; and with him were the men of Khurasan. And he met Nikephoros and fought him from early morning till the sun declined. Then God Most High granted victory to the Moslems and routed Nikephoros. Then Harthama returned; and the Moslems with him had suffered great distress from hunger and lack of sustenance. And Al Rashid sent 'Abd Allah the son of Malik, and sent with him provisions and clothes; and he met Harthama the son of A'yan and those with him.

A.H. 192.¹⁷⁴ *Al Tabari.* And in it was the ransoming between the Moslems and the Romans through Thabit the son of Nasr the son of Malik.¹⁷⁵

And in it Thabit the son of Nasr the son of Malik became wali of the frontier; and he made a raid and took a subterranean granary.

And in it was the ransoming in Podandos.¹⁷⁶

A.H. 194.¹⁷⁷ *Ibn Wadhuh.* Al Hasan the son of Mus'ab conducted the raid as deputy of Thabit the son of Nasr.

A.H. 195.¹⁷⁸ *Ibn Wadhuh.* Thabit the son of Nasr, the Khuza'i, conducted the raid.

Theoph. A.M. 6303 (?)

A.H. 196.¹⁷⁹ *Ibn Wadhuh.* Thabit the son of Nasr conducted the raid.¹⁸⁰

Theoph. A.M. 6304

A.H. 197.¹⁸¹ *Ibn Wadhuh.* Thabit the son of Nasr conducted the raid. *(To be continued.)*

¹⁷⁴ 6 Nov. 807 to 24 Oct. 808.

¹⁷⁵ Ibn Al Athir adds: 'the Khuza'i, and the number of Moslem prisoners was 2,500 prisoners.'

¹⁷⁶ This is perhaps different from the ransoming recorded above: Al Mas'udi (*Tanbih*, p. 190) says the ransoming of this year was at Lamos.

¹⁷⁷ 15 Oct. 809 to 3 Oct. 810.

¹⁷⁸ 4 Oct. 810 to 22 Sept. 811.

¹⁷⁹ 23 Sept. 811 to 11 Sept. 812.

¹⁸⁰ The Arabic writer omits to state that he was utterly routed.

¹⁸¹ 12 Sept. 812 to 31 Aug. 813.

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ARABIC LISTS OF THE BYZANTINE THEMES.¹

OF the themes of the Byzantine Empire there exists in Greek only one systematic account, the confused and discursive work of Constantine Porphyrogenetos, from which little trustworthy information as to the history of the themes before the accession of the Macedonian dynasty can be gathered.² The same author has also preserved a table of precedence drawn up by Philotheos the protospatharios in the year 899,³ which includes the generals of the various themes existing at that time; and he has himself given us a record of the salaries paid to the generals in the time of Leo VI.⁴ This lack of information may, however, be in part supplied from the Arab geographers, who provide us with five catalogues of the themes, the earliest of which, that of Ibn Khurdadhbeh,⁵ is fifty years earlier than the list of Philotheos and about one hundred years earlier than Constantine's work. With this catalogue that of Al Idrisi (1154)⁶ is practically identical. The other three are that of Ibn Al Fakih Al Hamadhani (*circ.* 902), preserved in the Geographical Dictionary of Yakut⁷ (1224), that of Kudama⁸ (*circ.* 930), and that contained in the *Khitab Al Tanbih wal Ishraf* (Book of celebration and observation) of Al Mas'udi⁹ (956). Of these descriptions those of Ibn Khurdadhbeh and Kudama have been translated into French by Prof. De Goeje, and that of Al Mas'udi by M. Carra de Vaux; of that of Ibn Al Fakih I give a translation below. The first four, though each contains matter not found in the others, closely resemble one another and are clearly

¹ The following article was already written before I saw the admirable work of Prof. Gelzer, *Die Genesis d. Byz. Themenverfassung* in the *Abhandl. d. Kön. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften*, xli. No. V. which in part covers the same ground. But, though it has enabled me to make a few corrections and additions, it by no means makes my article superfluous, since the author makes no use of Ibn Al Fakih and very little of Al Mas'udi.

² There are also some notices relating to the themes in the *De Adm. Imp.* (Const. Porph. iii. pp. 220-231).

³ *De Caes.* 2, 52 (ed. Bonn. i. pp. 713-715, 727, 728).

⁴ *Op. cit.* 2. 50.

⁵ Edited and translated by De Goeje (Bibl.

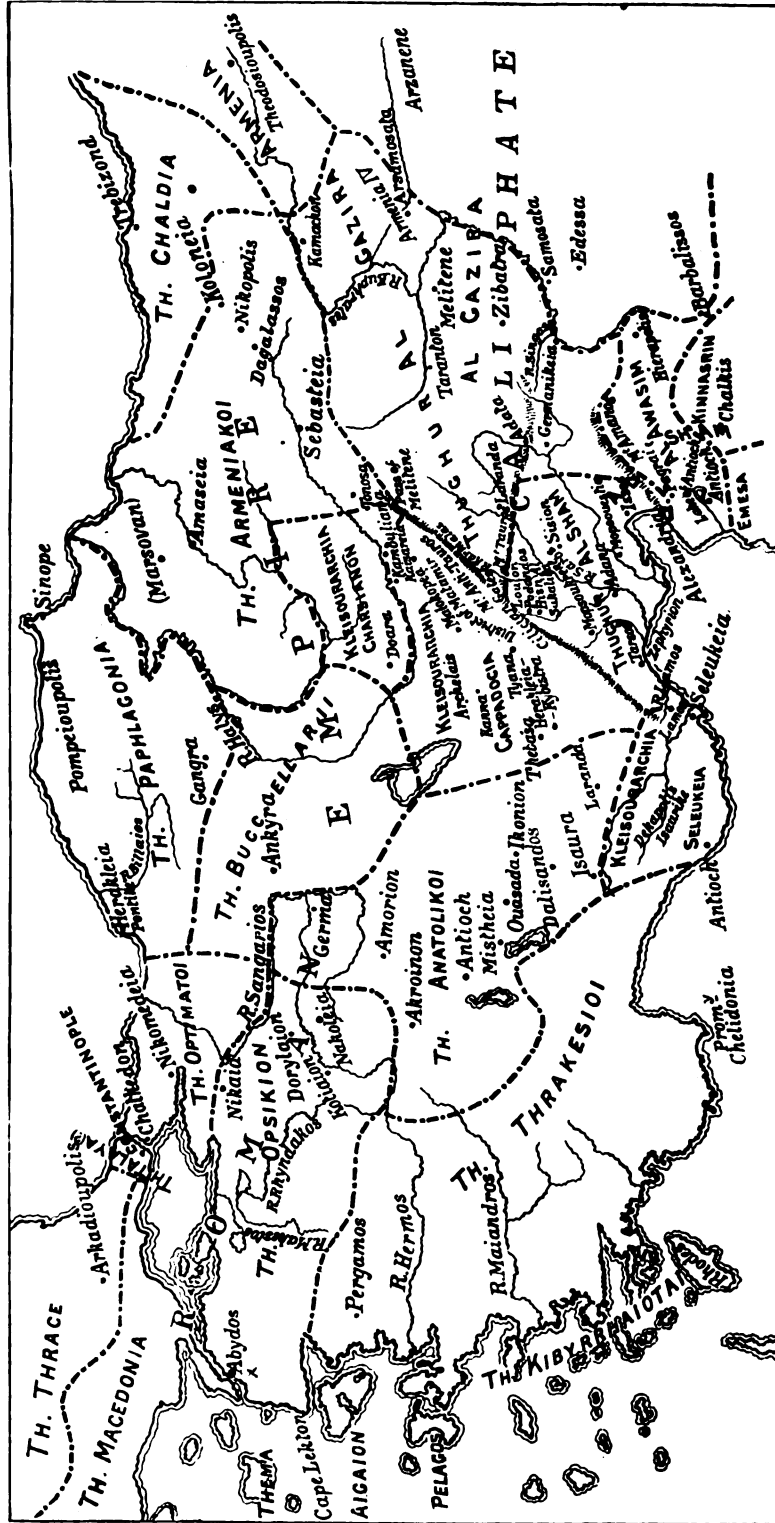
Geog. Arab. vi. p. 77 ff.). The date was probably 845-8 (*id.* p. xix. ff.).

⁶ Transl. Jaubert ii. p. 299 ff. The full Arabic text remains unpublished. Al Idrisi gives only the Asiatic themes.

⁷ Ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. p. 863 ff. The description of Macedonia is also in iv. pp. 602, 603, where it is cited as from 'Ibn Al Fakih in the account of the districts of the Romans.' An epitome of Ibn Al Fakih's work has been edited by De Goeje (*op. cit. pars v.*), but it does not contain the account of the themes.

⁸ Edited and translated by De Goeje (*op. cit.* vi. p. 197, ff.).

⁹ Edited by De Goeje (*op. cit.* viii. p. 176, ff.); translated by Carra de Vaux (Paris 1896).



MAP OF THE BYZANTINE THEMES IN THE NINTH CENTURY A.D.

derived from the same source. Al Mas'udi also seems to have used this source, but his description differs so widely from the others that he must be assumed to have used some other authority also. The three earlier authors give an identical list of fourteen themes, which in Kudama and Ibn Al Fakih are arranged as follows: 1 Talaya (Kud. Tayala), 2 Thrace, 3 Macedonia, 4 Paphlagonia, 5 Optimatoi, 6 Opsikion, 7 Thrakesioi, 8 Anatolikoi, 9 Seleukeia, 10 Cappadocia, 11 Charsianon, 12 Buccellarii, 13 Armenia, 14 Chaldia. In Ibn Khurdadhbeh the first theme is called Tafla or Talaka, and Seleukeia and Cappadocia are placed at the end. As will be seen, and as is expressly stated by the authors, three of these are in Europe and eleven in Asia. Al Mas'udi also gives fourteen names; but of these five are in Europe and nine in Asia, his list being as follows: 1 Anatolikoi,¹ 2 Opsikion, 3 Thrakesioi, 4 Kibyrrhaiotai (?),² 5 Cappadocia, 6 Buccellarii, 7 Optimatoi, 8 Armeniakoi, 9 Paphlagonia, 10 Tayala, 11 Thrace, 12 Macedonia, 13 Peloponnesos, 14 Thessalonike. Besides these he mentions Seleukeia, Charsianon, and Koloneia as regions in the themes of Kibyrrhaiotai, Armeniakoi, and Paphlagonia respectively.³ He differs from the other authors by adding Peloponnesos⁴ and Thessalonike to the European themes and Kibyrrhaiotai and Koloneia to the Asiatic themes and omitting Chaldia. His description can, however, scarcely represent the state of affairs in his own time, since he takes no account of the themes of Mesopotamia and Lykandos, which were added by Leo VI.,⁵ and Seleukeia, which was raised to the rank of a *στρατηγίς* by Romanus I.,⁶ is called by him a 'region,' by which a *κλεισοῦρα* is no doubt meant. Otherwise, when we compare his list with Constantine's (which with the inclusion of Cappadocia and Charsianon, mentioned under Armeniakoi, contains thirty-one names,⁷) if we set aside the European themes, where we cannot expect accuracy, and the island

¹ 'Al Anti Mati [Optimatoi], . . . and that is the army of Al Natalik [Anatolikoi].' The Optimates are however mentioned later, and the description here following is clearly that of the Anatolikoi.

² 'Nantiliya (v. l. 'Nantuliliya.'). and that is Dakabuli [Dekapolis].' De Goeje supposes this to stand for Pamphylia; but it seems rather to represent Anatolikoi, though the description can hardly apply to any other theme than Kibyrrhaiotai.

³ The last clearly by error, since he says himself that the Armeniac theme reached to the sea. As to Seleukeia see Gelzer, p. 93, note, and below, p. 71, note 10.

⁴ The theme of Peloponnesos existed in 811 (Anon. *de Leon. Arm.* in Bonn. Corpus, xxx. p. 336), and a seal of a *στρατηγός* is ascribed by Schlumberger (*Sigillographic de l'Empire Byzantin*, p. 179) to the eighth century. The passage adduced by Gelzer from Const. *De Adm. Imp.* (ed. Bonn, iii. p. 221, l. 3-10) to show that Peloponnesos was made a theme in the

time of Michael III. is insufficient to prove this. The omission of European themes cannot however be used to fix the dates of the Arabic lists, since all omit Hellas, which existed in 695 (Theoph. A M 6187). This passage is neglected by Gelzer, who ascribes the institution of this theme also to the time of Michael III.

⁵ Const. Porph. iii. pp. 31, 32. Lykandos however was not made a *στρατηγίς* till the regency of Zoe (912-919); *id.* p. 228.

⁶ Const. Porph. iii. p. 36.

⁷ The list in *De Cues.* 2. 50. differs from that in *De Them.* by omitting Optimatoi and Cyprus and adding Leontokomis and Dalmatia. As this list gives the salaries of the generals, the omission of Optimatoi is no doubt due to its being under a *δομέστικος*. The three lists in *De Cues.* 2. 52 include the *δομέστικος τῶν ὀπτιμάτων*, but omit Mesopotamia, Sebasteia, Lykandos, Seleukeia, Leontokomis, and Lombardy, probably because they were under officers of lower rank.

themes of the Aegean, Samos, and Cyprus, the only difference is that Al Mas'udi omits Sebasteia and Chaldia; the latter, being included in the earlier Arabic list, has perhaps been omitted by an oversight.¹ That it is later than the other lists follows from the inclusion of Koloneia and from the description of Cappadocia as a *στρατηγίς* instead of a *κλεισοῦρα*, as it appears in these. On the other hand the fact that Koloneia, which was a *στρατηγίς* in 863,² appears as a *κλεισοῦρα* shows that it is earlier than that date.³

The earlier list is cited by Ibn Khurdadhbih from Muslim Ibn Abi Muslim Al Garmi. Of this man we learn from Al Mas'udi that he was among the prisoners exchanged in 845,⁴ and he is described in the following terms: 'He was a man who held a post⁵ on the frontier and was possessed of knowledge as to the people of the Romans and their country; and he wrote books containing information about the Romans and their kings and the men of rank among them, and their districts and the roads and ways through them, and the times of making raids into their country and invasions of it, and about their neighbourhood to the territories of the Burgan and the Avars and the Burghur and the Sakaliba [Slavs] and the Chazars and others.'⁶ Al Garmi's work can hardly have been published till after his return from captivity, and therefore not before 845, but his information was no doubt collected at an earlier time. The reference to Amorion as containing forty-four towers, which we find in Ibn Khurdadhbih, seems to point to a time earlier than the destruction of that city in 838,⁷ but on the other hand the statement that Marg Al Shahm was the seat of the *στρατηγός* of the Anatolic theme indisputably dates from a time later than the destruction of Amorion. Probably therefore the author has merely added this account of Amorion without troubling himself about the fact that it was no longer true. The list itself also apart from its connexion with Al Garmi supplies a *terminus a quo* by the inclusion of Macedonia, for in 789 we find the general of Thrace commanding on the Strymon⁸ and may therefore infer that the theme of Macedonia had not then been instituted.⁹ At first sight it appears that we might fix the date still later, for about 836 we find the

¹ Unless indeed we are to bring this into connexion with the omission of Chaldia in Theoph. Cont. p. 81 (Gelzer p. 99), and suppose that the theme of Chaldia was temporarily suppressed or its territory temporarily lost to the Empire.

² Theoph. Cont. *l.c.*

³ Similarly Charsianon, which in Al Mas'udi is a *κλεισοῦρα*, appears in 873 as a *στρατηγίς* (Genesisius, p. 122), and Sebasteia, not mentioned by him, was a *κλεισοῦρα* under Leo VI. (Const. Porph. i. p. 697, iii. p. 227).

⁴ Or brought up for exchange. As he denied the creation of the Kuran, it is not clear whether he was actually exchanged at this time.

⁵ I cannot make anything else of 'dha

mahal.' Carra de Vaux and Barbier de Meynard (*Prairies d'Or*, ix. p. 357) omit the expression in translation.

⁶ *Tanbih*, p. 190; Transl. p. 257.

⁷ Ibn Al Fakih's statement that Amorion was in the author's time waste need not necessarily be derived from Al Garmi, but may be an insertion either of Ibn Khurd. (see p. 71, note 4), or of Ibn Al Fakih himself.

⁸ Theoph. A M 6281.

⁹ It existed however in 802 (*id.* A M 6294), and a seal of Sergius, *στρατηγός* of Macedonia, is ascribed by Schlumberger (*Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin*, p. 111) to the eighth century. It is not unlikely that its institution was a consequence of the disaster of 789.

commander of the Paphlagonian forces called *κατεπάνω*,¹ while in our list he is entitled *στρατηγός*. If however the account of the installation of the various officers in Const. Porph. *De Cuor.* 2. 53, where we find the expression *προβαλλομένου δὲ ἐκ προσώπου στρατηγοῦ ἢ κλεισουράρχου ἢ κατεπάνω Παφλαγωνίας*,² refers to the Emperor's own time, we should probably infer that *κατεπάνω* was always the strict legal designation of the Paphlagonian commander, though he was commonly described as *στρατηγός*.³ It has however on other grounds been made clear that Al Gar'mi's list dates 838-848 and Al Mas'udi's 845-863. Whether Kudama and Ibn Al Fakih drew directly from Al Gar'mi or from the full text of Ibn Khurdadhbah⁴ there is no certain evidence to show; but probably the latter was the case, since Ibn Khurdadhbah was personally known to Kudama's father⁵ and is often cited by Ibn Al Fakih,⁶ while neither mentions Al Gar'mi.

On examining Al Gar'mi's list two remarkable points are at once apparent, the omission of Kibyrrhaiotai, which is peculiar to it, and the insertion of the puzzling Talaya, which it shares with Al Mas'udi. The former may in part be explained by supposing that the list is a military one and therefore takes no account of the naval theme,⁷ but the fact that in giving the boundaries of the themes he wholly ignores Kibyrrhaiotai, making Thrakesioi extend to the Southern Sea and to the borders of Seleukeia shows that the explanation lies deeper than this. Constantine in his description of Kibyrrhaiotai assigns to it the Isaurian coast-towns, which he also assigns to Seleukeia,⁸ and similarly in his account of the other naval theme of the Aegean assigns to it the coast extending from the promontory of Lekton to the Rhyndakos, which he also assigns to Opsikion.⁹ From these facts we may, I think, infer that the commander of the naval themes had at this time no separate territorial jurisdiction except in the islands, but for naval purposes exercised authority in the coast-towns, which remained in other respects under the jurisdiction of the military officers,¹⁰ and that, when a definite territory was assigned to Kibyrrhaiotai, the Isaurian coast-towns, which were not included in it, remained on their old footing with regard to that theme. As to Talaya the solution is more difficult. No Greek writer mentions any such

¹ Const. Porph. iii. p. 178; Theoph. Cont. p. 123.

² Const. Porph. i. p. 788.

³ He is called *στρατηγός* in 863 (Theoph. Cont. p. 181), and we find Paphlagonia described as a *θέμα* as early as the time of Michael II (Mich. Mon. *vit. Theod. Stud.* 54).

⁴ Our present text is incomplete (De Goeje p. xv. ff.)

⁵ *Id.* p. xxii. His account of the raiding-seasons (p. 199) clearly comes from Al Gar'mi (see above p. 70), but may have been in the full text of Ibn Khurd.

⁶ De Goeje *B. G. A.* v. p. xii.

⁷ In the work of Philotheos (Const. i. p. 715) we find Kibyrrhaictai among the western

themes. See also Gelzer p. 105.

⁸ Const. iii. pp. 35, 38.

⁹ *Id.* pp. 25, 43, 44.

¹⁰ It may have been this fact which led Al Mas'udi to make the mistake of making Seleukeia part of Kibyrrhaiotai. It is however possible, but not likely, that before 863 a territory had been assigned to the commander of the Kibyrrhaiotai and the *κλεισουράρχης* of Seleukeia placed under him. The expression 'τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ τῶν Κιβυρραίων τῷ λεγομένῳ Χελιδονία' (Geo. Mon. p. 720) does not prove territorial jurisdiction, since George is speaking of naval affairs and therefore writing from the naval point of view.

theme, and Constantine expressly says that Constantinople, which the Arabs include in Talaya, was in the theme of Thrace. But, though it may have been reckoned as geographically part of Thrace, the troops in the capital were doubtless not under the *στρατηγός* of Thrace but probably directly under the *δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν*,¹ and we may perhaps infer from the Arabic writers that his immediate authority extended to the long wall. This however still leaves the name unexplained, and it is very difficult to find a satisfactory explanation of it. Prof. De Goeje, adopting the less-attested reading 'Tafra,' takes it to represent *Τάφρος*, and this explanation is accepted by Prof. Gelzer; but I do not know any instance of this word being used with this geographical meaning and should rather take the Arabic word to be a corruption of the name of some military force, perhaps connected with *παλάτιον* or with *τάγματα*.²

As to the information supplied by Al Garmi, besides the doubtful case of the *στρατηγός* of Paphlagonia, his list contains the earliest record of the theme of Chaldia and of the *κλεισοῦραι* of Seleukeia and Charsianon,³ and the latest mention of Cappadocia as a *κλεισοῦρα*.⁴ He also throws much new light on the boundaries of the themes. On other points of interest I have added notes to the translation of the catalogue of Ibn Al Fakih, which follows. At the end of the catalogue I have given a translation of a comment of Yakut, which throws some interesting light on the changes which had taken place in Asia Minor during the three hundred years between Ibn Al Fakih's time and his own.

Catalogue of Ibn Al Fakih.

Ahmad the son of Mahomet, the Hamadhani,⁵ says: The whole number of the provinces of the Romans which are known and named and an accurate report of which has reached us is fourteen provinces, three of which are beyond the Khalig⁶ and eleven on this side of it. And the first of the three beyond the Khalig is called Talaya (?), which is the district of Al Kustantiniya (Constantinople); and its boundary on the eastern side is the Khalig, which starts from the sea of the Chazars and extends to the sea of Al Sham [Syria], and on the south the sea of Al Sham, and on the west a wall which reaches from the sea of Al Sham to the sea of the Chazars and is called Makron Teichos, the meaning of which is 'the long wall'; and the length of it is four days' journey, and it is about two days' journey from Al

¹ Gelzer (pp. 87, 88) believes that they formed an actual theme under the prefect of the city and that this was suppressed by Leo VI. This is plausible, but the evidence for the military authority of the prefect is very weak.

² See De Boor's index to Theophanes *s.v.* *τάγμα*. Talaya might also represent 'τὴν αὐλήν' or 'τὰ ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ (τάγματα)'. It is a tempting but somewhat too daring conjecture that it stands for 'τὴν Ἑλλάδα,' and that Al

Garmi through some blunder supposed this to be Constantinople. This would explain the apparent omission of Hellas.

³ Charsianon is mentioned as a *κλεισοῦρα* in 863 (Theoph. Cont. p. 181). See also p. 70, note 3.

⁴ It was a *στρατηγία* in 863 (Theoph. Cont. *l.c.*) and appears as such in Al Mas'udi.

⁵ *I.e.* Ibn Al Fakih.

⁶ See *J.H.S.* xviii. p. 194, note 5; xix. p. 23.

Kustantiniya. And most of this district consists of the estates of the king and the patricians and meadows for their cattle and draught-animals. And in describing the districts of the Romans I have not been able to attain exactitude and orthographic correctness in the names, and I beg any one who inspects my book to forgive this. But, if any one had aptitude and knowledge and had obtained information as to any of them, I listened to his laudable correction.¹

And beyond this province is the province of Trakiya (Thrace); and its boundary on the eastern side is this long wall, and on the south the province of Macedonia,² and on the west³ the districts of Burgan (Bulgarians), <and on the north the sea of the Chazars, and its length is>⁴ fifteen days' journey, and its breadth from the sea of the Chazars to the boundary of the province of Macedonia three days' journey. And the seat of the imtratighus [στρατηγός] (the wali)⁵ is a fortress called Arkada (Arkadioupolis), seven days' march from Al Kustantiniya; and its army consists of five thousand men.

Next the province of Macedonia; and its boundary on the east is the long wall, and on the south the sea of Al Sham, and on the west the districts of the Sakaliba [Slavs], and on the north the districts of Burgan; and its breadth is five days' journey,⁶ and the seat of the imtratighus (meaning the wali)⁷ is a fortress called Bandus⁸; and its army consists of five thousand men.

Now these three districts are those which are beyond the Khalig; and on this side of the Khalig there are eleven provinces; and the first of them in the country lying upon the sea of the Chazars extending to the Khalig of Al Kustantiniya is the province of Aflaguniya [Paphlagonia]; and the first of its boundaries marches upon Al Antimat [Optimatoi],⁹ and the second is the sea of the Chazars, and the third marches upon the Armeniakoi, and the fourth upon the Buccellarii: and the seat of the imtratighus is Ayalai (?), which is a village, and a town called Naikus (Nikopolis?), and he has another seat named Siwas (Sebasteia ?)¹⁰; and its army consists of five thousand men.

¹ It is not clear whether this apology is to be ascribed to Ibn Al Fakih or to Yakut.

² From the omission of the 'Khalig' among the boundaries and the statement below that the E. boundary of Macedonia was the long wall it is clear that the Thracian theme did not reach to the Propontis.

³ Al Garmi seems to have been in some confusion as to the points of the compass, since Bulgaria was clearly the N. and the Euxine the E. boundary. Similar errors are often found in Kudama, who, unlike Ibn Al Fakih, gives the points of the compass for the Asiatic themes also.

⁴ The sentence, as it stands in the text, can hardly be translated, and a comparison with Ibn Khurdadhbih and Kudama shows that these words have fallen out.

⁵ The explanation is perhaps due to Yakut.

⁶ The length has perhaps fallen out.

⁷ Clearly an insertion of Yakut.

⁸ Wüstenfeld suggests Abydos; if this is right, there must be some confusion. Possibly Kassandreia is meant, but more probably the author has taken Βάνδον for a proper name; cf. Al. Mas. p. 176; transl. p. 239 and note.

⁹ This shows that Paphlagonia reached much farther west than in Constantine's time, when it stopped at the Billaos, the intervening space being occupied by the Buccellarii (Const. iii. pp. 28, 29). That this is not a mere slip appears from the fact that our author places Optimatoi 'by the side' of Paphlagonia. See also p. 76, note 3. Al Mas. however makes Buccellarii extend to the sea, and the change had therefore been made before 863. Kudama in describing the boundaries of Optimatoi includes Paphlagonia and omits Buccellarii.

¹⁰ Neither Nikopolis nor Sebasteia can ever have been in Paphlagonia, and at the end Yakut says that Sebasteia is not mentioned by Ibn Al Fakih. Moreover Siwas seems to be a form of

And by the side of it is the province of Al Antimat [Optimatoi]; and its first boundary is the Khalig;¹ and its army consists of four thousand men. And the men of this province are devoted to the king's service and are not men of war.²

And by the side of it is the province of Opsikion; and its first boundary is the Khalig, and its second Al Antimat, and its third the province of Al Natulikus [Anatolikoi], and its fourth the province of Brakisis [Thrakesioi];³ and the seat of the imtratighus is the fortress of Batana;⁴ and its army consists of six thousand men.

And by the side of it is the province of Brakisis [Thrakesioi]; and its first boundary is the Khalig,⁵ and its second Opsikion, and its third the province of Al Natulikus, and its fourth the sea of Al Sham⁶; and the seat of the imtratighus is in the fortress of Al Warithun; and its name is Kaniyus, and Al Warithun is the name of the district; and its army consists of ten thousand men.

And by the side of it is the province of Al Natulikus [Anatolikoi], the meaning of which is 'the east'; and it is the largest of the provinces of the Romans;⁷ and its first boundary is Opsikion and Al Brakisis, and its second the province of the Buccellarii;⁸ and the seat of the imtratighus is Marg Al Shahm;⁹ and its army consists of fifteen thousand men; and with him are three turmukhs [τουρμάρχαι]. And in this province is 'Ammuriya [Amorion], which is at the present day waste, and Balis [Barbalissos] and Manbig [Hierapolis] and Mar'ash [Germanikeia],¹⁰ and that is the fortress of Burghuth.

Turkish origin, and the name is here spelt differently. For 'Naikus' we might by a change of points read 'Biyufus' or 'Babufus,' which might be a shortened form of Pompeiopolis, or 'Nifus' (= Sinope (?)). For 'Siwas' there is a variant 'Sulas.'

¹ The other boundaries and the seat of the στρατηγός have perhaps fallen out.

² 'τὸ καλούμενον...θέμα Ὀπτιμάτων οὐδεμίαν ἔχει κοινωνίαν πρὸς θέματα· εἰς γὰρ δουλείαν μόνην προσείληπται διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸ οἰκτρότατον καὶ μήτε τούρμαις μήτε δρούγγοις τετιμημένον... εἰς γὰρ ὑπηρεσίαν ἐτέτακτο τῶν στρατιωτῶν.' Const. Porph. iii. p. 26.

³ The omission of Buccellarii (so also Kudama) shows that at least at this time the Anatolic theme reached farther north than is usually supposed (see also p. 76, note 3), the boundary being probably the northern portion of the Sangarios. Jaubert's identification of Marg Al Shahm, the seat of the Anatolic στρατηγός, with Germa (see *J.H.S.* xix. p. 31) is therefore not impossible.

⁴ With an alteration of points we may read 'Nitaya,' which closely resembles Nikaia. Kotyaion may also be suggested.

⁵ The author can hardly mean to make Thrakesioi reach to the Hellespont, and Kudama distinctly makes the Khalig the W. and the Syrian Sea the S. boundary. The 'Khalig' must therefore here include the Aegean, which in the descriptions of Macedonia and Talaya is included in 'the Sea of Al Sham.'

⁶ The omission of Seleukeia (so also Kud.) is apparently an oversight of Al Garmi, since Thrakesioi is given among the boundaries of Seleukeia.

⁷ Territorially it would appear that Thrakesioi was larger, but the author is probably thinking of the size of the army.

⁸ The other boundaries have perhaps fallen out.

⁹ See *J.H.S.* xviii. p. 190 note 1; xix. p. 31 *ad fin.* The reading of Ibn Khurd. however, which is unpointed, seems to be meant for 'Burg Al Takhm' (tower of the boundary), for which 'Marg Al Shahm' should no doubt be restored with De Goeje from Al Idrisi.

¹⁰ The occurrence of these three names in this place is very puzzling. Hierapolis was not Byzantine till 968, and Barbalissos cannot have been so earlier, nor can any of the three

And by the side of it in the direction of the sea is the province of Seleukeia; and its first boundary is the sea of Al Sham, and its second the province of Al Brakisis, and its third the province of Al Natulikis, and its fourth the passes of Tarsos in the direction of Kalamiya [Zephyrion]¹ and Al Lamis [Lamos].² And the name of the ruler of this province is khisliyug [κλεισουράρχης],³ and his rank is lower than that of the imtratighus; and the meaning of the word is 'ruler of the passes,' and it is said that the meaning is 'the king's face';⁴ and his seat is Seleukeia by Antakhiya [Antioch].⁵

Next there adjoins it the province of Al Kubadhak [Cappadocia]; and its first boundary is the mountains of Tarsos and Adana and Al Massisa [Mopsouestia], and its second the province of Seleukeia,⁶ and its third the province of Tulighus⁷ [Anatolikoi], and its fourth the province of Al Samalar [Buccellarii] and Kharshana [Charsianon]; and the seat of the khisliyug is the fortress of Kura [Koron];⁸ and its army consists of four thousand men. And in it are many strong fortresses, and among its districts are Kuriya or Kuniya [Ikonion?]⁹ and Malakuniya [Malakopea] and Gardiliya (?) and others.

And adjoining it is the province of Kharshana [Charsianon]; and its first boundary is the province of Al Kuyar [Cappadocia]; and its second the pass of Malatiya [Melitene], and its third the province of the Armeniakoi, and

have been in the Anatolic theme. Moreover Ibn Khurd. places Burghuth in the Anatolic theme, but without identifying it with Mar'ash, which was not in his time Byzantine. Nor can this be an insertion of Yakut, in whose time these places had long been lost to the Empire. Probably therefore there is some corruption and the words belong to another context.

¹ See Tomaschek in *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad.* cxxiv. VIII. p. 67.

² Either the river or the town may be meant. Between Seleukeia and Al Lamis Al Mas'udi mentions a fort which De Goeje prints as 'Bukiya.' There is however a variant 'Brakiya' or 'Brakana,' and no doubt Prakana is meant (cf. Tomaschek p. 60).

³ The translation following shows this to be the title meant, and Seleukeia is in fact called a κλεισοῦρα by Const. Porph. (iii p. 35); cf. Theoph. Cont. p. 181. Wüstenfeld however corrects the word to 'khiliyarg' = χηλιαρχος. This is no doubt also the meaning of Ibn Khurd.'s expression, 'and its wali is the ruler of the passes,' which is obscured in De Goeje's translation.

⁴ This no doubt refers to the title ἐκ προσώπου, of which several examples are found on seals (Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin*, p. 576 ff.); cf. also Const. Porph. iii.

p. 230; i. pp. 715, 729.

⁵ The obscure Antioch in Isauria must apparently be meant, but even this is eighty miles from Seleukeia. Moreover the preposition should rather mean 'as far as,' and the omission of the strength of the army perhaps points to some words having fallen out. Read perhaps, '<and its army consists of 5,000 men (Kud.), and it reaches from Seleukeia> to Antakhiya.'

⁶ So Kudama. This shows that, as we should expect, the κλεισουραρχίαι of Seleukeia and Cappadocia now adjoined one another and were not divided by a piece of Anatolikoi, as in the maps of Menke and Gelzer. Al Mas. however extends Anatolikoi to the frontier and places Herakleia in it, so that a change had been made before 863.

⁷ *V.l.* 'Tulifus,' which differs only by a point from Tulikus.

⁸ 'φρούριον τὸ καλούμενον Κόρον' (Const. iii. p. 21). See also *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xv. p. 742 and Ramsay *H.G.* p. 355.

⁹ Ikonion was in the Anatolic theme (Const. iii. p. 16), and Yakut at the end states that it was not mentioned by Ibn Al Fakih. Probably therefore the name is corrupt. Ibn Khurd. has 'Karniya' or 'Kutiya' and Al Mas. 'Karniya' or 'Kunana.' Kanna may perhaps be suggested.

its fourth the province of the Buccellarii; and the seat of the khisliyug is the fortress of Kharshana; and its army consists of four thousand men. And among the fortresses in it are Kharshana and Dhariga,¹ [Saricha]² and Ramhasu (?) and Barukta (?) and Makhathiri (?).

Next there adjoins it the province of Al Balaghar [Buccellarii]; and its first boundary is the province of Al Natulik, and its second Al Kubadhak and Kharshana, and its third the province of the Armeniakoi, and its fourth the province of Aflaguniya³; and the seat of the imtratighus is Ankyra, in which is the tomb of Amru'l Kais (and it is mentioned in its place)⁴; and its army consists of eight thousand men, and with its ruler are two turmukhs; and in it are fortresses and many districts.

Next there adjoins it the province of the Armeniakoi; and its first boundary is the province of Aflaguniya, and its second the province of the Buccellarii, and its third Kharshana, and its fourth Galdiya [Chaldia]⁵ and the sea of the Chazars; and the seat of the imtratighus is the fortress of Amaseia; and its army consists of nine thousand men; and with him are three turmukhs: and in it are many districts and fortresses.

Next there adjoins it the province of Galdiya [Chaldia]; and its first boundary is the district of Armenia (and its inhabitants are at variance with the Romans⁶ and are contiguous to Armenia), and its second the sea of the Chazars, and its third the province of the Armeniakoi, and its fourth also the province of the Armeniakoi; and the seat of the imtratighus is Ikrita,⁷ and its army consists of ten thousand men, and with him are two turmukhs; and in it are districts and fortresses. Al Hamadhani says: And this is the whole number of the provinces of the Romans which are known to us on the land. Over each province among them is a wali representing the king, who is called the imtratighus, except the ruler of Al Antimat, and he is called the domestic, and the ruler of Seleukeia and the ruler of Kharshana, and each of these is called the

¹ *V.l.* 'Sariga.'

² See Ramsay *H. G.* p. 312. There is some difficulty about the occurrence of this name here, since in Theoph. Cont. p. 369 we read of 'τὸν ἐν τῷ Σιριχῆ σταυρὸν,' and from Const. iii. p. 225 we learn that 'ἡ τοποσηρησία τοῦ τιμίου Σταυροῦ' was transferred from Buccellarii to Charsianon by Leo. Either there were two 'σταυροί,' or the place had been at an earlier time transferred from Charsianon to Buccellarii.

³ The omission of the sea among the boundaries shows that the statement above as to the Paphlagonian theme (see p. 73, note 9), is not a mere slip. A similar deduction as to the extension of Anatolikoi may be made from the omission of Opsikion (see p. 74, note 3). Optimatoi, which is given among the boundaries by Kudama, has probably been omitted by an oversight.

⁴ Clearly an insertion of Yakut, in whose work the story of Amru'l Kais is recorded under 'Ankyra.' It is not unlikely that the whole reference to Amru'l Kais is due to him.

⁵ From these boundaries we might at first sight infer that the Armeniac theme did not at this time extend to the frontier but was separated from it by Chaldia and Charsianon. As however Chaldia is not mentioned among the boundaries of Charsianon or *vice versa*, the omission of Thughur Al Gazira among the boundaries of Armeniakoi seems to be only an oversight.

⁶ The Paulicians are perhaps meant; but, if so, the passage can hardly date earlier than 843. Moreover their chief centre was in the Armeniac theme.

⁷ See *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xv. p. 740.

khisliyug.¹ And over each of the fortresses of the Romans is a man stationed in it who is called barkilis (?),² who judges among its inhabitants.

Comment by Yakut.

I say: These regions and names seem to me to belong to former days, and I do not think that they still exist at the present time, but the names of the districts and the names of those chief towns have been changed: and of the important places which we know to exist to-day in the districts of the Romans in the hands of the Moslems and of the Christians not one is recorded, such as Kuniya³ and Aksara [Archelais]⁴ and Antakhiya⁵ and Atrabizunda [Trebizond] and Siwas⁶ as well as others of the most celebrated in their districts. But indeed I have recorded it as it is recorded; and God knows.

E. W. BROOKS.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO *J.H.S.* XIX. Pr. 19-33.

P. 20 l. 3 ff. Prof. De Goeje points out that Al Mas'udi (*Tanbih* p. 166) rightly places the retreat in A.H. 100.

P. 26 note 2. The name Serantapechos occurs also in Theoph. A.M. 6295, where Kedrenos has Tessarakontapechys. A Constantine Tessarakontapechys is mentioned in the time of Michael II (Genesios p. 48).

P. 28 l. 20. Prof. De Goeje points out to me that in place of 'the victory was gained by this artifice' the rendering should be 'this artifice became manifest.'

P. 31 l. 18. The whole of Al Tabari is now published. The extract given under A.H. 33 is cited by him from Al Wakidi.

CORRECTIONS TO *J.H.S.* XVIII. P. 208.

L. 6. Through misreading a letter I rendered this wrongly. It should be 'called the pass of Al Hadath Al Salama [safety] on account of [*i.e.* to avoid] the ill omen, because, and that was the disaster (hadath) etc.'

L. 14. For 'king of the summer-raids,' read 'master of the summer-raids' ('mālikh,' not 'mālikh').

L. 18. For 'divided the captured arrows,' read 'distributed the spoil.'

¹ The author has also applied this title to the governor of Cappadocia. He omits to note that the commander of Opsikion was called count.

² Possibly *κομμερκιάριος*.

³ See p. 75, note 9.

⁴ See Ramsay, *H. G.* p. 285.

⁵ *I.e.* Antioch in Pisidia.

⁶ See p. 73, note 10.



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The Arab Occupation of Crete

THE period of the Amorian dynasty (820–67) is, in consequence of the scantiness of our sources and the paucity of dates and absence of chronological order which we find in them, perhaps the most obscure in the annals of the eastern empire; and in this period not the least obscure event is the Arab conquest of Crete. That the conquerors were adventurers from Spain, who, having been banished from that country after a sedition in 814, sailed to Egypt and seized Alexandria, from which they were expelled by 'Abd Allah ibn Tahir, is well known; but the whole story is told by Arabic writers only, the Greek authors saying nothing of Egypt, and seeming to think that the conquerors came direct from Spain. On the other hand, for the facts of the conquest itself, with the exception of three lines of Al Baladhuri (*c.* 870), in which it is merely stated that the Arab leader, Abu Hafs, took a fortress and settled in it, and then conquered the rest of the island, one place after another, and destroyed the fortresses,¹ we depend entirely on Greek sources. Al Baladhuri, according to a citation in Yaqut's *Geographical Dictionary*,² placed the conquest of the island in A. H. 210 (24 April 825—12 April 826); but, as the date is not in either of the existing manuscripts, its originality must be doubtful. According to Al Ya'qubi, who wrote about 880, the capture of Alexandria took place in 212 (2 April 827—21 March 828);³ but Al Tabari (*d.* 923) places it in 210, though he mentions another account which placed it in 211 (13 April 826—1 April 827);⁴ while of the Greek authors George the Monk only states that the Arabs conquered Crete during the reign of Theophilus (829–42),⁵ the Logothete says that Crete and Sicily were occupied at the time of the rebellion of Thomas (821–3),⁶ though the Arab landing in Sicily is definitely fixed to 827, and Genesisius that during this rebellion the adventurers plundered Crete and in the next year came back and occupied it.⁷ Accordingly modern scholars have

¹ p. 236 (Vasilyev, *Vizantiya i Araby*, i, app. p. 4). For another alleged Arabic account see below, p. 438.

² i. 237.

⁴ iii. 1091.

⁶ Georg. Mon., ed. Bonn, p. 789.

³ ii. 561.

⁵ Ed. De Boor, p. 798.

⁷ Ed. Bonn, p. 46.

generally followed Al Tabari and dated the conquest in 825 or 826.⁸ The Syriac chronicler Michael, however, agreeing with Al Ya'qubi, tells us that 'Abd Allah laid siege to Alexandria in March 827 and took it after nine months,⁹ i. e. in December 827; and, as he follows the patriarch Dionysius, who was in Egypt with the caliph in 832,¹⁰ his authority would seem to be decisive, in spite of the fact that he did not know where the adventurers went when they left Alexandria, but represents them as returning to Spain. If, however, any confirmation is required, it is provided, as far as the year is concerned, by the Egyptian historian Al Kindi (d. 961), recently published by Mr. R. Guest, who places the fall of Alexandria in Rabi' I, 212 (31 May—29 June 827).¹¹ The second date given by Al Tabari is correct for the arrival of 'Abd Allah in Egypt, but he has omitted to allow for the fact that his campaigns in that country lasted two years. As regards the month, it seems best to give the preference to Michael, and place the expulsion of the Spanish refugees from Alexandria in December 827, and consequently their invasion of Crete in 828.¹²

This date being accepted, it remains to see how it can be fitted in with the narratives of the Greek writers. Of these George and the Logothete merely mention the fact of the conquest, while the Continuator of Theophanes for the most part paraphrases Genesisius; and to Genesisius, therefore, the first place must be given. This writer tells us that in the year before the conquest the adventurers had ravaged the island: but they can hardly have come during the siege of Alexandria, and the statement cannot be reconciled with his assertion, corroborated by the Logothete, that the attack took place during the rebellion of Thomas. If this is to be taken literally, the raid must be dated not later than 823, though, if we take the civil war caused by the rebellion to be meant, we may postpone it to 824. It is, of course, possible that more than one raid was made; but the phrase τῷ ἐπιόντι καιρῷ is probably merely a formula of transition and not dependent on any authority. He then goes on to tell the story of how the Arab leader Abu Hafs, on landing in Crete, burned the ships in order to prevent his men from returning, and on their protesting that it would separate them from their wives, answered that they could find wives in the country; but this story can hardly be reconciled either with the fact that they had been expelled from Alexandria (of which Genesisius

⁸ Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, ii. 233; Hirsch, *Byzant. Studien*, p. 136; Gelzer ap. Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byzant. Litt.*, p. 967; Vasilyev, *op. cit.*, i. 47; Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, p. 288.

⁹ Ed. Chabot, p. 515.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 522. Dionysius was personally acquainted with 'Abd Allah (p. 508) and recorded his campaigns in Syria and Egypt with exact dates.

¹¹ p. 184.

¹² On the dates given by the Arabic biographers see below, pp. 438 ff.

was ignorant) and must therefore be presumed to have brought their wives with them, or at any rate could not return, or with the fact that immediately afterwards we find them ravaging the Aegean.¹³ Genesisius then states that Craterus, στρατηγός of the Cibyrrhaeots, was sent against the invaders and won a victory, but, as he neglected to keep a guard during the night, his force was annihilated by an unexpected attack, and he alone escaped in a merchant-ship, but the enemy pursued him in two ὀλκάδες, caught him, and crucified him in Cos, after which Ooryphas collected a naval force and expelled the marauders from the other islands which they were ravaging.¹⁴ He then records the death of Michael II (October 829).

Within the space of twenty-two months, therefore, we must, if this narrative is accepted, compress the voyage from Alexandria to Crete, the first successes of the invaders, the conveyance of the news to Constantinople, the transmission of orders to the Cibyrrhaeots on the south coast of Asia Minor,¹⁵ the voyage of the fleet to Crete, the defeat and death of Craterus, the ravaging of the islands, the collection of a fleet by Ooryphas, and the expulsion of the Arabs from the other islands. This is difficult enough; but the difficulty is further increased by a notice of the Continuator under the reign of Theophilus, in which he tells us that at the time of the accessions of Theophilus, in October of the 8th indiction (829), the Roman fleet was annihilated by the Arabs off Thasos.¹⁶ This exact date must clearly be accepted, and it leaves no room for the activity of Ooryphas: for the ravaging of the Aegean cannot have seriously begun before 829, and it is absurd to tell us that a new force was collected and the islands cleared, if the fleet was destroyed in October.¹⁷ Obviously the measures of Ooryphas were taken when there was no fleet in the Aegean, for otherwise it would not have been necessary to make a special levy, and the men would not have embarked on ὀλκάδες; and his action therefore followed the battle of Thasos. This date does not involve any real departure from the narrative of Genesisius, for he does not mention the battle; and, though he should strictly have recorded the successes of Ooryphas under the reign of Theophilus, it is natural that he should relate them where he does in order to avoid interrupting the narrative. The course

¹³ On an alleged Arabic confirmation of the story see below, p. 439.

¹⁴ This seems to be the meaning of τὴν ἐλευθερίαν πολλαῖς [πολλοῖς?] ἐχορήγησαν.

¹⁵ The summoning of the Cibyrrhaeots may be explained by the fact that a fleet had gone to Sicily this year (Nuwairi ap. Amari, *Bibl. arabo-sicula*, p. 429; Ibn al Athir, ed. Tornberg, vi. 237 = Amari, p. 223).

¹⁶ Theoph. Cont. iii. 39.

¹⁷ Even if we take Al Kindi's date for the capture of Alexandria, the landing cannot be placed before the late summer of 827, or the expedition of Craterus before spring 828, so that the difficulty is not materially lessened.

of events is then quite clear. The Arabs landed in Crete early in 828, during the summer or early autumn Craterus attacked them and was defeated, his fleet probably being captured or destroyed,¹⁸ in 829 they set out to attack the other islands, and in October annihilated the Aegean squadron off Thasos. After this the islands for a time lay at their mercy ;¹⁹ but Ooryphas collected a new force and eventually succeeded in protecting the Aegean from their ravages ; but how long they carried on their raids unchecked, or how long he was able to hold them at bay, we do not know.²⁰ In 841, as we shall see, they were raiding Asia Minor. It is not necessary to suppose that they had completed the conquest of Crete before beginning the raids in the Aegean. It appears both from Al Baladhuri and from Genesisus that the process took some time,²¹ and George the Monk places the conquest in the reign of Theophilus ; but on the details of it we have no information.

As far, then, as Genesisus is concerned, no serious difficulty arises from the later date for the landing : but the Continuator, while otherwise repeating his narrative, inserts before the expedition of Craterus a story to the effect that Photinus, general of the Anatolics, great-grandfather of the Empress Zoe, the mother of Constantine VII, was sent to Crete as governor, and, on his asking for assistance, Damian the constable was sent with a considerable force, but the Arabs won a great victory, Damian being killed and Photinus escaping alone in a boat ; in spite of his ill-success, however, he was appointed *στρατηγός* of Sicily.²² This Photinus, Amari (following a suggestion of Caussin de Perceval²³) identified with the Sicilian *στρατηγός* who was captured and put to death by the rebel Euphemius, whom the Arabic writers call Constantine, pointing out that in Al Nuwairi the name is incorrectly transliterated and appears in a form that does not greatly differ from 'Photinus'.²⁴ As, however, the Arab invasion of Sicily was certainly in 827, and the death of the general cannot therefore be placed later than 826, now that

¹⁸ This seems to follow from the facts that he did not board one of his own ships and that the Arabs pursued him to Cos in two *δρακῆδες*. The exact facts, however, cannot be recovered, and the commander's escape alone in a boat, which is related also of Photinus, can hardly be taken seriously.

¹⁹ Georgius Monachus places the ravaging of the islands in the time of Theophilus. The Logothete, on the other hand, states that the Cyclades, like Crete and Sicily, were occupied during the rebellion of Thomas.

²⁰ Symeon Magister (p. 624) says that Ooryphas suffered a severe defeat in an attack on Crete; but, as he seems to have no source except Genesisus, and no other writer mentions this, there is perhaps some misunderstanding.

²¹ The supposition of Vasilyev (p. 48) and Bury (p. 288) that hardly any resistance was offered seems at variance with both these authors.

²² Theoph. Cont., ii. 22.

²³ *Hist. de Sicile* ap. Riedesel, *Voyages*, p. 404.

²⁴ *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, i. 245, 246, 250. Al Nuwairi adds the name 'Suda', which reminds us of the Sudaes of Theoph. Cont. iv. 16, who may have been his son.

we have established the true date of the invasion of Crete, it follows that the identification can only be maintained if we suppose that Photinus was sent to Crete at the time of the raid which preceded the Arab occupation. But it is difficult to think that the Anatolic general would be transferred to the petty command of Crete for so trumpery a purpose, which would naturally fall within the sphere of one of the naval *στρατηγοί*, nor, indeed, would there have been time to bring him so far.

Amari's identification, indeed, though it has been generally accepted,²⁵ was never very convincing,²⁶ and there are several reasons against it. In the first place, the Continuator was specially interested in Photinus on account of his relationship to his imperial patron, and therefore, if Photinus played so important a part in connexion with the rebellion of Euphemius, which this author relates from the contemporary work of Theognostus,²⁷ it is strange that he should omit all mention of him. Secondly, it must be assumed that a man who had held the high office of Anatolic general would be a man of middle age; and it must equally be assumed that Zoe was at the time of her son's birth in 906 a young woman. Hence it follows that the distance of time between the Cretan expedition of Photinus and the birth of Constantine VII is not three generations, but little, if anything, more than two; and, as in that time and country people married earlier than with us, eighty years is a most unlikely time to allow. Professor Bury believes that the narrative of the Cretan expedition is also taken from Theognostus; but the relationship of Photinus to Zoe must in any case be a family tradition derived from the emperor, and it seems most obvious to suppose that the whole story comes from this source.²⁸ In this case no date would be mentioned in the tradition, and the author inserted it at this point because, as Photinus was sent to expel the Arabs, he supposed that the expedition took place immediately after the landing of the invaders, though, if it really happened at this time, Genesisius would not have been likely to omit it. The identification of Photinus with 'Constantine Suda' must therefore be abandoned, and we must look for another date at which to place the expedition of Photinus to Crete and his government of Sicily.

The relationship of Photinus to Zoe would seem to fix the date

²⁵ Vasilyev, p. 58; Bury, p. 479. In Finlay's *Hist. of the Byzantine and Greek Empires* (i. 164), which appeared a year before Amari's work, the identification is assumed without discussion or reference.

²⁶ Ibn al Athir and Ibn Khaldun have clearly 'Constantine', and in all manuscripts of Al Nuwairi the *s* is preserved, while the best reading differs from 'Constantine' only by the easy omission of the first *t* (the difference between *f* and *q*, which is one of pointing only, is negligible).

²⁷ ii. 27.

²⁸ So Hirsch, *Byzant. Studien*, p. 196.

of the Cretan episode to some time between 840 and 860; and of these years 840 and 841 may be ruled out by the eastern complications, which make it most unlikely that the Anatolic general would be then transferred to Crete, even if such an expedition were undertaken at all, and 843 by the expedition of Theoctistus:²⁹ the fact that Theoctistus was sent to Crete in 843 also makes the years 842 and 844 improbable. Again, in the autumn of 859 Constantine Contomytes came to Sicily as *στρατηγός*,³⁰ and the appointment of Photinus to the same post can therefore hardly have been later than 858 or his Cretan expedition than 857. Further, Photinus can scarcely have gone to Crete in the capacity of Anatolic general, and we must therefore assume that he was appointed *στρατηγός* of Crete, as in fact the Continuator seems to imply,³¹ and, since Crete had before the Arab occupation been ruled by an *ἄρχων*,³² the *στρατηγός* would seem to have been created for the benefit of Photinus,³³ who, having been *στρατηγός* of the Anatolics, could not be degraded to a lower rank. But a *στρατηγός* of Crete appears in the *Taktikon* of Uspensky,³⁴ which was composed under Michael and Theodora, and therefore not later than March 856. Hence it follows that the expedition to Crete was not later than 855; and, as it seems improbable that Bardas would have sent an unsuccessful nominee of Theodora to command in Sicily, I think we must place it not later than 854. Of the ten years which remain 845 is not an unlikely date, for at that time there was an armistice in the east, and the fact that reinforcements were sent to Sicily that year³⁵ is not a very serious objection, for the Romans may well have seized the opportunity to make attempts to recover both islands: but in fact, with the exception of the operations undertaken at the time of the Armenian revolt in 851, no serious fighting went on in the east till 855, and there is another date during this period at which there is much to be said for placing the expedition of Photinus. We learn from Al Tabari³⁶ that in 853 three squadrons were sent out, one of which, under a commander whose name appears in the text as Ibn Q(a)tuna, sacked Damietta (22 May)

²⁹ Georg. Mon., ed. Bonn, p. 814.

³⁰ Cambridge Chronicle, A.M. 6368; cf. Theoph. Cont., iv. 22.

³¹ ii. 22 “τὰ τῆς Κρήτης ἅπαντα διοικεῖν προβάλετο”; “τὴν τῆς Σικελίας στρατηγίδα αὐτοῖς τῆς Κρήτης ἀλλάσσειται”: so Bury, p. 289.

³² Bury, *Imperial Administrative System*, p. 14.

³³ Bury (*l. c.*) believes it to have been created for Theoctistus in 843; but Theoctistus seems to have been *κανίκελος* after as well as before the expedition (Georg. Mon., ed. Bonn, pp. 811, 821), and, if Damian went as constable, Theoctistus may have gone as *κανίκελος*, and there was no more need for him to assume a special office than on his expedition of the following year. It was not uncommon to send a high official from the capital on such an expedition without change of post.

³⁴ Bury, p. 13.

³⁵ Cambridge Chronicle, A.M. 6354.

³⁶ iii. 1417 (Vasilyev, i, app., p. 51).

and carried off a store of arms intended for the Cretan Arabs, while the destination of the other two, the names of the commanders of which may be read as 'Urif (Ooryphas)³⁷ and Amardinaqah (Martinacius)³⁸ is not stated. Now it seems unlikely that three squadrons would be sent out merely to loot; and we are perhaps therefore entitled to infer that the seizure of the arms was not an incident of the expedition but its object, and that the other squadrons sailed to Syrian ports from which it was known that arms were likely to be shipped to Crete. In this case we can hardly but assume that an attack upon the corsairs was being prepared: and, if so, this attack, if carried out, must have taken place in 853 or 854; indeed, as the name transliterated Qatuna may by the omission of a point be read Futuna or Fituna, and 'Ibn' is omitted in one of the two manuscripts which contain this passage and in Al Ya'qubi, who records the expedition from another source,³⁹ it is tempting to see in the mysterious 'Ibn Qatuna' the very Photinus whose history we are seeking to unravel, and to suppose that the descent upon Crete was made on his return from Egypt,⁴⁰ and therefore in 853. This, however, is conjectural, and all that can be affirmed on any solid ground is that the Cretan expedition of Photinus took place during the years 845-54. The name Michael given by the Continuator to the emperor under whom he was sent may then have been part of the tradition, and his error have arisen from supposing that Michael II was intended instead of Michael III.

It has been usual to place at the beginning of the reign of Theophilus⁴¹ a raid upon Asia Minor mentioned by the continuator, in which the raiders were cut to pieces by Constantine Comytetes, the Thracesian general.⁴² The reason for this is apparently that the author narrates it immediately before the battle of Thasos: but he is not writing in chronological order, and places no note of connexion between the two events, while, on the other hand, he states that it occurred about the same time as the events last recorded, which are the deaths of Theophobus and Theophilus (January 842); and I see no reason to

³⁷ Rozen ad Tab.

³⁸ For this family see Genesis, p. 70.

³⁹ ii. 597 (Vasilyev, app., p. 10). There are here no points over the first letter, which may therefore be either *q* or *f*. At the end are the letters *r s r*, which may represent a surname.

⁴⁰ Tabari says of the three leaders, 'These were the three commanders on the sea,' by which an office seems to be meant. If the statement is trustworthy, they might be the *στρατηγός* of the Cibyrrhaeots and the *drungarii* of the Aegean and of the imperial squadron; or, if Photinus was one of them, we might infer that the Cretan *στρατηγός* was intended to be a naval theme. It might, however, be difficult to find a parallel for the appointment of a military officer to a naval command.

⁴¹ Lebeau, *Hist. du Bas-Empire*, xiii. 92; Muralt, *Essai de Chron. byzant.*, p. 431; Vasilyev, p. 76; Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire*, p. 291.

⁴² Theoph. Cont., iii. 39.

reject this date, which agrees better with the fact that Constantine Contomytes was appointed *στρατηγός* of Sicily in 859.⁴³ It was, however, unusual to make expeditions in the winter; and therefore, if any confidence is to be placed in the note of time, the event must be dated in 841.

I have stated above that for the details of the Arab conquest of Crete we have, with the exception of three lines of Al Baladhuri, Greek authorities only. Conde, however, cites a narrative in which the burning of the ships is described as from the biographical dictionary of the Spanish Arab Al Humaidi (d. 1095);⁴⁴ and on the strength of this citation this author has been accepted as corroborating the story of Genesis.⁴⁵ Now only one manuscript of Al Humaidi's work is known to exist, and that is at Oxford; and Professor Margoliouth, who has most kindly examined the manuscript for me, assures me that in the passage which Conde cites this contains nothing that is not in the work of Al Humaidi's copyist and continuator, Al Dhabbi (d. 1203), which was published by Codera and Ribera in 1886 from an Escorial MS., the only one known to exist in Europe;⁴⁶ and he also points out that it appears from Conde's own preface that he knew Al Humaidi only through Al Dhabbi.⁴⁷ We may therefore be quite confident that in the extract from Al Dhabbi, of which I give a translation below,⁴⁸ we have all the information that was at Conde's disposal.

'Umar the son of Shu'aib Abu Hafs who was called 'Al Ghaliz',⁴⁹ Al Balluti, from the districts of Fahs al Ballut near Cordova. He is mentioned by Abu Muhammad the son of Hazm,⁵⁰ and he says that he came from Qull al Rabadhiyin,⁵¹ and that it was he who made the expedition to Crete and conquered it after the year 230 [18 September 844—7 September 845], and his descendants ruled it in succession after him until 'Abd al 'Aziz the son of Shu'aib was the last of them, in whose days Romanus the son of Constantine, king of the Romans, took possession of it, in the year 350 [20 February 961—8 February 962], and most of those who joined him in the conquest were men of Spain. This is what he says. And he is men-

⁴³ Cambridge Chronicle, A.M. 6368. There is no need with Vasilyev (p. 176) to postulate two men of this name.

⁴⁴ *Los Arabes en España* (ed. 1844), i. 205.

⁴⁵ Hirsch, p. 136; Vasilyev, p. 48; Bury, p. 288, 289.

⁴⁶ *Bibliotheca Arabo-Hispana*, tom. iii.

⁴⁷ p. xxvii.

⁴⁸ p. 394 (no 1164). I am indebted to Professor Margoliouth for the reference and to Mr. Amedroz for assistance with the translation.

⁴⁹ i. e. 'the rough'.

⁵⁰ Al Humaidi's master; d. 1064 (Brockelmann, *Gesch. d. arab. Litt.*, p. 400).

⁵¹ From information supplied by Professor Margoliouth I make a slight correction from the Oxford MS. Qull al Rabadhiyin seems to be a place-name (Margoliouth), but an allusion to the insurrection of the *rabadh* (suburb) in 814 (Ibn al Athir, vi. 209), which led to the expulsion of the future conquerors of Crete, appears obvious. Abu Hafs's native place is elsewhere called Butruh; see below p. 443, and P. de Gayangos, *Hist. of the Mohamm. Dynasties in Spain*, ii. 103.

tioned by Abu Sa'id the son of Yunus,⁵² and he says : 'Shu'aib the son of 'Umar the son of 'Isa Abu 'Umar, lord of the island of Crete, carried out the conquest of it after the year 220 [5 January—26 December 835] ; and this Shu'aib used to write in Al Iraq, and he wrote under my grandfather Yunus the son of 'Abd al A'la⁵³ and others also in Egypt.' This is the end of the words of Ibn Yunus. Now these men differ as to his name, one saying 'Umar the son of Shu'aib', and the other saying 'Shu'aib the son of 'Umar', and both describe him as the conqueror ; if that were not so, we should have said that one of them was the son of the other : and it may be that both were present at the conquest : if it is not so, there has been a transposition in the case of one of them. God knows.

Conde correctly introduces this notice with the words 'cuenta Edobi', but he then gives as part of the citation the statement that the insurgents after their expulsion chose Abu Hafis as their leader, which is not in the text ; instead of 'Abu Muhammad ibn Hazm' he writes 'Said ben Jonas', omitting the real citation from Ibn Yunus, and at the end he writes 'Así lo refiere Homeidi citando á Muhamad ben Huzam', though he has just given 'Said ben Jonas' as the authority ('Abu' he seems to consider a superfluous prefix). These are only instances of his habitual inaccuracy : but he then goes on to repeat on the authority of Al Humaidi the story of the conquest almost as it appears in the Greek writers, the only statements of fact not contained in these being the mention of Suda instead of Charax as the landing-place and the localization of Candia at the east end of the island ; and both these, as well as certain literary embellishments, are also to be found in Gibbon, while no detail of the Greek that is preserved by Conde is absent from Gibbon, and both writers, while otherwise following Genesius, insert the allusion to future children from the Continuator. To make the matter quite clear, I place the passages of Gibbon and Conde in parallel columns, printing in italics expressions absent in the Greek texts which are common to both writers.

GIBBON, ed. Bury, vi. 37.

A band of Andalusian volunteers . . . explored the adventures of the sea ; but, as they sailed in no more than 10 or 20 galleys, their warfare must be branded with the name of piracy. . . . From the mouth of the Nile to the Hellespont, the islands and sea-coasts, both of the *Greeks* and Moslems, were exposed to their

CONDE (ed. 1844), i. 205.

Así lo refiere Homeidi citando á Muhamad ben Huzam, y cuenta asimismo que estos andaluces con veinte naves corrian y robaban en el mar *griego* y en sus islas :

⁵² Native of Egypt ; d. 958 (Ibn Khallikan, transl. De Slane, ii. 94).

⁵³ Said to have been born in 787 and to have died in 878 (*op. cit.* iv. 595).

depredations. . . . The Andalusians wandered over the land fearless and unmolested; but, when they descended *with their plunder* to the sea-shore, their vessels were in flames, and their chief, Abu Caab, confessed himself the author of the mischief. Their clamours accused his madness or treachery. 'Of what do you complain?' replied the crafty emir. 'I have brought you to a land flowing with milk and honey. Here is your true country; . . . forget *the barren place of your nativity.*' 'And our wives and children?' 'Your *beauteous* captives will supply the place of your wives, and *in their embraces* you will soon become the fathers of a new progeny.' Their first habitation was their camp . . . in the bay of *Suda*:⁵⁴ but an apostate monk led them to a . . . position *in the eastern parts*; and the name of Candax, their . . . colony, had [has?] been extended to the whole island.

dice que deseando ellos por el natural amor á su patria tornar á ella *con las muchas riquezas que habian allegado*, que su caudillo les quemó la flota, y como se quejasen de él y de su constante determinacion, lamentándose de su destierro, que el caudillo les dijo:

'Cuanto mejor y mas amena es esta isla que corre miel y leche, que *vuestros desiertos* "!"

entre estas *bellas cautivas* olvidareis vuestras amadas; *hallareis aqui todos los placeres de la vida* y una nueva jeneracion, que será vuestro solaz en la vejez': que moraban en *Suda*, y fundaron *Candax al oriente de la isla*.

The authority cited by Conde therefore turns out to be no ancient Arab writer, but an Englishman of the eighteenth century, and the figure of Al Humaidi as an authority for anything beyond the fact of the conquest and the personality of the conqueror must disappear from history. At first sight it seems impossible to acquit Conde of fraud; but such a charge should not be made if any other explanation is possible: and, when we consider the difficulties under which his work was produced,⁵⁵ I think we may believe that, when compiling material for his history, unable to find any Arabic account of the conquest, he wrote the paraphrase of Gibbon under the citation from Al Dhabbi, and, when putting his work into shape, forgot the source of it and imagined it to be part of the citation. But, though all direct Arabic authority for the story of the burning of the ships disappears, it still seems likely that Genesius obtained it directly or indirectly from Arab tradition. The same thing was done in this very year 828 by the Arab commander in Sicily in order to save his ships

⁵⁴ I do not know where Gibbon found the identification of Charax with Suda. The two words have the same meaning (Ducange, s.v. Σοῦδα).

⁵⁵ See P. de Gayangos, *Hist. of the Mohamm. Dyn. in Spain*, i, p. xi.

from falling into the hands of the Romans,⁵⁶ and the Cretan Arabs may well have transferred the story to their own leader. That Genesisius had some Cretan informant⁵⁷ seems certain from the fact that he makes special mention of the preservation of the blood of the martyr Cyril of Gortyna and the miracles wrought by it, and of the tombs of other local martyrs,⁵⁸ which would not interest any one but a native of the island.

Al Humaidi is clearly right in his surmise that 'Umar ibn Shu'aib and Shu'aib ibn 'Umar are father and son; and Shu'aib is obviously the Σαίπης of Genesisius (p. 47),⁵⁹ the second Arab ruler of Crete. That Ibn Yunus calls Abu Hafs not Ibn Shu'aib but Ibn 'Isa need not trouble us, for, as Ibn Yunus himself was by his own statement not son but grandson of Yunus, so either Shu'aib or 'Isa may have been grandfather of Abu Hafs. The picture which Ibn Yunus presents to us of the pirate *amir* as a travelling collector of traditions is a strange one; but, as he is said to have studied under the writer's own grandfather, the authority is good, and it is in fact only to his literary distinction that we owe the notice of him, for the biographers took no account of any but literary men, Abu Hafs being perhaps included because he was confused with his son. Shu'aib's literary travels were no doubt undertaken during his father's lifetime, as we may in fact gather from another version of the extract from Ibn Yunus preserved by Al Sam'ani, to which I shall again refer, where the sentence in question runs: 'And he used to write *before* in Al 'Iraq, and he wrote under Yunus the son of 'Abd al A'la and others in Egypt.' Of the two dates given, 220 and 230, we may assume one to be a corruption of the other, and whichever was the original probably preserved the date of the death of Abu Hafs and succession of Shu'aib, which, as the two were believed to be the same person, was supposed to be the date of the conquest. Of the two dates the later would seem the more probable in order to allow time for Shu'aib's literary career; for, as he studied under a man who lived till 878 and was himself alive in 875,⁶⁰ it is hard to think that his studies began before the conquest, though, as both Al Humaidi and Al Sam'ani give 220 in the citation from Ibn Yunus, this date must have been given by that author.

⁵⁶ Ibn al Athir, vi. 237 = Amari, *Bibl. arabo-sicula*, p. 223; Nuwairi ap. Amari p. 429.

⁵⁷ So Bury, p. 289, n. 1.

⁵⁸ p. 48. The Continuator (ii. 23) has by a misunderstanding taken the allusion to Cyril as a record of a martyrdom at the hands of the Arabs; see De Boor in *Byz Zeitschr.* xiii. 433.

⁵⁹ Theoph. Cont. (v. 60) calls him Σαήτ.

⁶⁰ Theoph. Cont., v. 60. For the date see Vasilyev, ii. 48; but the restoration of the true date for the landing necessitates substituting 875 for 872.

An interesting point arises from the form which the notice of Shu'aib takes in Al Sam'ani. This writer, a native of Merv who died in 1167⁶¹ and is independent of the Spanish authors, composed a biographical dictionary known as *Kitab al Ansab* or *Book of Surnames*, in which the subjects of the notices were arranged, not as in other dictionaries in the alphabetical order of the names given to them in infancy, but in the order of the *ansab* or descriptive designations which were borne by many eminent Moslems, and especially by literary men. In this work the *nisba* under which the notice of Shu'aib is given is Al Iqritishi (the Cretan), and it begins: 'Crete. That is an island in the western district from which many learned men came; and the most famous of them is Abu 'Amr Shu'aib the son of 'Umar the son of 'Isa Al Iqritishi,'⁶² the rest being as in Al Humaidi down to the citation given above. Ibn Yunus is not mentioned, but the notice clearly comes from him, and we must assume that he gave Shu'aib the *nisba* Al Iqritishi, though Al Humaidi has not preserved it.⁶³ The same *nisba* is also assigned by Al Baladhuri to Abu Hafs,⁶⁴ and it would therefore appear to have been used as a hereditary surname by the amirs of Crete. Now Al Nuwairi tells us that in the year 244 (19 April 858—7 April 859) 'Ali brother of the *amir* of Sicily made an expedition by sea, during which Al Iqritishi met him with forty ships, but 'Ali put him to flight and took ten of his ships,⁶⁵ while Ibn 'Adhari, though following the same source, says that 'Ali went to Crete and plundered it, but fortune then turned against the Moslems, and twelve of their ships were taken.⁶⁶ The Al Iqritishi here mentioned is supposed by Amari⁶⁷ to have been a Roman general, and he suggests John Creticus, *στρατηγός* of Peloponnesus under Basil;⁶⁸ but the passages from Al Baladhuri and Ibn Yunus are striking confirmation of the opinion of the older writers whom he cites that he was the *amir* of Crete: he can hardly, however, have been Abu Hafs, as Caussin de Perceval⁶⁹ and Martorana⁷⁰ supposed, still less the unknown Ahmad of Rampoldi,⁷¹ but he

⁶¹ I take this information from Professor Margoliouth's preface to the facsimile edition recently published by the Gibb Trustees.

⁶² fo. 47', l. 3. I owe the reference to Mr. Amedroz.

⁶³ Yaqut (i. 337) gives the extract from Ibn Yunus in a shorter form, omitting the *nisba*. This is followed without obvious break by a long account of the recovery of Crete in 961; but this cannot be the work of Ibn Yunus, who died in 958. It ends with the statement that Crete was then in the hands of the Franks, which must have been written after 1204 and is probably Yaqut's own addition.

⁶⁴ p. 236 (Vasilyev, i, app., p. 4).

⁶⁵ Amari, *Bibl. arabo-sicula*, p. 432.

⁶⁶ Ed. Dozy, i. 106 = Amari, p. 358.

⁶⁷ *Storia dei Musulm. di Sicilia*, i. 320; followed by Vasilyev, p. 175.

⁶⁸ Theoph. Cont., v. 62.

⁶⁹ *Hist. de Sicile*, ap. Riedesel, *Voyages*, p. 413.

⁷⁰ *Notizie Storiche*, i. 43.

⁷¹ *Annali musulmani*, iv. 315.

was in all probability Shu'aib. It only remains to consider how 'Ali came into collision with the Cretan Arabs. It is very likely that the statement of Ibn 'Adhari that he raided Crete is a mere blunder,⁷² such as from the indistinctness of the writing often occurs in Arabic writers; and in that case we may suppose that he was raiding the mainland of Greece or the islands, and that the *amir* of Crete, considering this as poaching on his preserves, attacked him. The account of Ibn 'Adhari is not, however, impossible. It is certainly most unlikely that 'Ali set out with the intention of attacking Crete: the fact that the *amir* had a fleet at hand would be sufficient to prevent this, and, while there was plenty of imperial territory to raid, it is not probable that he would deliberately attack an island under Moslem rule. He may, however, have been driven by the weather to put in at Crete; and, with men out for plunder and short of provisions and among a population which was mainly Christian, looting would naturally follow. Unfortunately Ibn al Athir, who used the same source as Al Nuwairi and Ibn 'Adhari for Sicilian affairs, is here silent, and, as our only Greek source, the Cambridge Chronicle, merely says ἐπιάσθησαν τὰ κράβια τοῦ Ἀλή,⁷³ we have no means of determining the question.

I conclude with another short notice of Abu Hafs which follows the extract from Al Baladhuri in Yaqut (i. 337):

And others besides Al Baladhuri say: 'Crete was conquered in the early days of Al Mamun' [813-33], and it is said 'It was conquered after the year 250 [13 February 864—1 February 865] through the instrumentality of 'Amr the son of Shu'aib who was called Ibn al Ghaliz; and he was one of the men of the village of Butruh in the district of Fahs al Ballut in Spain, and his issue inherited it for many years.'

This closely resembles the notice quoted from Ibn Hazm by Al Humaidi.

E. W. BROOKS.

⁷² Vasilyev, p. 175, n. 4.

⁷³ A.M. 6366. This confirms Al Nuwairi's account of the result. The version of Ibn 'Adhari is a misunderstanding, and the two narratives cannot be combined as is attempted by Amari and Vasilyev.



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Notes and Documents

The Brothers of the Emperor Constantine IV

FOR the history of the descendants of Heraclius we have, as far as secular affairs are concerned, no contemporary authority, and, until the publication of the Syriac chronicle of Michael, we were almost entirely dependent on the work of Theophanes; for Nicephorus merely reproduces one of the sources used by Theophanes in a shorter form, and the later Greek writers copy Theophanes or his source and add scarcely anything to our knowledge. This period is therefore, with the exception of that of the Amorians, the most obscure in the history of the empire. Among the difficulties for which no satisfactory solution has yet been found is that of the relations between Constantine IV and his brothers, on which the impossibility of accepting the statements of Theophanes has been almost universally recognized. These statements are as follows: (1) A. M. 6161 (according to the system used in this part of the work 669–70):¹ The Anatolic theme came to Chrysopolis, demanding the coronation of the two younger princes with the cry *εἰς τριάδα πιστεύομεν τοὺς τρεῖς στέψωμεν*. The emperor was alarmed *διότι αὐτὸς μόνος ἦν ἐστεμμένος, οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ οὐδεμίαν ἀξίαν εἶχον*, and invited the leaders into the city to settle the matter with the senate, but, as soon as he had them in his power, hanged them at Sycæ, upon which the insurgents dispersed, and Constantine cut off his brothers' noses. (2) A. M. 6173 (681–2): Constantine deposed his brothers and reigned alone with his son Justinian. Now not only is the narrative under A. M. 6161 contrary to the fact, which we know from the dating of the acts of the synod of 680, that the two younger brothers were crowned in 659,² but the two statements are at variance with one another, since the earlier one clearly implies that the demand of the Anatolics was not granted, and, as mutilation of an emperor or prince was always carried out for the purpose of rendering him incapable

¹ This synchronism follows from a comparison with the canon of Michael (p. 436, marg.), where the first of Constantine, which Theophanes equates with A. M. 6161, is equated with A. S. 981. This canon is in fact that of James of Edessa (Michael, p. 452).

² That they were crowned during their father's lifetime is known also from coins.

of wearing the crown, the princes cannot have been deposed twelve years afterwards.

Most historians have been content with giving a narrative of their own in which the difficulties are more or less successfully smoothed over without discussion, scarcely any two giving the same account; and, in order to show the confusion that has hitherto prevailed with regard to the matter, it is worth while, before considering the question in detail, to set forth the solutions arrived at by previous writers. (1) Ducange:³ The two princes were adopted as colleagues by their brother, but not crowned, and in 681 were deposed. He then repeats the two notices of Theophanes, pointing out the contradiction. (2) Lebeau:⁴ Constantine had given his brothers the title of Augustus, but not crowned them. In 669–70 the Anatolics demanded a share for them in the sovereign power, the insurrection was put down as described by Theophanes, and the princes warned and kept under observation. In 681, after a conspiracy, they were deposed, and, according to some authorities, their noses were cut off. (3) Gibbon:⁵ The same account, but states the mutilation as a fact, and adds (I do not know on what authority) that this was done in presence of the Sixth Synod. All these solutions depend upon a distinction between coronation and the title of emperor or Augustus, whereas these titles were not conferred except by coronation. If the princes were emperors, they had been crowned, and any solution which does not take account of this fact is worthless. (4) Schlosser:⁶ Constantine named his brothers emperors, but gave them no share in the sovereign power; and, when in 669 a section of the army demanded a better position for them, he, after suppressing the mutiny, put the two princes in custody and privately cut off their noses, but retained their names in public documents till, in 681, he deposed them in presence of the synod. Mutilation is, however, as I have already pointed out, inconsistent with the retention of the names in the acts. (5) Finlay:⁷ The same as Gibbon, except the degradation in presence of the synod. (6) Paparrhegopoulos:⁸ The younger brothers bore the title of Augustus but had no share in the imperial authority. The Anatolics, with the cry given in Theophanes, demanded that such a share should be given them; upon which Constantine suppressed the insurrection and cut off his brothers' noses, but allowed them to retain their titles till 681. If the troops cried *τοὺς τρεῖς στέψωμεν*, the princes had not been crowned and were therefore not emperors; hence this account falls under both the previously stated objections.

³ *Hist. Byzant.* i. 120.

⁴ *Hist. du Bas-Empire*, xi. 408, 456.

⁵ Ed. Bury, v. 178.

⁶ *Gesch. der bilderstürmenden Kaiser*, pp. 88, 98.

⁷ *Hist. of Greece under the Romans*, i. 381.

⁸ *Ἱστ. τοῦ Ἑλλ. ζήθους*, iii. 314.

(7) Ranke :⁹ Constantine deposed his brothers in 681, no mention being made of any earlier events. (8) Bury :¹⁰ The two princes had perhaps been made Caesars by their father, but the Anatolics demanded that they should be crowned emperors. The author then repeats the notices of Theophanes and suggests three explanations of the difficulty as to the mutilation : (i) that of Schlosser, that the mutilation, being a private matter, did not affect public affairs, (ii) that of Finlay (really Lebeau), that the mutilation did not take place till 680, (iii) that for some reason their titles had in the meantime been restored to them. This is at variance with the fact that the princes were crowned in 659. (9) Lampros :¹¹ The army demanded that the two princes should be crowned, they being only nominal colleagues of their brother. Constantine put down the mutiny, but spared his brothers till 680, when he cut off their noses. This falls under the same condemnation as (1), (2), (3), (5), and (6). (10) Gelzer :¹² The Anatolics compelled Constantine to name his brothers co-emperors, but in 680 he deposed them. This is not only at variance with the fact that they were crowned in 659, but makes the insurrection successful, when the whole point of the narrative is that it failed.

All these authors, however, wrote before the publication by M. Chabot of the original Syriac text of the Chronicle of Michael, which was previously accessible only in the Armenian epitome and in the chronicle of Barhebraeus. Now Michael, like Theophanes, has two notices relating to the fortunes of the brothers of Constantine, and under the same dates ; but the contents are quite different. They are as follows : (1) In A. S. 981 (669-70), the fifty-fifth year of the Arabs, and the tenth of Mu'awiya, Constantine, having succeeded to the throne, assembled the Romans and ordered them to recognize all three brothers as emperors, giving instructions that all the heads should be placed upon the coins and that all should receive equal honour. (2) After he had overthrown the Sicilian usurper and alarmed the Arabs,¹³ he deposed his brothers without fault on their part in order to make room for his son. For this he tried to gain the adhesion of the chief men by presents ; but one of them named Leo refused to consent, whereupon the emperor ordered his tongue, hands, and feet to be cut off ; but, while he was going along, with the executioner¹⁴ accompanying him, he cried, ' A Trinity reigns in heaven, and a trinity reigns on earth. I will not

⁹ *Weltgesch.* v. 169.

¹⁰ *Hist. of the Later Rom. Emp.* ii. 308.

¹¹ *Ἰστ. τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, iii. 732.

¹² Ap. Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byz. Litt.*, p. 954.

¹³ See below, p. 48.

¹⁴ The Syriac word represents *δῆμιος*, not *δῆμος*, as Chabot supposes ; and, as Barhebraeus (ed. Bedjan, p. 109) has the same, it is not likely to be a scribe's error.

deny the Trinity in heaven, and I will not reject the trinity on earth,' and, while still repeating these words, he received the sentence. Constantine then called the most prominent men (the senate?) together and said to his brothers, 'What do you term me? your brother or your emperor? If you term me emperor, I will call you my brothers: but, if you term me brother, I shall know you for my enemies'; to which they answered, 'We do not refuse to term you elder and superior brother, but we will never term you our emperor, since we are emperors with you.' The senators, however, on whom they trusted for support, had been won over by Constantine's presents, and they were deposed, and he reigned alone.¹⁵ The second notice appears in a shorter form in the Arabic chronicle of Mahbub of Hierapolis, who uses the same eastern source which was used by Theophanes and Michael; but here the notables and Leo himself are called 'patricians', and it is added that the princes were banished to an island.¹⁶

When writing my chapter on 'The Successors of Heraclius' for the *Cambridge Medieval History*, I had the advantage, not possessed by previous authors, of reading these passages of Michael; but Professor Vasilyev's edition of the work of Mahbub, which, though shorter than that of Michael, is often even more valuable for chronology,¹⁷ did not appear in time for me to make use of it: and as Michael's narratives of Byzantine affairs show great confusion, and his authority is inferior to the western source of Theophanes, I assumed that we had here only a perverted version of the story related by Theophanes, and with much misgiving followed Schlosser in supposing the demand of the troops to have been that a share in the practical sovereignty should be given to the two younger brothers.¹⁸ It is, however, most unlikely that the Anatolics would leave the frontier in time of war and march to Chrysopolis for so unpractical a purpose; and I am now convinced that the eastern notices are substantially correct. There is nothing in them that is at variance with known facts, and it is clear that the author had good information, for he knows, what Theophanes ignores (though he must have read it in his eastern source), that Constans made all his sons emperors;¹⁹ and the punishment inflicted on Leo, if we may understand the 'sentence' to be one of death, and suppose that he was first mutilated and then paraded through the streets, is so entirely in accord with Byzantine custom that it affords a strong presumption of the authenticity of the narrative.

Now it is evident that the second notice in Michael refers to the same event as the first in Theophanes: but they are not

¹⁵ Michael, pp. 436, 437.

¹⁶ *Patr. Orient.* viii. 494.

¹⁷ See below, p. 48.

¹⁸ *Cambr. Med. Hist.* ii. 405.

¹⁹ Michael, p. 432.

derived from the same source, for the mention of the Anatolic theme, of Chrysopolis, and of Sycae by Theophanes points to a western origin, and the silence of Nicephorus is easily explained by the fact that the events related are damaging to the character of the orthodox emperor: for Theophanes shows his theological prejudices by his language only, and seldom, if ever, conceals facts; ²⁰ of which his history of Irene is an eloquent testimony. The first notice in Michael is, however, wholly new, though the date assigned to it is the same as that of the narrative of the mutiny in Theophanes; and, while the story in Theophanes is at this date impossible, that of Michael is what might naturally be expected to happen. In earlier times it had been the custom to divide the empire between an emperor's sons after his death: but the reduced size of the empire after the Saracen conquests, and the necessity of presenting a united front to the enemy, made this inadmissible, and Heraclius had therefore made a special provision that two of his sons should reign jointly; but in consequence of Constantine's early death the partnership lasted three months only. Constans, however, had been absent in the west for six years before his death, and, as his life was ended by assassination, he had no opportunity of making provision for the succession, so that a new position was created by his death, and the officials, not knowing if the new emperor would recognize his brothers as colleagues, were in doubt how to act. Accordingly Constantine settled the matter by ordering (perhaps in a speech before the senate like his father's twenty-six years before ²¹) that his brothers should receive imperial honours and their names should appear in public acts and their heads on coins together with his own. This must have been done as soon as the news of Constans' death arrived (autumn 668 ²²), and the reason for the date A. S. 981 is probably that in the canon of James, which may be assumed to have been used by the common source as well as by Michael himself, that year was equated with the first of Constantine. ²³

It remains to consider how Theophanes came to omit this notice and insert the story of the mutiny in its place. In the chronicle of George the Monk the mutiny is placed after the destruction of the Arab fleet; ²⁴ and as after the alleged Sicilian expedition of Constantine ²⁵ George gives none of the notices derived from the eastern source, we must infer that in this part of his work he draws not from Theophanes, but from the western

²⁰ See, however, below, p. 49.

²¹ Theophanes, A. M. 6134.

²² From the synodal acts it appears that Constantine assumed the consulship between 17 September and 7 November.

²³ See above, p. 42, n. 1. It is there also equated with the tenth of Mu'awiya, as in Michael's text. The Arab years of the eastern writer seem to be worthless.

²⁴ Ed. De Boor, p. 723.

²⁵ See *Byz. Zeitschr.* xvii. 455.

source used by him ;²⁶ and there is therefore good reason for thinking that this source agreed with the eastern writer in dating the mutiny not earlier than 677. Now under the same year as the emperor's order with regard to his brothers Michael records the accession of Constantine and the invasion of Africa ; and, as both of these are recorded under the same year by Theophanes, the latter almost in the same words, that author clearly derived the notices from his eastern source. In his other source, however, he found the story of the mutiny, perhaps without definite date, and, unintelligently taking it to refer to the same event, recorded it under this year in place of the notice properly belonging to it. I would conjecture that in the common source some words containing a comparison with the Trinity were recorded, and that this conduced to the mistake. He has not, however, entirely omitted the eastern notice, but sums it up in the words *σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς*,²⁷ in spite of the contradiction to the following narrative.

We have already seen that the earlier notice in Theophanes and the later in Michael relate the same event from different sources : therefore, when they agree, their testimony is very strong, and we may be sure that the reference to the Trinity was in some form made on this occasion. The two accounts are written from different points of view, Theophanes relating shortly the important facts, while Michael gives us anecdotes ; but there is no essential contradiction between them. Theophanes ascribes the opposition to a theme, Michael to one man ; but clearly a private man would not oppose the emperor, and it is obvious to assume that Leo was *στρατηγός* of the Anatolics, and that he played a similar part to that played by Alexius in 791 ;²⁸ nor is the fact that he alone is mentioned by Michael inconsistent with the statement of Theophanes that several officers were hanged. From Theophanes, also, we may take the story of the treachery by which they were induced to place themselves in the emperor's power. Again, Theophanes places the comparison with the Trinity in the mouth of the soldiers, while Michael ascribes it to Leo at the time of execution ; but, if it was used as a kind of war-cry by the theme, Leo may well have repeated it when he had no more to fear or hope ; and if, as I have conjectured, a comparison of the kind was actually made either by

²⁶ That George used this source may be inferred from the account of the naval battle of 655, in which Theophanes (A. M. 6146) combines two narratives, of which one is preserved in Michael (p. 431) and the other in George (p. 716). See Kaestner, *De Imperio Constantini III*, pp. 6 ff. The common part may here be explained by the use of a common authority by the two sources. George must, however, have known Theophanes, since he coincides with him down to the end.

²⁷ Omitted by Anastasius. The association of the brothers is also stated under A. M. 6160 from the eastern source (cf. Michael, p. 434).

²⁸ Theoph. A. M. 6283.

the emperor or by the senators in 668, the appeal would be a very telling one. The words, however, cannot have been those recorded by Theophanes and George, which must arise from a misunderstanding on the writers' part of the position of the two princes.²⁹ The insurgents sought not to force the emperor to associate his brothers in the empire, but to prevent him from deposing them; and they had no futile or sentimental end before them, but the very practical one of ensuring that in the event of the emperor's death (his life was perhaps known to be a bad one) his successor should be a man, not a boy. As to the fate of the brothers, they may well have been both mutilated and banished, as is in fact stated by the Logothete,³⁰ probably from the source of Theophanes.³¹

Of the second notice in Theophanes, in which the deposition of the princes is recorded, the origin is simple. After the Mardaite occupation of Lebanon (678) Michael records the insurrection of a certain John son of Mzhez, whom he states to have been defeated and killed by Constantine in Sicily, and then goes on to say that 'after defeating the tyrant and alarming the Saracens' he deposed his brothers, as related above. Mahbub omits the insurrection of John; but between the Mardaite rising and the deposition of the princes he records an earthquake at Batnae and Edessa (dated by Michael and the chronicle of 846³² 3 April 679),³³ the death of Mu'awiya on 6 May 680,³⁴ and the synod of Constantinople in the first year of Yazid, which according to the canon of James is A.S. 992 = A.M. 6172 = 680-1. Michael, who divides his work into sections according to subjects, records these events elsewhere,³⁵ and ends the section with the story of the deposition; but Mahbub, placing a note of sequence between each event, goes on to relate the death of Yazid, but adds that this was preceded by the rebellion of Al Mukhtar.³⁶ Now in Theophanes

²⁹ If we could accept the version of Zonaras (xiv. 20. 5) *παρὰ τῶν τριῶν ἡμᾶς χρεῶν βασιλεύεσθαι*, the difficulty would vanish; but he is probably only turning the words of Theophanes into more classical Greek, and the agreement of Theophanes and George shows them to be preserving the words of the source.

³⁰ 'Leo Gramm.', p. 159; Theod. Mel., p. 110; Geo. Mon., ed. Muralt, ccxxxvii. 3.

³¹ That George omits the banishment may be explained by the brevity of his notice. Saint-Martin (Lebeau, xi. 456, n. 3) says that Barhebraeus records the mutilation; but there is no mention of it in Barhebraeus, who only repeats Michael.

³² *Chron. Min. (Corp. Script. Or. Chr.)*, p. 231.

³³ Mahbub says in the same year as the Mardaite rising, but places the latter in the seventeenth of Mu'awiya, which according to the canon is 677. Michael and Theophanes, however, place the Mardaite rising in the ninth of Constantine = 678.

³⁴ By saying that this was a Sunday, which is right, he puts the date beyond doubt.

³⁵ pp. 436, 437, 444.

³⁶ Michael places this rebellion in the same year as Yazid's death (Chabot by omitting the copula in translation has obscured this fact), but without note of sequence. Really the death of Yazid was on 10 November 683 (El. Nis., A. H. 64), and the rebellion of Al Mukhtar on 6 May 684 (Tab. ii. 589).

we find these events recorded as follows: A.M. 6169, Mardaite rising. 6170, Earthquake at Batnae and Edessa. 6171, Death of Mu'awiya. 6172, Synod of Constantinople. 6173, Deposition of the princes. 6174, Rebellion of Al Mukhtar. 6175, Death of Yazid. From this we see that Theophanes took the notice of the deposition from his eastern source,³⁷ but omitted the stories of Leo and of the conversation between the emperor and his brothers, the former because its resemblance to the narrative of the mutiny which he had given before from his western source was too obvious, the latter probably for brevity only, but possibly because it was too unfavourable to Constantine. It is, therefore, merely a duplicate of the earlier notice, and the mutilation of the princes twelve years before their deposition need no longer trouble historians.

It remains to consider the question of the date. The death of Yazid is assigned by Michael to A.S. 995, and Theophanes may have found the date of the deposition of the princes in his source also; but its omission by both Michael and Mahbub makes it unsafe to rely upon this, and it may very well be that, finding two years vacant between the synod in A.S. 992 = A.M. 6172 and Yazid's death in A.S. 995 = A.M. 6175, and being obliged from the form of his work to place every notice under a definite year, he filled them up with the two intervening notices in the source.³⁸ We cannot, therefore, be sure that the date assigned to the deposition by him was derived from the source, and can only assume that it was there placed not earlier than A.S. 992 and not later than A.S. 995; and the accuracy of this date is confirmed by the unlikelihood of the Anatolics marching to Chrysopolis while the war continued, that is before 680,³⁹ and by the existence of a coin of the three brothers ascribed to Constantine's twenty-seventh year (April 680—April 681).⁴⁰ As, however, the synodal acts are throughout dated by the years of the three emperors, we may postpone the *terminus a quo* to 16 September 681, the

³⁷ There is one curious divergence. Michael throughout (pp. 432, 435, 436, 437) calls the princes 'Tiberius and Heraclius' (Mahbub does not record the names), and at A.M. 6160 Theophanes, following the eastern source, does the same; but here and at A.M. 6153 he calls them 'Ἡράκλειον καὶ Τιβέριον', and the synodal acts show him to be right. As Georgius Monachus (p. 717) and the Logothete have the same order, we must suppose that Theophanes got it from his western source.

³⁸ The date given for the rebellion of Al Mukhtar, at all events, can hardly have been in the source, for it appears from Michael that it was there placed in the same year as Yazid's death (see above, p. 48, n. 36). Probably Theophanes took the statement that it occurred 'before' to mean 'the year before'. The question of the chronological system of the eastern writer and its relation to the canon of James is too far-reaching to discuss here, and for the present purpose it is unnecessary to do so.

³⁹ See *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* xviii. 189.

⁴⁰ Wroth, *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 329, no. 97. The year is not certain. We know from the dating of the synodal acts that Constantine was crowned in 654.

date of the last session.⁴¹ In order to fix the *terminus ante quem*, we have a coin of the thirtieth year (April 683—April 684) with Constantine's head only,⁴² and the fact that after Yazid's death the Romans took advantage of the anarchy which followed to renew hostilities⁴³ and the war lasted till 7 July 685.⁴⁴ The large number of coins on which Constantine appears alone is, however, in favour of an earlier date; and, as the edict of confirmation of the synod, issued on 13 December 681, runs in his name only,⁴⁵ there is good ground for placing the deposition of the brothers before that time. It is true that the letters of invitation to the patriarchs are also in Constantine's name only;⁴⁶ but a letter might be regarded as a private document, whereas, if the imperial title meant anything, it is difficult to think that, when three emperors existed, an edict would be issued in the name of one only. The papal letters, however, which were read at the synod, are addressed to the three,⁴⁷ and, if the pope had really received a letter in Constantine's name only, it is scarcely credible that he would address his answer to all three brothers; and I cannot, therefore, but suspect that in the letters of invitation the names of the younger brothers were expunged after their disgrace: but, if this had been done in the edict, one would expect it to have been done in the synodal acts proper also.⁴⁸ I believe, then, that Theophanes has, though perhaps by accident, given the right date, and that the deposition took place between 16 September and 13 December 681. The mutiny of the Anatolics should therefore be placed at the end of 681 or beginning of 682. It may be that the deposition was announced, as Michael seems to imply, before an assembly, possibly of the great officers of state present at the synod, possibly of the senate itself; but, if there is any truth in the story of the bribes, they must have been given, not to the officials, from whom no danger was to be feared, but to the soldiers, to whom a donative may well have been granted. The mutilation and banishment were probably a consequence of the mutiny, and not originally intended. The conversation between the brothers need not be taken seriously.

The statement of Theophanes that Constantine then 'reigned alone with Justinian his son' is an Irish bull; and, while the words *μόνος ἐβασίλευσε* are taken from his source ('he deposed his brothers and reigned alone,' Michael; 'he deposed his brothers from the kingdom and reigned alone,' Mahbub), the contradiction *σὺν Ἰουστινιανῷ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ* is a false inference

⁴¹ Mansi, xi. 624.

⁴² Wroth, *op. cit.*, p. 318, no. 32.

⁴³ *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* xviii. 207.

⁴⁴ *El. Nis.*, A. H. 65.

⁴⁵ Mansi, xi. 697, 712.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 196, 201.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 233, 285.

⁴⁸ The letter of Leo II (p. 725) is addressed to Constantine only.

from the source, in which it was only stated that he deposed his brothers in order to secure the succession to his son. That Justinian was not crowned at this time follows from the existence of coins of Constantine alone, especially of the coin of his thirtieth year mentioned above, and the complete absence of coins of Constantine and Justinian, and from the letter of Justinian to the pope, which is dated 17 February 687, in the second year of his reign.⁴⁹ From this last it follows that the association of Justinian, if it ever took place (as the assertion of Theophanes has been shown to be based upon a misunderstanding, there is no authority for it), was carried out not earlier than 18 February 685.

E. W. BROOKS.

Burgundian Notes

IV. THE SUPPOSED ORIGIN OF BURGUNDIA MINOR¹

IT is not doubted that King Rodulf II of Burgundy obtained a considerable accession of territory at the expense of Suabia, but the date and the occasion of his aggrandizement are disputed. According to the classical historian of the medieval empire, Duke Burchard of Suabia, not long after he had defeated Rodulf at the battle of Winterthur in 919, made an alliance with him, gave him his daughter Bertha to wife, and ceded to him, probably as her dowry, a part of southern Alamannia, namely, the Aargau as far as the Reuss.² A similar statement has been made by most writers on the reign of King Henry the Saxon. It is, however, to be observed that the one authority who records the grant, Liudprand of Cremona, mentions it not in connexion with Duke Burchard and his daughter's marriage, which took place in 922,³ but in connexion with King Henry and his acquisition of the Holy Lance. This relique—so Liudprand tells us—belonged to Rodulf II, and the German king ardently desired to obtain its possession. His request was refused, and it was only a threat to invade and ravage his kingdom that compelled Rodulf to give it up; whereupon Henry heaped presents upon him, and furthermore gave him no small part of the duchy of Suabia (*verum etiam Suevorum provincie parte non minima honoravit*).⁴

⁴⁹ Mansi, xi. 737, 738.

¹ This note was written nearly a year ago. The delay in its publication has enabled me to profit by the remarks of Dr. A. Hofmeister, *Deutschland und Burgund im früheren Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1914). The preceding Burgundian Notes appeared *ante*, xxvi. 310; xxvii. 299; xxviii. 106.

² Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der Deutschen Kaiserzeit*, i. (5th ed., 1881) 209 f.

³ *Ann. Sangall. mai.*, in *Monum. Germ. Hist.*, *Scriptores*, i. 78; cf. Poupardin, *Le Royaume de Bourgogne* (1907), p. 374 f.

⁴ *Antapodosis*, iv. 25.



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Notes and Documents

The Emperor Leo V and Vardan the Turk

THE story told by Genesisius about the prophecies of the monk of Philomelium to Vardan, who in 803 rebelled against Nicephorus I, and his three followers, Leo the Armenian, afterwards Leo V, Michael of Amorium, afterwards Michael II, and Thomas of Gaziura, commonly called the Slavonian,¹ is well known; and though of course no serious historian can accept it as historical fact, attempts have been made to extract information as to the early careers of these three men from it. The object of this paper is to show that in the case of Leo there was a real connexion between him and Vardan, and that the position assigned to him in the story may well be accepted as correct. In the contemporary life of the hermit Joannicius (d. 846) by Peter the monk we find mention of a certain Bryenes 'son of the Turk', to whom Leo was *ἑξάδελφος*,² while in the parallel life by Sabas he is described as *συγκλητικός* without record of his parentage, and Leo is called his *ἀδελφιδός*.³ Now the identity of 'the Turk' can hardly be in doubt, for Theophanes in recording the insurrection of Vardan calls him *Βαρδάνης . . . ὁ ἐπικλην Τούρκος*,⁴ and Bryenes was therefore Vardan's son. It may indeed be objected that according to the Continuator of Theophanes Vardan after his fall made all his sons enter a monastery,⁵ and a son of his could not therefore be a senator; but, even if the Continuator were a better authority than he in fact is, men who retired into monasteries for political reasons often left them when circumstances changed, and the deaths of Nicephorus and Stauracius made further seclusion unnecessary for the family of Vardan, even if we accept the story of the hagiographers with its prophecy so literally as to suppose that Bryenes was a senator before Leo's accession.⁶

It remains to consider what was the relationship between Bryenes and Leo. The word *ἑξάδελφος* generally means

¹ p. 8, ed. Bonn.

² ch. 16 (*Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. ii. 392).

³ ch. 16 (*ibid.* p. 347).

⁴ A. M. 6295.

⁵ i. 3, ed. Bonn.

⁶ The title may have been added by Sabas without authority (see below, p. 257, note 7); but, if Bryenes had been a monk, it would probably have been stated.

'cousin', but sometimes 'nephew', while ἀδελφιδός (more usually ἀδελφιδούς) means 'nephew', and no certain instance of its use for 'cousin' is given in the lexicons. Words of relationship at this time were however often used with different meanings (e.g. ἀνεψιός, and in Latin *nepos*), and, if Leo was nephew of Bryenes, he must have been Vardan's grandson, which chronology makes unlikely. Moreover, Sabas not only makes Leo ἀδελφιδός of Bryenes, but also Bryenes ἀδελφιδός of Leo, and therefore, as two men cannot be one another's nephews, we are compelled to take the word to mean 'first cousin'.⁷ Accordingly, as Leo was first cousin of Bryenes, he must have been nephew either of Vardan himself or of his wife Domnica,⁸ and it was therefore natural that he should hold the position in Vardan's army which is assigned to him in the story told by Genesius, though it would be very unsafe to argue from this that Michael and Thomas were also serving under Vardan. The exact form of the relationship cannot be determined. Leo's father is called Bardas,⁹ which represents 'Vard', and two brothers might very well bear these two kindred names, though Leo might equally well have been son of Vardan's sister or nephew of Domnica. Vardan, as his name shows, was, like Leo and a large proportion of the military leaders of the time, an Armenian, and it is hardly necessary to say that the surname Τούρκος does not mean that he was really a Turk, though, as in the case of the name Χάζαρος applied to Leo IV, it may mean that he had Turkish (probably Chazar) blood in his veins.

E. W. BROOKS.

The Materials for the Reign of Robert I of Normandy

ROBERT I, commonly called Robert the Magnificent or, for no good reason, Robert the Devil, is one of the less known figures in the series of Norman dukes. His reign was brief and left few records, and it was naturally overshadowed by that of his more famous son, yet we shall never understand the Normandy of the Conqueror's time without some acquaintance with the period immediately preceding. The modern sketches¹ are scanty and unsatisfactory, and while the extant evidence does not permit of a full or adequate narrative, they can be replaced only when the available material has been more fully utilized and more

⁷ It is very likely that Sabas had no authority except Peter; but even in this case his version shows that he uses ἀδελφιδός for 'cousin', and therefore understood ἐξἀδελφος in that sense.

⁸ Cont. Theoph., l. c.

⁹ *Script. Hist. Byz.* (Bonn) xxx. 336.

¹ See, besides the older histories of Normandy, Palgrave, *History of Normandy and England*, iii. 141-90; Freeman, *Norman Conquest* (1877), ii. 179-91; Stenton, *William the Conqueror*, pp. 63-72.