

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

V185^r

dB3

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

dB4

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

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

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

¹ *Recte* Priskos.

- νου τυγχάνων τῆς οἰκείας εἰκόνης καθαιρέσεως ἔνεκεν, ἦν
 25 ποτε οἱ τῶν ἀντιθέτων χρωμάτων δημόται τῇ τοῦ Φωκᾶ συμ-
 παρέγραψαν εἰκόνι, δόλω αὐτὸν μετήρχετο, καὶ πονεῖν μὲν
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πλαττόμενος ἔπειθε καὶ Ἡράκλειον ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ
 ἑαυτοῦ ἦκειν ἀπισχυρίζετο, συνήργει δὲ ὁμως Ἡρακλείῳ καὶ
 30 Φωκᾶν θεασάμενοι καὶ ὅσον πολιτικὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐστασίαζον
 (ἤδη γὰρ οἱ τοῦ πρασίου χρώματος δημόται τοῖς περὶ τὴν Και-
 σαρίου τὸ πῦρ ὑψήπτον καὶ τὸν ἔπηλυν βασιλέα ἀνευφή-
 μουν), ἐπικειμένους δὲ αὐτοῖς καρτερώτατα καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν
 Ἡρακλείου στρατευμάτων εἰσιδόντες, καταλιπόντες αὐτὸν
 35 ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς γίνονται. Φώτιος δὲ τις τοῦνομα, ὃς παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰς
 τὴν σύζυγον ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ποτε | καθυβρίζετο, εἰς τὰ βασι- V185^v
 λεια σὺν πληθὺι στρατιωτῶν ἐπιὼν Φωκᾶν αὐτίκα κατέσχε,
 καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐτὸν ἀπαμφιέσας ἐσθήτης, περιζώμα μέ-
 λαν αὐτῷ περιθέμενος, τὰς χεῖρας περιηγμένας εἰς τοῦπίσω
 40 ἀποδεσμήσας καὶ πλοίῳ ἐμβαλὼν πρὸς Ἡράκλειον δεσμώ-
 την ἀπήγαγεν. ὃν ἰδὼν Ἡράκλειος ἔφη “οὕτως, ἄθλιε, τὴν πο-
 λιτείαν διώκησας;” ὁ δὲ “σὺ μάλλον” εἶπε “κάλλιον διοικεῖν
 μέλλεις”. εὐθὺς οὖν αὐτοῦ τὸν διὰ ξίφους ἔτι πρὸς τῷ πλοίῳ
 ὄντος καταψήφίζεται θάνατον, ἔπειτα ἀκρωτηριάζεσθαι, χε-
 45 ροῖν τε δεξιὰν ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ ὠμιαίου ἄρθρου ἐκκόπτεσθαι dB5
 καὶ τῶν αἰδοίων ἐκτέμνεσθαι καὶ κοντοῖς ἀναρτᾶσθαι, οὕτω
 τε τὸ σῶμα συρὲν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Βοὸς λεγομένην ἀγορὰν τῷ
 πυρὶ καταπίμπρασθαι, Δομεντιόλον τε τὸν Φωκᾶ ἀδελφὸν
 καὶ Βονόσσον καὶ Λεόντιον τὸν τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων τα-
 50 μίαν τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ Φωκᾶ συνδιαφέρειν κίνδυνον προσέταττε.
 καὶ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτως ἀπέβαινε.

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

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

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

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

- βάλλεται στέφανον· Κρίσπον δὲ στρατηγὸν ἀποστέλλει χει-
 10 ροτονήσας τῶν ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ ἐκστρατευμάτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ
 φήμη διέθεεν ὡς Πέρσαι ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύουσιν, Ἡρά-
 κλειος ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἄρας παρὰ Κρίσπον κατὰ τὴν Καίσα-
 ρος πόλιν τηνικαῦτα τυγχάνοντα προσπορεύεται ὡς δὴ αὐτῷ
 [περὶ] τῶν κοινῶν ἔνεκεν βουλευσόμενος. καὶ ὃς μὲν νοσεῖν
 15 προσεποιεῖτο καὶ τὸν βασιλέα συχνῶς παραγινόμενον ἐν
 σχήματι ἄρρώστου κατακλινόμενος ἀηδῶς καὶ μόλις ἐδέ-
 χετο· εἶτα ἠκούετο ὡς καὶ διελοιδореῖτο αὐτῷ· Ἡράκλειος δὲ τὸ
 δράμα συνήκε καὶ τὴν ὕβριν ὅμως ἤνεγκε καὶ ἤδη ἔκαιροφν-
 λάκει. ἀλλ' ἔδοξε τέως γνησιώτερόν πως διαλέγεσθαι περὶ
 20 τοῦ δειν πονεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων τῆς πολιτείας χάριν. ὁ δὲ οἶα
 ἐπιτωθάζων οὐκ ἐξὸν βασιλεῖ ἔφασκε καταλιμπάνειν βασί-
 λεια καὶ ταῖς πόρρω ἐπιχωριάζειν δυνάμεσιν. ἐν τούτοις τί-
 κτεται παῖς τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἡράκλειος, ὃν δὴ καὶ Κωνσταντῖνον
 ὠνόμασε. τότε δὴ παραγίνεται καὶ Νικήτας ὁ τὴν ἀξίαν πα-
 25 τρίκιος πρὸς τὸ βασιλεῖον ἄστυ. διὰ τοῦτο Ἡράκλειος εἰς τὸ
 Βυζάντιον ἐπάνεισι καὶ Νικήταν σὺν τιμῇ μεγίστῃ καὶ περι-
 φανείᾳ ὥσπερ ἀδελφὸν γνήσιον καὶ ὁμότιμον δέχεται, καθὰ
 ἦν αὐτοῖς ἤδη συντεταγμένοι ἐκ Λιβύης ἀπαίρουσι. καὶ Κρί-
 σπος δὲ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἦκεν ὡς τῇ εἰσόδῳ Νικήτα συνησθη-
 30 σόμενος. σκήπτεται δὲ Ἡράκλειος τῷ θεῷ λουτρῷ τὸν υἱὸν
 καθαγνίζειν, υἱοθετεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Κρίσπου. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ
 τούτοις εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὰ βασιλεια. Ἡράκλειον δὴ ἀθροί-
 σαντα τοὺς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἀπαντας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
 πληθὺν τοῦ ἄστεως ἅμα τῷ προέδρῳ Σεργίῳ εἰπεῖν λέγεται
 35 πρὸς αὐτοὺς “ὁ βασιλέα ὑβρίζων τίνι προσκρούει;” τοὺς δὲ
 φάναι “τῷ θεῷ τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτὸν βασιλέα”. καὶ Κρίσπον
 προτρέπει, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸ δοκοῦν ὀρθῶς· τὸν δὲ
 οὐκ εἰδότα τὸ δραματούργημα λέξαι μηδὲ φιланθρώπου τυχεῖν
 40 δίκης τὸν ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ ἄλόντα τολμήματι. καὶ τὸν βασιλέα
 ἀναμνησκεν αὐτὸν οἶα ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ἐπὶ τῇ νόσῳ κατ-
 εσηματίσατο, καὶ ὡς τὸ τῆς βασιλείας κατευτελίζειν ἀξί-
 ωμα ᾤετο, καὶ ὡς εἰς τὴν βασιλεια ἀρχὴν προύτρεπε. καὶ
 ἅμα λαβόντα τόμον κατὰ κόρρης τοῦτον παίειν, καὶ εἶτα λέ-
 γοντα “ὡς γαμβρὸν οὐκ ἐποίησας, φίλον πῶς ἂν ποιήσεις;”

V186'
dB6

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

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

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

3. Ὀλίγου δὲ χρόνου διυ|πεύσαντος νόσω ἐπιληψίας ἡ V186
 τοῦ βασιλέως γαμετῇ Εὐδοκίᾳ ληφθεῖσα ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐν ᾧ
 δὲ τὸ ταύτης σῶμα ἐξεκομίζετο, καὶ πολλῶν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς ἐπὶ
 τῇ θέᾳ συρρεόντων, συνέπεσε κόρην τινὰ ὑπερθεῖν τῶν ὑπε-
 5 ρῶων διακύψασαν (θεράπαινα δὲ ἦν αὕτη τῶν ἀστῶν τινος)
 ἀποπτύσαι ὡς τὸν ἀέρα ἀφύλακτα καὶ τὸ περίττωμα κατὰ τῆς
 πολυτελοῦς ἐκείνης ἐσθῆτος περιενεχθῆναι ἢ τὸ τῆς βασι-
 λίδος νεκρὸν περιέστελλεν· ἐφ’ ᾧ οἱ περὶ τὴν ἐκφορὰν περι-
 οργεῖς γενόμενοι συλλαμβάνουσί τε αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν διὰ πυρὸς
 10 κατεδίκασαν θάνατον, ἐντάφιον οὐκ εὐαγές, βαρβαρικῶ νόμῳ
 χρησάμενοι, τῇ ἐκδημίᾳ τῆς βασιλίσσης ἀθέσμως συμπα-
 ραπέμψαντες οἱ ἀνόσιοι. περιεζήτουν δὲ οὔγε καὶ τὴν δέσποι-
 ναν τῆς οἰκέτιδος, ὡς καὶ αὐτῇ τὸν ἴσον διάθοντο κίνδυνον· ἡ
 δὲ δῆπου αἰσθομένη τὸν ὄλεθρον διαπέφηνεν, οὕτι ὀραθεῖσα

45 δὲ del. B δη conl. dB || 47 ἐπιφθέγξασθαι V¹ ex ὑποφθέγξασθαι || 49 ὑμᾶς ex ἡμᾶς V || 50 τ[ῇ]s
 V || 52 δεξαμένους V¹ ex δεξαμενος

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

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

- 15 εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα πώποτε. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄμφι τὰ βασιλεια ᾧδὲ πως ἔσχε.

4. Τὰ δ' αὖ ἐτέρωσε ὡς ἐτελεῖτο οὕτω συνέβαινεν. ἔν τινι τῶν† ἐπιχωρίων† (χώρα δὲ ἣτις ποτὲ ἐστίν, οὐδαμῇ ἐς τὸ νῦν παραδεδόται) ἦν τις <τῶν> ἐν ἐκείνῃ περιφανείᾳ κομώντων dB8
 5 χανε, τὴν δὲ ἀξίαν ἦν κاندιδάτον Ῥωμαίοις κικλήσκουν ἔθος. τοῦτω γυνή τις χήρα ἐν γειτόνων διωκημένη χαλεπῶς ἔφερε τὸ γειτόνημα· ἀμφισβητήσεως γὰρ αὐτοῖς μεθορίων γῆς ἔνεκεν συμβαινούσης ὁ Βουτηλῖνος τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐνεκέλευε μάχῃ ἐπιέναι τοῖς ὁμοροῦσι, καὶ οἷγε ῥοπάλοις ἕνα
 10 τῶν τῆς χήρας υἱέων ἀναιροῦσιν. αὕτη ἀνελομένη τοῦ ἥδη τεθνηκότος υἱοῦ ἡμαγμένον τὸ ἄμφιον ἐς Βυζάντιον ὡς Ἡράκλειον ἵκετο, καὶ ἐπεὶ προιόντα εἶδε, εἰσδραμοῦσα τοῦ χαλινοῦ τοῦ ἵππου ἐφ' οὗ ἐπωχεῖτο ἐφάπτεται, καὶ ἅμα τὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔσθημα ἐπιδεικνύσα σὺν βοῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνεφθέγετο
 15 “οὕτω γένοιτο τοῖς σοῖς τέκνοις, ᾧ βασιλεῦ, εἰ μὴ τὸ αἶμα τοῦτο, ὃ σοι δείκνυμι, αὐτίκα ἐνδίκως τιμωρήσεις”. τῶν δ' οὖν περὶ τὸν βασιλέα δορυφόρων ἐπιόντες πλήττειν ἠπειγόnton· βασιλεὺς δὲ διεκώλυσε, καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ μηκέτι τολμᾶν προσιέναι παρηγγύησεν, ἐπεξιέναι δὲ τὰ τῆς δίκης
 20 ὀπηνίκα ἂν αὐτῷ δεδογμένα εἴη. ᾗχετο εὐθύς μὴ δίκης τυχὸν ὀλοῦζον τὸ γύναιον. χρόνος δὲ διήρχετο, καὶ δὴ ὁ τὸν φόνον ἐπιτρέψας, δειδιῶς καὶ αὐθις τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀνηρημένου εἵνεκεν βασιλεῖ ἐπικαλεῖν, ταύτῃ τοι εἰς Βυζάντιον εἴσεις καὶ δὴ ἐς τὸ δημοτικὸν ἑαυτὸν ἐγκαταμίγνυσιν. καὶ ἵππικου |
 25 ἀγῶνος τελουμένου τοῦτον βασιλεὺς ἐν μέσοις δημόταις κατιδὼν τῷ ὑπάρχῳ ἐπιτρέπει τῆς πόλεως φρουρᾷ καθειργνύναι τὸν ὑποπτον. εἶτα τὸ γύναιον μεταπέμπεται καὶ τὰ τῆς μαιφονίας ἀσφαλέστερον ἀνηρεύνα. κελεύει τοῖνυν τὸν Βουτηλῖνον ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἴσῃν ὑποσχεῖν τῷ ἀνηρημένῳ
 30 τὴν τιμωρίαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὡσαύτως κτείνεσθαι.

5. Ἡράκλειος δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Ἡράκλειον, ταῦτόν δὲ εἰπεῖν dB9
 Κωνσταντῖνον (διώνυμος γὰρ ὢν ἐτύγχανεν), παρὰ τοῦ ἱεράρ-

4: 2 ἐπιχωρίων] ἐπαρχίων B τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίων (fort. recte) vel τῶν περιχωρίων conl. dB || 3 τῶν addidi τῶν ἐκείνη conl. dB || κωμώντων V || 4 Βιτουλῖνος V || 6 ἐν ex ἐν . . . διωκειμένη V || 9 οἷγε B οἷδε V || 10 ὕεων V corr. vulg. || 11 ἄμφιον gloss. Barocc. f. 293^r ἄμφι**νον V || 12 ἦκετο V corr. B || προιόντα V. corr. vulg. || 24 δημωτικὸν V || 25 δημόταις V || 30 αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους conl. dB αὐτῆς ἐκείνης V ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης B

the palace.

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

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

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

³Classicized from L's Bizoulinos.

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

6. Χοσρόης δὲ ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς στρατιὰν ὡς πλεί-
 στην ἀθροίσας ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐξέπεμψεν, ἡγεμόνα τῶν Περ-
 σικῶν Σάϊτον χειροτονήσας δυνάμεων. οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλε-
 ξάνδρου ἐφορμισθεὶς ταύτην ἀνὰ κράτος εἶλε καὶ τὴν ὅλην
 5 Αἴγυπτον ἡνδραπόδιζε καὶ τὴν ἐφ᾽ αὐτὴν ἅπασαν μοῖραν κατε-
 δήου καὶ δοριαλώτους ὡς πλείστους ἦγε καὶ ἄλλους ἀνῆρει,
 οὐδεμιᾶ φειδοὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς χρώμενος. ταῦτα τοίνυν οὕτω δια-
 θέμενος εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα πανστρατιᾷ κατὰ τὴν Χαλκηδόνος
 πόλιν ἦει καὶ περιεκάθητο ταύτην χρόνον ἐπὶ συχρόν, ἡξίου
 10 τε βασιλέα εἰς ὁμιλίαν οἱ λόγων ἰκέσθαι. καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς
 εἰσήκουε καὶ ὡς αὐτὸν διεπεραιούτο, βασιλικῇ δορυφορίᾳ τε
 καὶ πομπῇ χρώμενος. καὶ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν Σάϊτος ἐξανέστη τε τῆς
 καθέδρας καὶ πρὸς τοῦδαφος ἑαυτὸν ἀπορρίψας προσεκύνει·
 αὐτός τε ἐκ τοῦ ἀκατίου, ἐν ᾧ ἐπέπλει, τὸ χαῖρε αὐτῷ προσ-
 15 εφώνει καὶ δωρεαῖς ἡμείβετο. ὥδε πρὸς αὐτὸν Σάϊτος ἔλεξεν.
 “ἔδει μὲν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοὺς Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν βασι-
 λέας μῆτε διύστασθαι ταῖς γνώμαϊς μηδ’ ὅπωςτιοῦν ἀλλήλοις
 ἀντικαθίστασθαι, ἐς φιλίαν τε καὶ συμβάσεις ἰέναι ὡς προ-
 θυμότατα· (ὅπερ ἡδιστόν τε καὶ εὐχαρι ἀνθρώποις τοῖς πάλαι
 20 καὶ νῦν τυγχάνει ἅπασιν, ἅτε ζωῆς τε τῆς εὐκτέας καὶ εὐ-
 νομουμένης αἰτιώτατον·) καὶ τῷ περιόντι τῆς ἐξουσίας συμ-
 παραμένειν καὶ τὸ τῆς συμβάσεως μέγεθος. | καὶ γὰρ ἴσμεν
 ὡς ἡκιστα ταῖς ἐξουσίαις δὴ ταύταις ἐφάμιλλος πολιτεία
 φανεῖται ἂν πώποτε. οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον, παρόν ἐπιφροσύνη καὶ

dB 10

V187^v

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

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

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

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

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

⁴Shahīn: see Commentary.

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

dB 11

7. Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἡράκλειος, ἐπεὶ τοῦτ' οὖν ἐπέπυστο, τῷ
προσηνεὶ καὶ θελκτηρίῳ τῶν λόγων συνηγόμενός τε καὶ κατα-
κηλούμενος, ὑπέσχετο εἰς ἅπαντα πράσσειν ἐτοιμότητά τε
καὶ σπουδαιότατα. καὶ οἷς ἐβουλεύετο τούτων πέρι συνέπρατ-
5 τὸν τε μάλιστα καὶ συνήνουν ὁ ἱερομύστης τε καὶ οἱ ἐν τέλει.

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

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

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

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

⁵I.e., the patriarch Sergios.

- καὶ ὅτι τάχιστα οἱ διαπρεσβευσόμενοι ἐξελέγοντο, Ὀλύμπιος μὲν ὁ τὴν τῶν ὑπάρχων τῶν πραιτωρίων διέπων ἀξίαν, Λεόντιος δὲ ὁ τῆς πόλεως ὑπαρχος, Ἀναστάσιος τε ὁ τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ μεγίστου ἱεροῦ, ᾧ Σοφία ὁ θεῖος λόγος ἐπώ-
 10 νυμον, τῶν πραγμάτων πεπιστευμένος. τούτους παραλαβὼν | Σαΐτος καὶ ἄρας ἐκ Χαλκηδόνος ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνε καὶ πρὸς τὰ V188^r
 Περσικὰ ἦθῃ ἐχώρει· καὶ ἔως μὲν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπέβαινε γῆς, διὰ τιμῆς ἦγε καὶ θεραπείας ἡξίου, τῇ Περσικῇ δὲ ἐμβαλὼν πέδας τὰς ἐκ σιδήρων αὐτοῖς περιθέμενος δεσμώτας
 15 παρὰ Χοσρόην ἐκόμισε. Χοσρόης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὡς Σαΐτος Ῥαράκλειον ὡς βασιλέα εἶδὲ τε καὶ τετίμηκεν, ἀλλ' οὐ δοριάλωτον ἐλὼν ὡς αὐτὸν ἤγαγεν (ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος ὠνευροπολεῖτο καὶ ἔκειτο), μεγάλα τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡγα-
 20 νάκει καὶ τέλος εἰς ἀσκὸν αὐτῷ ἀπέδειρε τὴν δοράν, πικρὸν dB12
 αὐτῷ καὶ βίαιον καταστήσας τὸν θάνατον. Ῥωμαίων δὲ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἰδίᾳ διαστείλας ὡς ἕκαστον φρουραῖς ἀσφαλε-
 στάταις ἀπέθετο καὶ ἐκάκου τὰ μέγιστα.

8. Ταῦτα οὐ μικρῶς ἡνία τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἐπετάραττεν. ἐφ' οἷς καὶ λιμός τενηκαῦτα τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐπεφύη βαρυτάτος· οὐ γὰρ ἡ Αἴγυπτος αὐτοῖς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπεσίτιζεν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐπελελοίπει σιτηρεσίων. ἐν τούτοις
 5 καὶ νόσος λοιμώδης τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνσκήψασα θανάτῳ τὰ πλήθη τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ διέφθειρεν. ὧν ἀπάντων ἕνεκεν πολλὴ δυσθυμία καὶ ἀπορία τῷ κρατοῦντι περιεκέχυτο. καὶ οἷχεσθαι διὰ ταῦτα πρὸς Λιβύην βουλομένῳ ἦν. καὶ αὐτόθι χρήματα τέως πλείστα χρυσὸν τε καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ λίθων τοὺς τιμιω-
 10 τάτους προὔπεμπεν· ὧν οὐκ ὀλίγιστα καταίροντα κλύδωνι μεγίστῳ περιπεπτῶκει καὶ τοῖς ποντικαῖς ρεῖθροις βρύχια γέγονε. ταῦτα τοίνυν τῶν πολιτῶν αἰσθόμενοι, ὡς δυνατὰ ἦν αὐτοῖς, διεκώλουν. ὁ γοῦν ἱεράρχης ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦτον κα-
 15 λέσας ὄρκους ἐνταῦθα περιεδέσμευε ὡς ἥκιστα τῆς βασιλευούσης ἐξίστασθαι. οἷς εἰξας τὰς μὲν παρούσας τύχας ἀπωλο-
 φύρετο, τὰς δὲ γνώμας τὰς αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοντῆς ἔστεργε.

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

7: 9 ᾧ] ὁ V corr. vulg. || 15 Σαΐτος ex Σαΐτον V¹

8: 8-12 cf. Sudam s.v. Βρύχιος

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

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

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

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

- ζάντιον εἰσῆει, μνεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ Χριστιανῶν βασιλέα ἐξήτει. ὁ δὲ ἀσμένως αὐτὸν ὑπεδέχετο, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες τοὺς
- 5 Οὐννικούς ἄρχοντας καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων γαμετὰς αἱ τούτων αὐτῶν τῷ θείῳ λουτρῷ ἐτεκνώσαντο σύζυγοι. οὕτω τε τὰ θεῖα μυηθεῖσι δώροις βασιλικοῖς καὶ ἀξιώμασιν ἐφιλοτιμήσατο· τῇ γὰρ ἀξίᾳ τοῦ πατρικίου τὸν ἡγεμόνα τούτων τετίμηκε καὶ πρὸς τὰ Οὐννικά ἦθη φιλοφρόνως ἐξέπεμπε.

10. Μετὰ δὴ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀβάρων τοῦ ἔθνους ἡγεμὼν ἐπὶ συμβάσεσιν ὡς Ἡράκλειον ἐπικηρυκεύεται. ἐφ' ᾧ λίαν ὑπεραγάμενος δώροις αὐτὸν ἡμείβετο καὶ δὴ καὶ ἔπεμπε
- 5 ὡς αὐτὸν ἀγγελιαφόρους, Ἀθανάσιον τὸν πατρικίον, εἶτα μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ Κοσμᾶν τὴν ἀξίαν ἣν δὴ κυαίστορα καλοῦσι, τὰ τῆς βασιλείας | γνώμης αὐτῷ ἀπεροῦντας. ὁ Ἀβαρος δὲ τὰ πρὸς φιλίαν ὑποκρινόμενος αἰμύλα τε καὶ ἐπαγωγὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀποφθεγγόμενος ὑπήγετο, ὡς φίλος εἶη Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ ἡκειν ὡς βασιλέα ἐπὶ σπονδαῖς ἐπήγγελτο. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀναξυέξαντες τὰ τῆς εὐνοίας ἐκείνου ἐνδηλα βασιλεῖ ἐποίουν. οἷς ἄγαν ὑπερηρόμενος βουλευέται εἰς τὴν πόλιν Ἡράκλειαν, καθ' ἣν αὐτοῖς συγκεῖμενον, τῷ Ἀβάρῳ συμβαλεῖν.
- 10 τὴν θυμελικὴν σκευὴν προῦπεμπε, καὶ ἱππικὴν ἀγωνίαν ἐπὶ τῇ δοχῇ αὐτοῦ τελεῖν εὐτρέπιζε, στολὴν τε αὐτῷ λαμπρὰν καὶ τοῖς συνομαρτοῦσιν ἐκόμιζεν. εἶτα κατὰ τὴν Σηλυμβρίαν πόλιν ἀφιγμένος ἠλλίκετο. τρισὶ δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ὁ χαγᾶνος σὺν πλήθει πολλῶ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἡράκλειαν παρήει. ἀποδασμὸν δὲ τινα τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων, οἱ ἄλκιμοί τε καὶ μαχιμώτατοι ἐτύγχανον, ἀπολεξάμενος, κατὰ τὰ ὑπερ-
20 κείμενα τῶν Μακρῶν λεγομένων Τειχῶν λοχμῶδη τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφῇ ἐκπέμψας, σκεδάννυσιν κρύβδην κατὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ ὄρων χωρήσειν τὰ λάσια, ὡς ἂν κατὰ νώτου τοῦ βασιλέως γενόμενοι, αὐτὸν τε μέσον καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποληψόμενοι, σχοῖεν εὐχείρωτον. τούτους Ἡράκλειος αἰσθόμενος καὶ οὐ
25 μετρίως τῷ παραλόγῳ καταπλαγεῖς, τὸ ἀλουργὸν ἀπαμφιέννυται ἔσθημα· οἰκτρὸν δὲ τι καὶ πενιχρόν, ὡς ἂν ιδιώτης τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις φαίνοιτο, περιβαλόμενος ἐνδυμα τὸν τε στέ-

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

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

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

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

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

φανον τὸν βασιλείον τῇ ὠλένῃ περιαιψάμενος, ἀγεννώς παρα-
 30 χρήμα εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπετο καὶ μόλις πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον διε-
 σώζετο. οἱ δὲ Ἄβαροι σὺν θυμῷ κατὰ τὴν διώξιν ἐπετίθεντο,
 καὶ πρὸς τὸ πεδῖον τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ὁ Ἑβδομον καλοῦσι dB14
 καταλαβόντες ἰδρύσαντο. ἐνθένδε τε σκεδάννυνται ἄχρι καὶ
 εἰς τὴν τοῦ Βαρβύσσου παταμοῦ γέφυραν καὶ τὰ τῇδε χωρία
 35 πικρῶς κατελίζοντο καὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων ὄμιλον ἀφειδῶς ἐκε-
 ραίζον, τὴν τε βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὰς στολὰς παραλαμ-
 βάνουσι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ θυμελικά ὄργανα καὶ τοὺς διακομί-
 ζοντας ἅπαντας. πλείστον δὲ ὅσον λαὸν ἀνδραποδισάμενοι
 40 δοριάλωτον ἄγοντες πρὸς τῇ σφετέρῃ ἀπεκόμισαν· εἰς ἐβδο-
 μήκοντα δὲ καὶ διακοσίας χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν,
 καθάπερ ἔνιοι τῶν ἀλόντων διαδράντες ἀλλήλοις συνωδὰ
 ἔφασαν, ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτοῖς ἅπας συνήνεκτο.

11. Ἡρακλεῖφ δέ, καίτοι τῶν κοινῶν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων
 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δυσχερείας καὶ ἀνωμαλίας ἡκόντων, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ
 τὰ οἰκεῖα εὖ θέσθαι φροντὶς ἐγεγόνει, ἀλλ' ὅγε πρὸς πράξιν
 5 ἄθεσμον καὶ ἦν Ῥωμαίων ἀπαγορεύουσι νόμοι ἰδῶν, τὸ πρὸς
 τὴν ἀνεψιῶν Μαρτίναν | ἡσπάσατο κῆδος. θυγάτηρ αὕτη Μα- V189'
 ρίας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐτύγχανεν ἀδελφῆς, πατρός δὲ Μαρτίνου, ὃν
 Μαρία πρὸ Εὐτροπίου γαμέτην ἐκέκτητο. καὶ δὴ δύο υἱεῖς ἐξ
 αὐτῆς τίκτει, ὧν τὸν μὲν Φλάυιον τὸν δὲ Θεοδόσιον προσηγό-
 10 ρευσεν. ἡ δίκη δὲ ἐθριάμβευε τὸ ἀθέμιτον, καὶ τοῦ μὲν πρε-
 σβυτέρου παρειμένον ἐδείκνυ τὸν αὐχένα ὡς μηδ' ἐτέρωθι
 ἐπιστρέφεσθαι οἶόν τε εἶναι, τοῦ δ' αὖ νεωτέρου τὴν ἀκουστι-
 κὴν ἀφήρητο αἰσθησιν καὶ κωφὸν ἤδη ἀπέφαινε. διήλεγχον
 15 δὲ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα τὸ ἄσεμνον συνοικέσιον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἱππικαῖς
 ἀμίλλαις καὶ οἱ τοῦ πρασίου δημόται χρώματος, (οἱ δὲ τοῦ
 ἀντικειμένου χρώματος) συνήνουν τε [ἐπὶ ταύτῃ] καὶ συν-
 ἐπραττον. Σέργιος δὲ ὁ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἱεράρχης γράμμασιν
 αὐτὸν λιπαρῶς ἐγκείμενος ἐνουθέτει τὴν πρὸς τὸ γύναιον
 τοῦτο κοινωνίαν ἀνήνασθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπελογεῖτο ὡς "εὖ μὲν
 20 ἔχει τὰ παρὰ σοὶ λεγόμενα· ὁ γάρ σοι χρέος ὡς ἀρχιερεῖ καὶ dB15
 φίλῳ, ἤδη ἀποδέδωκας· ἐφ' ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν κείσεται τὰ τῆς

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

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

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

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

⁸*Recte* Fabius, as in L.

⁹Because Herakleios was a supporter of the Greens.

¹⁰I.e., the Blues.

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

L30^v

12. Αὐθις οὖν ἐπιστρατεύει Χοσρόης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βα-
σιλεὺς κατὰ Ῥωμαίων, Σάρβαρον ἡγούμενον τῆς στρατιᾶς
ἐκπέμψας, ὃς κατεδήου πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνατολικὴν χώραν. κατα-
λαμβάνει δὲ τῶν ἀγίων τόπων τὰ ζωποιαῖα ξύλα τοῦ σωτη-
ρίου σταυροῦ, Μωδέστου τηνικαῦτα Ἱεροσολύμων προεδρεύ-
οντος. παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ ἡπείγοντο [μέχρις]
ἐλθεῖν εἰς Χαλκηδόνα. ὁ οὖν Ἡράκλειος ἔκ τε Περσῶν καὶ
Ἀβάρων θορυβούμενος ἅμα καὶ λιμῷ πιεζομένης τῆς Ῥωμαϊ-
κῆς πολιτείας καὶ λοιμικῷ θανάτῳ φθειρομένης, προσεκα-
λεῖτο Σέργιον τε τὸν τῆς πόλεως πρόεδρον, ἔτι τε καὶ ἄρχον-
τας καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ λαοῦ μέρος, καὶ παρατίθεται αὐτοῖς
τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ Βῶνον τὸν πατρίκιον ἐγχειρίζει τὰς τῶν
πραγμάτων διοικήσεις, καὶ ἀπάρας διὰ τοῦ Εὐξείνου ἐπει-
ρᾶτο διὰ Λαζικῆς εἰς τὴν Περσικὴν εἰσβαλεῖν· καθ' ἣν τίκτε-
ται αὐτῷ υἱὸς ἐκ Μαρτίνης τῆς γυναικὸς (μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ γὰρ
ταύτην ἤγετο), ὃν καὶ ἐπωνόμασεν Ἡράκλειον. ἐντεῦθεν
ἀποστέλλει δῶρα πρὸς τὸν Τούρκων | κύριον, ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ
τῇ κατὰ Περσῶν συγκαλούμενος· ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος ὑπέσχετο
συμμαχήσειν. ἐν τούτῳ ἦσθεις Ἡράκλειος ὥρμησε καὶ αὐτὸς
πρὸς αὐτόν, κἀκεῖνος τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως παρουσίαν ἀκηκόως
σὺν πλήθει Τούρκων πολλῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπηντίαζε, καὶ ἀπο-
βάς τοῦ ἵππου τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ γῆς προσκυνεῖ. ἐποίει δὲ
τοῦτο καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ πᾶς ὄχλος. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ ὑπερβάλλον
τῆς τιμῆς θεασάμενος ἐδήλου αὐτῷ ὡς εἰ τὰ τῆς | φιλίας αὐτῷ
βέβαια εἶη, καὶ ἐποχοῦμενον πλησιάζειν, καὶ ἅμα τέκνον
ἴδιον ἀποκαλῶν. οὕτως οὖν οὗτος ἀσπάζεται τῷ βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ
ὃν περιέκειτο στέφανον τῆς κεφαλῆς λαβὼν τῇ τοῦ Τούρκου
κεφαλῇ περιέθετο, συμποσιάσας τε αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ εἰς ὑπηρε-
σίαν τοῦ συμποσίου σκευὴ ἅμα καὶ στολὴ βασιλικὴ καὶ ἐνω-
τίους ἐκ μαργάρων κεκοσμημένοις δωρεῖται αὐτῷ. ὡσαύτως

L31^rV189^v

dB16

22 φόρων L φόρον V

12: 2 στρατειᾶς L || 3 κατεδίου VL corr. vulg. || 6 ὑπείγοντο V ὑπήγοντο L corr. vulg. ||
μέχρις sccl. dB || 7 Χαλκιδόνα L || rasura inter ἔκ et τε L || 8 λιμῷ ex λιβῷ V || 11 καί² om. V || 12
Βόνον L || 17 τὸν τῶν Τούρκων . . . συμμαχία L || 21 πολλῶ L πολλῶν V || 24 ὡς εἰ L ὡσεὶ V ||
28–29 τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν L || 29 στολὴν βασιλικὴν VL corr. P || 29–30 cf. Sudam s. v. ἐνώτια

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

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

- δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἄρχοντας τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἐνωτίοις αὐτο-
χειρίᾳ ἐκόσμευ. εἶτα δεδιώς μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Ἀβάρῳ καὶ παρ'
ἐκείνου πείσεται, ἐπικρατέστερα δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς συμβά-
σεως ἀπεργάζεται, παραδείκνυσιν αὐτῷ τῆς θυγατρὸς Εὐδο-
κίας εἰκόνα ἔφη τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὥς “ἤνωσεν | ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός, σὲ
35 τέκνον ἐμὸν ἀπέδειξεν. ἰδοὺ δὴ αὕτη θυγάτηρ μου ἐστὶ καὶ
Ῥωμαίων Αὐγούστα. εἰ οὖν συναίρεις μοι καὶ βοηθεῖς κατὰ
τῶν ἐχθρῶν, εἰς γυναικα δίδωμί σοι αὐτήν”. ὁ δὲ τῷ κάλλει
τῆς εἰκόνος καὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτήν κόσμῳ τρωθεὶς ἔρωτι τοῦ ἀρχε-
40 τύπου ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῇ συμμαχίᾳ ἐπέκειτο. εὐθύς οὖν ἄρ-
χοντα καὶ πλῆθος Τούρκων τῷ βασιλεῖ παραδίδωσι· σὺν αὐ-
τοῖς τε εἰς τὴν Περσικὴν εἰσβαλὼν τάς τε πόλεις καθήρει καὶ
τὰ πυρεῖα διέστρεφεν. ἐφ' ἐνὸς δὲ τούτων εὗρηται, ὡς Χοσρόης
ἐαυτὸν θεοποιήσας ἐν τῇ τούτου στέγῃ ἐαυτὸν καθήμενον ὥς
45 ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀνεστήλωσεν, ἄστρα καὶ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην συγ-
κατασκευάσας, καὶ ἀγγέλους περιεστῶτας αὐτῷ, καὶ βρον-
τὴν διὰ μηχανῆς ποιεῖν καὶ ὕειν ὅπότε ἂν θελήσειεν. τοῦτο
τὸ βδέλυγμα θεασάμενος Ἡράκλειος εἰς γῆν κατέρριψε καὶ
ὡς κονιορτὸν διέλυσε. Χοσρόης τοίνυν ἀκούσας τὰ τε ἄλλα
50 πάντα καὶ ὡς Τούρκοι συμμαχοῦσιν Ἡρακλεῖ, δηλὰ ἐποίει
πάντα διὰ γραφῆς τῷ Σαρβάρῳ, καὶ ὡς ταχέως πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀναζευγνύναι καὶ Ἡράκλειον ἀμύνασθαι·
μηδὲ γὰρ δύνασθαι τῷ πλήθει τῷ ἐκείνου ἀντικαθίστασθαι. |
τὸ δὲ γράμμα περιτραπὲν Ἡρακλεῖ ἐγχειρίζεται. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο
55 ἀναγνοὺς ταῦτα μὲν ἐξηφάνισεν, ἐτέραν δὲ γραφὴν ὡς ἀπὸ
Χοσρόου σκηψάμενος τῷ Σαρβάρῳ ἐκτίθεται, τῇ ἐκείνου
σφραγίδι σημηνάμενος, ἔχουσιν οὕτως “ὁ Καῖσαρ Ῥωμαίων
φιλίαν μετὰ Τούρκων ἐσπείσατο καὶ εἰσῆλθε μέχρι τοῦ Ἀδορ-
βαδιγάνου καλουμένου τόπου, καὶ ὅτι πέμψας στρατιὰν κατ'
60 αὐτοῦ αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς Τούρκους διώλεσα, οἱ δὲ περιλειφθέν-
τες ἔφυγον. μὴ οὖν ἀπάρῃς ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς, ἀλλὰ τῇ
Χαλκηδόνι προσέ[δ]ρευε, Ῥωμαίους αἰχμαλωτεύων καὶ ληϊζό-

LB1^v

dB17

L32ⁱV190ⁱ

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

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

μενος". καὶ Σάρβαρος μὲν τὸ γράμμα δεξάμενος τῆς προσ-
εδρίας εἶχετο.

13. Οἱ δὲ Ἄβαροι ἐπεὶ τὰς σπονδὰς διέλυσαν (καὶ γὰρ
Ἡράκλειος πρὶν πρὸς Πέρσας ἐκστρατεῦσαι δώροις πρὸς
αὐτοὺς ταύτας ἐβεβαίον, ὑποσχόμενος παρέχειν αὐτοῖς νο-
μισμάτων μυριάδας εἴκοσι, ὁμήρους αὐτοῖς δεδωκὼς ἕνα τῶν
5 υἱῶν Ἰωάννην τοῦνομα, ὃν δὴ καὶ Ἀταλάριχον ἐκάλεσε, νό-
θος δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ ἐκ παλλακῆς, καὶ Στέφανον ἀνεψιὸν αὐτοῦ,
υἱὸν Μαρίας τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ Εὐτροπίον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ
Ἰωάννην ἕτερον, υἱὸν Βώνου τοῦ πατρικίου, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ
παλλακῆς αὐτῷ γεγονότα), | καὶ δὲ τοὶ ἐκστρατεύοντες τῷ τεί- L32^v
10 χει τοῦ Βυζαντίου πελάζουσιν, εὐθύς τε πάντα ἐνεπίπρων τὰ
προάστεια. καὶ ὥσπερ ἀναμερισάμενοι ἑκάτεροι τὸν Θρακι-
κὸν Βόσπορον Πέρσαι μὲν τὰ τῆς Ἀσιάτιδος μοίρας καθ-
ήρουν, Ἄβαροι δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ Θράκης διέφθειρον χώρον. ἀλ-
λήλοις τε λόγοις οἱ βάρβαροι συνετίθεντο συμφωνήσαντες dB18
15 ἐλείν τὸ Βυζάντιον. οἱ οὖν Ἄβαροι μηχανήματα τειχομάχα
ἐτέκταινον· πύργοι δὲ ἦσαν ξύλινοι καὶ χελῶναι τὰ κατα-
σκευάσματα. καὶ ἐπεὶ προσήεσαν τῷ τείχει τὰ ὄργανα, θεία
δύναμις ἑξαπιναιῶς ταῦτα διέλυσε καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς τῶν
Ἀβάρων μαχητὰς διώλεσεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ Σκλαβηνὰ πλήθη
20 οἱ Ἄβαροι ἐπέφεροντο καὶ εἰς συμμαχίαν ἐχρῶντο, δεδω-
κεσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς σημεῖον ὡς ἡνίκα ἂν ἴδοιεν πυρσοὺς ἀνα-
φθέντας εἰς τὸ Βλαχερνῶν προτείχισμα, τὸ καλούμενον Πτε-
ρόν, εὐθύς ἅμα τοῖς μονοξύλοις ἀκατίοις κἀκεῖνοι ἐπεξίειν,
ὡς πλοῖμω ἀναφανέντες τὴν πόλιν κραταιῶς θορυβήσωσιν
25 αὐτοὶ τε ἀδείας λαβόμενοι ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν ἀνατρέχοντες ἐντὸς
τῆς πόλεως γένωνται, δηλὰ οὖν ταῦτα Βώνω τῷ πατρικίῳ ἐγέ-
νοντο, καὶ αὐτὸς διήρεις μὲν καὶ τριήρεις ἀρμόσας, εἰς τὸν | L33^r
χώρον ἐν ᾧ τὸ σημεῖον ἐδέδοτο καθοπλίσας προσώρμισεν,

63–64 προσεδρίας L προσεδρίας V

13: 2 πρὸς om. V || 3 αὐτοῖς om. L || 4 ὁμείρους L || 7 Εὐτροπίον P Εὐτρόπιον VL || 8 Βόνου L
|| 9 αὐτοῖ lit. ex αὐτοῖς V || 10 ἐνεπίπρων L || 11 ἑκάτερος VL corr. vulg. || 12 τὰ V Georg. Mon.
671.1 τὰς V² L || Ἀσιτίδος V || 14 βάρβαροι L Ἄβαροι V || συνετίθεντο L || 15–16 τειχομάχια
ἐτέκτενον V || 17 προσήεσαν L || 18 ἑξαπηνάως V ἑξαπηναιῶς L || 19 δὲ om. L || Σκλάβινα πλήθει
L || 20–21 συμμαχίαν . . . δεδώκασιν L || 24 πλοῖμον L || ἀναφανέντος VL corr. vulg. ||
θορυβήτουςιν V || 26 γένονται L || Βώνω L || 27 ἀρμόσας L || 28 καθοπλίσας L || προσώρμισεν
VL corr. B

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

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

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

V190^v
dB19

14. Μαθὼν δὲ Χοσρόης Ἡράκλειον πλησιάσαντα τοῖς
 βασιλείοις Περσῶν ἐκπέμπει κατ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγόν τινα
 Ῥαζάτην ὄνομα, γενναῖον ὄντα καὶ ἔμπειρον τὰ πολέμια.
 οὗτος ἐλθὼν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρατάσσεται, καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἀφορ-
 5 μῶν φάλαγγος μόνος | πρὸς μόνον προυκαλεῖτο διαμάχεσθαι. L33^v
 Ἡράκλειος δὲ ἐπεὶ οὐδένα τοῦ οἰκείου στρατοῦ προθυμούμε-
 νον ἐπεγίνωσκειν, αὐτὸς ἐξήει κατὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου. ὁ δὲ ὡς
 τὴν τοξικὴν ἔμπειρος οἷστον ἠφίει καὶ ἄκρων χειλέων τοῦ
 βασιλέως καθήπτετο· εἶτα καὶ ἄλλον οἷστον ἐξέπεμψε καὶ τὸ
 10 σφυρὸν τοῦ ποδὸς ἐπέξυσεν. αὐτὸς δὲ Ἡράκλειος τῷ ἵππῳ
 ἐπήει, καὶ τις τῶν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρων προφθάσας τὸν ὦμον
 Ῥαζάτου ξίφει ἀπέτεμε, καὶ αὐτὸν πεσόντα ὁ βασιλεὺς κατ-
 ηκόντισε καὶ εὐθὺς τὴν τούτου κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμεν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ
 νίκῃ ταύτῃ προθυμίας ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς πλησθεῖς,
 15 αἰσθόμενος τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως παρρησίαν, κατὰ Περσῶν ἐχώ-
 ρουν συντονώτατα, καὶ ἀνὰ κράτος ἡττηθέντας ἐδίωκον καὶ
 πληῆθος αὐτῶν πολὺ ἀπέκτειναν.

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

14: 3 Ῥαζάτην V || γενναῖον V corr. V² || 5 πρὸς μόνῳ V || 7 ἐξίει L || 8 οἷστον . . . χειλέων
 I. || 9 πάλιν post εἶτα add. L || τὸ L τὸν V || 10 σφυρὸν ex σφυρὸν V² || 12 Ῥαζάτου V || 12–13
 κατηκόντισε V || 13 ἐπεὶ V || 16 κράτος L

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

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

15. Οἱ δὲ Περσῶν ἄρχοντες ἐπεὶ διεγνώκεσαν ὡς ὁ τῶν
 Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πολιτείας τῆς οἰκείας
 ζωῆς κατεφρόνησε, μετὰ Σειρόου τοῦ υἱοῦ Χοσρόου βουλευ-
 ονται Χοσρόην ἀνελεῖν, μέγα περὶ τῆς οἰκείας πολιτείας
 5 καταφρονήσαντα. τοῦτον οὖν ἐφ' ἐνὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν οἰκῶν
 κατέκλεισαν, καὶ τροφὴν μὲν οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν, προύθηκαν δὲ
 χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ λίθον πλείστον λέγοντες “τούτων L34¹
 ἀπόλαυε οἷς κατεμάνης καὶ ἅπερ ἡγάπησας καὶ συνήγα-
 γες”. καὶ οὕτω λιμώττοντα ἐπελθόντες ἀνεῖλον, Σειρόην δὲ
 10 τὸν τοῦτου υἱὸν βασιλέα Περσῶν ἀνηγόρευσαν· ὃς εὐθύς πρὸς dB20
 Ἡράκλειον διαπρεσβεύεται δῶρά τε ἐξέπεμψεν ὡς σπείσε-
 σθαι αὐτῷ. γράφει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνοῦσθαί τε ἀλλήλαις τὰς
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦς πολιτείας καὶ εἰρήνην παρὰ θεοῦ ἀσπάζεσθαι, ὡς
 ἐκάστην καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐφησυχάζειν. ᾧ ἀντέγραφε καὶ Ἡρά-
 15 κλειος, τέκνον τὸν Σειρόην καλῶν, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ ποτε
 κατὰ γνώμην βασιλέα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης ἐκπεπτωκέναι· διὸ
 οὐδὲ Χοσρόην. “ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πλείστα καὶ κάκιστα Ῥωμαίοις
 καὶ Πέρσαις ἐπέδειξεν, ἔσπευσαν ἄν”, ἔφασκε, “περισω-
 θέντα, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπικρατέστερος ἐγενόμην, εἰς τὴν
 20 ἑαυτοῦ ἀποκαθιστᾶν βασιλείαν. θεὸς δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου πρό-
 θεσιν ἐγνωκὼς μετῆλθεν αὐτῷ ἀξίαν τὴν δίκην, ὡς μὴ τῶν
 πολλῶν γενέσθαι κατάλυσιν, ἡμῖν νῦν τὴν ἐλπίσιν παρα- V191¹
 σχόμενος”. περὶ τε τῶν ζυθοποιῶν ξύλων ὧν εἶλε Σάρβαρος ἐξ
 Ἱεροσολύμων λιπαρῶς ἐπέκειτο ἐπιζητῶν· ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο δώ-
 25 σειν, εἴπερ αὐτῷ κατάφωρα γένοιτο· περὶ τε τῶν πρεσβευτῶν
 οὓς Σάϊτος πρὸς Χοσρόην ἀπήγαγε δόλω, (ἔφασκεν) ὡς Λεόν-
 τιος μὲν κοινῷ θανάτῳ ἐτελεύτα, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Χοσρόης | L34²
 ξύλοις ἔκτεινεν, αἰσθόμενος τὸν Ἡράκλειον εἰς τὴν Περ-
 σικὴν εἰσβαλόντα.

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

15: 1 ἐπειδὴ ἐγνώκησαν L || 3 Σειρόου ex σείρου L² || 4 περὶ ἑαυτοῦ φρονήσαντα καὶ τῆς οἰκείας incerta manus in mg. V || 6 τροφὴν V² ex τροφῆς || μὲν om. V || ἐδίδωσαν L || 7 λίθον ex πον V¹ || 9 λιμώττοντα L || 11–12 πείσεσθαι L || 13 ὑπ' αὐτοῦς V² ex ὑπ' αὐτοῦ || 14 ἡσυχάζειν V¹ ἐφ' V² superscr. || 18 ἔφασκε om. L || 19 ἐγενόμην L || 20 αὐτοῦ V || 21 μετῆλθεν αὐτὸν ἀξία τῇ δίκῃ conl. dB cf. 1.26 || 24 λιπαρῶς L || 24–25 δωσιν ἅπερ αὐτ. κατάφορα γένοιτο L κατάφορα etiam V || 26 δόλω || litt. ὁ in ras. scripta L², altera rasura post ω || ἔφασκεν addidi: v. comment. || ὡς ὧν conl. dB || 28 τὸν scripsi αὐτὸν VL αὐτὸν N. Oikonomides, *Byzantion* 41 (1971) 278 n. 1 || 29 εἰσβάλλοντα L

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

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

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

- βασιλεύει Περσῶν Ὁρμίσδας, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς διαπρεσβεύεται
 πρὸς Ἡράκλειον, τὸν τε ἴδιον υἱὸν σὺν χρήμασι καὶ δώροις
 5 πολυτιμήτοις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλεν. ἐστήμαινε δὲ διὰ γραμ-
 μάτων τάδε “ὃν τρόπον λέγετε τὸν θεὸν ὑμῶν δοθῆναι γηραιῷ
 τινι ἀνθρώπῳ Συμεὼν εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας, οὕτως καὶ τὸν δοῦλόν
 σου τὸν υἱόν μου δίδωμι εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου. γνοίη δὲ θεὸς ὃν
 σέβῃ, ὡς ποιήσεις αὐτῷ”. ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος μεγάλως ἐτίμησε,
 10 καὶ εἵτα τελεντήσαντος Ὁρμίσδου βασιλέα Περσῶν ἐτίμησε.

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

18. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐκ τοῦ Αἰθριβίου λεγομένου

5 ἀπέστειλεν καὶ ἐστήμαινε L || 7 Συμεὼν V Συμεῶν L || οὕτως ex οὗτος V² || 8 σου V σου L ||
 9 σέβῃς . . . ποιήσης L σέβεις ex σέβῃ V² || 10 καὶ om. L

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

16, 17, 18

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

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

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

¹¹Herakleios' cousin.

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

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

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

19: 1 πρὸς τῷ] ἐς Suda || 2 ὑπὸ] μετὰ Suda || 3 ἤγαγεν V² || 4 ἐθριάμβευσεν Suda || 5 πᾶση ex πᾶσι V² πᾶσαις Suda || 6 ἐλὼν L || ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας Suda || 7 βασιλικοῦ ex βασιλικοῦ L || 8 αὐτῇ] αὐτὴν L

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

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

παρέχεσθαι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο παρασκευάζει Κωνσταντῖνον
10 τὸν υἱὸν ὑπάτευσαι, Ἡράκλειον δὲ τὸν ἀπὸ Μαρτίνης Καί- dB23
σαρα προχειρίζεται.

20. Οὐ πολὺς δὲ χρόνος ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ Σαρακηνοὶ τὰ
περὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατέτρεχον. εὐθέως δὲ Ἡράκλειος σὺν
Μαρτίνῃ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ Ἡρακλείῳ τῷ παιδί πρὸς τοῖς τῆς
ἀνατολῆς χωρίοις ἐπεξῆει. αὐτόθι δὲ γενόμενος Θεοδώρῳ τῷ
5 ἀδελφῷ ὀργίζεται· ὑπεψιθυρίζετο δέ τισι λοιδορεῖσθαι αὐτὸν
τῷ βασιλεῖ Μαρτίνης ἕνεκεν, λέγοντα ὅτι “ἡ ἁμαρτία αὐτοῦ
ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ διὰ παντός”. καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀποστέλ-
λει, γράψας τῷ υἱῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ τοῦτον ἐπ’ ἄθροίσματος
λαοῦ ἀτιμώσαντα ὡς ἐν φρουρᾷ κατέχειν. στρατηγὸν τε ἀνα-
10 τολῆς ἐκπέμπει Θεόδωρον, τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ταμίαν,
τὸ ἐπὶ κλην Τριθύριον. Σέργιος γὰρ ὁ κατὰ Νικήταν τελευτᾷ
τρόπῳ τοιῶδε. κάμηλον οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ἀποδεύοντες τοῦτον
ἐγκατακλείουσι τῇ δορᾷ καὶ ἀπέρραπτον. τῆς βύρσης οὖν
κατεσκληκυίας συναπεξηραίνετο καὶ ὁ ἐντὸς ἀπειλημένος
15 ἄνθρωπος, καὶ οὕτως ἀπομαρανθεὶς πικρῶς διώλετο. αἰτίαν δὲ
αὐτῷ ἐπήγον ὡς αὐτὸς πα|ρεσκευ|ασεν Ἡράκλειον μὴ συγ- V192'
χωρεῖν Σαρακηνοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς ἐμπορεῦσθαι τάς L36'
(τε) συνήθως παρεχομένας αὐτοῖς τριάκοντα χρυσίου λίτρας
δι’ ἐμπορικῆς ἀμοιβῆς ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς πολιτείας ἐκπέμ-
20 πειν· ἐντεῦθεν τε αὐτοὺς ἄρξαι τῇ Ῥωμαίων λυμαίνεσθαι
χώρᾳ. ἐκ τούτου παρήγγειλε Θεόδωρος μὴ συμβάλλειν πρὸς
μάχην Σαρακηνοῖς. ὁ δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτὸν στρατηγὸς τὰ κατὰ γνώ-
μην τῷ βασιλεῖ οὐκ ἔπραττεν, ἐπεὶ νεώτερα αὐτῷ βουλευ-
σάμενος ἦν, καὶ ἐπεὶ παρήγοντο πολεμεῖν ὡς ἀνελπίστων
25 περιέσεσθαι τῶν πολέμιων, καὶ συνεργὸν ὑπελάμβανον τὴν
νίκην τῆς κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπαναστάσεως. ἔτι τοίνυν ἐν
τόπῳ καλουμένῳ Γαβιθὰ συγκαταμίνγνυσι Σαρακηνοῖς. οἱ δὲ

10 δὲ] τε L Suda

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

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

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

¹²See Commentary.

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

21. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον Μαρία ἡ ἀδελφή Ἡρα-
 κλείου χρήματα πρὸς τὸν χαγάνον Ἀβάρων ἔπεμψε καὶ τὸν
 υἱὸν Στέφανον ἀπέλαβε. τοῖς δὲ τοιούτοις δώροις ἡσθεῖς ὁ
 Ἄβαρος ἡρέθισεν Ἀνιανὸν τὸν μάγιστρον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς πέμ-
 5 ψας δῶρα ἀπολήψεται καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους | οὕσπερ κατεῖχεν L37^r
 ὁμήρους. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.

22. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐπανεῖστη Κούβρατος ὁ
 ἀνεψιὸς Ὀργανᾶ ὁ τῶν Οὐνογοννδούρων κύριος τῷ τῶν Ἀβά-
 ρων χαγάνῳ, καὶ ὃν εἶχε παρ' αὐτοῦ λαὸν περιωβρίσας ἐξ-
 5 εδίωξε τῆς οἰκείας γῆς. διαπρεσβεύεται δὲ πρὸς Ἡράκλειον
 καὶ σπένδεται εἰρήνην μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἥνπερ ἐφύλαξαν μέχρι
 τέλους τῆς ἑαυτῶν ζωῆς· δῶρά τε γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔπεμψε καὶ τῇ τοῦ
 πατρικίου ἀξίᾳ ἐτίμησεν.

23. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀνατολικοῖς μέρεσι διέτριβεν Ἡρά-
 κλειος, Ἰωάννην τὸν Βαρκαίνης στρατηγὸν προχειρίζεται
 καὶ πέμπει κατὰ Σαρακηνῶν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· οἷς συμβαλὼν
 5 πίπτει καὶ αὐτός. ἔτι καὶ Μαρῖνος ὁ τῶν Θρακικῶν ἐκστρα-
 τευμάτων ἡγεμὼν συμμίσας αὐτοῖς ἡττήθη, πολὺν τε στρατὸν
 ἀποβαλὼν καὶ αὐτὸς μόλις διασώζεται. μετ' ἐκείνον προ-
 βάλλεται στρατηγὸν Μαριανὸν κουβικουλάριον παρὰ Ῥω-
 μαίων τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ πέμπει ἐκεῖσε, παραγγείλας ὡς ἀνα-
 κοινούσθαι Κύρῳ τῷ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἱεράρχῃ, καὶ ὡς ἂν
 10 κοινῇ βουλευσούντο (καὶ) τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Σαρακηνούς διάθωκοντο.
 Κύρος δὲ ἦν δεδηλωκὼς βασιλεῖ σπεύσεσθαι ἐπὶ τελέσμασιν
 Ἄμβρῳ τῷ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν φυλάρχῳ, ᾧ δὴ καὶ ὑπέχειν δι'
 ἐμπολαίου συνεισφορᾶς ἐσήμαινε, τὰ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ παρεχό-

28 ἀκροβολισάμενοι L || 29 ὑπήγοντο LV² ὑπείγοντο V || δὲ V γε L || 29–30 ἑξαπηναιίως VL

21: 2 χαγάνον V || 6 ὁμείρους. καὶ δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο L

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

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

20, 21, 22, 23

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

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

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

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

- μενα | ἀδιάπτωτα μένειν· κατεγγνηθήναι δὲ αὐτῷ Εὐδοκίαν L37^v
 15 τὴν Αὐγούστην, [ἡ] μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς dB25
 ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τῷ θεῷ λουτρῷ βαπτισθησομένῳ καὶ Χρι-
 στιανῷ χρηματίζονται. ἐπεΐθετο γὰρ Ἀμβρος τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ ὁ
 τοῦτου στρατός· καὶ γὰρ ἡγάπων αὐτὸν λίαν. καὶ τούτων Ἡρά-
 κλειος οὐδενὸς ἡνείχετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ Μαρριανὸς ταῦτα ἐξ-
 20 ηπίστατο, δίστατο τῆς τοῦ Κύρου γνώμης, καὶ συμβαλὼν
 Σαρακηνοῖς πίπτει τε αὐτὸς καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἱκανός.
24. Τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀνέξεντο πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία Ἡράκλειος V192^v
 καὶ ἡλίζετο ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ τῆς Ἱερίας· ἐδε-
 δίδει γὰρ ἐπιβῆναι θαλάσσης, πολλὰ τε ἀξιοῦντες οἳ τε ἄρ-
 χοντες καὶ οἱ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰσελθεῖν ἐπειθον οὐ-
 5 δαμῶς. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐορταῖς μόνους τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐξέπεμπε, καὶ
 οὗτοι ἐπιτελοῦντες ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν θεῖαν λειτουργίαν εὐθὺς
 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξήεσαν. ὡσαύτως καὶ τοὺς ἵππικους ἀγῶνας
 ἡνίκα ἐθεῶντο, πάλιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀπεχώρουν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ
 διέτριβεν ἐκεῖσε, ἀγγέλλεται αὐτῷ ὡς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀταλάρ-
 10 χος καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ τὴν ἀξίαν μάγιστρος, Θεόδωρον δὲ τοῦ
 βασιλέως ἀδελφοῦ υἱός, σὺν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ
 ἡμελλον· καὶ τοῖς μηνύσασιν πεισθεὶς | τούτων τὰς ῥίνας καὶ L38^v
 τὰς χεῖρας ἐξέτεμε, καὶ Ἀταλάρχον μὲν εἰς τὴν νῆσον τὴν
 λεγομένην Πρίγκιπον ἐξόριστον ἔπεμψε, Θεόδωρον δὲ πρὸς
 15 τὴν νῆσον Γαυδομελέτην προσαγορευομένην, ἐπιτρέψας τῷ
 ἐκεῖσε δουκί, ἡνίκα πρὸς αὐτὸν καταλάβοι, καὶ τὸν ἕτερον
 τῶν ποδῶν ἀφελέσθαι. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς συγγόντας
 αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐτιμωρήσατο.
25. Χρόνου δὲ ἱκανοῦ διελθόντος παρασκευάζουσιν οἱ
 τοῦ βασιλέως ἄρχοντες τὸν ἑπαρχὸν ὡς συναγαγεῖν πλείστα
 πλοῖα καὶ ἐχόμενα ἀλλήλοις ἐξάψας ὥσπερ γεφυρώσει τὸν dB26

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

24: 2 Ἱερίας. ἐδεδείη L τὰ Ἱρία Suda s.v. Ἡράκλειος || 3 θαλάσση V || 5 τοὺς υἱοὺς ἐν
 τῇ πολει ἐξέπεμπε L || 6 οὗτοι L αὐτοῖ V || 7 ἐξέεσαν. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ L || 8 ἐθέοντο VL corr. vulg.
 || 10 μάγιστρος VL || 11 ἀδελφοῦ υἱός om. L || 12 ἡμελλον . . . πισθεὶς L || 14 Πρίγκιπον VL corr.
 vulg. || 16 τὸ ἕτερον L || 17 ταῦτα conl. dB || συγγόντας L

25: 2–10 Cf. Sudam s.v. Ἡράκλειος || 2 ἑπαρχὸν τῆς πόλεως L ὑπαρχὸν Suda || 2–3 συν-
 αγαγῶν . . . γεφυρώσει conl. dB

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

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

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

πορθμὸν τοῦ καλουμένου Στενοῦ, κλώνοις τε δένδρων καὶ
 5 φυλλάσιν ἐκατέρωθεν διατειχίσκειν, ὥς μῆδὲ ὀράσθαι παρ-
 ὶοντι τὴν θάλασσαν. καὶ δὴ τὸ ἔργον εἰς τάχος προυχώρει,
 καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἱππεὺς διὰ θαλάττης ὥσπερ διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου
 κατὰ τὰς ἀκτὰς τοῦ λεγομένου κόλπου Φιδαλείας ἐπεραιούτο,
 οὐ τε τὸν παράκτιον χώρον παραμεΐψας διὰ τῆς γεφύρας τοῦ
 10 Βαρβύσσου ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον εἰσῆει. καὶ μετὰ
 ταῦτα Ἡράκλειον τὸν Καίσαρα στέφει βασιλέα.

26. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν δωδεκάτην ἰνδικτιόνα ἐτελεύτα Σέρ-
 γιος ὁ τοῦ Βυζαντίου πρόεδρος. καὶ ἐπειδὴ περ προσέκειτο
 Ἡράκλειος Πύρρῳ, ἀδελφόν τε | ἐκάλει, ὥς ἡνίκα τῷ θείῳ L38'
 λουτρῷ ἐφωτίζετο ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφῇ χερσὶν ἐδέξατο,
 5 καὶ ἅμα ὠκειωμένον Σεργίῳ καὶ συνδιαιτώμενον ἐγίνωσκε,
 τοῦτον ἀρχιερέα τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἀνηγόρευσεν. ἤδη χρόνοις τισὶ
 πρότερον Κύρον τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας πρόεδρον μετὰ κλητον εἰς
 Βυζάντιον ἦν πεποιηκώς, καὶ ἐν αἰτίᾳ μεγάλη εἶχεν ὥς τὰ τῆς
 Αἰγύπτου πάσης Σαρακηνοῖς καταπροέμενον πράγματα.
 10 τηλικαῦτα δὲ περὶ τῶν αἰτιαθέντων ἐπὶ | πλείστου ἀθροισθέν- V193'
 τος τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεξῆει δῆμον. ὁ δὲ ἀπελογεῖτο ὥς οὐδα-
 μῶς τούτων ἔνοχος καθιστήκει, ὥς εἰ ἡ βουλὴ αὐτοῦ προ-
 χῶρει καὶ τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς δι' ἐμπολῆς τὰ τῆς φορολογίας
 παρείχε καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ἡσύχαζον, καὶ τὰ τῷ βασιλεὶ παρεχό-
 15 μενα οὐ καθυστερίζοιτο. ἄλλους τε ταῦτα ἐπητιᾶτο πράξαν-
 τας, καὶ αὐτὸν μάτην ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐγκαλούμενον ἰσχυρίζετο.
 ὁ δὲ ἔλληνα τὸν Κύρον ἀπεκάλει ὥς ἑλληνι καὶ θεομάχῳ καὶ
 κατὰ Χριστιανῶν φρονούντι τῷ Ἀμβρῳ τῷ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν
 φυλάρχῃ συμβουλευσάντα τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως κατεγγυηθῆναι dB27
 20 θυγατέρα. ἐν τούτοις οὖν ἀγανακτήσας κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναι-

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

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

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

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

¹³The Bosphoros.

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

ρήσειν ἀπειλῶν, τῷ τῆς πόλεως αὐτὸν ὑπάρχῃ ὡς αἰκισο-
μένῳ παραδίδωσι.

27. Μετὰ τοῦτο ἐδικαίου τὸν υἱὸν Ἡράκλειον ὑπατεῦ-
σαι, Δαβίδ τε καὶ Μαρτῖνον τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ Καίσαρας ἀν-
ηγόρευσεν, Αὐγουστῖναν δὲ καὶ Μαρτῖναν τὰς θυγατέρας
Αὐγούστας. χρόνου δὲ | διελθόντος νόσῳ ὑδερικῇ περιπίπτει, L39^r
5 καὶ ὁρῶν τὸ πάθος δυσίατον — ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ γὰρ ἐπετείνετο ὡς
καὶ ἡνίκα ἀπουρεῖν ἤμελλε σανίδα κατὰ τοῦ ἥτρου ἐπετίθει·
ἐστρέφετο γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ αἰδοῖον καὶ κατὰ τοῦ προσώπου αὐ-
τοῦ τὰ οὖρα ἐπεμπεν. Ἐλεγχος δὲ ἦν τοῦτο τῆς παρανομίας
τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, ὑπὲρ ἧς ταύτην δίκην ὑστάτην ἐξέτισε τοῦ εἰς τὴν
10 ἀνεψιὰν τὴν οἰκείαν γάμου. διαθήκας οὖν ἐξετίθει, ὥστε
Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ Ἡράκλειον τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς ἰσο-
τίμους εἶναι, καὶ Μαρτῖναν τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναικὰ τιμᾶσθαι παρ'
αὐτῶν ὡς μητέρα καὶ βασίλισσαν. ἐκ τούτου λοιπὸν ἐτελεύτα
ζήσας ἔτη ἑξ καὶ ἐξήκοντα, ἐν δὲ τῇ βασιλείᾳ διανύσας ἔτη
15 τριάκοντα μῆνας τέσσαρας ἡμέρας ἑξ. θάπτεται δὲ ἐν τῷ
ἱερῷ τῶν πανευφήμων ἀποστόλων, καὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἀσκε-
πές, ὥσπερ ἦν διατάξας ἔτι περιῶν, τὸ ὑποδεξάμενον αὐ-
τοῦ σῶμα διετέλει μνήμα, περικαθημένων αὐτὸ εὐνούχων
ὑπηρετῶν.

28. Μετὰ τοῦτο Μαρτῖνα ἢ Αὐγούστα προσκαλεῖται
Πύρρον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἐκκλη-
σιάσασα καὶ τὸν περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον λαόν, τάς τε διαθήκας
Ἡρακλείου ὑπεδείκνυ, ὡς περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν τέκνων διέθετο.
5 ὁ δὲ παρῶν ἅπας δῆμος Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ Ἡράκλειον | τοὺς L39^v
βασιλεῖς ἐπεζήτην· ἡ δὲ ἤγεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἅμα διελέγετο νομί-
ζουσα ἅτε βασίλισσα τὰ πρῶτα εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν φέρεσθαι. dB28
τινὲς δὲ τοῦ συνεστῶτος λαοῦ ἀνεφώνουν πρὸς αὐτὴν ὅτι “σὺ

21–22 ἐπάρχῳ . . . παραδίδωσι L

27: 2 δᾶδ . . . Μαρῖνον V Δαυῖδ δὲ καὶ Μαρτῖνον L || 5 ἐπεκτείνετο vulg. dB cf. ἐπεκτάθη
Georg. Mon. 673.14 || 6 ἤμελλεν L cf. 24.12 ἔμελλε V || ἥτρου V Georg. Mon. 673.15 || ἐπετίθη L || 8
ἀναπέμπει Georg. Mon. 673.16 || 9 ἐξέτισε V² in lit. ex ἐξήγησε ut vid.: ἐξαίτησεν ἔνεκεν τοῦ
L || 18 τὸ ante σῶμα add. V || αὐτῳ L || 19 ὑπηρετῶν om. L

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

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

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

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

10 μὲν τιμὴν ἔχεις ὡς μήτηρ βασιλέων, οὗτοι δὲ ὡς βασιλεῖς
καὶ δεσπόται". ἐξαίρετον δὲ ἐδίδουν γέρας Κωνσταντίνω
ὡς πρώτῳ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν κατὰ τὴν | ἡλικίαν ἐκ παιδὸς V193
προχειρισθέντι. "οὐδὲ γὰρ βαρβάρων ἢ ἀλλοφύλων πρὸς τὰ
βασίλεια εἰσερχομένων, ὧ δέσποινα," ἔφασκον, "δύνασθαι
ὑποδέχεσθαι ἢ λόγοις ἀμείβεσθαι μηδὲ δοίη θεὸς ἐν τούτῳ
15 τάξεως τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐλθεῖν πολιτείαν". καὶ κατήρχοντο
ἀνευφημοῦντες τοὺς βασιλεῖς. ταῦτα ἀκούσασα πρὸς τὸ ἐαυ-
τῆς ὑπεχώρει παλατίον.

29. Ἐξ οὗ καὶ Κωνσταντίνος τῆς βασιλείας ἤρχε. προσ-
αγγέλλει δὲ αὐτῷ Φιλάργιος, ὃς ἦν τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων
ταμίας, ὡς ἀσθενοῦντος τοῦ πατρὸς Ἡρακλείου χρήματα
Πύρρῳ τῷ ἀρχιερεὶ παρατίθεσθαι Μαρτίνης τῆς βασιλίσσης
5 ἔνεκεν, ὡς μή ποτε αὐτὴ ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ
προγόνου ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων διωθουμένη χρημάτων καθυστε-
ρίζοιτο. ὁ δὲ Πύρρον μεταστειλάμενος διεπνυθάνετο εἰ οὕτω L40^r
ταῦτα ἔχοι. Πύρρος δὲ ὑπὸ Φιλαργίου διελεγχόμενος προεδί-
δου καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλων τὰ χρήματα. ἐπεὶ δὲ νόσῳ χρονίᾳ Κων-
10 σταντίνος συνείχετο καὶ εὐκρασίας ἀέρων ἔνεκεν ἐν Χαλ-
κηδόνι διέτριβεν ἐν τῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κτισθέντι παλατίῳ, ἰδὼν
Φιλάργιος ἀρρώστως αὐτὸν διακείμενον, καὶ ἐλπίσας τάχιον
ἀποβιώσαι, ἐδεδίει Ἡράκλειον καὶ Μαρτίναν ὡς αὐτὸν κακώ-
σοντας. ἐκ τούτου Κωνσταντίνῳ συνεβούλευε γράφειν τοῖς
15 στρατευομένοις ὡς τελευτῆς συμβαινούσης αὐτῷ ἀντιλαβέ-
σθαι τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὴ συγχωρεῖν ἀδικεῖσθαι μηδὲ
τῆς βασιλείας διωθεῖσθαι. ἐφ' οἷς ἤσθεις Κωνσταντίνος Οὐα-
λεντίνον τὸν Φιλαργίου ὑπασπιστὴν τὰ τε γράμματα καὶ τὴν
λοιπὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἐργασίαν ἐγχειρίσας πρὸς τὸ στρά-
20 τευμα ἐξέπεμψε, δεδωκὼς αὐτῷ χρήματα συντελοῦντα εἰς dB29
ποσότητᾳ ἀριθμοῦ μυριάδων [πέντε] διακοσίων καὶ ἑπὶ μύρια
καὶ ἑξακισχίλια νομίσματα, ὑποθέμενος πείθειν τοὺς τοῦ
στρατιωτικοῦ καταλόγου μετὰ τελευτῆς Κωνσταντίνου ἀντι-

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

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

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

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

¹⁵In the Hippodrome.

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

L40^v

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

V194^rL41^r

dB30

26 ἔτη ἡμ. ργ L

30: 2 καὶ Ἡρ. L || ὃ V ὡς L || 5 ἐξήνεγκεν τιμηθέντα L || λιτρῶν in lacuna V² || 6 προσφέρειν V || 8 ἐξώριστον L || Σεπται sine acc. V Σέπται L Σέπτας vulg. || 9 τὰ secl. vulg. τὰ θέατρα τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν L || 14 μεθ' ὃν V || Χαλκηδόνα L Χαλκηδόνος V || 18 πᾶσιν ὑγιᾶ L πᾶσι ὑγιᾶ ex πάσῃ ὑγιείᾳ V² πᾶσι ὑγιᾶ dB || ἀπεδείκνυ L || 19 τῷ τὸ V corr. vulg. om. L || 24 ἐπιβουλεύσαντα L || 25 εἰς πλείονα πάντα V εἰς πλείον ἅπαντα dB || 27 διομνύσθαι L διωμνύσθαι V corr. vulg.

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

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

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

τῖνος δὲ οὐκ ἐδέχετο ἄλλ' ἀπέπεμπε, καὶ δὴ ὑπενόσται καὶ
 30 διηγείτο πάντα τοῖς τῆς πόλεως. οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο καὶ Οὐαλεν-
 τῖνον ἐδυσφύμουν.

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

29 δὴ V δι' L

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

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

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

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

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

32. Ἐπεὶ οὖν τοὺς περὶ Οὐαλεντίνου ἢ Χαλκηδὼν εἶχεν,
ἀναγκαιοτέρως (ἔσχον) Ἡράκλειος καὶ Μαρτίνα, ὥς μὴ ἐπὶ
πλείον τὰ ἐκεῖσε προάστεια βλάπτοιτο, ἐνωθῆναί τε αὐτῷ
καὶ ὄρκοις τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους θέσθαι· καὶ ἀξίᾳ αὐτὸν ἐτί-
5 μησαν ἦν Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι κόμητα ἐξσκουβιτόρων, καὶ μὴδ'
ὅλως ἐγκαλεῖσθαι περὶ ὧν παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου ἐδέξατο χρη-
μάτων, φιλοτιμηθῆναι δὲ χρήμασι τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν αὐτῷ
στρατιώταις, στεφθῆναι τε καὶ Δαβίδ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ μετ-
ονομασθῆναι Τιβέριον. | καὶ τούτων οὕτω τελεσθέντων προ-
10 χειρίζεται Παῦλος, οἰκονόμος γεγωνὺς τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλη-
σίας, ἀρχιερεὺς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, κατὰ τὸν Ὀκτώβριον
μῆνα τῆς πεντεκαίδεκάτης Ἰνδικτιόνος.

L42^v

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

dB32

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

33 Θεοδόσιος ex Θεοδόσιον L

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

33: 2-3 εἰκοστοῦ ἑβδομον L

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

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

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

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

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

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

- νου ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔαρινου μέχρι φθινοπωρινου καίρου. | χειμῶνος V195'
 δὲ ἐπιγινομένου ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν στόλος διαπεραιωθείς ἐν L43'
 Κυζίκῳ διεχέιμαζε, | καὶ πάλιν ἕαρος ἀρχομένου ἐκεῖθεν ἀν-
 αναχθεὶς ὡσαύτως τοῦ διὰ θαλάσσης πολέμου εἶχετο. ἐπτά
 15 οὖν ἔτεσι τοῦ πολέμου διαρκέσαντος τέλος οὐδὲν πλέον ὁ τῶν
 Σαρακηνῶν ἦνυσε στόλος, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς τε ἄνδρας μαχίμους
 ἀποβαλόντες καὶ δεινῶς τραυματισθέντες καὶ χαλεπῶς ἡττη-
 μένοι ὑπενόστουν πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα καταίροντες. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς
 20 πελάζουσι τοῦ Συλλαίου γενόμενοι ὑπὸ σκληρῶν πνευμάτων
 καὶ θαλασσίῳ κλύδωνος καταληφθέντες πανστρατιᾷ διώ-
 λοντο. ὁ δὲ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν βασιλεὺς τὸ τοῦ στόλου ἀκού-
 σας δυστύχημα πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλει πρὸς Κωνσταντῖνον ὡς
 σπεισόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τελέσμασιν ἐνιανσίοις. ὁ δὲ
 25 τούτους δεξάμενος καὶ τὰ δηλωθέντα ἀγκοῶς συνεκπέμπει
 αὐτοῖς Ἰωάννην τὸν πατρίκιον, τὸ ἐπὶ κλην Πιτζιγαύδιον, dB33
 πολυπειρία καὶ φρονήσει διαφέροντα, ὡς τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ
 διαλεχθησόμενον· ὃς πρὸς τὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν γενόμενος ἦθη
 συμβαίνει τε αὐτοῖς ὅρκους τὴν εἰρήνην βεβαιωσάμενος ἐπὶ
 30 τριάκοντα ἔτεσιν, ὥστε παρέχεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρα-
 κηνῶν ἀνὰ ἔτος ποσότητα χρυσίου τρεῖς χιλιάδας ἄνδρας τε L43'
 αἰχμαλώτους | πεντήκοντα καὶ ἵππους πεντήκοντα. ταῦτα
 ἀγκοῦτες καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὰ ἐσπέρια οἰκοῦντες μέρη, τουτέστιν
 ὁ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἡγεμὼν καὶ οἱ ἐπέκεινα ἄρχοντες τῶν πρὸς
 35 δύσιν παρακειμένων ἐθνῶν διὰ πρέσβων δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ
 στείλαντες εἰρήνην ἐζήτησαν· ἐφ' οἷς εἰζαντος τοῦ βασιλέως
 εἰρήνην τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ γαλήνην ἐν τε τοῖς ἐφίοις ἐν τε τοῖς ἐσπε-
 ρίοις ἐβραβεύετο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔσχε.

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

11 φθινοπορινοῦ L || 12 διαπεραιωθείς ex διαπεραιωθέν V² || 13 ἐρχομένου V || 17 ἀποβά-
 λοντες L || καί² om. L || χαλεπῶς V δεινῶς L || 19 Συλλέου L || 19–20 γενόμενοι . . . καταλη-
 φθέντες V² ex γενομένου . . . καταληφθέντων || 23 πεισόμενος L || 25 ἐπὶ κλην VL corr. vulg. ||
 Πιτζιγαύδιον ex Πιτζιγαύα*ον V² || 27 τὰ Σαρ. ἦθη γενόμενος L || 30 ἀνέτους L || 34 πρεσβείων L
 || 35 ἐζήτησαν . . . ἥξαντος L || 37 οὕτω πῶς ἔσχε L

35: 1–2 Οὐνογονιδούρων Βουλγάρων propos. V. Beševliev, REB 28 (1970) 156 || 2 ἀρχῆς V
 ἀρχοντας L || 2–3 Μαιῶτιν ex Μαροσσι L¹ || 4 καλουμένη V λεγομένη L || Κότραγοι L

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

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

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

²⁰The Sea of Azov.

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

- 5 ὁμόφυλοι αὐτῶν καὶ οὗτοι τυγχάνοντες. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Κωνσταν-
τίνου χρόνοις ὃς κατὰ τὴν δύσιν ἐτελεύτα, Κοβράτος τις ὄνομα
κύριος γενόμενος τῶν φύλων τούτων τὸν βίον μεταλλάξας
πέντε καταλιμπάνει υἱούς, ἐφ' οἷς διατίθεται μηδαμῶς τῆς
ἀλλήλων ἀποχωρισθῆναι διαίτης, ὡς ἂν διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἀλ-
10 λήλους εὐνοίας τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν διασώζοιτο. οὗτοι μικρὰ
τῆς πατρικῆς φροντίσαντες παραινέσεως ὀλίγου παρῳηκό-
τος χρόνου διέστησαν | ἀλλήλων, ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τοῦ λαοῦ L44^r
ἰδίου μέρος ἀποτεμνόμενος. ὦν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος υἱὸς λεγόμενος V195^v
Βαϊανὸς κατὰ τὰ ἐνταλθέντα αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν τῇ
15 προγονικῇ γῇ διέμεινε μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος λεγό-
μενος Κώτραγος τὸν Τανάιν περαιωθεὶς ποταμὸν ᾤκησε τού-
του ἀντικρὺ, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος τὸν Ἰστρον ποταμὸν διαβάς ἐν Παν-
νωνίᾳ τῇ νῦν ὑπὸ Ἀβάροις κειμένη ἀυλίζεται ὑπόσπονδος τῷ
ἐγχωρίῳ ἔθνει γενόμενος, ὁ δὲ πέμπτος κατὰ τὴν Ῥαβεν-
20 νησίαν Πεντάπολιν ἰδρυσάμενος ὑπόφορος Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένε-
το. τούτων ὁ λοιπὸς τρίτος ἀδελφὸς ὄνομα Ἀσπαρούχ τὸν
Δάναπριν καὶ τὸν Δάναστριν ποταμὸν περαιωθεὶς περὶ τὸν
Ἰστρον οἰκίζεται, τόπον πρὸς οἰκησιν ἐπιτήδειον, Ὅγγλον τῇ
σφῶν καλούμενον φωνῇ, καταλαβόμενος, δυσχερῇ τε καὶ
25 ἀνάλωτον πολεμίοις ὑπάρχοντα· ἀσφαλῆς τέ ἐστὶ τὰ μὲν ἔμ-
προσθεν τῇ τε δυσχωρίᾳ καὶ τῷ τελματώδεις εἶναι τυγχάνων·
τὰ δ' οὖν ὀπισθεν κρημνοῖς ἀβάτοις τετειχισμένα. οὕτω τοῖνυν
τοῦ ἔθνους διαιρεθέντος καὶ σκεδασθέντος, τὸ τῶν Χαζάρων
φῶλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνδοτέρου τῆς Βερσιλίας λεγομένης χώρας ὡς
30 πλησίον | τῶν Σαρματῶν ᾤκημένον πλείστης ἀδείας ἐντεῦθεν L44^v
† ἐπέτρεχον. τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα κατέδραμον χωρία τῆς ὑπὲρ
Πόντου τὸν Εὐξείνιον γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐπέρασε· † μεθ' ὧν
καὶ Βαϊανὸν ὑπεξούσιον ποιησάμενον εἰς ὑπαγωγὴν φόρων
κατέστησε.

36. Κωνσταντίνος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἔγνω ὡς τὸ σκηνῶσαν

6 Κοβράτος L || ὀνόματι V² ex ὄνομα || 7 φύλων VL corr. vulg. || 8 τῆς ex τοὺς V¹ || 13–14 Βαϊανὸς (ex Βαϊανὸς) υἱὸς λεγόμενος V || 15 γῇ om. L || 16 Κώτραγος τὸν Τανάιν L || περαιωθεὶς ex περαιωθέν V² || 16–17 τούτου scripsi τούτων V τούτων L || 18 τῆς . . . κειμένης ex τῆς . . . κοιμένης V² Πανωνία τῆς νῦν ὑπὸ Ἀβάροις κειμένης L corr. vulg. || 19 ἔθει V || 19–20 Ῥαβεννησίαν L || 21 ὀνόματι V² ex ὄνομα || 22 Δάνιστριν L || 23 Ὅγγλον V || 26 τῷ τελματώδεις V τὸ τελματώδεις L corr. vulg. || 29 ἀπὸ | ὑπὸ VL corr. vulg. || Βερσιλίας V || λεγόμενον VL corr. B || 30 Σαρματῶν V || ᾤκημένων L || 31–32 ὑπὲρ πόν (πόν a V² deletum) πόντου V vide comment. || 32 μεθ' ὧν L || 33 ποιησάμενον scripsi ποιησάμενος VL

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

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

²²The Don.

²³The Danube.

²⁴Between Ravenna and Ancona.

²⁵The Dnieper and Dniester.

- (παρά) τὸν Ἴστρον ἔθνος τὰ πλησιάζοντα τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς χωρία καταθέον διαφθείρειν ἐπεχειρεῖ, στρατὸν ὀπλί-
 5 ὀπλίσας κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους ὡς ἀμυνόμενος ὥχετο. οἱ δὲ Βούλγα- dB35
 ροι τῶν τε ἱππικῶν καὶ πλοῦμων τὰ πλήθη θεασάμενοι καὶ τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ ἀνελπίστῳ καταπλαγέντες πρὸς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ὄχυ-
 ρώματα ἔφυγον, τέτρασιν ἡμέραις ἐκείσε ὑπομείναντες· καὶ
 10 τὴν δυσχωρίαν τοῦ τόπου, ἀνελάμβανόν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ προθυ-
 μότεροι ἐγίνοντο. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς νόσῳ ποδαλγικῇ συσχεθεὶς
 καὶ ὀξυπαθήσας ἐπὶ Μεσήμεβρειαν τὴν πόλιν ἀπέπλει θερα-
 πείας ἔνεκεν, προστάξας τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τοῖς λαοῖς προσ-
 15 εδρεύειν τῷ ὄχυρῳ καὶ ὅσα πρὸς ἄμυναν τοῦ ἔθνους κατ- L45'
 εργάσασθαι. φήμη δέ τις ἐδέδοτο | τὸν βασιλέα φεύγειν V196'
 μηνύουσα, δι' ἣν θορυβηθέντες οὐδενὸς διώκοντος συντόνως
 ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ Βούλγαροι ἐπιδόντες ἐπεδίωκον καρτερῶς, |
 καὶ ὅσους μὲν τοῦ λαοῦ κατελάμβανον ἀνήρουν, πλείστους δὲ
 20 καὶ ἐτραυμάτιζον. περαιωθέντες δὲ τὸν Ἴστρον ἐπὶ τὴν λεγο-
 μένην Βάρναν πλησίον Ὀδύσσου καὶ τοῦ ὑπερκειμένου με-
 σογαίου, τὸ ὄχυρὸν καὶ ἀσφαλὲς τοῦ τόπου πάντοθεν ἔκ τε
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἄγαν δυσχωρίας θεασάμενοι ἐνταῦθα
 25 σκηνοῦσι. κρατοῦσι δὲ καὶ τῶν [ἐγγιζόντων] παρῳκημένων
 Σκλαβηγῶν ἐθνῶν, καὶ οὓς μὲν τὰ πρὸς Ἀβάρους πλησιάζ-
 οντα φρουρεῖν, οὓς δὲ τὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐγγιζόντα τηρεῖν
 ἐπιτάττουσιν. ἐν τούτοις ὄχυρωθέντων καὶ αὐξηθέντων τὰ ἐπὶ
 Θράκης χωρία τε καὶ πολίσματα καταδηοῦν ἐπεχειροῦν. τῷ
 βασιλεῖ δὲ ἀνάγκη ἦν ταῦτα ὀρῶντι ἐπὶ τελέσμασι πρὸς
 αὐτοὺς σπένδεσθαι.

37. Οὕτως τοιγαροῦν εἰρηνευούσης πάντοθεν τῆς Ῥω-
 μαίων βασιλείας ἢ τῶν Μονοθελητῶν δυσσεβῆς αἵρεσις ἐκρα-

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

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

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

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

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

7 καὶ τὰ om. L || 13 ἀποτίθεται L

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- τῆς νυκτὸς Παῦλὸς τις μοναχὸς τῶν Καλλιστράτου μονῆς | 147'
 ὑπάρχων, ἀστρονόμος τὴν ἐπιστήμην, καὶ Γρηγόριος μο-
 10 ναχὸς καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐν τῇ Φλώρου μονῇ, Καππαδόκης τὸ
 γένος, ὡς προπέμψοντες. αὐτὸς δὲ ἰδὼν ἐνεκάλει λέγων ὡς
 “μάτην μοι τὰ τῆς βασιλείας προεμαντεύσασθε· νῦν γὰρ ἐν-
 θένδε ἀποχωροῦντα τὸ τέλος με τῆς ζωῆς πικρὸν καταλήψε-
 15 ται”. οἱ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἴργον, βέβαια παρεχόμενοι (ὥς) εἰ μὴ
 ὁκνήσειεν τῆς ἐξουσίας κρατήσειεν. τούτοις πεισθεῖς εὐθὺς
 ἐπικομίζων τινὰς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἔτι τῆς νυκτὸς ἐνισταμένης
 καὶ ὅπλα ἀνελόμενος εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον ἄνεισιν ἡσυχῇ. καὶ
 σημενάντων ὡς τὸν βασιλέα παρεῖναι ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖσε πράξαι
 20 τὰ κατὰ γνώμην, ὁ τοῦ πραιτωρίου ὑπαρχος ὑπήντα διανοι-
 γνύς τὰς πύλας· ὃν αὐτίκα χεῖρας καὶ πόδας ἐπέδησεν. ἐντὸς
 δὲ γεγόμενος Λεόντιος πάντας τοὺς καθειργμένους ἔλυσεν καὶ
 ὀπλίσας ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Φόρον ἐξώρμησε· | κάκειθεν V197'
 σκεδαννυμένους ἀνὰ πάντα μέρη τῆς πόλεως βοῇ κράζειν
 ἐκέλευσε πάντας Χριστιανούς εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Σοφίας παρα-
 25 γενέσθαι. ἐξ ὧν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος θορυβηθὲν σπουδῇ πρὸς τὸν
 λουτήρα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἡθροίζετο. ὁ δὲ σὺν τοῖς μοναχοῖς καὶ
 ἑτέροις τῶν φίλων πρὸς Καλλίνικον τὸν | τηνικαῦτα ἱεράρχην L47'
 τῆς πόλεως ἔρχεται, καὶ βιάζεται κατελθεῖν καὶ φωνῆσαι
 πρὸς τὸν λαόν “αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα ἦν ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος”. τὸ δὲ
 30 πλῆθος Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐδυσφήμεν. καὶ οὕτως ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τὸν
 χώρον τῆς ἵπποδρομίας ὥχοντο. ἡμέρας δὲ ἐπιγενομένης ἐκ-
 φέρουσιν Ἰουστινιανὸν πρὸς αὐτούς. καὶ τῆς πληθύος βοώσης
 βασιλέα ξίφος διαδέχεσθαι, Λεόντιος τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ φει- dB39
 σάμενος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀγά-
 35 πην, τεμὼν τὴν γλῶτταν καὶ τὴν ῥίνα ἐν Χερσῶνι τῇ πόλει
 ἐξώρισε, δέκατον ἥδη ἔτος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διανύσαντα. Λεόν-
 τιος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους βασιλεὺς ἀναγορεύεται. Στέφανον δὲ
 τὸν εὐνοῦχον καὶ Θεόδοτον τὸν μοναχόν, δι’ ἣν ὑπέμειναν
 παρ’ αὐτῶν κάκωσιν, καὶ ἄκοντος τοῦ βασιλέως συλλαβόμε-
 40 νοι καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ἐξαναρτήσαντες διὰ σχοίνων συρέντας

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

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

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

²⁹I.e., the atrium.

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

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

41 παραδέδωκε L

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

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

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

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

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

42. Καὶ οὕτως μὲν ταῦτα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς συνέβαινον· Ἰουστι-
νιανὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ πρὸς τῇ Χερσῶνι διέτριβε, συχνότερον δημη-
γορῶν ὡς πάλιν κρατήσῃ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπαρρησιάζετο. οἱ
δὲ ὧδε πολίται κίνδυνον ἑαυτοῖς ὑπονοοῦμενοι ἐβουλεύσαντο
5 αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν ἢ δεσμώτην πρὸς Ἀψίμαρον ἀναπέμπειν.
αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦτο αἰσθόμενος ἐκείθεν διέφυγε καὶ εἰς τὸ φρούριον
τὸ λεγόμενον Δόρος πρὸς τῇ Γοθικῇ κείμενον χώρα ἀπ-
έδρασεν. | αἰτεῖ δὲ τὸν τῶν Χαζάρων ἡγεμόνα (χαγάνους δὲ L49^r
τούτους αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν) ὡς αὐτὸν παραγενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ τῇ
10 αἰτήσῃ εἶξε καὶ αὐτὸν μετὰ τιμῆς ἐδέξατο, καὶ φιλιωθείς
αὐτῷ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὴν Θεοδώραν καλουμένην εἰς γυναικα
ἐξέδοτο. ὁ δὲ τῇ αὐτοῦ συναινέσει ἐν Φαναγώρῃ ἐλθὼν σὺν
αὐτῇ διέτριβε. ταῦτα διαγνοὺς Ἀψίμαρος ἐνέκειτο συχνῶς dB41
τὸν τῶν Χαζάρων ἄρχοντα ἐκλιπαρῶν, πλείστα δὲ χρήματα
15 καὶ δῶρα ὑπισχνεῖτο, εἰ ζῶντα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἢ τὴν κεφαλὴν
αὐτῷ ἐκπέμψαι. ὁ δὲ ταῖς πολλαῖς εἷξας παρακλήσεσιν ὑπ-
έσχετο τοῦτο πληροῦν. πέμπει οὖν ἄνδρας εἰς φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ
καθεστάναι, τῷ μὲν προσχήματι ὡς μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοφύλων
ἐπιβουλευθεῖη, τῷ ὄντι δὲ φυλάσσειν, ὡς μὴ ἀποδράσαι ποτὲ
20 προασφαλιζόμενος. κελεύει δὲ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν,
ῥωκυμένῳ δὲ Ἰουστινιανῷ ὄντι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῷ τοῦ
Βοσπόρου τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἐπιτηρεῖν ἡνίκα αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψει
ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς τάχιστα. ταῦτα δὲ μηνύεται Θεοδῶρα παρὰ
τινος τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκετῶν· ἡ δὲ τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῷ ἀνδρὶ
25 ἀνετίθει. καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐκείνον τὸν Χάζαρον | καλέ- L49^v
σας καὶ ἀπιδιάσας μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀγχόνῃ παρέδωκε, τῷ αὐτῷ τε
τρόπῳ ἀναιρεῖ καὶ τὸν Βοσπόρου ἄρχοντα. εὐθὺς δὲ Θεο-

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

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

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

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

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

- δώραν τὴν γαμετὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐκπέμπει, αὐτὸς δὲ
 ἀπάρας εἰς Τόμιν καλούμενον παραθαλάσσιον χωρίον κατ-
 30 ἦλθε. καέκισε νηὶ ἐπιβάς σὺν ἑτέροις τισὶν ἀνδράσι καὶ
 ταύτην παραπλεύσας ἦλθε μέχρι | Συμβόλου τῇ πόλει πλη- V198^r
 σιάσας Χερσῶνι. καὶ προσορμίσας τῷ ἐκείσε λιμένι πέμπει
 ἓνα τῶν ἐταίρων ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει, καέκειθεν ἄγει πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν
 Βαρασβακούριον καὶ τὸν τούτου ἀδελφὸν τὸν τε Σαλιβᾶν καὶ
 35 ἑτέρους τινὰς ἄνδρας. καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐκπλεύσας, τὰ λεγό-
 μενα Νεκρόπηλα παρελθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἰστρον ποταμὸν παρα-
 γίνεται. ἐκείθεν ἐκπέμπει τῶν συνόντων τινὰ Στέφανον πρὸς
 Τέρβελιν κύριον ὄντα τηνικαῦτα τῶν ἐκείσε Βουλγάρων,
 παρακαλῶν συλλαβέσθαι αὐτῷ ὥστε τὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἀπο-
 40 λήψεσθαι θρόνον, ἄλλα τε πλεῖστα δῶρα ὑποσχόμενος καὶ dB42
 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα εἰς γυναῖκα αὐτῷ δώσειν ἐπαγγελιάμε-
 νος. ὁ δὲ προθύμως ἐν πᾶσιν ὑπέεικε, καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸν σὺν
 τιμῇ μεγάλῃ ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἅπαντα τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῷ λαὸν ὀπλίσας
 σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ὥχετο. | προσεδρεύει δὲ τῷ L50^r
 45 τείχει Βλαχερνῶν ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις, ἀξίων τοὺς τῆς πόλεως
 εἰσδεχθῆναι αὐτὸν βασιλέα. οἱ δὲ αἰσχροῦς ὑβρίζοντες ἀπ-
 έπεμπον. ὁ δὲ νυκτὸς εἰσδύεται σὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ κατὰ τὸν τῆς
 πόλεως ἀγωγὸν κἀντεῦθεν παραλαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρὸς
 βραχὺ σκηνοῦται ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ Βλαχερνῶν. Ἡράκλειον δὲ
 50 τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀψιμάρου στρατηγὸν τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ στρατοῦ
 γενόμενον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρχοντας καὶ ὑπασπιστάς αὐτοῦ
 πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐπὶ ξύλου ἀνήρτησεν. Ἀψίμαρον δὲ συλλαβῶν
 ἔβδομον ἔτος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διανύσαντα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Λεόντιον
 σιδήροις πεδήσας κατέσχευεν ἐν εἰρκτῇ· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἱππι-
 55 κὸν ἐπιτελέσας ἀγῶνα, θάτερον μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν θάτερον δὲ
 ἐξ ἀριστερῶν πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ πατεῖσθαι ῥίψας ἐπὶ
 ὥρας βραχείας, μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκπέμπει ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Κυ-
 νηγίῳ τμηθῆναι τὰς κεφαλὰς. τὸν δὲ Βουλγάρων ἄρχοντα
 Τέρβελιν ἔξω τείχους Βλαχερνῶν σκηνοῦμενον πολλὰ φιλο-
 60 φρονησάμενος, τέλος παραγενόμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν χλανίδα τε
 περιβάλλει βασιλικὴν | καὶ Καίσαρα ἀναγορεύει, καὶ συμ- L50^v

29 Τομῖν L || χωρίον om. L || 30 νηὶ L || τισὶν ex τρισὶν V¹ || 31 ταύτην V αὐτὴν L || 32 προσ-
 ορμήσας V || 33 ἑτέρων L || 34 Σαλιβᾶν L || 38 τηνικαῦτα om. L || 39–40 ἀπολήψασθαι L || 41–42
 ἐπαγγελιάμενος L || 42 ἐν πᾶσιν om. L || ὑπήκεν L || 43 αὐτοῦ L || 44 τῷ V τὰ L || 51 γενόμενον L ||
 52 ξύλων L || 53 διανοίσαντα L || 55 τούτων θάττερον L || θάττερον² L || 58 τὸν V τῶν L

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

63 παρασχόμενος L || 64 ἐξέπεμψεν L || 67 ἐγκλειστον V || 68 γενόμενον (ex γενάμενος) προσ-
 ημῆναντι L || 72 ἀπέκτεινεν L || 73 σάκοις ἐμβάλλων L || 73-74 συντελοῦντα . . . ὠμότητι . . .
 θηριώδῃ L || 74 ὑπέκκοον V || 75 Χαζαρίαν VL corr. vulg. || 76 αὐτοῦ L || 77 βασιλέα L

43: 3-4 πολεμίσων αὐτοῖς L || 5 κομιδεῖ L || 6 πολλοῖς L || αὐτοὺς V || 8 πόλει ex πόλῳ L

44: 3 Μάσαλμαν καὶ Σολυμᾶν L || 4 Τοῖα να ubique V hic solum L || πολιορκήσοντας ex
 πολιορκήσαντας L ut vid. || 5 παραγενόμενοι L

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

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

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

- μέρος δὲ καὶ τοῦ τείχους ἐκ τῶν πρὸς τειχομαχίαν ὀργάνων
καταβαλόντες καὶ πλεον οὐδὲν ἀνύσαι ἰσχύσαντες, ἀποχω-
ρεῖν πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία ἐβούλοντο. ἐν ᾧ ἐκπέμπει Ἰουστινιαν-
νὸς πρὸς τῇ μεσογείᾳ, καὶ πλείστον λαὸν ἄγροικόν τε καὶ
10 γεωργικὸν ἀθροίσας πρὸς τὰ Τύανα ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσεν
ὥς τοὺς πολιορκουμένους ἐπαμυνόμενος. τούτους ἀόπλους οἱ
Σαρακηνοὶ θεασάμενοι ὀρμῶσι κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν | dB44
ξίφει ἀνεῖλον τοὺς δὲ αἰχμαλώτους συνέλαβον. ἐντεῦθεν θαρ- L51^v
ραλεώτερον διατεθέντες τῆς προσεδρίας Τυάνων εἵχοντο. οἱ
15 δὲ ἀπορίᾳ δαπανημάτων τῶν πρὸς μάχην ἀπειπόντες τῆς τε
παρὰ βασιλέως βοηθείας οὐκ εὐπορήσαντες, ὁμολογίᾳ ἐαν-
τοὺς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς παρέδωσαν καὶ πρὸς τὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἤθη
ἀπώχοντο. ἐξ ἐκείνου λοιπὸν πλείστη τοῖς ἐχθροῖς παρρησία
ἐδέδοτο ἀδεῶς τὰς Ῥωμαίων καταληγέσθαι χώρας, οὐδενὸς
20 τούτοις ἰσχύοντος ἀντιτάττεσθαι, καὶ τινα τούτων ἀποδασμὸν
εἰς τριάκοντα ἄνδρας περιστάμενον ἄχρι Χρυσοπόλεως κατ-
ελθεῖν (παραθαλάσσιον χωρίον ἀντικρὺ Βυζαντίου πρὸς ἥλιον
ἀνίσχοντα ἰδρυμένον), καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτόσε οἰκήτορας ἀπο-
σφάξαι, τὰς δὲ πορθμίδας ἐμπρήσαι ναῦς.

45. Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ ἐν μνήμῃ ἔχων περὶ τῆς γενομένης
αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀψίμαρον παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερσῶν διαβολῆς, ναῦς
πολὺ πλείστας καὶ διαφόρους συναγείρας, ἐμβιβάσας | παρ' V199^t
αὐτοῦ ἄχρι εἰς ἑκατὸν χιλιάδας ἀριθμὸν ἀνδρῶν, [εἰδότας] ἐκ
5 τε τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καταλόγων, | ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοῦ γεωργικοῦ L52^t
καὶ τῶν βανανυσικῶν τεχνῶν τῶν τε ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς
καὶ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δήμου, Στέφανον δὲ τινα πατρίκιον τὸ ἐπί-
κλην Ἀσμικτον τοῦ τοιούτου στόλου ἡγεμόνα προβαλλόμενος
ἐξέπεμψε, προστάξας πάντας τοὺς ἐν Χερσῶν καὶ Βοσφόρῳ
10 καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχοντιῶν λαοὺς ξίφεσιν ἀνηλωκέναι,
Ἥλιαν δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρον σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπιόντα ἄρχοντα

6 τειχομαχίαν L || 7 ἀνοίσει L || 9 τὴν μεσογίαν L || 10 ἐκέλευεν L || 11 τούτοις ἀόπλους L || 13 συλλαβόντες L || 13-14 θαρραλεώτεροι V θαρσαλαιώτεροι L corr. vulg. || 14 προσεδρείας L || 15 ἀπορεῖα L || τῶν om. L || μάχην V βραχὺ L || 17 παρέδωσαν L || ἔθη L || 20 τούτους L || ἀπόδασμον L ἀποδρασμὸν V || 23 ἀνίσχον τὸ L || 23-24 αὐτόσε . . . πορθμίδας L

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

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

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

- Χερσιῶνος ἐγκαταστήσαι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βαρδάνην Ἀρμένιον
 τῷ γένει ἐξώριστον ἐκείνῃ καταλιπεῖν. Στέφανος δὲ διὰ τῆς
 Ποιτικῆς θαλάσσης πρὸς τὰ ἐκείνῃ περαιωθεῖς τὰ πρω- dB45
 15 τεταγμένα ἐπλήρου, μερικάκιά τινα ὀλίγα τῷ συνόντι αὐτῷ
 λαῷ ὡς δῆθεν αἰχμάλωτα περιποιήσας. Τουδοῦνον δὲ τὸν
 Χερσιῶνος ἄρχοντα καὶ Ζωῖλον πρωτοπολίτην λεγόμενον καὶ
 ἑτέροισιν ἀνδράσιν τεσσαράκοντα τῶν ἐμφανεστέρων δεσμώτας
 σὺν γυναίξιν καὶ παισὶ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐπεμψεν, ἄλλους τε
 20 τῶν πρωτευνόντων Χερσιῶνος ἀνδράσιν ἑπτὰ ξυλίνους ὀβελοῖς
 προσαρτήσας ἐπὶ πυρὸς διώπησεν, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων προ-
 στατεῦντας πολιτμάτων ἀνδράσιν ἄχρι καὶ εἰς εἴκοσι ἀκατίῳ
 ἐμβαλὼν καὶ προσηύχας λίθους τε τοῦτῳ πλείστους * τῷ
 βυθῷ παραδέδωκεν. Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ φιλανθρωπότερον τὸν 1.52*
 25 Στέφανον διατεθέντα παρὰ τὰ διατεταγμένα αὐτῷ τομίσας
 διὰ τὴν τῶν μερικάκιον περιποίησιν, σπουδαιότερον ἐπα-
 ῆκεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν. αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὰ πρωταχθέρτα
 ἐκεῖθεν ἀπέρας μῆρος Ὀκτωβρίον ἐνισταμένων χειμῶνι με-
 γάλῳ καὶ ναυαγίῳ περιπίπτει, εἰς τρεῖς καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα χι-
 30 λιᾶδας τῶν καταπορτισθέντων ἀριθμηθέντων, ὧν τὰ πτώματα
 ἐξ Ἀμάστριδος πόλεως μέχρις Ἡρακλείας ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης
 ἀπερρίπτετο, ἐφ' οἷς οὐ λυπηθεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν περὶ χαρῆς
 γενόμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς πάλιν βουλευέται ἕτερον ἐκείνῃ ἐκ-
 πέμπειν στόλον, οἱ δὲ τῶν χωρῶν τούτων ἄρχοντες τῆς φήμης
 35 αἰσθόμενοι ἑαυτοὺς ὁση δύνειμι ἡσυχάζοντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς
 Χαζάρους διαπρεσβεύονται ὥστε ἐπὶ φυλακὴν τούτων λαόν
 ἀποστέλλειν καὶ περισώζειν τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς περιλειφθέντας.
 ταῦτα Ἰουστινιανὸς μεμαθηκώς Γεώργιον τὸν πατρίκιον ἀπο-
 στέλλει καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν τῆς πόλεως ὑπαρχον σὺν ἑτέροις
 40 ἄρχουσιν καὶ στρατιῇ ἄχρι τριακοσίων ἀνδρῶν, παραδοὺς αὐ-
 τοῖς Τουδοῦνον καὶ Ζωῖλον, ὥστε ἀποκαταστήσῃ αὐτοῖς
 ταῖς οἰκείαις ἀρχαῖς, Ἠλίαν δὲ ἀγαγεῖν ὡς αὐτόν. τούτων ἐν dB46
 Χερσιῶνι παραγενομένων οἱ τῆς πόλεως μόνους Γεώργιον καὶ
 τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἄρχοντας ἀξιούσιν ἐντὸς γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως·

12 ἐγκαταστήσαι V² ex ἐγκαταστήσει || Βαρδάνην V || 13 ἐξώριστον . . . καταλιπεῖν L || 16 τὸν
 δοῦνον V || 19-20 ἀνέπεμψε . . . πρωτευνόντων L || 23 τοῦτο L || post πλείστους xethum 'iniciens'
 sonans excidisse vid. λίθους τοῦτο γεμίσαντες Theoph. 378.10 = 26 σπουδαιότερον L || 26-27
 ἐπαρῆκεν vulg. ἐπαρήσειν V ἐπαρῆσιν L || 29 ναυαγίῳ L || 29-30 χιλιᾶδας L || 31 Ἀμαστρίδος
 L || 32 ἀπερρίπτετο L || 35 ἡσυχάζοντο ex ἡσφαλίζοντο L || 36 Χαζάρους sine acc. V || διαπρεσ-
 βεύεται . . . φυλακῇ L || 37 αὐταῖς scripsi αὐτοῖς VL || 37-40 περιλειφθέντας . . . ἄχρι om. L || 41
 τὸν δοῦνον V || 43 παραγενομένων L || σμόνης V, η deleto et ov sec. m. superscr

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

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

47 τὸν δοῦνον V || 50 Ἰουστινιανῶ L || 52 ἐξώριστον L || 53 μείζονι L || 53–54 Ἡλία etc.] ἐν ἡλικία
 τέκνα τῶν μητρῶν κόλπων L || 54 ἀνήλυσκει V || 56 ὅλως L || 56–57 ἔτ. δὲ μέγα στόλον πάλιν L
 || 61 ἐξαπναιῶς VL || ἐπιπεσόντος vulg. ἐπιπεσόντων V ἐπισπεσόντων L || 64 δεδειώς L || 65
 ἀπένοντο gloss. Barocc. f. 293^v || 66 ἀνευφύμουν L || 67 διεπρεσβεύετο L || 68 ὡς αὐτοὺς V πρὸς
 αὐτόν V² || ἀποσταλκέναι L || 69 αὐτοῖς VL corr. vulg. || 70 ἑκατὸν νομίσματα V || 71 ὑπόπτευν L
 || 76 Δαματρῦ L || 77 αὐτὸς vulg. αὐτοὺς VL

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

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

- παραθαλασσίῳ κώμῃς Γιγγιλίσσου ὀνομαζομένης, ὥστε
 80 ἀναμανθάνειν οἷα τὰ ἐν Χερσῶνι αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα. ἐπὶ
 χρόνον δέ τινα ἐκείσε διατρίψας καὶ θεασάμενος τὸν τοιοῦτον
 ἰστόλον σὺν τῷ Φιλιππικῷ βασιλεύοντι πρὸς Βυζάντιον καται- L54^r
 ροντα, πρὸς τὸν καταλειφθέντα αὐτῷ λαὸν κατὰ τὸν Δαματρὺν
 παλινοστεῖ. Φιλιππικὸς δὲ πολέμου ἐκτὸς εἰς τὴν πόλιν
 85 εἰσῆγει, καὶ αὐτίκα Ἡλίαν σὺν ὀπλίτῃ λαῷ κατὰ Ἰουστινιανοῦ
 ἀποστέλλει. καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ μὲν συνόντι Ἰουστινιανῷ πλήθει
 ὅρκους τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐβεβαίωσε καὶ τὸν τῶν Βουλγάρων V200^r
 λαὸν σώους ἐπανήκειν ὑπέσχετο, αὐτοῦ δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τὴν
 κεφαλὴν ἐκτέμνει, ἤδη ἔτος ἕκτον ἀνύσαντος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ
 90 αὐτοῦ βασιλείᾳ, καὶ πρὸς Φιλιππικὸν ἐκπέμπει. ὁ δὲ τὰν-
 την δεξάμενος πρὸς τοῖς ἐσπερίοις τόποις ἄχρι Ἑρῶν ἀπ-
 ἐστέλλει. Μαῦρον δὲ τὸν πατρίκιον καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν βασι-
 λικὸν δορυφόρον, ἐπὶ κλην Στροῦθον, κατὰ Τιβερίου τοῦ υἱοῦ
 Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἐξέπεμψεν, ὃν καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν τῷ θυσια-
 95 στηρίῳ καταφυγόντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς πανάγου θεομήτορος τοῦ
 ἐν Βλαχέρναις ὄντος, ἐν ᾧ εἰσπηδήσας Ἰωάννης ἀφέλκεται
 τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐξημμένον τραπέζης, μήτε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου
 εὐλαβηθεῖς μήτε τοῖς πολλοῖς δάκρυσιν Ἀναστασίας τῆς
 αὐτοῦ μάμμης εἷξας· παρὴν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ τῷ ἐγγόνῳ συγ- dB48
 100 κινδυνεύουσα. καὶ τοῦτον εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὑπερκειμένου τείχους
 πυλίδι | τὴν καλουμένην τῶν Καλλινίκων ζῶον ἀλόγου δίκην L54^v
 μαχαίρᾳ ἀποσφάττουσιν, ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν θείων Ἀναργύρων
 τῶν καλουμένων τῶν Παυλίνης ταφῇναι προστάξαντες. μεθ'
 ὃν συλλαμβάνονται καὶ Βαρασβακούριον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς
 105 Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἄρχοντας, καὶ πάντας ξίφει ἀναιροῦσι.
46. Φιλιππικὸς δὲ ἀσέμνως καὶ ῥαθύμως τὰ βασιλεία
 διέπων ἐφαίνετο, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ οἰκουμενικῇ συνόδῳ πα-
 τέρας ἀναθέματι καθυπέβαλε, τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐνθέως δογμα-
 τισθέντα δύο τοῦ σωτήρος θελήματα καὶ ἐνεργείας μὴ ἀπο-
 5 δεχόμενος, συλλήπτορας εὐρηκῶς Ἰωάννην τὸν τηνικαῦτα
 τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερέα καὶ Γερμανὸν τὸν Κυζίκου μητροπολί-
 την καὶ ἐτέρους ἱερεῖς καὶ συγκλητικούς πλείστους.

79 παραθαλάσσιον L || Γιγγιλίσσου sine acc. V || 83 καταληφθέντα L || 84 Φιλιππικὸς ex Φιλιπ-
 πικοῦ V² || 85 εἰσεῖν L || 89 ἀνοίσαντος L || 91-92 ἀπέστειλεν L || 93 ἐπὶ κλην VL corr. vulg.
 Στροῦθον ex Στροῦθρο V¹ || 99 ἡξας L || ἐκγόνω L || 101 πυλίδι om. V

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

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

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

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

47. Ἐν τούτοις τῶν Βουλγάρων ὀπλίτης ὁμιλος ἀθρόως
(κατὰ) τοὺς ἐν τῷ Θρακικῷ Βοσπόρῳ οἰκοῦντας ἐπεισιπύπτει
καὶ λαὸν πλείστον τῶν ἐγχωρίων καὶ τῶν ἐκ Βυζαντίου δια-
περώντων τέρψεως καὶ ἡδυπαθείας ἔνεκεν ἀναιροῦσιν, ἄλ-
λους τε ἡχμαλώτευσαν καὶ ἄργυρον ὥς πλείστον καὶ σκεῦη
οὐκ ὀλίγα παρ' αὐτῶν προσκτησάμενοι· ἀδείας δὲ αὐτοῖς
προσγενομένης καὶ πρὸς τῷ χερσαίῳ τείχει τῆς πόλεως σκε-
δάννυνται, ἄχρι καὶ τῆς Χρυσῆς καλουμένης πύλης προεκ-
δραμόντες. ἐκείθεν ὑπονοστήσαντες πολλὰ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης
χωρία καταληίζονται. | μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν L55'
ἔθνος τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατέθεον χώραν, καὶ τὰ πλείστα μέρη δι-
εκτρέχοντες πλείστην ὄσπιν βλάβην ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ κτηνῶν
ἐποιοῦντο, τὴν τε Μισθίαν καὶ ἕτερα πολίσματα συμπαρα- dB49
λαμβάνουσι.
48. Φιλιππικὸς δὲ γενέθλιον τῆς πόλεως ἡμέραν ἐπι-
τελέσας καὶ ἀμιλλητήριον τῶν ἵππων ἀγῶνα ἐπιδειξάμενος,
εἵτα τοῖς φίλοις συμποσιάσας εἰς ὕπνον κατὰ τὸν μεσημ-
βρινὸν τῆς ἡμέρας καιρὸν ἐτράπετο. συμβαίνει δέ γε αὐτῷ τὰ
5 τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐντεῦθεν. Γεώργιος τις ὄνομα, τὸ ἐπὶ κλην Βού-
ραφος, πατρικίος τυγχάνων καὶ τοῦ Ὀψικίου | στρατοῦ ἡγού- V200'
μενος, πρὸς τῇ Θράκῃ τηνικαῦτα ἐπιδημῶν φυλακῆς ἔνεκα
τῆς χώρας διὰ τὴν τῶν Βουλγάρων καταδρομὴν, γνώμῃ Θεο-
δώρου τοῦ πατρικίου τὸ ἐπὶ κλην Μυακίου πέμπει τῶν ὑπηρε-
10 τῶν τινά, Ῥούφον ὄνομα, σὺν ὀλίγοις στρατιώταις πρὸς τὸ
Βυζάντιον τὰ πρὸς τὴν Φιλιππικὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπιτελέσοντας·
ὃς ἀθρόως κατὰ τὰ βασιλεια ἐπεισιπύπτει, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα
καθεύδοντα καταλαβὼν ἐξανίστησί τε τοῦ ὕπνου καὶ πρὸς τὸν
τοῦ ἵπποδρομίου ἐξάγει χώρον κάκεϊσε αὐτοῦ τὰς ὄψεις ἀπ-
15 ἐτύφλωσε, δευτέρον ἔτος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διάγοντα. τῇ ἐπαύ-
ριον (ἡμέρα ἦν τῆς πεντηκοστῆς ἐορτάσιμος) ἀθροισθεὶς ὁ
τῆς πόλεως ἅπας δῆμος πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θείου λόγου τέμενος

47: 1 ἀθρόως L || 2 κατὰ add. esse conji. dB || ἐπεισιπύπτει οἰκοῦντας L || 3-4 διαπερόντων L || 4 ἀπαίρουσιν L || 5 αἰχμαλώτευσαν . . . σκεύει L || 6 προσκτησάμενοι L || αὐτοῖς vulg. αὐτῶν VL || 7 προσγενομένης L || 8 πύλης καλουμένης L || 10 χωρεῖα L || 11 καὶ V κατὰ L || μέρεσι L || 13 Μισθίαν ex Μίσθιαν L Μήθειαν V || 13-14 παραλαμβάνουσιν L

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

52. Ἐπεὶ οὖν πυκναὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπαναστάσεις ἐγένοντο καὶ ἡ τυραννὶς ἐκράτει τὰ τε τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς πόλεως κατημελεῖτο καὶ διέπιπτε πράγματι, ἔτι μὴν καὶ ἡ τῶν λόγων ἡφανίζετο παίδευσις καὶ τὰ τακτικὰ διελύετο. ἐξ ὧν συνέβαινε καὶ τοὺς πολέμιους τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατα-
 5 τρέχειν ἀδεῶς πολιτείας, φόνοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπαγωγαὶ καὶ πόλεων ἀλώσεις. ἐντεῦθεν καὶ οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ὁρμῶσι κατ' αὐτῆς τῆς βασιλευούσης, διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου στέλλοντες ἐκ δια-
 10 φόρων ἐθνῶν τῶν ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἱππικὰ τε | καὶ πεζικὰ στρα-
 τεύματα ἀριθμοῦ κρείττονα. ὡσαύτως καὶ στόλον πολὺν ἀπέστειλαν ἄχρι καὶ εἰς χιλίας ὀκτακοσίας ναῦς, ἡγεμόνα
 15 τούτοις τινὰ καταστήσαντες Μασαλμᾶν τῇ σφῶν διαλέκτῳ καλούμενον. ταῦτα μαθόντες οἱ τε στρατιωτικοὶ καὶ πολιτικοὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θεοδοσίου ἀπειρίαν, καὶ ὡς οὐχ ἱκανῶς ἔχει τὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους ἀντικαθίστασθαι, ἐφίστανται
 20 αὐτῷ παραινοῦντες τὴν βασιλείαν παραιτήσασθαι καὶ ἀβλαβῶς ιδιωτεῦσαι. καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπεχώρει, ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διαρκέσας. εἶτα εἰς ψῆφον ἐληλυθότων τοῦ βασιλεύ-
 στοντος ἡρέθη Λέων ὁ πατρίκιος, τῆνικαῦτα στρατηγὸς ὢν τοῦ
 τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν λεγομένου στρατοῦ. καὶ ὡς ἦν ἔθνος βα-
 σιλεῦσι, διὰ προπομπίου δοχῆς διὰ τῆς Χρυσῆς καλουμέ-
 νης πύλης εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον εἰσελαύνει, καὶ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ
 ἐκκλησίᾳ γενόμενος ἐκέισε τὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἀνεδήσατο
 στέφανον.

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

52: 1 πυκναὶ κατὰ τῶν B || 5 πολέμους V corr. vulg. || τῆς ex τοὺς V² || 6 πολλοὶ V² πολλοὶ
 V || 14 Θεοδοσίου θεασάμενοι ἀπειρίαν conl. dB || 19 εὐρέθη V corr. B

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

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

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

αὐτῶν ἐφάπτεσθαι ὅπλου διείργοντο, καὶ ἀπρακτούντων οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν πόλιν εἶλον ἀμαχητί.

54. Ἐκεῖθεν ἄραυτες οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ πρὸς τῷ στενῷ τῆς Ἀβύδου καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἀντιπεραι- οῦνται. καὶ πλείστα ταύτης ἐλόντες πολίσματα ἐπὶ τὴν βασι- λεύουσαν ἀφίκοντο καὶ χάρακα ταύτῃ περιβάλλουσι καὶ τῆς
- 5 πολιορκίας εἶχοντο, τρισκαιδεκαμηνιαῖον χρόνον ἐν τῇ προσ- εδρίᾳ διανύσαντες, ἰδέας μηχανημάτων ὡς πλείστας προσ- ευεγκόντες. ἐν τούτῳ καταλαμβάνει καὶ ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν στόλος, οὗ ἡγεῖτο Σολιμᾶν ὀνόματι Ἀράβων φωνῇ καλούμε- νος. ἐν ᾧ δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ τὸ Βυζάντιον πόρων ἀνήγοντο, αἱ κατό-
- 10 πιν ἰοῦσαι ναῦς, οἷάπερ νωτοφυλακοῦσαι καὶ φόρτῳ πολλῷ βεβαρημέναι ἐκ τε στρατιωτῶν πλήθους καὶ ὅπλων, καὶ ἅμα μικροῦ πνεύματος ἀντιπνεύσαντος καὶ τοῦ ρέιθρου εἰς τοῦ- πίσω ἄγεσθαι βιάζομένου, σχολαιότερον ὑπέπλεον. ταύτας ὁ βασιλεὺς θεασάμενος διήρυσεν ἐπιβάς καὶ διέκπλους ποιη-
- 15 σάμενος πυρὶ κατέφλεξεν, οὔσας τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἴκοσι. | ὁ δὲ V202' λοιπὸς ἅπας στόλος τῷ Θρακικῷ προσπλεύσας Βοσπόρῳ τῷ λιμένι τῷ καλουμένῳ Σωσθενίῳ προσορμίζεται καὶ αὐτοῦ διεχειμάζειν. ἐν ᾧ συμβέβηκε χειμῶνα μέγιστον γενέσθαι, ὥστε μηδαμῶς γῆν ὀφθῆναι ἐκ πληθύος τῆς κατενεχθείσης
- 20 χιόνος ἄχρι εἰς τὰς ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας· ἐξ οὗ πλήθος οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ καμήλων καὶ λοιπῶν ζώων ἀπ- dB54- έβαλον. ἕαρος δὲ ἐπιγενομένου ἐπικαταλαμβάνει καὶ ἕτερος τῶν Σαρακηνῶν στόλος πλείστος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, οὗ ἡγεῖτο Σοφιάμ ὄνομα ἄρχων, φόρτον ἄγων ἐν ταυτῷ σίτου τε πλεί-
- 25 στου καὶ ὅπλων. ὀλίγου δὲ διελθόντος χρόνου καὶ ἕτερος ἐφ- ίσταται στόλος ἐκ τῶν περὶ Ἀφρικὴν ἀναχθεῖς, ὅπλων τε πολλῶν καὶ δαπανημάτων καταγέμων, οὗ ὑπῆρχεν ἡγεμῶν Ἰέξιδος Σαρακηνῶν ὄνομα. οὗτοι, ὡς φασι, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐσκενα- σμένου παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις πυρὸς ὑφορώμενοι βλάβην, τὸν [οὔν]
- 30 Βυζάντιον πόρον ἀπογνόντες τοῖς πρὸς Βιθυνίαν μέρεσι προσ- έσχον, ὁ μὲν πρὸς τὸν καλούμενον λιμένα Καλοῦ ἄγρου, ὁ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς ἀκταῖς τοῦ λεγομένου Σατύρου. οἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰσπλέοντες Αἰγύπτιοι νυκτὸς τοὺς ἐνεστηκότας λέμβους τῶν νηῶν εἰσβάντες πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἦκον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

dB55

V202^v

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

35 πυρφόρους ex πυρφόρος V²

55: 6 ἐπὶ κλην V corr. vulg. || 10 Σεργίου V corr. vulg. || 13 εὐφημήσας V corr. vulg. εὐφημή-
σαντες, Βασίλειον conl. dB ||

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

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

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

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

σκεδασθειςῶν, ἐτέρων δὲ καὶ αὐτάνδρων τῷ βυθῷ παρα-
δοθειςῶν.

57. Ἀρτέμιος δὲ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ ἐξόριστος ὢν πάλιν
πειρᾶται τῆς βασιλείας ἐπικρατήσῃ, καὶ ἐπεχείρει τοιάδε
πράττειν. γράφει πρὸς Σισίννιον πατρίκιον τὸ ἐπὶ κλῆν Ἑν-
δάκιον, πρὸς τῇ τῶν Βουλγάρων διατρίβοντα χώρα παρὰ
5 βασιλέως τηνικαῦτα ἀποσταλέντα ὡς ἂν συμμαχίαν παρ'
αὐτῶν κατὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν λήψοιτο, ὅπως αὐτῷ τοῖς κατὰ
γνώμην συμπράξειεν, ἀναπείσῃ δὲ καὶ Βουλγάρους συν-
εργήσῃ αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο ὑπέσχετο. γράφει δὲ καὶ πρὸς
Νικήταν τὸν μάγιστρον τὸ ἐπὶ κλῆν Ξυλινίτην, ἐν Κωνσταν-
10 τινουπόλει ὑπάρχοντα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἰσώην πατρίκιον καὶ
τοῦ λεγομένου βασιλικοῦ Ὀψικίου ἡγεμόνα, καὶ Θεόκτιστον
τὸν πρώτιστον τῶν βασιλικῶν γραμματέων καθ' οὓς ἐβασί-
λευε χρόνους γενόμενον, καὶ Νικήταν ἐπὶ κλῆν Ἀνθρακα ἄρ-
χοντα τειχῶν, παλαιᾶς φιλίας ἀναμνησέσθαι, καὶ ἐτοι-
15 μους εἶναι συντρέχειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοιγνύναι καὶ ὡς
βασιλέα ὑποδέχεσθαι. τὰ γραφέντα οὖν εὐθύς τῷ βασιλεῖ
διαγινώσκειται, καὶ τοὺς τὰ γράμματα δεξαμένους χειροῦται
καὶ πληγαῖς αἰκίζεται, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογοῦσι. καὶ Νικήτα μὲν
τοῦ τὴν ἁξίαν μάγιστρον καὶ Θεοκτίστου τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐξ-
20 ἔεμε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους οὐ μικρῶς αἰκισάμενος καὶ δημεύσας
ἐξορίαις ἀπέπεμψεν. Ἀρτέμιος δὲ ἅμα Σισιννίῳ τῷ πατρικίῳ
καὶ τοῖς Βουλγαροῖς μέχρις Ἡρακλείας καταλαμβάνει, σὺν
αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ ἅπερ ἦγον ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης ἀκάτια· μονόξυλα
δὲ αὐτοὶ προσαγορεύουσι. γράφει δὲ Βουλγαροῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς
25 ὡς τὴν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἀσπάσονται καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς προ-
δοῖεν. οἱ δὲ εἰς ἀπολογίαν κατέστησαν συγγνώμην αἰτή-
σαντες καὶ τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην ὑπισχνούμενοι. καὶ τὸν μὲν
Ἀρτέμιον σὺν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ ἄλλους πλεί-
στον δεσμώτας πρὸς βασιλέα πέμπουσι, καὶ Σισιννίου τοῦ
30 πατρικίου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκτεμόντες ὡσαύτως στέλλουσιν,
οὕτω τε πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀπεχώρουν. Ἀρτέμιον δὲ σὺν τῷ
ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ παραλαβὼν ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Κυνηγίῳ ἀπ-
έεμεν. ἱππικὴν δὲ ἄμιλλαν ἐπιτελέσας τῶν ἀποτμηθέντων
τὰς κεφαλὰς διὰ τοῦ ἵπποδρομίου ἐπὶ κοντοῦ ἀνηρτημένας

dB56

57: 3 ἐπὶ κλῆν V || 9 μάγιστρον sine acc. τὸ ἐπὶ κλῆν V || 11 Θεόκτιστον P (cf. 57.19) Θεοδό-
σιον V || 13 ἐπὶ κλῆν V || 18 Νικήταν V corr. vulg. || 25 ἀσπάσονται con. dB || 32 κυνηγίῳ V corr.
vulg. || 34 ἐπὶ κοντῷ V corr. dB

their crews.

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

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

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

58. Ταῦτα οὖν καταπραξάμενος προσκαλεῖται Ἰερμα- V203^r
 νὸν τὸν τηνικαῦτα ἀρχιερέα πέμπτη καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ Μαρτίου dB57
 μηνὸς τῆς τρίτης ἰνδικτιόνος, τῇ σωτηρίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνα-
 στάσει, ἐν (τε) τῷ Τριβουναλίῳ λεγομένῳ δεκαεννέα ἀκου-
 5 βίτων στέφει τὸν υἱὸν Κωνσταντῖνον εἰς βασιλέα.

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

60. Ταῦτά φασιν ἀκούσαντα τὸν βασιλέα ὑπολαμβάνειν
 θείας ὀργῆς εἶναι μηνύματα, καὶ ἥτις αἰτία ταῦτα κεκί-
 νηκε διασκέπτεσθαι. ἐντεῦθεν λοιπὸν κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας
 ἵσταται καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν εἰκονισμάτων μελετᾷ τὴν καθαιρεσιν
 5 ὥς ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἰδρύσεώς τε καὶ προσκυνήσεως γεγονέναι
 οἰόμενος τὸ τεράστιον, κακῶς εἰδώς. ἐκδιδάσκειν δὲ τὸν λαόν
 τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐπεχειρεῖ δόγμα. πολλοὶ γοῦν τὴν ὕβριν τῆς ἐκ-
 κλησίας ἀπωλοφύροντο. διὸ δὴ καὶ οἱ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰς
 Κυκλάδας νήσους οἰκοῦντες οὐ προσιέμενοι τὸ δυσσέβημα dB58

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

62: 3–4 τῆς καθαιρέσεως seclusi τῆς καθιερώσεως perperam conī. dB || 7 βιωτεύων V

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

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

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

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

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

- καὶ ἱεροὺς ναοὺς καὶ στοὰς ἀθρόον ἐπικαταβάλλει, ἐκ πρώτων
 βάρων αὐτῶν ἔστιν οὗς τούτων ἀνατρέψας, καὶ τὸν θεῖον
 νεῶν ὃν τῆς ἀγίας Εἰρήνης ἐπώνυμοι καλοῦσι κατέσεισεν, ὃς
 10 πλησιαίτατα τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας ἱδρυνται. μεθ' ὃν καὶ ὁ
 Ἀρκαδίου τοῦ πάλαι Ῥωμαίων τὰ σκήπτρα ἰθύνοντος ἀνδριάς,
 ὃς κατὰ τὸν λεγόμενον λόφον Ξηρόλοφον καθύπερθε τοῦ γλυ-
 φαίου ἱδρυνται κίονος, κατὰ γῆς ἄνωθεν ἔρριπτο. διέμενε δὲ
 τὰ τοῦ σάλου ἄχρι καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον· διὸ πλεῖστοι τῆς
 15 πόλεως προϊόντες καὶ ἔξω τειχῶν ἀνυλίζόμενοι ἐν καλύβαις
 κατέμενον.

64. Λέων δὲ (μετὰ) τέσσαρα καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτη τῆς βασι-
 λείας μεταλλάττει τὸν βίον ὑδέρῳ χαλεπῷ περιπεσών, διά-
 δοχον δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν υἱὸν Κωνσταντῖνον καταλιμπάνει.
 Ἀρτάβαζος δέ, ὃς γαμβρὸς Κωνσταντίνου ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ ὑπῆρ-
 5 χεν, ἅμα τῷ περιόντι λαῷ (στρατηγὸς δὲ τοῦ Ὀψικίου λαοῦ
 ἐτύγχανε) καὶ τοῖς δυσὶν υἱέσιν, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἕτερος Νικήτας
 θάτερος δὲ Νικηφόρος ἐκέκλητο, κατὰ τὸ λεγόμενον τοῦ Δο-
 ρυλαίου πεδίου ηἰλίζετο. καὶ δὴ τυραννίδα εὐθύς κατ' αὐτοῦ
 μελετᾷ, τὸν τοῦ πενθεροῦ θάνατον πυθόμενος· καὶ ὄρκοις τὸν
 10 ὑπὸ χεῖρα κατεδέσμει λαὸν αὐτῷ μὲν εὖνουν ἔσσεσθαι, ἕτερον
 δὲ εἰς βασιλέα μὴ δέχεσθαι. Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ τῆς βασιλείας
 κρατήσας ἀπόμοιράν τινα στρατοῦ ἐπιλεξάμενος τῆς πόλεως
 ἔξεισι καὶ τὸ πεδίου ὃ Κρασὸς προσαγορεύεται καταλαμ-
 βάνει καὶ Ἀρταβάζω ἐστήμαιεν ἥκειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ἂν ἅμα
 15 | τῶν πολέμιων χάριν βουλευσίντο. ὁ δὲ ἦδη ὥρμα, οὐ βου-
 λῆς ἔνεκεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν καθαιρήσων. Κων-
 σταντῖνος δὲ τὰ τῆς τυραννίδος πυθόμενος, καὶ Βίσσηρον τὴν
 ἀξίαν πατρίκιον προὔπαντήσαντα καὶ τῷ ξίφει τῶν ἀντι-
 πάλων πεσόντα αἰσθόμενος, καὶ ὡς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐσκευαγώ-
 20 γουν στρατόπεδον εἰσιδών, αὐτὸς πρὸς τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀνατο-
 λικῶν καλουμένην φυγὰς ἐνθένδε ἀπὼν τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν
 ἑαυτοῦ περιεποιήσατο. καὶ αὐτοὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ὑποδεξάμενοι ἐν-
 ωμότους αὐτῷ συνθήκας δεδώκεσαν ὡς μέχρις αἵματος ὑπὲρ
 αὐτοῦ ἀνελεσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, καὶ Ἀρταβάζον αἰσχροῶς δυσ-

V204^r
 dB60

63: 12–13 γλυφάνου V corr. vulg.

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

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

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

⁴⁶The normal spelling is Artabasdos.

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

65. Τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἐπιγενομένῳ ἐνιαυτῷ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν dB61
υἱῶν Νικήταν στρατηγὸν τοῦ καλουμένου τῶν Ἀρμενιάκων
στρατοῦ Ἀρτάβαζος ἀποστέλλει, τὸν δ' αὖ ἕτερον Νικηφόρον
εἰς βασιλέα στέφει. ἐπιστρατεύει δὲ κατὰ τῆς τῶν Ἀσιανῶν
5 χώρας, καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ἐσιαίνετο πικρῶς. καθ' ὃ ἐπι-
τίθεται Κωνσταντίνος καὶ πρὸς τὰς Σάρδεις ὑπαντιάζει, πο-
λέμῳ τε αὐτῷ συμμίξας κραταιῶς ἐτροπώσατο, τὸν τε ὑπόντα
λαὸν δουλωσάμενος τὴν τε ὑποῦσαν αὐτοῖς ἀποσκευὴν εἰς-
ποιήσάμενος. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ φυγὰς [πρὸς] τὴν πόλιν Κύζικον
10 καταλαβὼν ἀποπλεύσας ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ᾤχετο.
Νικήτας δὲ ὁ αὐτοῦ υἱὸς κατὰ Κωνσταντίνου τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐποι-
εῖτο. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τι χωρίον αὐτῷ μάχῃ προσβαλὼν, Μωδρινῇ
τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ φωνῇ προσαγορευόμενον, | αὐτὸν μὲν Νικήταν V204'
ἐτρέψατο, τοῦ δὲ συνόντος λαοῦ πλείστους ἀναιρεῖ. ἐντεῦθεν
15 ἐν μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς τὰ Ῥωμαίων διέκειτο, ὅπηνίκα ἡ
παρ' ἐκείνους περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀμίλλα τὸν ἐμφύλιον Χριστια-

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

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

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

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

⁴⁷I.e., the ancient province of Asia.

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

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

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

19 ἑαυτ[ῆς] V || δεῖ dB δὴ V || 20 ἂν οἶμαι conl. B fort. πολλοῖς . . . καθέστηκεν legendum seu καθεστηκέναι πέπεισμαι vel sim.

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

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

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

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

καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ υἱοὶ τῇ αὐτῇ τίμωρίᾳ ἠκίσθησαν, πλείσταίς δὲ πληγαῖς καὶ τιμωρίαις καὶ οἱ συγγενῶντες αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὑποβληθέντες ὑπερωρίαις κατεδικάσθησαν.

67. Ταῦτα οὕτω τὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς διαθεῖς Κωνσταντῖνος μετὰ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν κατὰ τὴν χώραν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐκστρατεύει, ὧν εἶλε πόλιν Γερμανίκειαν τῆς Εὐφρατησίας χώρας. εἰσπίπτει δὲ κατὰ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν καὶ τὰς κύκλῳ
- 5 χώρας * καὶ καθ' οὓς τόπους τὸ φθοροποιὸν ἐπεφύετο πάθος, ἅπαν ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐπινεμόμενον διώλλυ|ε τε καὶ ἄρδην V205^r ἐξηφάνιζε. διεσώθη δ' ἂν τις θείᾳ πάντως βουλήσει, ὅστις ὡς dB63 πορρωτάτω τούτων τῶν χωρῶν ἀπέδρα. ἐπετείνετο δὲ τὰ τῆς φθορᾶς μάλιστα περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον. τεράστια δ' οὖν καὶ δειμάτα ἐξαπίνης ἐφαίνετο· (τύποι σταυροειδεῖς ἔν τε ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων στολαῖς καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐσθημάτων ἐπανατέλλοντες, θύραις τε ὡσαύτως καὶ τοῖς τῶν θυρῶν σταθμοῖς,) ἃ δὴ φαινόμενα φρίκην μεγάλην καὶ ἀπορίαν πᾶσιν ἐνέτικτεν ὡς παραχρήμα τὸν ὄλεθρον μηνύοντα ἔσεσθαι. ὥσπερ δὲ
- 15 ἐξεστηκότες τῷ δέει οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ φαντασιούμενοι ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς ὡς ξένοις τισὶ συνοδεύειν καὶ εἰδεχθέσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ εἶτα ὡς γνωρίμοις δῆθεν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι προσαγορεύοντες, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν ὠμιλημένα ἐτέροις ἔπειτα ἀφηγούμενοι· καὶ ἄλλοι φάσμασί τισιν ἐκδειματούμενοι ἐώρων
- 20 ξίφεσιν ἀλλήλους τινὰς βάλλοντας. καὶ δὴ οὕτω τὰ πλείστα ἐξέβαινεν. οὐδὲ οἰοί τε ἦσαν οἱ περισωζόμενοι τῶν ἀποικομένων ταφῇ παραδιδόναι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν ὁσίαν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι, ὀλιγοστοὶ μάλᾳ πλείστους ἄγαν ἐκκομίζοντες. διὸ μηχανὰς ἔκ τινος περινοίας κατεσκευάζον, σε-
- 25 σαγμένους τοῖς ἀχθοφόροις ζώοις σανίδας ἐπιστρωννύντες καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα τι χωρίον ἀπευρύνοντες τὸ μηχανήμα, οὕτω τε τὰ πλείστα τῶν πτωμάτων ἀκόσμως καὶ ὡς ἂν ἔτυχεν ἐπετίθεσαν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἁμαξαι πρὸς τὴν ἐκφορὰν τοῦ πλήθους τῶν νεκρῶν φορούμεναι ὑπηρέτουν, τῶν ὑποζυγίων αὐτοῖς μὴ

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

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

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

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

- 30 ἐπαρκεῖν ἔτι δυναμένων. ἐπιλελοίπασιν δὲ εἰς ἅπαξ καὶ οἱ
τάφοι, ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀνύδρους τῶν δεξαμενῶν νεκρῶν ἐμ-
πλησθῆναι σωμάτων. ἄρουραι δὲ ἀνετεμένοντο καὶ ἀμπελῶ-
νες διωρύσσοντο καὶ κῆποι διεσκάπτοντο πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀ-
πεύρων σωμάτων ταφὴν καινοτομούμενοι. ἐξ ὧν συνέβαινε dB64
- 35 τοὺς πλείονας τῶν οἰκῶν κατακλείστους πάμπαν γίνεσθαι.
παρέτεινε δὲ τὰ τῆς θραύσεως μέχρις ἐνιαυτοῦ, καὶ ἐξ ἐκεί-
νου ἐνεδίδου τὰ πλείστα, καὶ κατὰ μικρόν, ὥσπερ τὴν ἀρχὴν
ἠϋξάνεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐλώφησεν ἡ φθορά. ταῦτα ἐκρίνετο τοῖς
ὀρθὰ φρονεῖν εἰδόσιν ἐκ θείας ἐπισκήπτειν ὀργῆς, ἥνικα ὁ
- 40 τότε ἀθώς καὶ δυσσεβώς κρατῶν, καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῷ συνήνουν τῷ
ἀθέσμῳ φρονήματι, τὰς χεῖρας ἐπαφέναι κατὰ τῶν ἀγίων
ἀπεικονισμάτων εἰς ὕβριν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας τετολ-
μήκασιν.

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

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

32 σώματων V² σώματα V¹ || 34 καινοτομούμενοι V corr. vulg. || 42–43 τετοληγκόσιν V corr. vulg.

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

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

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

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

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

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

70. Μετὰ δὴ ταῦτα στέφει Κωνσταντῖνος τὸν υἱὸν Λέοντα
 εἰς βασιλέα καὶ εὐθὺς κατὰ Σαρακηνῶν ἐκστρατεύει. καὶ
 γενόμενος κατὰ τὴν Μελιτηναίων πόλιν ταύτην πολιορκίᾳ
 εἴλε, λαὸν πολὺν δοριάλωτον καὶ πλεῖστα σκῦλα ἐκείθεν ἀπ-
 5 ενεγκάμενος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐτελεύτα καὶ Μαρία ἡ Αὐγουστα ἡ
 αὐτοῦ γαμετή.

71. Ὅπερ δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον συνέβαινε μνήμης ἄξιον, οὐ
 παραδραμεῖν δίκαιον. συνηνέχθη γὰρ τηνικαῦτα θέαμα φο-
 βερὸν καὶ τεράστιον ξένον ἐξ ἀερίου γενέσθαι συμπτώματος,
 ὅπερ περὶ λύχνων ἀφᾶς κατάρξαν διὰ πάσης ἐφαίνετο νυ-
 5 κτός, ἔκπληξιν καὶ δέος μέγα τοῖς θεωμένοις ἐμποιοῦν ἅπα-
 σιν. ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡς οἱ ἀστέρες ἅπαντες τοῦ τεταγμένου
 αὐτοῖς οὐρανίου χώρου παρακινούμενοι κατὰ γῆς ἐφέροντο.
 οἱ δὲ περιγίγιοι γενόμενοι ἄθρόον διελύοντο, ἥκιστα τὴν οἴα-
 νοῦν βλάβην ποιησάμενοι πώποτε. φασὶ δὲ πολλοὶ ὡς διὰ πά-
 10 σης τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐξαίσιον διεδείκνυτο θέαμα.

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

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

71: 3 συμπτώματα V corr. vulg.

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

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

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

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

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

- 10 περιβεβλημένοι, ἐπίσκοπον δὲ τῆς τοῦ Συλλαίου πόλεως
γεγονότα. ὅρον δὲ πίστεως ἐκτίθενται, ἐν ᾧ ὑπεσημήναντο
ἅπαντες κακῶς καὶ δυσσεβῶς συμφρονήσαντες, τὴν τῶν
ιερῶν εἰκονισμάτων καθαίρεσιν ἐκφωνήσαντες· καὶ ὥσπερ
νηπιῶδεις ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ταῦτα ἀνεθεμάτιζον. μεθ' ὧν καὶ Γερ-
15 μανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ Βυζαντίου γεγονότα Γεώργιον τε τὸν
ἐκ Κύπρου τῆς νήσου ὀρμώμενον καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀπὸ Δα-
μασκού τῆς Συρίας τὸ ἐπὶ κλην Μανσούρ.

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

74. Ἐπὶ πρὸς τούτοις οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο νῦν παρὰ δραμεῖν ἄξιον.
ῶρα ἐνέστηκε φθινοπώρου, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ χειμέριον γίνεται τὸ
κατάστημα καὶ τῷ ὄντι κρυερὸν καὶ δριμύτατον, ὥς ξένην
τινὰ καὶ ἐξαισίον τοῖς τηνικαῦτα ὀρώσιν ἀποτελέσαι τῆς

dB67

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

73: 1 ἐπὶ τέλει V corr. P || 8 μικροῦ δεῖν μέχρι conit. dB || 10 πόλεμον conit. dB || φυγὴν ex φρυγὴν V¹ || ἀνακράτως V corr. B || 11 πεζῇ V corr. vulg. || 13 συντελούσας V² συνελθούσας V¹ || 14 ἰστροῦ V corr. vulg. || 20 ὁμήρους V

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

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

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

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

- 5 ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας ἐκ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν συμβάσης πήξεως τὴν θεάν,
οὐκ ἐν τοῖς γλυκέσιν ὕδασι μόνον, ἀλλὰ, τὸ δὴ παραδοξότε-
ρον, καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀλμυρᾶς ἰσχύσαν ποιότητος, καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις
μὲν πλείστοις τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην τόποις, οὐχ ἡκιστα δὲ
τά τε ὑπερβόρεια καὶ προσάρκτια καταπήξαν δεινότατα. ἐπὶ
10 τοσοῦτο δὲ κατεπυκνῶτο καὶ διεπήγνυνεν ὥστε τὴν ὑπερπόν-
τιὸν τοῦ Εὐξείνου | θάλασσαν ἐπὶ σημείοις ἑκατόν που ἀπο-
κρυσταλλωθῆναι κατὰ τὸ πέλαγος, εἴτα καὶ τοὺς ὑπερκειμέ-
νους μεγίστους ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ πλείστους ποταμῶν, καὶ ἔτι
15 τὸν ἐπὶ Μεσσημβρείαν καὶ Μήδειαν πόλιν ἐρχόμενον παρά-
κτιον χώρον τῷ πάγει συναποπετρωθῆναι, διὰ βάθους χωρη-
σάσης τῆς τοιαύτης πήξεως ἄχρι καὶ εἰς τριάκοντα πήχεις· ἐπὶ
τούτοις ἀφάτου καταρραγείσης χιόνος εἰς ὕψος διαρθῆναι τὸ
κρῦος ὑπερανεστηκὸς τῆς ἐπιφανείας μέχρι πηχῶν που ἄλ-
λων εἴκοσι, καὶ πῶς συμφυῆναι τῇ ἡπείρῳ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς
20 μηδὲ διακρίναι ῥοδίως ποτέρα ἐτέρας ἀποκέκριται. οὕτω τε
ἅπαν τὸ πρὸς ἄρκτον ἡπειρωθὲν ὕδωρ πεζεύειν κατὰ νώτου
συνεχώρει τοῖς βουλομένοις, βάσιμά τε ἦν τὰ ἐκείνη ἅπαντα,
ὅσα τε ἐν τοῖς τῶν Χαζάρων γῆς μεθορίοις καὶ τοῖς πλησιο-
χώροις Σκυθικοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ
25 κτήνεσι καὶ ζώοις ἐτέροις γενόμενα· ἅπλωτον δὲ ἤδη ἐντεῦ-
θεν γενέσθαι τὴν Ποντικὴν τότε θάλασσαν. ἡμέραις δὲ τισι
διηππευούσαις καὶ ὁ ἅπλετος ἐκεῖνος τοῦ παγέτου ὄλκος εἰς
διάφορα συρρήγνυνται τμήματα, ἅπερ εἰς τοσοῦτον ὕψος ἀν-
έσχεν ὡς ὄρη δοκεῖν εἶναι ὑπερύψηλα. τούτων ἀπορραγέοντα
30 μέρη τινὰ καὶ τῇ βίᾳ τῶν πνευμάτων συνωθούμενα πρὸς τε
Δαφνουσίαν, φρούριον [ὄν] τι τῆς Ποντικῆς μοίρας ἐρυνμό-
τατον τυγχάνον, ἐξοκέλλουσι καὶ ἄχρι τοῦ στομίου τοῦ Εὐξεί-
νου κατέρρουσι· συστραφέντα δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτὰ κατὰ τὸν αὐτόθι
στενὸν πόρον, τὸν μεταξὺ πορθμὸν πληρώσαντα τὰς ἐκατέ-
35 ρωθεν ἡπείρους, τὴν τε Θράκην καὶ τὴν Ἀσιάτιδα, ἀλλήλαις
συνήνωσαν, ὡς ἐξ ἐκατέρας πρὸς θατέραν πεζῇ μᾶλλον ἢ
πλοῖ διαπεραιούσθαι ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ. ἐκεῖθεν συνω-
θούμενα ἀνὰ τὴν Προποντίδα μέχρις Ἀβύδου ἐξεχύθησαν,

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

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

⁵¹ Ancient Salmydessos, modern Midye.

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

ἤπερ δὴ οὐδὲ θάλασσα εἶναι τὸ λοιπὸν ὑπωπτεύετο. τούτων
 40 ἐν ἀποσπασθὲν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τοῦ Βυζαντίου προσαράσσεται
 καὶ τὸ αὐτόθι τείχος περιέσεισεν ὥς καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον οἰκοῦντας
 συμμετασχεῖν τοῦ σάλου. καὶ τοῦτο τριχῇ διαιρεθὲν παρ'
 ἑκάτερα μέρη τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τὰς ἀκτὰς ἐμπίπλησι. τὸ δὲ
 ὕψος αὐτοῖς τῶν τῆς πόλεως τειχῶν ὑπερανέστηκε, δι' αὐτῶν
 45 τέ τινες ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως πρὸς τὸ ἀντικρύν, ἐν οἷς τῶν Γαλάτου
 λεγόμενον ἱδρύται φρούριον, πεζῇ διεπεραιοῦντο. ταῦτα ἔκ-
 πληξιν μεγίστην τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐνεποίει· τῷ παραδόξῳ γὰρ
 καὶ ἀδοκῆτῳ τῆς θεᾶς ἐν ἀπορίᾳ γενόμενοι θρήνοις καὶ δά-
 κρυσι πλείστοις συνεχόμενοι ἐνθὲνδε ἀπηλλάσσοντο. |

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

77. Οἱ δὲ Βούλγαροι τὸ δυστυχὲς Τελεσσίου θεασάμενοι dB70
 τοῦτόν τε στασιάσαντες κτείνουσι, καὶ κύριον αὐτῶν καθ-
 ιστῶσιν ἓνα τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀρχόντων τυγχάνοντα, ᾧ Σαβίνος
 ὑπῆρχεν ὄνομα· ὃς εὐθύς τὸ κύρος δεξάμενος πρὸς βασι-
 5 λέα διαπρεσβεύεται, εἰρήνην αὐτὸν αἰτούμενος βεβαιότατα.
 Βουλγάρους δὲ οὐκ ἤρεσκε τὸ πραττόμενον· ἀλλύοντες γὰρ ἐν
 τούτῳ ἰσχυρῶς ἀντέλεγον, οἰόμενοι ὡς Ῥωμαίοις ἀντίκα δου-
 λωθησόμενοι. τούτους δεδιὼς Σαβίνος φυγὰς πρὸς βασιλέα
 ᾤχετο. εὐζώνων δὲ ἀποστείλας ἀνδρῶν τινὰς τὰς γυναῖκας
 10 αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς κεκρυμμένους εὐρὼν πρὸς Σαβίνον
 ἄγει. ἐν τούτοις μεταμεληθέντες οἱ Βούλγαροι καὶ αὐτοὶ πέμ-
 πουσι πρὸς βασιλέα τοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην αἰτήσαντας. ὁ δὲ οὐκ
 ἐδέχετο, ἀλλ' εὐθύς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξεστράτευσεν. οἱ δὲ τὰς δυσ-
 χωρίας τοῦ περὶ αὐτοὺς ὅρους ἀνέφραττον. καὶ τούτων ὁ κύριος
 15 | τὰ πιστὰ παρὰ βασιλέως λαβὼν σὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτοῦ V207^v
 πρὸς βασιλέα παραγίνεται. αὐτὸς δὲ τούτους δεξάμενος ἅμα
 Σαβίνῳ συμπαρεδρεύοντι ὠνείδισε τὴν ἀταξίαν καὶ τὸ μῖσος ὃ
 κατὰ Σαβίνου ἐπεδείξαντο, καὶ εἰρηνεύειν αὐτοῖς συνετίθετο.
78. Ταῦτα διεπράττετο κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἰνδικτιόνα. ἔτι
 καὶ υἱὸς τίκεται τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὃν Νικήταν ὠνόμασεν. ὑπὸ
 δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον στόλος τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐξ Ἀφρικῆς
 ἀπάρας κατὰ τῆς νήσου Σικελίας παραγίνεται· τὸ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ
 5 στρατιωτικὸν γενναίως ἀντιταξάμενον τούτοις, μηδὲν τῆς ἐλ-
 πίδος ἡνυκότας ἀπέπεμψε.

79. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν τρίτην ἰνδικτιόνα εἰσέρχεται Κωνσταν-

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

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

78: 1 δὴ ἐπράττετο conl. dB

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

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

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

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

⁵⁵Meaning unclear; see Commentary.

τινος εἰς Βουλγαρίαν τῷ τῶν ἀρχηγῶν αὐτοῦ κατασταθῆναι
 ὑπὸ Σαβήρων Οὐμαρον ὄνομα τῆς ἀρχῆς μεταστήται [Βουλ-
 γάρους], ἀντιπεῖν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ Τόκτω ἀνδρα Βουλγαρον τῶν
 5 Βαϊανῶ ἀδελφῶν, οἱ δὲ Βουλγαροι φρυγῶδες ἐν ταῖς ἡλας τῶν
 ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἀπώχοντο, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ αὐτῶν κατα-
 κτείνονται, μεθ' ὧν καὶ ὁ Τόκτος ἅμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ Βαϊανῷ
 ἀναιρεῖται καὶ ἕτεροι, ἄλλος δὲ τις ἀρχὸν αὐτοῦ, ὃν ὀνομά-
 ζουσι Καμπαχάνον, ἐν Βάριτῃ πρῶταφυγεῖν * ὥς ἐδόκει πρῶτ-
 10 ρῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων δούλων ἀιγηρέθῃ, τότε δὴ καὶ Βουλγα-
 ρίας ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πυρίκαυται ὥς πλείστα χωρία γέγονε καὶ
 διόλωλεν.

80. Ἦδη δὲ ἡ ἀσέβεια τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐπαρρητιάζετο,
 καὶ πάντα εὐσεβεῖας ὁδὸς διεβέβλετο καὶ τῶν εὐσεβούντων
 καὶ θεῷ προσανακειμένων ὁ βίος ἐχλευάζετο καὶ διωσκώ-
 πτετο, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν μοναζόντων τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκθείσματος ἐδιώ-
 5 κετο τάγμα, τούτων γὰρ τοὺς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὁμολογίαν φυλάξαν-
 τες καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκείου διαμεύοντες στήματος καὶ τῷ ἀντιστῆναι
 αὐτῶν ἀνθεστηκότας δόγματι ποικίλαις βαιτάνοις καὶ δια-
 φόροις αἰκίαις παρεδίδουσαν, καὶ ὧν μὲν τὴν γερεαῖδα ἀφει-
 δῶς ἐνεπίμπρων, ὧν δὲ τῶν ταύτης τριχῶν βίᾳ ἀποισπῶντες
 10 ἀφήρουν, κεφαλὰς δ' ἄλλων τοῖς ἱεροῖς πίναξιν, ἐν οἷς τῶν
 ἁγίων τὰ ἐκτυπώματα ἐκεχάρακτο, διέθρανον πειότερες, καὶ
 μέντοι καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς τούτων διώρυττον ἢ τῶν μελῶν ἕτερα
 τοῦ σώματος ἐξέκοπτον ἀπανθρώπως αἱ δειλαιοί, καὶ ἅπαν
 ὥς εἰπεῖν τὸ εὐσεβὲς διωθεῖτο καὶ ἀπηλαύνετο, καὶ ὡς περ
 15 ἑλληνισμοῦ δευτέρου Χριστιανοῖς ἐπιφυνέτος πάντα μηχανῇ
 κακουργίας ἐπενοεῖτο, δι' ἧς τοὺς κατὰ θεὸν ζῆν ἀίρουμένους
 ἐπηρεάζειν καὶ πημαίνειν ἐσπούδαζον, ἤδη δὲ τούτων ἐνίοις
 πρὸς τὸ τῆς αἰκείας ἀπωλείας καθέλκουσαν βάρβαρον * καὶ
 τῷ δυσιστεβεῖ | αὐτῶν εἰξαν θεοσπίσματι ἢ βίᾳ ἐλκόμενοι ἢ
 20 ἀπάτῃ ὑποσυρόμενοι ἢ θωπείαις ὑποκλεπτόμενοι ἢ χρήμασι
 δελεαζόμενοι ἢ στρατείας καὶ ἀξιομαμάτων * φιλοτιμούμενοι, dB72

79: 2 τῷ τῶν vulg, τὸ τῶν (ex τῶν) V¹ || 3 ὀνόματι ex ὄνομα V² || 3-4 μεταστήται· βουλ-
 γάρους ἂν εἴπειν V μεταστήται Βουλγάρους, ἀντιπεῖν vulg, Βουλγάρους seclusi || 5 βουλγάρων
 V¹ corr, V² cf. 65,9 || 6 Ἰστρον V corr, vulg, || 7 μεθ' ὧν V² μεθ' V¹ || 9 post πρῶταφυγεῖν lacunam
 statui προσφυγῶν B προσφυγεῖν del, dB

80: 2 διεβέβλετο V || 17 πημαίνειν V² ποιμαίνειν V¹ || 18 lacunam statui || 19 ἤξαν V corr
 vulg, || 21 ἀξιοματῶν ὑποσχεῖται φιλ, vel, ἀξ, φιλοτιμίας κυρούμενοι suppl, esse comi dB

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

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

⁵⁶ See Commentary.

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

ἡ ἑτέραις πολυτρόποις τοῦ πονηροῦ μεθοδεΐαις τὴν ἐξαπάτην
εἰσδεχόμενοι τὸ ἐπάγγελμά τε ἠθέτουν καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν με-
αμφιευνόμενοι στολισμα κομῆται αὐτοὶ ἀντὶ κεκαρμένων
25 διεδεικνυντο καὶ εἰς λαϊκῶν σχῆμα εὐθύς μεθηρμόζοντο, γυ-
ναιξί τε ὁμιλεῖν κατεδέχοντο καὶ τὸ πρὸς αὐτάς ἡσπάζοντο
συνοικέσιον. ἐπράττετο γοῦν ταῦτα, ὥς ἂν διὰ πάντων αὐτὸς
τε ὁ τῶν ὄλων θεὸς τό γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἀτιμάζεται καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκ-
κλησίας καθυβρίζεται τίμια.

81. Ἐντεῦθεν συλλαμβάνονται Στέφανόν τινα, ἄνδρα
ὅσιον καὶ θεοφιλῆ τυγχάνοντα, μοναστὴν δὲ τῷ σχήματι καὶ
περιεργμένον ἐν οἰκιδίῳ στενωπᾷ πάννυ ὑπάρχοντα, ὑπὸ
τῇ τοῦ μεγίστου ὅρους ἰδρυμένον ἀκρώρειαν, ὃ καλοῦσι τοῦ
5 ὁσίου Αὐξεντίου λόφον. Ἐγκλημά τε εὐσεβείας ἐπάγουσιν
αὐτῷ οἱ ἀνόσιοι, “ὥς πολλούς”, φασίν, “ἐξαπατᾷ διδάσκων
δόξης τῆς παρούσης καταφρονεῖν οἰκῶν τε καὶ συγγενείας
ὑπερορᾶν καὶ τὰς βασιλείους αὐλὰς ἀποστρέφειν καὶ πρὸς
τὸν μονήρη βίον μεταρρυθμίζεσθαι”. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πληγαῖς
10 τε πλείσταις αἰκισάμενοι καὶ δεσμωτήριον οἰκεῖν καταδικά-
σαντες, τέλος σχοινίοις αὐτὸν κατὰ τοὺς πόδας ἐξάψαντες καὶ
τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀφορμήσαντες περιβόλων, μέχρι τῆς λεγο-
μένης τοῦ Βοὸς ἀγορᾶς ἐλκύσαντες διέσπασαν, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ
σῶμα ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις τάφοις τῶν Πελαγίου ὡς κακούρ-
15 γου οἱ δυσσεβεῖς ἀπέρριψαν· αὐτόθι γὰρ τὰ τε τῶν ἐθνικῶν
ἀμνητῶν σώματα καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπηγορευμένων τελευ-
τῶντων ἐξεπέμπετο. πλείστους τῶν τε ἐν τέλει καὶ τοῦ στρα-
τιωτικοῦ ὑπευθύνους καθιστῶντες, προσκυνεῖν ἱεραῖς εἰκόσι
καταιτιώμενοι, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ καθοσώσει ἀλόντας διέφθειραν,
20 οὓς μὲν διαφόροις θανάτοις παραδιδόντες, οὓς δὲ τιμωρίαις
ξέναις καθυποβάλλοντες, πλήθη τε ἄπειρα ὑπερορίαις παρα-
πέμποντες. ἐφ' οἷς ὅρκους βεβαιοῦν ἐβουλεύσαντο ἅπαν αὐ-
τοῖς τὸ ὑπήκουον ὡς τὸ λοιπὸν εἰκόνι μὴ προσκυνεῖν ἁγίων
τινά. φασὶ δὲ ὡς καὶ τὸν τηνικαῦτα τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερέα θεα-
25 σάμενοι ὑψώσαντα τὰ ζυγοποιᾶ ξύλα ὁμωμοκέναι μηδ' αὐτὸν
εἶναι τῶν προσκυνούντων τὰς ἱερὰς εἰκόνας. τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀσε-
βούντων τὰ τολμήματα.

dB73

22 μεθοδείας V || 24 κομῆται V

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

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

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

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

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

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

82. Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔτει ἐπιστρατεύει Κωνσταντῖνος κατὰ Βουλγάρων καὶ παραγίνεται σὺν τῷ περιόντι λαῷ ἐγγύτατα τῆς Βουλγάρων γῆς καὶ σκηνοῦται παρὰ τὴν λεγομένην ἐμβολὴν Βεριγάβων. πλοῖμον δὲ ἐξοπλίσας συντελοῦν περὶ τὰ
5 δισχίλια καὶ ἑξακόσια σκάφη, ναυτικὸν δὲ πλῆθος καὶ στρα- V208*
τιωτικὸν | ἔκ τε τῶν πλοῖμων στρατηγίδων καὶ ἐτέρων χώρων ἐμβάλων ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλεν, ὥστε παραγενέσθαι περὶ τε Μεσσημβρείαν καὶ Ἀγχίαλον τὰ πολίσματα καὶ προσπελά-
10 τότε, τὸ ἱππικὸν καὶ πλοῖμον θεασάμενοι πλῆθος, εἰς συμ-
βάσεις τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐτράποντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πλοῖμον πρὸς ταῖς ἀκταῖς τῆς ἐκείνῃ θαλάσσης καθωρμίζετο (ἀλίμενος γὰρ ὁ τόπος καὶ τοῖς πλέουσι δυσφορώτατος), πνεῦμα βίαιον καὶ σκληρὸν κατ' αὐτῆς πνεῦσαν (βορέας δ' ἦν ἄνεμος) τὰς τε
15 ναῦς πρὸς ταῖς ἀκταῖς περιτρέψας συνέτρυψε καὶ πλήθη τῶν εἰσπλεόντων οὐκ ὀλίγα τῷ ῥοθίῳ κατεπόντισεν. ἐν τούτοις ἄγαν θορυβηθέντα τὸν βασιλέα κελεύσαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας δι-
κτύους περιβαλεῖν τὴν θάλασσαν, ὥς ἀνελέσθαι τῶν ἀποπνι-
20 γέντων τὰ σώματα καὶ τῇ γῇ παραδιδόναι, οὕτω τε πρὸς τὰ βασιλεία ὑποστρέψαι.

83. Ἐπὶ δὲ πνέων κατὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν Ναζη- dB74
ραίων σχῆμα καθύβριζεν. εὐθύς γὰρ ἀγῶνα ἱππικὸν ἐπετέ-
λει, καὶ τινὰς τούτων ἐπιτρέπει ἐν μέσῳ τῷ θεάτρῳ διέλκε-
σθαι καὶ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον γυναῖκα μονάστριαν παρὰ χεῖρα
5 φέρειν· πολλῶν τε παρὰ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν θεωμένων ὕβρεων αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμπυσμάτων, οἷα περὶ τὸ ὀχλῶδες καὶ ἀγελαῖον συμβαίνειν εἶωθε, καταχεθέντων οὕτω τὸν ἄθεσμον ἐκείνων καὶ αἰσχιστον διήνυσαν δίαυλον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἄνδρας τινὰς τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχαῖς καὶ ἀξιώμασιν ἐγκλήμασι βαρυτάτοις συ-
10 κοφαντῶν ὑπάγει ὥς εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ ἐπιβουλευεῖν πειρω-
μένους. τούτων δ' ἦν Ἀντίοχος μὲν ὁ τῶν δημοσίων πρα-
γμάτων τὰς ὑπομνήσεις αὐτῷ διακομίζων (λογοθέτην δὲ τοῦ δρόμου τὴν ἀξίαν οἱ περὶ τὰ βασιλεία καλοῦσι), Θεοφύλα-
κτος δὲ ἐν τοῖς πατρικίοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς διατελὼν, ἔτι μὴν

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

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

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

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

⁶¹ Probably the pass of Riš.

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

dB75
V209^r

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

15 ἀσπιδηφόρων V corr. B || 16 ἑτέρους μετ' οὐ πολὺ conl. dB οὕς μετ' B || 17 ὁμοίαν . . . ἄμιλλαν V || 23 ὄρκιον gloss. Barocc. f. 313^v ὄρκον V ἐνορκον P || 24–25 παρὰ τὸν V corr. vulg. || 26 ἐκείνων V corr. vulg. || 27 ἀντιπέρα V corr. vulg.

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

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

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

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

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

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

dB76

V209^v

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

dB77

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

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

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

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

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