COLLÈGE DE FRANCE – CNRS
CENTRE DE RECHERCHE D'HISTOIRE
ET CIVILISATION DE BYZANCE

TRAVAUX ET MÉMOIRES
19

STUDIES IN THEOPHANES

edited by
Marek Jankowiak
&
Federico Montinaro

Ouvrage publié avec le concours de la fondation Ebersolt du Collège de France

Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance
52, rue du Cardinal-Lemoine – 75005 Paris
2015

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	*Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur*, Venetiis 1734-1940.
ACO, ser. sec.	*Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum. Series secunda*, ed. R. Riedinger, Berlin 1984-.
Adler – Tuffin	*The Chronography of George Synkellos : a Byzantine chronicle of universal history from the Creation*, transl. with introd. and notes by W. Adler and P. Tuffin, Oxford 2002.
ADSV	*Античная древность и средние века*. Екатеринбург.
Agap.	*Kitab al-ʿunvan : Histoire universelle écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj*, éd. et trad. par A. Vasiliev, Paris 1906–16 (PO 5, 4; 7, 4; 8, 3; 11, 1), PO 8.
Anast.	*Theophanis Chronographia. 2, Theophanis vitas, Anastasii bibliothecarii Historiam tripertitam, dissertationem de codicibus operis Theophanei, indices continens*, rec. C. de Boor, Lipsiae 1885 (2nde éd., Hildesheim – New York 1980).
AnBoll	*Analecta Bollandiana*. Bruxelles.
AnTard	*Antiquité tardive*. Turnhout
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*. Paris.
BHG	*Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca*, 3e éd. mise à jour et considérablement augmentée, Bruxelles 1957.
BMGS	*Byzantine and modern Greek studies*. Leeds.
BSl.	*Byzantinoslavica : revue internationale des études byzantines.* Praha.
Byz.	*Byzantion : revue internationale des études byzantines*. Wetteren.
Byz. Forsch.	*Byzantinische Forschungen : internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik*. Amsterdam.
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift.* Berlin.
CCSG	Corpus christianorum. Series Graeca. Turnhout.
Cedr.	*Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope*, ab I. Bekkero suppletus et emendatus (CSHB 4), Bonnae 1838-1839.
CFHB	Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae.
Chron. 1234	*Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens. 1*, ed. I.-B. Chabot (CSCO 81. SS 36), Parisiis 1920.
Chron. Paschale	*Chronicon Paschale*, rec. L. Dindorfius, Bonnae 1832.
Const. VII, *Three treatises*	: Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Three treatises on imperial military expeditions*, introd., ed., transl. and commentary by J. F. Haldon, Wien 1990.
CSHB	Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae.
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium. Louvain. SS : Scriptores Syri.
CTh	*Codex Theodosianus.*

DAI	Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, greek text ed. by Gy. Moravcsik, english transl. by R. J. H. Jenkins (CFHB 1), Washington 1967[2].
De cer.	*Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*, e rec. J. J. Reiskii (CSHB), Bonnae 1829-1840.
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks papers.* Washington.
EHB	*The economic history of Byzantium : from the seventh through the fifteenth century*, A. E. Laiou, ed.-in-chief (Dumbarton Oaks studies 39), Washington DC 2002.
EI	*Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, Leiden – Paris 1913-1938.
EI²	*Encyclopédie de l'Islam, nouvelle édition*, Leiden – Paris 1954-2009.
Evagr.	*The Ecclesiastical history of Evagrius, with the scholia*, ed. with introd, critical notes and indices by J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, London 1898.
ΕΦΣ	*Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.*
FHG	*Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, Paris 1841-1872.
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte. Berlin.
Gen.	*Iosephi Genesii Regum libri quattuor*, rec. A. Lesmueller-Werner et I. Thurn, Berolini 1978.
Georg. Mon.	*Georgii Monachi Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor, corr. P. Wirth, Stutgardiae 1978.
Georg. Sync.	*Georgii Syncelli Ecloga chronographica*, ed. A. A. Mosshammer, Leipzig 1984.
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine studies.* Durham.
Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*	J. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a world crisis : historians and histories of the Middle East in the seventh century*, Oxford 2010.
Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*	R. G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as others saw it : a survey and evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian writings on early Islam* (Studies in late antiquity and early Islam 13), Princeton NJ 1997.
Hoyland, *Theophilus*	R. G. Hoyland, *Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle and the circulation of historical knowledge in late antiquity and early Islam* (Translated texts for historians 57), Liverpool 2011.
JHS	*The journal of Hellenic studies.* London.
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik.* Wien.
JÖBG	*Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*. Wien.
Joh. Eph., *HE*	*Iohannis Ephesini Historiae ecclesiasticae pars tertia*, ed., interpretatus est E. W. Brooks (CSCO 106. SS 3), Parisiis, Lovanii 1935, 1936.
LP	*Le Liber pontificalis*, texte, introd. et commentaire par L. Duchesne, 2 vol., Paris 1886 et 1892 ; III avec additions et corrections de L. Duchesne, C. Vogel éd., Paris 1955-1957.
Mal.	*Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, rec. I. Thurn (CFHB 35), Berolini 2000.
Mango, Who wrote	the Chronicle : C. Mango, Who wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?, *ZRVI* 18, 1978, pp. 9–17, republished in Id., *Byzantium and its image*, London 1984.

Mango – Scott	*The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor : Byzantine and Near Eastern history AD 284–813*, transl. with introd. and comment. by C. Mango and R. Scott with the assistance of G. Greatrex, Oxford 1997.
Mansi	*Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Florentiae – Venetiis 1759-1798. [réimpr. Paris 1901 et Graz 1960].
Methodius, *Vita Theophanis*	: *Methodii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Vita S. Theophanis Confessoris e codice Mosquensi n° 159*, ed. B. Latyšev = *Меѳодія Патріарха Константинопольскаго житіе Преп. Ѳеофана Исповѣдника*, издалъ съ введеніемъ, примѣчаніями и указателями В. В. Латышевъ (Записки Россійской Академіи Наукъ. 8e série = Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences de Russie, classe historico-philologique 13/4), Петроградъ 1918.
MGH Ep., LL	Monumenta Germaniae historica. Epistolae, Leges. Berlin.
Mich. Syr.	*Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, éd. et trad. par J.-B. Chabot, *1, Traduction livres I-VII ; 2, Traduction livres VIII-XI ; 3, Traduction livres XII-XXI ; 4, Texte syriaque*, Paris 1899–1924 (réimpr. Bruxelles 1963).
MTM	Monographies de Travaux et mémoires. Paris.
Niceph., *Chron.*	*Chronographia brevis* = *Χρονογραφικὸν σύντομον* : *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Opuscula historica ; accedit Ignatii Diaconi Vita Nicephori*, ed. C. de Boor, Lipsiae 1880, p. 79-135.
Niceph., *Brev.*	*Breviarium* = *Ἱστορία σύντομος* : Nikephoros, patriarch of Constantinople, *Short history*, text, transl. and commentary by C. Mango (CFHB 13), Washington DC 1990.
ODB	*Oxford dictionary of Byzantium*, A. P. Kazhdan ed. in chief, New York 1991.
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca, accur. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1856-1866.
Photius, *Bibl.*	Photius, *Bibliothèque*, texte établi et trad. par R. Henry, Paris 1959-1991.
PLRE	*The prosopography of the later Roman Empire*, by A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale & J. Morris, Cambridge 1971-1992.
PmbZ	*Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit.* Berlin – New York 1998-.
PO	Patrologia Orientalis. Paris.
Proc., *Aed.*	*Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia. 3, 2, De aedificiis cum duobus indicibus et appendice*, recognovit J. Haury, Lipsiae 1913, addenda et corrigenda adiecit G. Wirth, Lipsiae 1964.
Proc., *BP*	*De bello Persico* = *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia. 1, De bellis libri I-IV*, recognovit J. Haury, Lipsiae 1905, addenda et corrigenda adiecit G. Wirth, Lipsiae 1962, p. 1-304.
Proc., *BV*	*De bello Vandalico* = *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia. 1, De bellis libri I-IV*, recognovit J. Haury, Lipsiae 1905, addenda et corrigenda adiecit G. Wirth, Lipsiae 1962, p. 305-552.
Ps. Sym.	dans *Theophanes continuatus*, p. 601-770.
RE	*Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart – München 1894-1997.
REB	*Revue des études byzantines.* Paris.

Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jh.*	: I. Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert in der Sicht des Theophanes : quellenkritisch-historischer Kommentar zu den Jahren 715–813* (Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten 57), Berlin 1991.
RSBN	*Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*. Roma
SC	Sources chrétiennes. Paris.
Socr.	Sokrates, *Kirchengeschichte*, hrsg. von G. C. Hansen, mit Beiträgen von M. Širinjan (GCS. Neue Folge 1), Berlin 1995.
Soz.	Sozomène, *Histoire ecclésiastique. Livres I-II*, texte grec de l'éd. J. Bidez, trad. par A.-J. Festugière (SC 306), Paris 1983 ; *Livres III-IV*, texte grec de l'éd. J. Bidez, trad. par A.-J. Festugière, rev. par B. Grillet (SC 408), Paris 1996 ; *Livres V-VI. Livres VII-IX*, texte grec de l'éd. J. Bidez, G. C. Hansen, trad. par A.-J. Festugière et B. Grillet (SC 495, 516), Paris 2005, 2008.
Strat.	*Mauricii Strategicon*, ed. et introd. instruxit G. T. Dennis, germanice vertit E. Gamillscheg (CFHB 17), Wien 1981.
Sym. Log.	*Symeonis magistri et logothetae Chronicon*, rec. S. Wahlgren (CFHB 44, 1), Berlin – New York 2006.
Syn. CP	*Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi, adiectis synaxariis selectis, Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, éd. H. Delehaye, Bruxelles 1902 [réimpr. Louvain 1954].
Theod. Lect.	Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, hrsg. von G. Ch. Hansen (GCS. Neue Folge 3), 2., durchges. Auflage, Berlin 1995.
Theoph.	*Theophanis Chronographia*, rec. C. de Boor, Lipsiae 1883-1885 [réimpr. Hildesheim – New York 1980].
Theoph. 2	voir Anast.
Theoph. cont.	*Theophanes continuatus*, ex rec. I. Bekkeri (CSHB), Bonnae 1838.
Theoph. Sim.	*Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor, ed. correctiorem cur. P. Wirth, Stutgardiae 1972.
TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini. Wien.
TLG	Thesaurus linguae Graecae. University of California.
TM	*Travaux et mémoires*. Paris.
Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine historians*	: W. Treadgold, *The middle Byzantine historians*, New York 2013.
VV	*Византийский временник*. Москва.
Zon.	*Ioannis Zonarae Epitomae Historiarum libri XVIII*, ex rec. M. Pinderi ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst (CSHB 31), Bonnae 1897.
ZRVI	*Зборник радова Византолошког института*. Београд.

THEOPHANES' BYZANTINE SOURCE FOR THE LATE SEVENTH AND EARLY EIGHTH CENTURIES *c.* AD 668–716

by Stephanie Forrest

To shed light on the eventful reigns of Constantine IV (r. 668–85), Justinian II (r. 685–95, 705–11) and Leo III (r. 717–41), historians have long been forced to rely on two sources written several decades later: one, the *Breviarium* of the patriarch Nikephoros; the other, the *Chronographia* of Theophanes.[1] Yet, it has also long been recognised that both derived their accounts from much earlier sources. For the events of Syria and the Umayyad Caliphate, it is now generally agreed that Theophanes used an "eastern" source of Syriac origin, which is frequently attributed to Theophilus of Edessa and is discussed in numerous papers in this volume.[2] For internal Byzantine events, we are on still shakier ground, but much scholarship over the last half-century has held that they shared at least two common sources. The later of these was an iconophile chronicle, which is usually said to have started in *circa* 720 and concluded near the end of the eighth century;[3] the earlier, a source—frequently attributed to the mysterious "Trajan the Patrician"—which

1. This paper is an adaptation of a fourth-year Honours thesis, which the present author submitted to the University of Melbourne in November 2013. I take this opportunity to thank all those who offered me advice and assisted me in the process of getting this paper published. First of all is Associate Professor Roger Scott, whose generous support throughout the year was invaluable and without whom I would certainly not have had the opportunity to study this topic. I would also like to thank John Burke and Penelope Buckley for providing helpful feedback, along with many other academic staff members and co-students from the University of Melbourne who have provided me inspiration and support. Finally, I would like to thank the editors of this volume for considering this paper for publication. Please note that the main conclusions in this paper were reached independently of M. Jankowiak, The first Arab siege of Constantinople, in *Constructing the seventh century*, ed. by C. Zuckerman (= *TM* 17), Paris 2013, pp. 237–320, which was published too late to feature in my original thesis but is nonetheless substantially in agreement.

2. On Theophanes' eastern source, see E. Brooks, The sources of Theophanes and the Syriac chroniclers, *BZ* 15/2, 1906, pp. 578–87; A. Proudfoot, The sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian dynasty, *Byz.* 44, 1974, pp. 400–26; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 295–9.

3. Mango – Scott, p. lxxxviii; C. Mango's introduction to Niceph., *Brev.*, pp. 15 f.; for another theory of Theophanes' usage of lost sources, see also W. Brandes, Pejorative Phantomnamen im 8. Jahrhundert : ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik des Theophanes und deren Konsequenzen für die historische Forschung, in *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie : Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur,*

Studies in Theophanes, ed. by M. Jankowiak & F. Montinaro (Travaux et mémoires 19), Paris 2015, pp. 417–44.

began at an unconfirmed date in the late seventh century, ended before *circa* 720, and was notable for its blunt, scathing account of Justinian II's two reigns.

It is with the latter source—the so-called "Trajan" chronicle—that this paper is concerned. For reasons that will become clear below, it will here be referred to as the *Chronicle of Justinian II.* Its existence has long been conjectured because of the parallels in Theophanes' and Nikephoros' accounts of this period.[4] As far as internal Byzantine affairs are concerned, both writers record the same events—for example, for the reign of Constantine IV, both record the legendary first Saracen siege of Constantinople, the origins of the Bulgars, Constantine IV's Bulgar campaigns, and the Sixth Ecumenical Council in the same order.[5] In addition, both record similar details. In their accounts of the siege of Constantinople in Constantine IV's reign, both Theophanes and Nikephoros mention that a certain Chaleb—unknown from the Oriental sources—was the head of the enemy fleet.[6] They also use similar vocabulary: in Theophanes, Constantine's ambassador to the Umayyad court in Damascus, John Pitzigaudis, is "experienced" and "possessed of great wisdom" (πολύπειρος ... μεγάλης ἀντεχόμενος φρονήσεως)[7] while in Nikephoros he is "exceptional in experience and wisdom" (πολυπειρίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει διαφέροντα).[8] In essence, therefore, both tell the same story with similar details, using a similar vocabulary.

Moreover, they must also have been working independently of each other, since each provides information that the other does not.[9] Theophanes, for example, gives additional information on the geography of "Old Great Bulgaria" in the introduction to his account of Constantine IV's campaigns against the Bulgars in AM 6171, while

hrsg. von L. Hoffmann, Wiesbaden 2005, pp. 93–125, which suggests that some sections of Theophanes' account on the reign of Leo III and Constantine V can be attributed to a later, separate iconodule tract.

4. W. Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician, Nicephorus and Theophanes, in *Bibel, Byzanz und Christlicher Orient : Festschrift für Stephen Gerö zum 65. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von D. Bumazhnov *et al.* (Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta 187), Leuven 2011, pp. 589–621; Proudfoot, The sources of Theophanes (quoted n. 2), pp. 426 f.; V. Beševliev, Κύριος Βουλγαρίας bei Theophanes, *BZ* 41/2, 1941, pp. 289–98, at 290 f.; C. Mango, The *Breviarium* of the patriarch Nicephorus, in *Byzantium : tribute to Andreas N. Stratos,* ed. by N. A. Stratos, Αθήνα 1986, pp. 529–52, at 545; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses,* pp. 264–7; J. B. Bury, *History of the later Roman Empire*, London – New York 1889, p. 352 n. 1. For a different view, see C. Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium*, Madison Wis. – London 1972, pp. 15 f., who implies that Nikephoros had used a source dated of *circa* 713, while Theophanes had access to an altered version of the source that was more hostile towards Justinian II, possibly dated to the reign of Leo III (p. 17). The differences between the two accounts, however, are not nearly as significant as Head suggests; it appears that they merely reproduce slightly different sections of the same narrative.

5. The first Saracen siege of Constantinople: Theoph. AM 6164, p. 353.14–23; AM 6165, pp. 353.25–354.11; AM 6169, pp. 355.10–356.8; Niceph., *Brev.*, §§ 34.2–37, pp. 84 ff.; The origins of the Bulgars: Theoph. AM 6171, pp. 356.18–358.11; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 35.1–34, pp. 86 ff.; Constantine IV's Bulgar campaigns: Theoph. AM 6171, pp. 358.11–359.25, Niceph., *Brev.*, § 36.129; Sixth Ecumenical Council: Theoph. AM 6171, pp. 359.21–360.7, Niceph., *Brev.*, § 37.1–14, pp. 90 ff. These parallels continue throughout—for a full list to the end of the lost source in *circa* 719, see pp. 426–8 below.

6. Theoph. AM 6164, p. 353.18–9 (Χαλέ); Niceph., *Brev.*, § 34.4–6, p. 84.

7. Theoph. AM 6169, p. 355.17–8.

8. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 34.26, p. 86.

9. See Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 589; Mango, The *Breviarium* (quoted n. 4), p. 545.

Nikephoros provides additional information on Justinian II's treatment of the Bulgar Khan Terbel in *circa* 705.[10] Though Theophanes is the only one to mention Justinian's plot "to kill the people of the City" in 695, only Nikephoros mentions that the emperor Leontios spared Justinian's life out of "love for his father Constantine" when he deposed him,[11] and that he did not want the unruly mob to kill Justinian's unpopular advisors.[12] Both record different ways in which Justinian destroyed his opponents following his return to power in 705.[13] Although Theophanes' account is longer and generally more detailed, Nikephoros is also the only one to record that the town of Doros on the Crimea—where Justinian temporarily sought refuge while in exile—was "in the Gothic land,"[14] that Justinian sought help from the Bulgars during a civil war of 710/711,[15] and the elaborate plot that resulted in Philippikos blinding and deposal.[16] What all of this strongly suggests is that Theophanes and Nikephoros had access to a lost source, which they used in common for their accounts of the late seventh and early eighth centuries.

It is perhaps worth noting here that there is a third, though far less useful, work that appears to have made use of the theorised *Chronicle of Justinian II*: the ninth-century *Chronikon* of George the Monk.[17] Though his account is abrupt—indeed, it is covered in less than twenty pages in the de Boor edition[18]—his occasional inclusion of information that was not present in Theophanes' or Nikephoros' accounts suggests that he worked independently of both.[19] For example, he is the only one to explicitly record the number of Slavic mercenaries massacred by Justinian II after the Battle of Sebastopolis ("10,000, with wives and children")[20]—and to mention that the demarch of the Blue faction proclaimed Leontios emperor in the revolt that deposed Justinian II in 695.[21] He also mentions methods that Justinian used to intimidate and torture his enemies upon his return to power in 705 which are not mentioned by Theophanes or Nikephoros—for example, by poisoning them at feasts and impaling them secretly.[22] While some of these unique pieces of information might have been elaborations by George, other passages—particularly the reference to the Blue faction—seem unlikely to have been his own invention.

10. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.58–64, pp. 102 ff., mentions that Justinian showed favours to Terbel, had him sit beside him during the races after his return to power, and proclaimed him Caesar.

11. *Ibid.*, § 40.32–6, p. 96.

12. *Ibid.*, § 40.37–41, pp. 96 ff.

13. On which, see below, "A proposed reconstruction."

14. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.7, p. 100.

15. *Ibid.*, § 45.72–4, pp. 110 ff.

16. *Ibid.*, § 48.4–15, pp. 114 ff.

17. D. Afinogenov, The history of Justinian and Leo, in *La Crimée entre Byzance et le khaganat khazar*, éd. par C. Zuckerman (MTM 25), Paris 2006, pp. 181–200, at 199, is the only scholar thus far, to my knowledge, that has also reached this conclusion, although Proudfoot, The sources of Theophanes (quoted n. 2), p. 427, noted it as a possibility.

18. Georg. Mon., pp. 717–34.

19. As noted by Afinogenov, The history (quoted n. 17), pp. 199–200.

20. Georg. Mon., p. 730.21–2. Conversely, Theoph. am 6185, p. 366.20–3, simply records that the "remaining" Slavic mercenaries were slaughtered, while Niceph., *Brev.*, § 38, fails to record this event at all.

21. Georg. Mon., p. 730.18. The inclusion of this information has been noted by Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (quoted n. 4), p. 94, but not explained.

22. On which, see below under the heading "A proposed reconstruction."

Moreover, although George the Monk includes substantial sections that were not included in Nikephoros' account—for example, the short entry under AM 6161 that outlines the attempted revolt of the Anatolic Theme and the mutilation of Constantine IV's brothers[23]—in general, George the Monk's account is structurally far more similar to Nikephoros'. This can be most clearly seen in their semi-legendary accounts of the beginning of the first Saracen siege of Constantinople. In Theophanes' account—which is split over two years (AM 6164 and 6165)—the Saracens send out a great fleet towards Constantinople under the command the generals Mouamed and Kaisos, aided by the otherwise unknown "Chaleb."[24] After setting out for Constantinople, the generals sail past Kilikia and winter in Smyrna and Lykia. Upon learning about the movements of these fleets, Constantine IV equips his own fleet and prepares for a siege.[25] The following year (AM 6165) the fleet arrives and the siege itself begins.[26] By contrast, Nikephoros and George the Monk provide much simpler accounts. According to them, the Saracen fleet sets out under the command of "Chaleb" alone, and only following its arrival at Constantinople does Constantine equip his own fleet in retaliation. Neither makes any mention of the generals Mouamed or Kaisos, or of the Saracen fleet wintering in Smyrna and Lykia.[27] The reasons for this are likely simple: since the movements of Mouamed and Kaisos at around this time appear to be alluded to in some of the Oriental accounts,[28] Theophanes must have constructed his account of the siege using multiple sources and rearranged some of the material to fit over two years. Nikephoros and George the Monk, however, did not use any additional sources for this section and did not need to break the narrative by year, and so both presumably preserve the original order of events as they appeared in the Byzantine source. This strongly suggests that both were working independently of Theophanes throughout this section, and most likely both had direct access to the original lost Byzantine chronicle.

It therefore appears highly likely that all three of these later compilers—Theophanes, Nikephoros, and George the Monk—had access to a single lost early eighth-century source, and that all three reproduced different parts of it. There has otherwise been very little consensus to date on the details of the source, or even on when it began and ended. Recently, Treadgold and Howard-Johnston both contended that the source was an annalistic chronicle, although they otherwise disagree on its scope and contents, as discussed below.[29] By contrast, Afinogenov has suggested that the supposed early eighth-century source was two consecutive sources, one of which was dated by regnal year and perhaps written by the emperor Leo III himself.[30]

23. Theoph. AM 6161, p. 352.12–23; parallelled in Georg. Mon., p. 728.6–14.
24. Theoph. AM 6164, p. 353.14–23.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 353.19–23.
26. Theoph. AM 6165, p. 353.25–8.
27. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 34.2–9, pp. 87 ff.; Georg. Mon., p. 727.16–9.
28. See Agap., p. 492; Mich. Syr., transl., II, p. 455.
29. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Witnesses*, pp. 306–7; TREADGOLD, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 595, although the latter is far more detailed. The main point of disagreement between these two reconstructions is over the beginning date—which, as discussed above, is most likely to have been 668, as HOWARD-JOHNSTON accepts.
30. D. AFINOGENOV, The source of Theophanes' *Chronography* and Nikephoros' *Breviarium* for the years 685–717, *Христианский Восток*, n.s. 4, 2002, pp. 11–22, at 12 f.

In view of this lack of agreement, in what follows I will offer a new "reconstruction" of the lost early eighth-century chronicle. Though very indebted to all earlier studies on this source—particularly those of Afinogenov, Howard-Johnston, and Treadgold—my reconstruction will differ from all of these in at least one respect. I will suggest that Theophanes, Nikephoros and George the Monk each had access to a single chronicle that covered the years 668–*c*. 716, which may not have been annalistic and offered a highly selective narrative account of the period. It was clearly a political and largely secular work, and its central antagonist was Justinian II; indeed, the writer's hostile treatment of this emperor was perhaps the most distinguishable and revealing feature of his work.

1. Beginnings and ends

The ending date of the hypothesised *Chronicle* has been debated over for decades, beginning with Orosz, who, noting that the unfinished London manuscript of Nikephoros—believed to reflect an earlier draft of the *Breviarium*—ended suddenly with the blinding of Philippikos in 713, speculated that Nikephoros' earlier eighth-century source had also ended there, and that the more complete text in the Vatican manuscript must have been completed at a later date after additional source material had become available.[31] Though this date was accepted for some time,[32] it was ultimately discounted by Mango, who pointed out that the London manuscript ends in the middle of a paragraph which is continuous in the equivalent sections of Theophanes and the Vatican manuscript of Nikephoros.[33] Mango later put forward the coronation of Constantine V in *circa* AD 720 (AM 6211) as an ending point for the earlier source. The speculation was made for two reasons:[34] first, there is a *lacuna* between 720 and 726 in Nikephoros and Theophanes (AM 6213–8) in which neither have anything to report on internal Byzantine affairs; Theophanes reverts to using his eastern source, while Nikephoros skips over the period altogether. Second, the perspective of the narrative in Theophanes changes dramatically after 720. While Theophanes characterises Leo III as "pious" (εὐσεβής) during his account on the second Saracen siege (717–8, AM 6209),[35] both Theophanes and Nikephoros are hostile in the sections after 720; as early as 726 (AM 6218), for example, he is characterised as "mad," "lawless," and is compared to Herod.[36]

A number of more recent studies have followed Mango in making 720 the speculative ending date of the earlier source. On closer inspection, however, there are reasons to suspect that this date is almost as problematic as 713.[37]

31. L. Orosz, *The London manuscript of Nikephoros "Breviarium"*, Budapest 1948, p. 13.

32. See, for example, Head, *Justinian II* (quoted n. 4), pp. 15–6; Proudfoot, The sources of Theophanes (quoted n. 2), pp. 426–7.

33. Mango, The *Breviarium* (quoted n. 4), pp. 548–9.

34. Mango's introduction to Niceph., *Brev*., pp. 14 f.; Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 595.

35. Theoph. AM 6209, p. 401.9–12.

36. *Ibid*., AM 6221, p. 407.15–21—Leo "mad" and lawless: p. 407.15; compared with Herod: p. 407.25; Germanos "blessed": p. 407.17.

37. Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 594; Mango – Scott, p. lxxxvii; Mango's introduction to Niceph., *Brev*., p. 16; and Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 243 all accept this ending date, although none examine this issue to considerable depth.

First, the later eighth century "iconophile" source probably began well before 726. At the end of the narrative of the second Saracen siege of Constantinople in AM 6210 (718/9)—eight years before the later eighth-century source is supposed to have started—Theophanes announces that "a more impious son and precursor of the Antichrist, Constantine, was born to the impious emperor Leo."[38] In the following scene he describes Constantine V's baptism, which is bungled when the infant defecates into the baptismal font.[39] In response, the here Saintly patriarch Germanos foretells: "this sign has shown [that] great evil will come about for the Christians and the Church because of him."[40] This entry has many similarities with the entries of the later eighth century—namely, its hostility towards Leo III and Constantine V, its Saintly depiction of Germanos, and its interest in divine portents. On the other hand, it has little in common with the *Chronicle of Justinian II*, which elsewhere portrays some respect for Leo III,[41] a suspicion of Germanos for his involvement in the Monothelite council under Philippikos,[42] and comparatively little interest in divine portents.[43] It would therefore be more logical to connect this scene with the later source—an indication that it began well before 726, and indeed before the earlier source is supposed to have ended in 720.

Aside from the different perspectives, there is likely another aspect in which the two lost sources differed. While the later source was most likely dated by indiction, there is very little evidence—either in Theophanes or in Nikephoros—that the earlier source was likewise.[44] As noted by Afinogenov, there are abundant references to the indiction throughout both Theophanes' and Nikephoros' accounts on the later eighth century,[45] but throughout the sections drawn from the earlier eighth-century source, there is no such pattern; in fact, Theophanes and Nikephoros do not mention the indiction once in the 668–714 that can be attributed to the Byzantine source—a strong indication that their source did not regularly mention the indiction. The indiction dating begins suddenly with the commencement of the second Saracen siege of 717–8 (AM 6209–10), and is also mentioned by both writers in the short entry reporting the coronation of the infant Constantine V in 720 (AM 6212). The presence of an indiction date in the latter entry, at least, suggests that it did not come from the *Chronicle* at all, but was part of the later eighth-century source.

From the above, therefore, we can conclude that it is unlikely the earlier source ended with the coronation of Constantine V in AM 6212; yet this gives rise to some problems.

38. Theoph. AM 6211, pp. 399.28–400.1.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 400.2–17.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 400.12–3.
41. As shown by his apparent characterisation of Leo III as εὐσεβής at Theoph. AM 6209, p. 401.9–12.
42. Germanos is mentioned as one of Philippikos' key supporters in Theoph. AM 6204, p. 382.15–6; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 46.6–7, pp. 112 ff.
43. On which see in the concluding section of this article below.
44. AFINOGENOV, The history (quoted n. 17), p. 199 is in agreement here, although he still believes that the source was annalistically dated; contrast HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Witnesses*, pp. 303–4 (implied) and TREADGOLD, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 609.
45. Theoph. AM 6218, p. 404.18 (summer, 9th indiction); AM 6221, pp. 408.31–2, 409.11 (7 January and 22 January, 13th indiction); AM 6231, p. 411.14 (May, 8th indiction); AM 6232, p. 412.7 (26 October, 9th indiction); AM 6233, p. 414.18 (27 June, 10th indiction).

The origin of the siege narrative of 717–8 (AM 6209–10) is now uncertain. There is evidence both to connect it to the earlier source—namely, its depiction of Leo III as "pious"—and to the later source—namely, its reference to the indiction. It may be impossible to determine its origin unless further evidence comes to light, and in the absence of any obvious transitional point, I can only conclude that the earlier chronicle would have ended somewhere between the accession of Leo III in 716/7 (AM 6209) and the failed rebellion of Artemios Anastasios in 718/9 (AM 6211).

A probable beginning date of the source is, fortunately, somewhat easier to identify. It appears highly likely that it began in 667/8 (AM 6160),[46] since Nikephoros does not appear to have had access to any information for the reign of Constans II (641–68) and skips immediately from his accession to his murder,[47] while Theophanes uses his "eastern source" almost exclusively for Constans II's reign.[48]

In this respect, worthy of attention is an argument by Afinogenov, who—while largely agreeing with this study with respect to the ending date of the source—concluded that Theophanes, Nikephoros, and George the Monk had two sources for the period in question: the first covered the years 668 to 685, and the second, 685 to 717.[49]

There were two reasons for this: first, he argued that the reign of Constantine IV includes far more references to Divine ordination than the second part of the supposed *Chronicle*, and second, that it also included fewer borrowed Latin words than the second half.[50] There are some problems, however, with both assertions. The first misses at least three references to Divine ordination that occur after 685—one, when George the Monk concludes that the disaster at the Battle of Sebastopolis demonstrated "never to break a sacred oath,"[51] another, when Leontios' allies foretell that he will rule the empire (AM 6187),[52] and last, in the dramatic scene where Justinian vows to avenge his enemies

46. As agreed by MANGO, The *Breviarium* (quoted n. 4), p. 545; MANGO's introduction to Niceph., *Brev.*, pp. 15 f.; MANGO – SCOTT, p. lxxvii; HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Witnesses*, p. 307; and PROUDFOOT, The sources of Theophanes (quoted n. 2), p. 426. TREADGOLD, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 596–611, disagrees: "as a rule, Byzantine historians either began with the Creation… confined themselves to one subject… or continued an existing history. A general history covering the years from 668 to 720 would fit none of these three types" (p. 596). On this basis, Treadgold contends that the source was actually a continuation of the *Chronicle Paschale* which began in 627, which Theophanes himself drew upon for the very sparse "non-eastern" entries throughout 627–68. Both parts of this argument are questionable. First of all, the issue of the validity of the above rule aside, there is no reason that this *Chronicle* cannot have been classified as a history "confin[ing] [it]self to one subject." Second, there is practically no evidence to connect the very few "non-eastern" entries throughout Theophanes' account of 627–68 with the 668–*c*. 720 source—indeed, since neither Niceph. nor Georg. Mon. used it before 668, it would appear highly unlikely.

47. Niceph., *Brev.*, §§ 32–3, pp. 84 f.

48. Theoph. AM 6133–60, pp. 341.18–352.9; see PROUDFOOT, The sources of Theophanes (quoted n. 2), pp. 403–26, MANGO – SCOTT, pp. lxxxii–lxxxvii; HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Witnesses*, pp. 295–9.

49. AFINOGENOV, The source (quoted n. 30), pp. 13–4.

50. AFINOGENOV, The source (quoted n. 30), provides these precise numbers: 7 occurrences over 20 pages of the 641–68 period (0.35 Latin words per page), 37 occurrences throughout 23 pages of the 668–717 period (1.61 per page) and 27 occurrences over 7.5 pages of the "Leo sequence" (here called the *Vita Leonis*—3.6 per page).

51. Georg. Mon., p. 730.17–9.

52. Theoph. AM 6187, pp. 368.30–369.4 and Niceph., *Brev.*, § 40.12–4, pp. 96 ff.

while crossing to Bulgaria (AM 6196).[53] The Latin word analysis is similarly inconclusive, largely because Afinogenov's Latin-word-per-page calculations included several pages of entries that Theophanes derived from his eastern source, which seems to have included far fewer Latinate words on average per page than the Byzantine one. On the contrary, if the sections with parallels in Oriental sources are removed, then both sections before and after 685 show almost exactly the same average of Latinate words per page.[54]

There is strong evidence elsewhere to suggest that the account from 668 to 716 was derived from a single source. In Theophanes, when Constantine IV's ambassador John Pitzigaudis enters into talks with the caliph (AM 6169), we are told that "two written treaties were made for each side with oaths" (μεθ' ὅρκων).[55] Later, when Justinian marches against the Saracens near Sebastopolis (AM 6184), we hear that his enemies begged him "not to destroy the treaties agreed between them with oaths" (μεθ' ὅρκων).[56] Similarly, in the equivalent section of his account, George the Monk presents the episode as a lesson "never to break a sacred oath (θεῖον ὅρκον), even if it should be regarding an untrustworthy enemy."[57] The latter two passages here are clearly referring back to the first, as if all were derived from the same source. Moreover, at the beginning of Theophanes' Bulgar digression in AM 6171,[58] a number of unusual geographic features are mentioned—including features πλησίον τῶν Νεκροπήλων ("near the Nekropela"),[59] Φαναγουρίαν ("Phanagoria"),[60] and τὸν Δάναπριν καὶ Δάναστριν ("the Danapris and Danastris")—the latter of which, in particular, appears to be an uncommon occurrence in medieval Greek.[61] Later, when describing Justinian's activities in the area (AM 6196), Justinian travels εἰς Φαναγουρίαν,[62] and past τὰ Νεκρόπηλα[63] and "the mouth of the Danapris and Danastris" (Δάναπρι καὶ τοῦ Δάναστρι)[64]. As can be seen, many of the unusual geographic features and names that are mentioned under AM 6171 are also mentioned in the description of Justinian's adventures in AM 6196, suggesting that both sections came from the same source.

On the basis of the evidence available, therefore, it appears most likely that the *Chronicle of Justinian II* was indeed a single source, which began in 668 and extended to at least 716, if not up to 719.

53. Theoph. AM 6196, p. 373.22–8. In this scene—according to Theophanes—Justinian and his followers are caught in a storm while crossing to Bulgaria from Cherson. Justinian's servant, Myakes, approaches him and says: "Behold! We are dying, Master. Pray to God about your salvation, so that, if God should return your Empire to you, not one of your enemies will be harmed." To which the emperor angrily replies: "If I should spare any one of them, may God drown me here." Naturally, Justinian survives the storm, and upon returning to Constantinople he reportedly massacres his numerous political enemies.

54. For a more detailed critique of this argument, see JANKOWIAK, The first Arab siege of Constantinople (quoted n. 1), p. 250.

55. Theoph. AM 6169, p. 355.28–9.

56. *Ibid.*, AM 6184, p. 366.9–10.

57. Georg. Mon., p. 730.17–8.

58. Theoph. AM 6171, pp. 356.18–357.11.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 357.1–2.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 357.7.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 357.28.

62. *Ibid.*, AM 6196, p. 373.3, 15.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 373.21.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 373.21–2.

2. Identifying fragments

Now that the beginning and ending dates of the chronicle have been tentatively identified, it remains to develop a methodology for reconstructing the lost source. As it stands, the three versions of its contents that survive in the accounts of Theophanes, Nikephoros and George the Monk vary substantially in structure, detail, and length. The latter two provide essentially continuous narratives. Nikephoros' *Breviarium* is unbroken by headings, while George the Monk arranges his narrative by emperor. Neither writer was constrained by a rigid annalistic structure, and so both were generally able to reproduce the entries in the same order as they appeared in their original sources. It is therefore reasonable to expect that they reproduce the original structure of the source accurately. Moreover, since there is no indication that they used more than one source for the entire period, it is highly likely that the entries that appear in all three sources came from the *Chronicle of Justinian II.*

The most detailed and important source for the sake of this reconstruction, Theophanes' *Chronographia*, must be treated with great caution. As Scott and others have shown in this volume and elsewhere, although Theophanes reproduced his sources *verbatim* at times, he manipulated his sources in other ways—and was indeed compelled to, because of the rigid way in which he structured his work.[65] Rather uniquely, his chronicle is comprised of a series of annalistic entries. This structure compelled Theophanes to place each event in the *Chronographia* under a specific year—including the events that occurred over several years, or at an imprecise time. It is unsurprising, then, that he often rearranges the order of the entries from his sources to fit them into his work,[66] and as such his chronology cannot be trusted without external qualification.

In addition, unlike Nikephoros, Theophanes composed his account using a number of different sources. By far the most significant of these for the seventh and early eighth centuries was his "eastern source,"[67] and the passages he has derived from this generally have close parallels in related later Syriac or Arabic chronicles—particularly those of

65. On the composition methods of Theophanes, see R. Scott, Writing the reign of Justinian : Malalas *versus* Theophanes, in *The sixth century : end or beginning?*, ed. by P. Allen and E. Jeffreys, Brisbane 1996, pp. 21–34; Id., "The events of every year, arranged without confusion" : Justinian and others in the *Chronicle* of Theophanes Confessor, in *L'écriture de la mémoire : la littérarité de l'historiographie*, sous la dir. de P. Odorico, P. A. Agapitos, M. Hinterberger, Paris 2006, pp. 49–65; Id., From propaganda to history to literature : the Byzantine stories of Theodosius' apple and Marcian's eagles, in *History as literature in Byzantium,* ed. by R. Macrides, Aldershot 2010, pp. 115–31; J. N. Ljubarskij, Concerning the literary technique of Theophanes the Confessor, *BSl.* 56, 1995, pp. 317–22.

66. Scott, Writing the reign of Justinian (quoted n. 65), p. 29, concluded: "Only 35 of Malalas' 82 items for Justinian (I)'s first six years are retained at all with only 25 being in their correct sequence."

67. For more on this source, see Brooks, The sources of Theophanes (quoted n. 2); Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 295–9; Mango – Scott, pp. lxxxii–lxxxvii; Proudfoot, The sources of Theophanes (quoted n. 2), pp. 400–26. Particularly useful for identifying extracts from the "eastern source" is Hoyland, *Theophilus*, which provides translated parallel extracts from numerous Syriac texts and Theophanes and—of course—Mango – Scott, throughout which entries with eastern parallels have been tirelessly identified. Note that a similar methodology to the above was used by Afinogenov, The history (quoted n. 17)—the only in-depth reconstruction of the *Chronicle of Justinian II* thus far—although this study appears to have missed a number of the parallel scenes and wrongly attributes a number of "eastern" extracts to the Byzantine author. The reconstruction offered here is thus much more concise and limited in its interests.

Michael the Syrian, Agapius, and the anonymous *Chronicon ad 1234*.[68] In the period in question, these passages are brief and usually concern natural phenomena, portents, military operations, and the internal affairs of the Caliphate.[69] Since Theophanes often weaves entries from different sources together, so as to form a single narrative—a process which Ljubarskij has called "mosaicing"[70]—it is therefore of crucial importance to identify any entries or short passages that have close parallels in the eastern tradition, as these are likely to have come from his eastern source.

From this, therefore, we can establish certain rules. Although Theophanes reproduces the most material of the lost source, he rearranges the contents of his sources, and at times "mosaics" originally separate sources together. Nikephoros and George the monk, on the other hand, are more likely to reproduce only the contents of the *Chronicle of Justinian II* for this period and to preserve the original sequence of events. The method of reconstruction should therefore be—first—to remove suspected additions from the eastern source from the relevant sections of Theophanes, preferably leaving only the entries with close parallels in Nikephoros or George the Monk, and—second—to compare the sequence of the remaining events in Theophanes, Nikephoros and George the Monk to ensure that they follow the same order.

If this methodology is followed, the following entries remain:[71]

Scene	Theoph.	Niceph.	Georg. Mon.
Murder of Constans II in Syracuse	*AM 6160 [351.14–352.9]*	*§ 33.1–3*	*717.11–718.8*
Saracens begin expedition against Constantinople	AM 6164 [353.14–6, 17–23]	§ 34.1–6	727.16–7
Expedition arrives at Constantinople, battles continue for seven years	AM 6165 [353.25–354.11]	§ 34.6–21	727.17–728.5
Mauias seeks to enter into terms with the Romans; John Pitzigaudis	AM 6169 [355.10–356.2]	§ 34.21–31	--
Peace secured in the East and West	AM 6169 [356.2–8]	§ 34.31–7	--
Anatolic Theme revolts	*AM 6161 [352.12–23]*	--	*728.6–14*
Bulgars assail Thrace; "Old Bulgaria" and the story of Khan Koubrat and his sons	AM 6171 [356.18–358.11]	§ 35.1–34	728.15–18
Constantine IV campaigns against the Bulgars	AM 6171 [358.11–9]	§ 36.1–29	728.18–729.16
Constantine IV summons the Sixth Ecumenical Council	AM 6171 [359.19–360.7]	§ 37.1–10	(726.13–727.15)
Constantine IV dies, is buried in the church of Holy Apostles	AM 6177 [361.15–6]	§ 37.10–4	--
Justinian, being a young man of about sixteen years…	AM 6178 [363.26–7]	§ 38.1–4	--
Justinian sends Leontios to Armenia against the Saracens; Leontios captures forts of Armenia	*AM 6178 [363.27–32]*	--	--

68. Mango – Scott, p. lxxxiii; Hoyland, *Theophilus*, pp. 34–6.
69. Proudfoot, The sources of Theophanes (quoted n. 2), pp. 420–6.
70. Ljubarskij, Literary technique (quoted n. 65), p. 318.
71. The passages that are discussed below are in italics.

Scene	Theoph.	Niceph.	Georg. Mon.
Justinian arrives in Armenia and receives the Mardaites, destroying the "Brazen Wall"	*AM 6179 [364.4–5]*	*§ 38.15–6*	--
Justinian breaks the peace with the Bulgars and orders his cavalry to move into Thrace	AM 6179 [364.5–9]	§ 38.7–11	729.19–21
Justinian fights the Bulgars and Slavs, subjugates many but at a great human cost	AM 6180 [364.11–18]	§ 38.11–4	729.21–730.3
Justinian raises an army of 30,000 Slavic mercenaries and breaks the peace with Abimelech. Battle of Sebastopolis	AM 6184 [365.30–366.23]	§ 38.14–28	730.3–15
… From then on, the Romans suffer many evils at the hands of the Arabs	AM 6185 [367.1–2]	§ 38.16	--
Justinian's building projects and cruel officials	AM 6186 [367.12–32]	§ 39.1–13	--
Dispute between Justinian and Kallinikos	*AM 6186 [367.32–368.11]*	--	*731.2–16*
Justinian is overthrown by Leontios in an urban revolt	AM 6187 [368.15–369.30]	§ 40.1–39	731.18–20
Leontios remains in peace on all sides	*AM 6188 [369.33–4]*	--	--
The Saracens invade Africa; Roman fleet fails to restore Carthage and rebels; Tiberios Apsimaros captures Constantinople	AM 6190 [370.6–371.13]	§ 41.1–32	731.22–732.8
Apsimaros exiles Philippikos the son of Nikephoros	*AM 6194 [372.7–11]*	--	--
Justinian escapes from Cherson, runs to Khazaria and then Bulgaria; secures the support of the khan Terbel	AM 6196 [372.26–374.8]	§ 42.1–44	732.13–6
Justinian arrives at Constantinople, comes in through disused Aqueduct of Valens	AM 6197 [374.16–23]	§ 42.44–9	732.16–9
Justinian returns to power, takes vengeance out upon his enemies and terrorises the populace	AM 6198 [374.28–375.28]	§ 42.49–77	732.20–733.12
Justinian breaks the peace between the Romans and Bulgars	AM 6200 [376.13–39]	§ 43.1–10	--
The siege of Tyana	AM 6201 [376.31–377.14]	--	--
The revolt in Cherson; Justinian is defeated and killed	AM 6203 [377.20–381.6]	§ 45.1–105	733.12–22
Philippikos' earlier life	AM 6203 [381.6–23]	--	--
Philippikos' wicked way of life	AM 6203 [381.23–32]	§ 46.1–2	--
Philippikos attacks the Sixth Ecumenical Council	AM 6204 [382.10–21]	§ 46.2–7	--
The Bulgars attack Thrace	AM 6204 [382.22–30]	§ 47.1–14	--
Philippikos is blinded on the Sabbath of Pentecost	AM 6205 [383.5–21]	§ 48.1–22	734.2–5
Artemios manages affairs in Constantinople	AM 6206 [383.29–384.14]	§ 49.1–17	--
Archival extract: Transfer of Germanos from the See of Kyzikos to Constantinople	*AM 6207 [384.19–385.4]*	--	--

Scene	Theoph.	Niceph.	Georg. Mon.
Artemios' expedition in Rhodes; rebellion of the Opsikion Theme; Theodosios captures Constantinople	AM 6207 [385.5–386.13]	§§ 50.1–51.20	734.11–4
Leo, *strategos* of the Anatolics, gains the support of Artabasdos of the Armeniacs	AM 6207 [386.13–9]	--	--
Leo's military activity in Anatolia; captures Theodosios' son as a hostage; becomes Emperor	*AM 6208 [386.25–390.26]*	--	*734.18–735.11*
Theodosios' officers request that he abdicate; Leo elected emperor following a ballot	--	*§ 52.1–24*	--
Maslamas arrives at Pergamon	AM 6208 [390.26–391.2]	§ 53.1–12	--
Leo's early career	*AM 6209 [391.5–395.12]*	--	--
The siege of Constantinople begins	AM 6209 [395.13–396.24]	§ 54.3–18	744.19–745.16
The siege continues; winter	AM 6209 [396.24–397.15]	§ 54.18–39	745.16–746.6
Famine; arrival of the Bulgars	AM 6209 [397.19–398.4]	--	--
Revolt of Sergios, the *strategos* of Sicily	AM 6210 [398.7–399.4]	§ 55.1–21	--
The end of the siege	AM 6210 [399.5–26]	§ 56.1–8	--
Attempted rebellion of Artemios Anastasios	AM 6211 [400.18–401.3]	§ 57.1–36	--

Remarkably, if the entries with parallels in Syriac sources are excised from Theophanes' account, then what remains is a narrative very similar to the one preserved in Nikephoros—though slightly more detailed in sections and slotted into an annalistic structure. Broadly, the above list of entries should reflect the contents of the theorised common source.

There are numerous entries, however, that either appear only in Theophanes or are substantially different in Nikephoros. These include Theophanes' account of the murder of Constans II (AM 6160),[72] biographical notes on Philippikos Bardanes (AM 6194 and 6203),[73] and the transfer of Germanos from Kyzikos to the See of Constantinople (AM 6207).[74] It can be shown that most of these are unlikely to have been part of the *Chronicle*.

To begin with the first example, while Theophanes provides a highly detailed account of the murder of Constans II embellished with his "eastern source" (AM 6160),[75] Nikephoros summarises the episode in a single sentence:

> *Then Constantine, after being murdered in Sicily in his bath with deceit by his own servants, died, already having ruled in the Empire for sixteen years.*[76]

72. Theoph. AM 6160, pp. 351.14–352.9.
73. *Ibid.*, AM 6194, p. 372.7–11 and AM 6203, p. 381.6–23.
74. *Ibid.*, AM 6207, pp. 384.19–385.4.
75. *Ibid.*, AM 6160, pp. 351.14–352.9. In particular, MANGO – SCOTT, pp. 490–1, have identified textual parallels between passages in Michael the Syrian and the *Chronicon ad 1234* and pp. 351.28–352.9—the scene of the actual murder—here. This leaves the origin of p. 351.14–27—which describes the reasons for Constans II's murder—impossible to ascertain.
76. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 33.1–3, p. 84.

There is little in common between this short account and its equivalent in Theophanes. While Nikephoros emphasises that Constans was murdered "with deceit by his own servants,"[77] Theophanes begins by listing reasons he was hated[78] and implicates a certain patrician Theodoros of Koloneia and the *koubikoularios* Andreas (certainly not mere servants).[79] Of the two versions, Nikephoros' appears to more accurately represent the one in the original *Chronicle.* First, it mentions the number of years that Constans II reigned—a recurring feature of Theophanes' and Nikephoros' account of the 668–716 period.[80] Second, it more closely reflects the vocabulary of the chronicler—for example, while the murdered emperor is named "Constans" in Theophanes' version of the murder, he is referred to as "Constantine" by Nikephoros and in later sections of Theophanes that are likely derived from the *Chronicle*.[81]

There is no sign of the story of Philippikos' earlier life in Nikephoros or George the Monk, and Theophanes' inclusion of it in AM 6203[82] causes contradictions in the surrounding narrative. At the end of this entry, Theophanes reports that Philippikos Bardanes "cast down the Holy and Ecumenical Sixth Synod,"[83] and that "in the same year the profane man was blinded."[84] It is only in AM 6204, however, that Theophanes describes Philippikos' actions against the Sixth Synod,[85] and it is only one year later—AM 6205—that he is blinded.[86] Such repetition suggests that Theophanes used another source for the details of his early career. Similarly, his announcement on the transfer of Germanos to Constantinople in AM 6207 has an official quality about it, and might well have been a dispatch drawn from the state archives.[87] While it has been suggested[88] that the supposed *Chronicle* was essentially constructed out of such archival extracts, this is the only identifiable one that appears throughout the entire 668–719 period. As such, there is reason to omit this passage as well.

In addition to the above, however, there are three entries which appear in both Theophanes and George the Monk, but not in Nikephoros. These include the revolt of the Anatolic Theme in AM 6161,[89] the dispute between Justinian and the patriarch

77. *Ibid.*, § 33.1, p. 84.
78. Theoph. AM 6160, p. 351.15–24.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 351.25–6.
80. This occurs at the death of Constans II (Niceph., *Brev.*, § 33, p. 84) Constantine IV (§ 37.12, pp. 90 ff.), Justinian II's first deposal (§ 40.36, pp. 96 ff.), the deposal of Leontios (§ 41.32, pp. 98 ff.), Justinian II's execution (§ 45.89–90, p. 112) and Philippikos Bardanes' blinding (Theoph. AM 6205, 383.5–6; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 48.15, p. 116). It is interesting that Nikephoros appears to preserve more examples of this than Theophanes.
81. Constans: Theoph. AM 6160, p. 351.14; Constantine: Niceph., *Brev.*, § 33.1, p. 84; Theoph. AM 6171, p. 356.11–2.
82. Theoph. AM 6203, p. 381.6–23.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 381.22.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 381.23.
85. Theoph. AM 6204, p. 382.10–21.
86. *Ibid.*, AM 6205, p. 383.10–21.
87. *Ibid.*, AM 6207, pp. 384.19–385.4. Mango – Scott, p. lxxxviii.
88. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 300; Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 617.
89. Theoph. AM 6161, p. 352.12–23; Georg. Mon., p. 728.6–14.

Kallinikos in AM 6186,[90] and the long narrative on Leo III's military activities as *strategos* of the Anatolics (AM 6208–9).[91] It is the last of these which deserves special attention.

In AM 6208, Theophanes describes the actions of Leo III prior to becoming emperor in 717. By the standards of the rest of the *Chronicle of Justinian II* as reconstructed above, it is an unusual sequence, characterised by lengthy, excessively detailed dialogues.[92] In it, Leo—as *strategos* of the Anatolics—refuses to recognise Theodosios III (716–7) as Emperor following the deposal of Artemios Anastasios. While in the Anatolian fortress of Amorion, he is besieged by the Saracen general Suleiman, who demands to enter into talks and tries to convince him act as a puppet for the Saracens. Leo sees through this scheme, however, and evacuates Amorion. After many more complex negotiations, Leo decides to march against Constantinople and take the throne for himself. Making an alliance with Artabasdos, *strategos* of the Armeniacs, he falls upon numerous dignitaries in Bithynia—including Theodosios' son—and takes them as hostages. Through the patriarch Germanos, he makes a guarantee not to harm the populace, and is then allowed to come into Constantinople to be crowned.[93]

The conspicuous absence of this entry in Nikephoros' account has long been noted. The problem has led Mango and Scott to speculate that the entire episode may have come from an additional source, to which only Theophanes had access.[94] While this would make sense, this theory is challenged by the fact that a summarised version of the long sequence appears in George the Monk[95]—as has indeed been noted by Afinogenov, who conjectured that it was part of the original *Chronicle of Justinian II* and that Nikephoros had omitted the entire sequence purely because it was irrelevant to his narrative.[96] On closer inspection, however, this appears unlikely; if the sections on the rise of Leo III in Theophanes and Nikephoros are compared, it is apparent that they have virtually nothing in common. The following is Nikephoros' account of Leo's rise to power:

> *Thus even the Saracens marched against the Imperial City itself* […] *learning these things, the soldiers and the citizen dignitaries* […] *pressured* [Theodosios]*, making exhortations, to abdicate as Emperor, because he was not able to offer resistance to the enemies* […] *thus a vote was held over who would assume the Empire, and Leo the Patrician, at that time strategos of the so-called Anatolic army, was elected* […] *He was received in a procession as he went through the Golden Gate into Byzantium, and having come into the Great Church, there he was crowned Emperor.*[97]

Nikephoros thus gives an entirely different account of Leo's rise to power. In Theophanes' and George the Monk's versions, there is no indication that he was "elected" or that the officials were already dismayed at Theodosios' lack of leadership when he

90. *Ibid.*, AM 6186, pp. 367.32–368.11; Georg. Mon., p. 731.2–16.
91. *Ibid.*, AM 6208, pp. 386.25–390.26; Georg. Mon., pp. 734.17–735.11.
92. For two different interpretations of this sequence, see J. J. NORWICH, *Byzantium : the early centuries,* New York 1988, p. 716 and BURY, *History of the later Roman Empire* (quoted n. 4), p. 375.
93. Theoph. AM 6208, pp. 386.25–390.26; Georg. Mon., pp. 734.17–735.11.
94. MANGO – SCOTT, p. lxxxvii.
95. Georg. Mon., pp. 734.17–735.11.
96. AFINOGENOV, The source (quoted n. 30), pp. 15–6.
97. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 52.7–24, p. 120.

marched against Constantinople; on the contrary, Leo refuses to accept Theodosios as Emperor in the first place and actively marches against Constantinople. Conversely, in Nikephoros' version, there is no indication that Leo was actively seeking power and had taken hostages; the dignitaries decide Theodosios is incapable of protecting them, convince him to abdicate, hold a ballot, and willingly "elect" Leo emperor.

This argument alone strongly suggests that the "Leo sequence" in Theophanes was not in Nikephoros' manuscript of the *Chronicle*; but there are other factors that show the "Leo sequence" was written by a different hand. There are significant differences of style and vocabulary between the lengthy sequence in AM 6208 and the rest of Theophanes' account of this period—for example, the writer of other sections of the *Chronicle of Justinian II*, as preserved by Theophanes, tends to refer to figures primarily by rank, and only secondarily by office, as Nikephoros does when he introduces Leo as "the Patrician… at that time strategos."[98] No reference, however, to Leo's patrician rank occurs in Theophanes' narrative, where he is repeatedly referred to as "the Strategos."[99] Similarly, the "Leo sequence" uses direct speech more generously than the remainder of the *Chronicle of Justinian II*,[100] and while the writer of the *Chronicle* tended to refer to the Umayyad enemies as "Arabs" or "Hagarenes," and rarely as "Saracens,"[101] throughout the "Leo sequence" Theophanes refers to them frequently as "Saracens," twice as "Hagarenes," and never as "Arabs."[102] In short, due to the many stylistic differences, it is highly unlikely that the *Chronicle* and Theophanes' account on the early career of Leo III were originally written by the same hand.

98. See Niceph., *Brev.*, § 52.19, p. 120 and other examples in Theoph. at AM 6169, p. 355.16 (John Pitzigaudis, patrician); AM 6187, pp. 368.16 and 368.20 (Stephen Rhousios, patrician and *strategos*); p. 368.18 (Leontios, patrician and *strategos* of the Anatolics); AM 6190, p. 370.8–9 (the patrician John, a "suitable man"); AM 6203, pp. 377.22–3, 379.18 and 380.11–2 (Mauros the patrician); p. 377.23–4 (Stephen Asmiktos, patrician); p. 378.27–8 (George Syros, patrician and general logothete); p. 380.29–30 (Barisbakourios, first patrician and count of the Opsikion); pp. 377.31–2, 378.24, 379.15 and 381.2 (Helias, *spatharios* and governor of Cherson); p. 380.12 (John Strouthos, *spatharios*); p. 381.4–5 (Romanos, *spatharios*); AM 6205, p. 383.13 (Theodoros Myakios, patrician); AM 6206, p. 384.2–3 (Daniel of Sinope, patrician and eparch of Constantinople); AM 6210, p. 398.7–8 (Sergios, first *spatharios* and *strategos* of Sicily); p. 398.14 (Paulos, patrician and *strategos* of Sicily); AM 6211, p. 400.26–7 (Sisinnios Rhendakis, patrician); p. 400.30 (Isoes, patrician and count of the Opsikion). In each case, the individual is first introduced initially by rank (patrician/*spatharios*).

99. Leo is repeatedly referred to as "the strategos" throughout Theoph. AM 6208, pp. 386.29, 387.6, 387.9, 387.13, 387.19–20, 387.27, 388.5, 388.10, 388.18, 388.27, 389.4, 389.10, 389.15, 389.26, 389.30, 389.31, 390.14, 390.19.

100. In fact, there does not appear to have been any more than fifteen examples in the *Chronicle*: Theoph. (1) AM 6161, p. 352.12–21; (2) AM 6186, p. 368.5–6; (3) AM 6186, p. 368.8–9; (4) AM 6187, pp. 368.30–369.2; (5) AM 6187, p. 369.2–4; (6) AM 6187, p. 369.13–4; (7) AM 6187, p. 369.21–2; (8) AM 6187, p. 369.22–3; (9) AM 6196, p. 373.24–6; (10) AM 6196, p. 373.27–8; (11) AM 6198, p. 375.11–2; (12) AM 6198, p. 375.24–9; (13) AM 6203, p. 381.9; (14) AM 6203, p. 381.15; (15) AM 6203, p. 381.17. Notably, the majority of these are acclamations by crowds.

101. Ἄραβες: Theoph. AM 6169, p. 355.22; AM 6178, p. 363.12; AM 6178, p. 363.15; AM 6184 p. 366.6; AM 6184, p. 366.17; AM 6190, p. 370.4; AM 6204, p. 382.24; AM 6206, p. 383.25; AM 6209, p. 397.30; AM 6210, p. 399.5. Σαρακηνοὶ: AM 6207, p. 385.5; AM 6210, p. 398.6. Ἀγαρηνοὶ: AM 6169, p. 355.19; AM 6185, p. 367.1–2; AM 6207, p. 384.15; AM 6210, p. 399.6.

102. Σαρακηνοὶ: Theoph. AM 6208, pp. 387.6, 387.8, 387.21, 387.22, 387.24, 388.9, 388.15; AM 6209, pp. 391.14, 393.12, 393.14, 393.23, 393.30. Ἀγαρηνοὶ: AM 6208, p. 387.14.

These differences suggest that the entire "Leo" sequence—as featured in both George the Monk and Theophanes—must have come from another unknown source.[103] It is impossible to ascertain the exact transmission pattern, but one factor remains near certain: that the lengthy narrative on the early career of Leo III cannot have been part of the original *Chronicle of Justinian II,* given the stylistic differences, and therefore Nikephoros' version must reflect the original contents.

Similarly, the sequence describing Leo's early career in AM 6209,[104] which does not appear in George the Monk or Nikephoros, shares many of the stylistic features of the "Leo sequence" and was probably drawn from the same source; it, too, is unlikely to have been part of the *Chronicle*.[105] It is not possible, however, to determine the origin of the other two entries that appear in both Theophanes and George the Monk, but not Nikephoros—namely, the entry on the Anatolic revolt[106] and the dialogue between Justinian II and Kallinikos.[107] Their omission and inclusion alike must remain speculative.

3. A proposed reconstruction

Based on the above analysis, it is possible to develop an outline of the contents of the *Chronicle of Justinian II*. The next section will provide an overview of the reconstructed chronicle—a chronicle which, as will be seen, was surprisingly well-structured and narrative in form.

Based on the evidence we currently have available, it probably opened with a notice on the murder of Constans II (perhaps referred to as "Constantine"), and may have closely resembled the notice in Nikephoros, recounting in rather detached terms that Constans was murdered by his servants in Syracuse after a reign of twenty-seven years.[108] This would have been closely followed by short notice on the accession of Constans' son, Constantine IV.[109] "Immediately after his succession," as Nikephoros puts it,[110] this was followed by the expedition of the Saracens against Constantinople under the leadership of "Chaleb" (AM 6164)[111] and the legendary seven-year siege (AM 6165),[112] which ends when the enemy fleet is destroyed in a storm. Upon hearing of the destruction of his army, Caliph Mauias demands peace talks, and the emperor sends the patrician John

103. In fact, the narrative of Georg. Mon. throughout pp. 734.1–735.11 is particularly brief, and virtually no new information is provided. It is worth noting, however, that Georg. Mon. confuses some of the narrative structure of the source in the "Leo narrative" at pp. 734.18–735.11. Whereas Theoph. AM 6208 has Suleiman arriving at Akroinon (pp. 386.25–387.2) and Maslamas writing to Leo, "come to me, and I will do anything you want" (p. 389.30–1), Georg. Mon. confuses the narrative in his summary version and has Maslamas doing both (pp. 734.19–735.3).

104. Theoph. AM 6209, pp. 391.5–395.12.

105. See Mango – Scott, p. lxxxvii.

106. Theoph. AM 6161, p. 352.12–23; Georg. Mon., p. 728.6–14.

107. Theoph. AM 6186, pp. 367.32–368.11; Georg. Mon., p. 731.2–16.

108. For example, Niceph., *Brev.*, § 33.1, p. 84.

109. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 34.1–2, p. 84.

110. *Ibid.*, § 34.2–3, p. 84.

111. Theoph. AM 6164, p. 353.14–6, 17–8; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 34.1–6, p. 84; Georg. Mon., p. 727.16–7.

112. Theoph. AM 6165, pp. 353.25–354.11; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 34.6–21, pp. 84 ff.; Georg. Mon., pp. 727.17–728.5.

"Pitzigaudis" to make terms (AM 6169).[113] Being an experienced politician, John is received "with great honour" in Damascus, and he and the caliph's dignitaries draw up two copies of a ten-year treaty with terms that are highly favourable towards the Romans. They are ratified by both sides with a "sacred oath."[114] As a result of these successful negotiations, many other foreign rulers affirm the peace with the emperor, and as a result "there was great peace in the east and west."[115]

If the *Chronicle* included the notice of the revolt of the Anatolic Theme and the mutilation of Constantine's brothers in AM 6161,[116] this entry probably appeared after the end of the siege narrative, since this corresponds with the chronology given by the eastern tradition[117] and agrees with George the Monk's version.[118] The next major event it described was the "Bulgar narrative"—a long and continuous sequence which Theophanes places in a single year (AM 6171).[119] The narrative begins with a "Herodotean" digression on the geography of "Old Great Bulgaria," which reveals a surprisingly detailed, if confused, knowledge of the region around the "Maeotic Lake" (Sea of Azov). The features mentioned include the Danapris and Danastris, the "Hebrew" population in Phanagoria, and the "great river Atel"—the Volga, here referred to by its Turkic name.[120] It then recounts the intriguing legend of the Bulgar khan Kubrat and his five warring sons, one of whom—Asparukh—is driven to settle in the region of the Danube,[121] and Constantine, getting word of this, marches against the invaders.[122] He, however, is stricken by gout,[123] and when he retreats to Mesembria for treatment, the cavalry officers panic and rout. The Bulgars thus have an easy victory and proceed to pillage Thrace.[124] The whole episode is set up as a rationale for the Sixth Ecumenical Council,[125] when Constantine, seeking to avert divine anger,[126] holds the Council in order to end the Monothelite controversy. Finally, the reign of Constantine IV probably ended with Constantine's death, after spending the last years of his seventeen-year reign in "in tranquillity and peace."[127]

The next section would have explained how Justinian, being an inexperienced youth of sixteen, "undid the measures made by his father for the sake of peace," as Nikephoros

113. Theoph. AM 6169, pp. 355.10–356.2; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 34.31–7, p. 86.
114. Theoph. AM 6169, p. 355.28–9.
115. Theoph. AM 6169, p. 356.7–8; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 34.36–7, p. 86.
116. Theoph. AM 6161, p. 352.12–23.
117. See, for example, Theoph. AM 6173, p. 360.18–20; Agap., p. 494; Mich. Syr., transl., II, pp. 455 f.; *Chron. 1234,* transl., II, p. 225, all of whom imply that this occurred after *circa* 680.
118. Georg. Mon., p. 728.6–14.
119. Theoph. AM 6171, pp. 356.18–360.7.
120. *Ibid.*, pp. 356.18–357.11; the only other reference to the Volga's Turkic name in a Greek text identified is at *DAI*, § 40.24, p. 176, in a section on the Karaboi and Turks: it is referred to here as Ἐτέλ.
121. Theoph. AM 6171, pp. 357.11–358.11.
122. *Ibid.*, pp. 358.11–359.19.
123. *Ibid.*, p. 358.28.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 359.3–19.
125. *Ibid.*, pp. 359.19–360.7.
126. Constantine reportedly believed ἐκ προνοίας θεοῦ τοῦτο συμβεβηκέναι Χριστιανοῖς ("this was dealt to the Christians on account of the will of God"), Theoph. AM 6171, p. 359.25.
127. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 37.10–14, pp. 90 ff.

puts it:[128] he removes the Mardaites and destroys the "Brazen Wall" (AM 6179),[129] perhaps sends Leontios against Armenia (AM 6178),[130] breaks the peace with the Bulgars, and transfers the cavalry to Thrace.[131] He then invades Bulgaria, where he succeeds in capturing many Slavs, though the writer emphasises the human cost (AM 6180).[132]

True disaster, however, strikes on the empire's other front. After resettling the captured Slavs in the Opsikion Theme, Justinian writes to the caliph, advising that "he would not abide by the peace treaty terms agreed in writing."[133] He then raises an army of 30,000 mercenaries from the transplanted Slavs—whom he calls "the Chosen people"[134]—and marches the army to Sebastopolis.[135] The Saracens pretend to be reluctant to break the peace, reminding Justinian of the "sacred oath" and warning him that breaking the oath will earn the wrath of God. Justinian foolishly ignores them and presses for battle, and is, predictably, defeated by the Saracen army when 20,000 Slavic mercenaries desert to the enemy.[136] In vengeance, Justinian massacres the remaining 10,000 mercenaries near Leukate with their wives and children.[137]

Next, the writer describes Justinian's internal administration,[138] including his elaborate building projects—which included a new reception hall and walls around the Palace[139]—and his unsatisfactory choice of advisors—particularly Theodotos the general logothete, an *abbas* and former hermit, and Stephanos the Persian, head-eunuch, *sakellarios* and master of the works in the Palace.[140] Both are compared to animals and accused of terrorising the populace—Theodotos arrests his victims without cause, reportedly torturing them by suspending them over smoking heaps of chaff;[141] Stephanos reportedly stones his workers and foremen to death and abuses the emperor's mother, the *augousta* Anastasia.[142] In

128. Theoph. AM 6178, p. 363.26–7; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 38.1–4, p. 92.
129. Theoph. AM 6179, p. 364.4–5; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 38.15–6, p. 92.
130. Theoph. AM 6178, p. 363.27–32, perhaps alluded to at Niceph., *Brev.*, § 38.15, p. 92.
131. Theoph. AM 6179, p. 364.4–5; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 38.7–11, p. 92; Georg. Mon., p. 729.19–21.
132. Theoph. AM 6180, p. 364.11–8; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 38.11–4, p. 92; Georg. Mon., pp. 729.21–730.3.
133. Theoph. AM 6184, p. 366.4.
134. *Ibid.*, p. 366.2.
135. *Ibid.*, p. 366.5–6. This has been variously identified with the more prominent Sebastopolis in Armenia (which is not by the sea) and Sebaste in Kilikia—see E. W. BROOKS, The campaign of 716–718, from Arabic sources, *JHS* 19, 1899, pp. 19–31.
136. Theoph. AM 6184, p. 366.16–20.
137. *Ibid.*, p. 366.20–3; this is omitted by Niceph., but is paralleled in Georg. Mon., p. 730.20, who is the only writer to give the precise number of the victims.
138. Theoph. AM 6186, p. 367.12–32; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 39.1–13, p. 94.
139. Theoph. AM 6186, p. 367.12–4.
140. *Ibid.*, p. 367.15–32. In particular, the writer mentions the σακελλάριος ... καὶ πρωτοευνοῦχος (*sakellarios* and first-eunuch) Stephen the Persian (15–6), who is described as αἱμοβόρος ("blood hungry"), ἀπηνὴς ("cruel") (16–7) and ὁ ἄγριος θὴρ ἐκεῖνος ("that wild beast") (19—see *PmbZ* #6931) and that Justinian appointed ἀββᾶν τινα ὀνόματι Θεόδοτον ("a certain abbot by the name of Theodotos") (23–4), who is δεινότατον καὶ ἀτίθασον ("most terrible and untamed") (25) and tortures the citizens of Constantinople, irrespective of rank or standing (26–9). The writer also mentions the eparch of Constantinople, who is not named, but saw the imprisonment of πλείστους ἄνδρας ("many men") in the state prisons (30–2).
141. Theoph. AM 6186, p. 367.23–9.
142. *Ibid.*, p. 367.15–9.

addition to this, the eparch of Constantinople—who remains mysteriously unnamed—is ordered by the emperor to lock numerous powerful dignitaries in the state prisons.[143] The dialogue between Kallinikos and Justinian—if it was part of the source—would have featured as part of this entry, as it does in Theophanes and George the Monk.[144] Finally, this comparatively brief account of Justinian's first reign would have ended with his deposal by Leontios in 695.[145] Confused details in Theophanes and George the Monk seem to indicate that all writers omitted significant details. In essence, Leontios, a former *strategos* who was imprisoned three years earlier, is sent to Hellas to be *strategos*.[146] When he is about to leave in the harbour, he is convinced by his friends to revolt. They break into the state prison—the Praitorion—overpower the (unnamed) eparch, and release the prisoners, who join the revolt. The rebels gather in Hagia Sophia, and some of their leaders convince the patriarch Kallinikos to join their cause. According to George the Monk, the demarch of the Blue faction declares Leontios emperor.[147] Afterwards, Justinian is dragged from the Palace to the hippodrome, and though the mob calls for him to be killed, Leontios spares him out of "love for his father."[148] Instead, Justinian's nose and tongue are slit, and he is sentenced to exile in Cherson on the Crimea. His notorious advisors, Theodotos and Stephanos, are dragged through the City behind a chariot and burned alive.[149]

It appears that the *Chronicle* recorded little of the intervening reigns of Leontios and Tiberios Apsimaros.[150] Essentially the whole account is devoted to the military crisis that led to the revolt of Apsimaros in *circa* 697/8 (AM 6190);[151] yet even here, the loss, temporary regain, and permanent loss of Carthage are dealt with in rapid succession[152]—as is the subsequent revolt of the navy,[153] the bubonic plague outbreak in Constantinople,[154] and the siege that ended when the walls were betrayed to Apsimaros.[155] If Leontios' three-years in power are dealt with rapidly, Apsimaros' reign is even more so; essentially all that the *Chronicle* had to report for his seven years was that he put his brother, Herakleios, in charge of the cavalry, and that he was "very capable."[156]

143. *Ibid.*, p. 367.30–2.
144. *Ibid.*, pp. 367.32–368.11; Georg. Mon., p. 731.2–16.
145. Theoph., AM 6187, pp. 368.15–369.30; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 40.1–39, pp. 94 ff.; Georg. Mon., p. 731.18–20.
146. Theoph. AM 6187, p. 368.18–22; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 40.1–7, p. 94.
147. Georg. Mon., p. 731.17–9.
148. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 40.33–4, p. 96.
149. Theoph. AM 6187, p. 368.26–30.
150. As has been noted by PROUDFOOT, The sources of Theophanes (quoted n. 2), p. 426; TREADGOLD, Trajan the Patrician, p. 619; HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Witnesses*, p. 257.
151. Theoph. AM 6190, pp. 370.6–371.13; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 41.1–32, pp. 98 ff.; Georg. Mon., pp. 731.22–732.8.
152. In fact, the whole episode is described in less than a page in de Boor's edition of Theoph. throughout AM 6190, p. 370.6–20.
153. Theoph. AM 6190, p. 370.20–5.
154. *Ibid.*, p. 370.25–7.
155. *Ibid.*, pp. 370.27–371.8.
156. *Ibid.*, p. 371.10.

Immediately after recounting the conflict between Leontios and Apsimaros, the *Chronicle* appears to have traced the adventures of Justinian II in exile.[157] It describes his attempt to gain support from the khagan of Khazaria, his marriage to the Khazarian princess "Theodora," and his dealings with Khan Terbel of Bulgaria (AM 6196).[158] Next, it describes how he marched on Constantinople with Terbel's Bulgars and captured the city after making his way through an aqueduct,[159] and his harsh treatment and execution of Leontios and Apsimaros (AM 6197).[160] Surprisingly, all three writers—George the Monk included—describe different ways Justinian destroyed his enemies upon assuming power (AM 6198). George the Monk begins by saying that he killed some "openly,"[161] then continues to list—as all three writers do—ways in which Justinian killed his enemies secretly. The methods are as follows:

Theoph.: *and many he enclosed in sacks and made to drown in the sea*;[162] Georg. Mon. adds *by night*;[163]
Niceph.: *having promoted others to positions, he then sent men after them to cut them down*;[164]
Theoph: *others, having invited them to a "breakfast-lunch"…*[165]
Georg. Mon.: *He separated them from the present life fearfully with poison*;[166]
Theoph.: *As soon as they rose, he impaled some and cut down others*;[167]
Georg. Mon.: *As if sending them into exile, he impaled* [them].[168]

The grim sequence ended with short notice on Justinian retrieving his wife and newborn son from Khazaria.[169]

The source apparently recorded very selected events of his second reign. Two military disasters—for which Justinian is made to look responsible—are recorded: the first of these is when he decides to invade Bulgaria again.[170] Like all of Justinian's wars, as recorded

157. Theoph. AM 6196, pp. 372.26–374.8; there is effectively a six-year *lacuna* between AM 6190 and 6196.
158. Theoph. AM 6196, pp. 372.26–374.8; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.1–44, pp. 100 ff.
159. Theoph. AM 6197, p. 374.16–23; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.44–9, p. 102; Georg. Mon., p. 732.16–9.
160. Theoph. AM 6198, pp. 374.28–375.28; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.49–77, pp. 102 ff.; Georg. Mon., pp. 732.20–733.12.
161. Georg. Mon., p. 733.7–8.
162. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.17–8.
163. Georg. Mon., p. 733.8.
164. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.69–71, p. 104.
165. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.19; also Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.72–3, p. 104.
166. Georg. Mon., p. 733.8–10.
167. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.19–20; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.72–3, p. 104.
168. Georg. Mon., p. 733.10.
169. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.42–4, p. 102; the account at Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.21–8, which describes a verbal exchange between Justinian and the leader of the Khazars, most probably came from his eastern source, since it is reproduced almost exactly in Agap., pp. 497–8 and Mich. Syr., transl., II, p. 478. Although Niceph., *Brev.*, § 42.77, p. 104 does mention that Justinian retrieved his wife and son from Khazaria, he does not recall the episode in as much detail and does not mention the correspondence between Justinian and the khagan.
170. Theoph. AM 6200, p. 376.13–39; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 43.1–10, p. 104.

in this source, it quickly turns to disaster, with the Roman army besieged in a coastal fortress;[171] after several days, Justinian himself makes a narrow escape by sea.[172] The second is the siege of Tyana, which Theophanes appears to have heavily embellished with his eastern source.[173] Nikephoros—consequently the most reliable guide to the original narrative—records that Justinian himself sent dignitaries into Anatolia to raise peasant soldiers, which were sent against the invading Umayyad army.[174] When the Saracen army saw that the Romans were ill-equipped, however, they attacked and put them to flight,[175] leaving the inhabitants with no option but to abandon the city.[176] Since there is emphasis on Justinian raising the peasant soldiers,[177] he is once again blamed. The third and final long entry from his second reign concerns the events that toppled him from power and resulted in his execution.[178] Justinian, driven by paranoia and a lust for vengeance,[179] incites the people of Cherson to revolt and declare a political exile, Philippikos Bardanes, emperor.[180] After a series of military engagements, Philippikos succeeds in drawing Justinian out of Constantinople and capturing the city in his absence.[181] Justinian is abandoned by his own army, and the *spatharios* Elias—enraged over Justinian's murder of his sons and his wife's forced marriage to a household cook[182]—beheads the emperor with his own knife.[183] Justinian's son and heir, the prince Tiberios, is slaughtered "in the manner of a sheep" by the patrician Mauros Bessos and the *spatharios* John Strouthos;[184] Justinian's key supporters are executed in the following days.[185]

The final sections of the *Chronicle* dealt with the turbulent years that followed Justinian's execution.[186] The account of the reign of Philippikos begins with a personal attack,[187] in which the writer reflects, "he was deemed erudite and prudent in dialogue, but in his deeds he showed himself incompetent in all respects, passing life profanely and ineffectually"[188]

171. *Ibid*. AM 6200, p. 376.19–26.
172. *Ibid*. AM 6200, p. 376.26–9.
173. See MANGO's commentary of Niceph. *Brev*., p. 201; this is most likely the case due to substantial differences between the two accounts. The siege of Tyana is mentioned in Mich. Syr., transl., II, p. 478; *Chron. 1234*, transl., II, p. 232; Agap., pp. 498 f.
174. Niceph., *Brev*., § 44.8–11, p. 106.
175. *Ibid*., § 44.11–3, p. 108.
176. *Ibid*., § 44.13–24, p. 108.
177. *Ibid*., § 44.8–9, p. 106.
178. Theoph. AM 6203, pp. 377.20–381.6; Niceph., *Brev*., § 45.1–105, pp. 106 ff.; Georg. Mon., p. 733.12–22.
179. Theoph. AM 6203, p. 377.24–6, gives his initial motives as follows: μνησθεὶς τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ γενομένης ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπό τε τῶν Χερσωνιτῶν καὶ Βοσφοριανῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κλιμάτων ("remembering of the conspiracy that came about against him by the Chersonites and the Bosphorians and the remaining *klimata*…").
180. As detailed in Theoph. AM 6203, p. 379.12–4.
181. *Ibid*., p. 380.3–10.
182. *Ibid*., p. 379.14–7.
183. *Ibid*., pp. 380.30–381.6.
184. *Ibid*., p. 380.14–29.
185. *Ibid*., p. 380.29–30.
186. To HOWARD-JOHNSTON, these years were "to be valued above all" other sections: *Witnesses* (quoted n. 2), p. 306.
187. Theoph. AM 6203, pp. 377.20–381.23; also alluded to in Niceph., *Brev*., § 46.1–2, p. 112.
188. Theoph. AM 6203, p. 381.28–30.

and accuses him of being a "heretic" and "adulterer" (AM 6203).[189] It would then have described—with clear disdain—Philippikos' attempt to reawaken the Monothelite controversy,[190] while the Bulgars pillage Thrace up to the walls of Constantinople itself.[191] Eventually, Philippikos is blinded at the instigation of the patricians Theodore Myakios and George Bouraphos, presumably in response to the deteriorating military situation.[192] The following day, the populace gathers in Hagia Sophia and proclaims Artemios Anastasios emperor.[193] An able administrator, Anastasios blinds the men responsible for deposing Philippikos[194] and immediately appoints "most capable" generals and "most eloquent" men to civic offices.[195] He also gathers intelligence from Damascus.[196] When he sends an expedition against Rhodes, however, the "evil-doing"[197] Opsikian soldiers revolt and kill the commander in charge,[198] electing Theodosios—a "quiet" and "politically-uninvolved" tax-collector—their leader.[199] The army marches to Constantinople and besiege it for six months, until the walls are betrayed;[200] while the "lawless" Opsikian soldiers loot the city,[201] Anastasios is forced to abdicate and is exiled to Thessalonike.[202]

The final scene that can safely be attributed to the *Chronicle of Justinian II* is Nikephoros' version of Leo III's accession.[203] According to this, the constant usurpations cause a decline in "the education of words" and "military training,"[204] and the Saracens capitalise on the opportunity and attack the City.[205] At this, anonymous "military and civil office-holders" convince Theodosios to abdicate, and hold a ballot to elect a new emperor.[206] The *strategos* of the Anatolics, Leo, is "elected," and is crowned in Hagia Sophia following a triumphal procession.[207] Later scenes that may also be attributed to the *Chronicle* include the short entry on the fall of Pergamon to the Saracens,[208] the entire sequence of the second Saracen siege,[209] the entry on the revolt of Sergios in Sicily,[210] and—last of all—the attempted rebellion of the exiled Artemios Anastasios in Thessalonike after the end of the siege.[211] A

189. *Ibid.*, p. 381.30.
190. Theoph. AM 6204, p. 382.10–21; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 46.2–7, p. 112.
191. Theoph. AM 6204, p. 382.22–30; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 47.1–14, p. 114.
192. Theoph. AM 6205, p. 383.5–21; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 48.1–22, p. 114; Georg. Mon., p. 734.2–5.
193. Theoph. AM 6205, p. 383.17–9.
194. *Ibid.*, p. 383.19–21.
195. *Ibid.* AM 6206, p. 383.19–21.
196. *Ibid.*, pp. 383.3–384.14; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 49.1–7, p. 116.
197. Theoph. AM 6207, p. 385.18.
198. *Ibid.*, pp. 385.5–386.13; Niceph., *Brev.*, §§ 50.1–51.20, pp. 115 ff.; Georg. Mon., p. 734.11–4.
199. Theoph. AM 6207, p. 385.20–1.
200. *Ibid.*, pp. 385.24–386.5.
201. *Ibid.*, p. 386.5–7.
202. *Ibid.*, p. 386.7–13.
203. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 52.1–24, pp. 120 ff.
204. *Ibid.*, § 52.3–4, p. 120.
205. *Ibid.*, § 52.4–13, pp. 120 ff.
206. *Ibid.*, § 52.13–8, p.120.
207. *Ibid.*, § 52.18–24, p. 120.
208. Theoph. AM 6208, pp. 390.26–391.2; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 53.1–12, pp. 120 ff.
209. Theoph. AM 6209, pp. 395.13–398.4; AM 6210, p. 399.5–26; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 54.3–18, pp. 122 ff.; § 55.1–21, p. 124; Georg. Mon., pp. 744.18–746.6.
210. Theoph. AM 6210, pp. 398.7–399.4; Niceph, *Brev.*, § 55.1–21, p. 124.
211. Theoph. AM 6211, pp. 400.18–401.3; Niceph., *Brev.*, § 57.1–36, pp. 126 ff.

close analysis of the origin of the entries in this transitional section, however, is beyond the scope of this study, and will need to be carried out elsewhere.

This proposed reconstruction suggests a number of things about the *Chronicle*. Above all, one thing that is striking about it is that it does not present as an all-encompassing annalistic chronicle of the kind that Theophanes authored—a work that was intended to recount all known events that occurred in that period and place them under an appropriate year. On the contrary, when material from other sources is extracted, the *Chronicle* appears to have been a structured narrative with a clear storyline, selectively told and with a very specific and pointed purpose. In every sense, it is a highly political work, and Justinian II is the central focus. Much of the narrative surrounds his abuses of power, his cruel and often gruesome treatment of his subjects, and his repeated destruction of the peace—often with little regard for formally-agreed treaties and in breach of "sacred oaths."

Before we contemplate what exactly this implies about the author, it is worth considering what this reconstruction suggests about the structure of the *Chronicle*. It is sometimes assumed that Theophanes' lost source was an annalistic chronicle, with entries regularly divided by year.[212] In fact, there is very little evidence to suggest that this was the case. As we have already seen, the indiction is not mentioned in any of the entries mentioned above, with the exception of two examples during the second Saracen siege narrative (717–8), which are of questionable origin.[213] Similarly, there are no other references to any precise dates, with the exception of a reference to the "Sabbath of Pentecost" before the blinding of Philippikos Bardanes.[214]

In fact, if the eastern material is to be excised, then the *Chronicle* is characterised by long sections of continuous narrative split over a relatively small number of years, with several long gaps in between. This is particularly the case throughout the reign of Constantine IV, where the information is still relatively sparse. The entire narrative is continuous in both Nikephoros and George the Monk—although the latter does arrange the entries under the reign of each emperor—and generally, there is also some evidence that Theophanes has split sections of a continuous narrative to fit them into his rigid annalistic structure.

The first example of this appears at the beginning of the first Saracen siege of Constantinople. Although Theophanes places this event in AM 6164—the fourth year of Constantine's reign[215]—Nikephoros writes that it occurred "immediately" (εὐθύς) after he assumed power.[216] Since Theophanes is known to have manipulated his chronology, there is no reason to doubt Nikephoros' assertion that Constantine's accession and the invasion occurred almost concurrently—especially since this interpretation agrees with the eastern and Arabic sources, which indicate that the Umayyad invasions gained

212. See AFINOGENOV, The history (quoted n. 17), p. 199; TREADGOLD, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 616.

213. Theoph. AM 6209, p. 395.18; AM 6210, p. 399.6–7.

214. See J. HERRIN, Philippikos and the Greens, in EAD., *Margins and metropolis : authority across the Byzantine Empire*, Princeton 2013, pp. 179–91, here at pp. 185–6, who suggests that this date was significant because it implies that, at the time of Bardanes' blinding, all the notables would have been in the City for the feast of Pentecost.

215. Theoph. AM 6164, p. 353.14–1, 17–23.

216. Niceph, *Brev.*, § 34.2, pp. 84 ff.

momentum in 669.[217] It appears, therefore, that there was originally no break in the narrative between Constantine's accession and the beginning of the siege. In a similar example, Theophanes records that Justinian transferred his cavalry to Thrace in AM 6179, but only records his attack on the Slavs and Bulgars the following year, in AM 6180.[218] Nikephoros, however, writes that Justinian invaded the Bulgars and Slavs "immediately" (εὐθέως) after the arrival of the cavalry in Thrace.[219] On this basis, it may be speculated that no break originally appeared here either.

The same is true of the narrative of Justinian's return to power, which Theophanes divides over three years. Although George the Monk also divides this section of the narrative—albeit by emperor, rather than year—he does so at a different place to Theophanes. While Theophanes concludes the year AM 6196 with Justinian stationing in Blachernae,[220] George the Monk ends his short account on the reign of Apsimaros with the following: "Then Apsimaros, having learned this, fled to Apollonia."[221] By contrast, Theophanes does not mention Apsimaros' flight to Apollonia until the second sentence of AM 6198.[222] If the entries in the *Chronicle* were divided by year throughout this section, it can be expected that Theophanes and George the Monk would both have broken the narrative at exactly the same place. The difference suggests that this narrative was not originally divided over three years. If, as Treadgold argues,[223] Theophanes has divided the text to reflect the chronology accurately—conveniently concluding both AM 6196 and 6197 with temporal prompts, namely "in the coming year" (τῷ ἐρχομένῳ χρόνῳ)[224] and "for a short time" (πρὸς βραχὺ)[225]—this is probably not due to any divisions that appeared in the *Chronicle* itself.

Overall, this analysis suggests that the *Chronicle of Justinian II* was not dated annalistically. Rather, the only evidence of a dating system is Nikephoros' consistent habit of mentioning how many years each emperor reigned when they die or are otherwise overthrown. This is a consistent feature throughout these sections, but there is otherwise little evidence that it was a year-by-year account of each emperor's reign. In terms of structure, it probably more closely resembled Nikephoros' and George the Monk's accounts than the one preserved in Theophanes' *Chronographia.*

217. See, for example, *The History of Al-Ṭabarī. 18, Between civil wars*, transl. and annotated by M. G. Morony, Albany 1987, pp. 94 f., which mentions that Yazid b. Muʿawiya "reached Qustantiniyyah accompanied by ʿAbbas, Ibn ʿUmar, Ibn al-Zubayr, and Abu Ayub al-Ansari"; Mich. Syr., transl., II, p. 454; for a detailed discussion on the dating of the first Saracen siege of Constantinople and the course of the wars towards the end of the seventh century, see JANKOWIAK, The first Saracen siege (quoted n. 1), pp. 237–276, 305–309, 318, who agrees that a major Umayyad incursion occurred in 668/9.

218. Transfer of cavalry: Theoph. AM 6179, p. 364.5–9; Invasion: AM 6180, p. 364.11–8.

219. Niceph., *Brev.*, § 38.7, pp. 92 ff.

220. Theoph. AM 6197, p. 374.21–3.

221. Georg. Mon., p. 732.17–8.

222. Theoph. AM 6198, p. 375.1–2.

223. See W. TREADGOLD, Seven Byzantine revolutions, *GRBS* 31, 1990, pp. 203–27, at 211 f.; MANGO – SCOTT, p. 523 n. 2.

224. Theoph. AM 6196, p. 374.7.

225. *Ibid.* AM 6197, p. 374.22.

This reading has an immediate impact on how we interpret the chronology of this period. Ever since the time that Theophanes composed his work, his chronology of the late seventh and eighth centuries has more or less been accepted. The alternative reading offered here puts these dates into question. If we are to believe that his main source throughout this period was a continuous and largely undated narrative, then it follows that he must have been guessing the dates of all the events that occurred in between, unless he was using another source as a guide. His dates, therefore, cannot be trusted unless qualified by a separate source.

4. The author

The final task taken upon here is to outline the significant themes that appear throughout the *Chronicle*, and to consider the identity of its author. This is not a comprehensive review of every aspect of this source and everything that can be speculated about its author—that is the task of a much more detailed analysis—but it may nevertheless be helpful to draw some points from this reconstruction.

It is possible to speculate when he was active, and possibly even which events fell within his living memory. To begin, his account on the reign of Constantine IV is extremely brief, selective, chronologically disordered,[226] which suggests that he carried out minimal (if any) research on these earlier years and recalled little of them personally;[227] indeed, his account of the first Saracen siege of seven years has so little in common with eastern accounts that it might well represent a popular legend.[228] It is only upon the accession of Justinian II that his account becomes more detailed, although the information remains scanty even here.[229] On the contrary, the precision and detail of his account on the revolt in Cherson in 710/711 and the blinding of Philippikos Bardanes suggests a detailed knowledge of these events.[230] Overall, this suggests that his knowledge of politics before *c*. 685 was very sketchy indeed, perhaps because he was very young at the time—perhaps born in the 670s or early 680s—or otherwise not involved in politics. On the other hand, given that his account ended in or after 716, he must have been writing during the earliest years of Leo III's reign.

His writing reveals much about his views. He was evidently opposed to Monothelitism—given his positive treatment of the Sixth Ecumenical Council[231] and his personal attack on Philippikos Bardanes.[232] He was probably also based in Constantinople itself for much of that time, since the *Chronicle* has little interest in provincial affairs.[233] He had presumably

226. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 302.
227. *Ibid*., pp. 306–7.
228. On this, see Jankowiak, The first Arab siege (quoted n. 1), p. 252.
229. Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 593; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 300.
230. Mango, in Niceph., *Brev*., p. 205 (48 *ad loc*.); Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 592; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 305–6.
231. Theoph. am 6171, pp. 356.18–358.11.
232. *Ibid*. am 6203, p. 381.23–32—see Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 592.
233. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 306–7. This study will not, however, go so far as to suggest—as does Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 618—that the writer was "a native and lifelong resident of Constantinople," since this would be to pass well into the realm of speculation.

obtained a good literary education for his time.[234] There are not only numerous references to the Old Testament in sections derived from his work, but there could also be deliberate Herodotean echoes in his lengthy digression on the geography of "Old Great Bulgaria," and his account of the legendary seven-year first siege of Constantinople, "with thrust and counter-thrust," could be an echo of the siege of Troy.[235]

Howard-Johnston was quite right to suggest that the *Chronicle* "bespeaks a devouring interest in politics."[236] At this, the writer was not only concerned about politics but must have belonged to the uppermost tenets of society,[237] since he gives a curiously detailed knowledge of the events that occurred within the Palace itself—including Stephen the Persian's flogging of the *augousta* Anastasia[238] and Philippikos Bardanes' profane lifestyle.[239] He might have had direct insight into the affairs of the Palace—perhaps as a Palace eunuch or a close relation of Justinian II—or may otherwise have been a civic dignitary with good connections. His high regard for education suggests that he might well have been one of the educated men whom Anastasios II promoted to civic office.[240]

A central feature of the narrative was the contrast between the "good" Constantine IV and the "bad" Justinian II. The former he praises for devoting himself to peace,[241] while the latter he scorns at length for violence towards his subjects and other rulers alike. His opinions on the other emperors are often also blatant. He was sympathetic towards Leontios,[242] since he emphasises his past success as a general[243] and the loyalty of his friends and subjects;[244] he disapproved of the "terrible scheme" that brought Tiberios Apsimaros to power,[245] although he conceded that his brother Herakleios was a "most capable" general;[246] he disliked Philippikos Bardanes because he was an incompetent heretic, although he conceded he was well-educated.[247] He also praised Anastasios Artemios for promoting worthy men to important posts[248] and disliked the "lawless" Opsikian soldiers that forced Theodosios III into power, although he ultimately depicted Theodosios himself as ineffective.[249]

234. Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 618.
235. As is suggested by Jankowiak, The first Arab siege (quoted n. 1), p. 252.
236. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, p. 306.
237. Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 618; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 306–7.
238. Theoph. am 6186, p. 367.19–21.
239. *Ibid*. am 6203, p. 381.23–32.
240. *Ibid*. am 6206, p. 383.30.
241. See, for example, *ibid*. am 6169, p. 356.6–8; am 6171, p. 359.25–8; Niceph., *Brev*., § 37.10–4, p. 92.
242. Contrast Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 619: "He was ambivalent about Leontius."
243. Theoph. am 6187, p. 368.18–21.
244. Friends: *ibid*. am 6187, p. 368.25–6; am 6190, p. 371.8–9; Subjects (in Constantinople): *ibid*. am 6190, pp. 370.29–371.4.
245. *Ibid*. am 6190, p. 370.22.
246. *Ibid*., p. 371.10.
247. *Ibid*. am 6203, p. 381.6–23; see Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 619.
248. Theoph. am 6206, p. 383.29–30; see Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), pp. 619–20.
249. Theoph. am 6207, p. 386.5; see Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 620.

Equally as revealing is what the chronicler did not write. While he spends some time praising Constantine IV for his repulsion of the Saracens and the Sixth Ecumenical Council, very little mention—if any—was made of his gruesome treatment of his brothers and their supporters.[250] While emphasising Justinian's massacres and suggesting that he "was at the height of his mania" immediately before he was killed,[251] he fails to mention a number of significant events that occurred during his reigns, presumably because they did not compliment his strongly negative depiction of Justinian elsewhere. There is no mention of the Quinisext Council (691/2),[252] nor the resulting conflicts with Rome in the final years of his first reign, nor his execution of officials from Ravenna in 709, nor even of Pope Constantine's visit to Constantinople in 710, as detailed in the *Liber Pontificalis*.[253] Since it is most likely that the writer was aware of the deficiencies of his account, the omissions show that he twisted recent history to suit his needs, and his *Chronicle* certainly was not remotely objective.

At this point it becomes necessary to consider a possible identity of this elusive author: one Trajan the Patrician.[254] Trajan's existence is known only from the following entry in the *Suda*:

> *Trajan the patrician flourished under Justinian the slit-nosed. He wrote a very admirable* Concise chronicle (χρονικὸν σύντομον). *He was also very Christian and very Orthodox.*[255]

From this diminutive entry, only four things can be deduced about the so-called "Trajan": (1) he held the honorary rank of patrician; (2) he was "at his prime" during the reign of Justinian II (685–95, 705–11), and—since this emperor is referred to as ῥινοτμήτος—most probably during his second reign (705–11); (3) he was of the Orthodox faith; and (4) he wrote a χρονικὸν σύντομον ("concise chronicle"), which the compiler of the *Suda* considered "very admirable."[256]

250. If included, of course, the sole mention of Constantine's deposal of his brothers was reproduced at Theoph. AM 6161, p. 352.12–23, although this, for stylistic reasons, might well have been written by a different hand; the other reference at AM 6173, p. 360.18–20 was drawn from Theophanes' eastern source, which described Constantine's brutal treatment of his brothers' supporters—particularly a certain Leo—in gruesome detail: see Agap., p. 494; Mich. Syr., transl., II, pp. 455 f., *Chron. 1234*, transl., II, p. 225.

251. Theoph. AM 6203, p. 368.18. For his exaggerations, see in particular his assertion that Justinian massacred 10,000 Slavic mercenaries (AM 6184, p. 366.21–3; Georg. Mon., p. 730.3–15), was overjoyed when 73,000 Romans died in a shipwreck (AM 6203, p. 378.14–18), and killed an ἀναρίθμητον πλῆθος ("innumerable multitude", AM 6198, p. 375.16–27) upon his return to power in 705. See also Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (quoted n. 4), pp. 14–8; Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses*, pp. 305–6; Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 619.

252. Afinogenov, The source (quoted n. 30), pp. 19–20; Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (quoted n. 4), p. 70.

253. *LP*, pp. 389 f.

254. Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 595.

255. *Suda*, τ, 901.

256. For a contrary argument, see C. de Boor, Der Historiker Traianus, *Hermes* 17/3, 1882, pp. 489–92, who argues that the author of the *Suda* confused two separate "Trajans," one of whom was an Orthodox Christian who wrote in the Gothic wars of the fourth century, the other of whom lived in the eighth century and wrote a history, and is featured in *PLRE* I, pp. 921 f., s.v. Traianus 2. Cf. *PLRE* II, p. 1334, s.v. Traianus 3, who lived in the later sixth century under Justin II and did in fact hold the rank of Patrician, and thus theoretically might been the one mentioned in the *Suda*. De

Could this "Trajan" have been the anonymous writer of the *Chronicle* reconstructed here? The arguments for connecting Trajan with Theophanes' anonymous source are lengthy and complex. In sum, there is certainly no evidence to disprove that he was the author, and there are other indications that he is a likely candidate. The person who wrote it was probably a highly-ranked layman with an intricate knowledge of politics, and may well have been a civil official bearing the rank of patrician;[257] moreover, most of the reconstructed *Chronicle* was concerned with the reign of Justinian II—the time in which Trajan apparently "flourished."[258] The writer was Orthodox faith, as Trajan evidently was, and given that the source described above was highly selective, χρονικὸν σύντομον would appear to be a suitable description. In sum, therefore, the "Trajan" mentioned in the *Suda* certainly is a possible candidate for the authorship of the chronicle, if not a likely one, though sadly his authorship is impossible to prove on the basis of the existing evidence.

As it stands, whoever wrote the chronicle clearly had an interesting task at hand. Politically motivated or not, he wrote the first known work of Byzantine historiography since *circa* 641, which—far from being an annalistically dated general history—may have been more of a selective, pointed narrative history. Written from a secular Constantinopolitan viewpoint, the *Chronicle* traced the successful reign of Constantine IV, the reversals suffered under his son Justinian II, the political instability that followed his execution, and ended with the accession of Leo III to imperial power and—perhaps—the climax of the war with the Saracens during the second siege of Constantinople. His work is the ultimate source of most of what we know about internal Byzantine politics in the late seventh and early eighth centuries, and that, at least, is a feat to be admired. While much remains to be explored on the nature and historicity of his work, it is hoped that the conclusions drawn here might shed at least some light on the nature of this lost source and this Byzantine "Dark Age."

Boor, however, was apparently unaware that Theophanes had access to a source dating to the early eighth century.

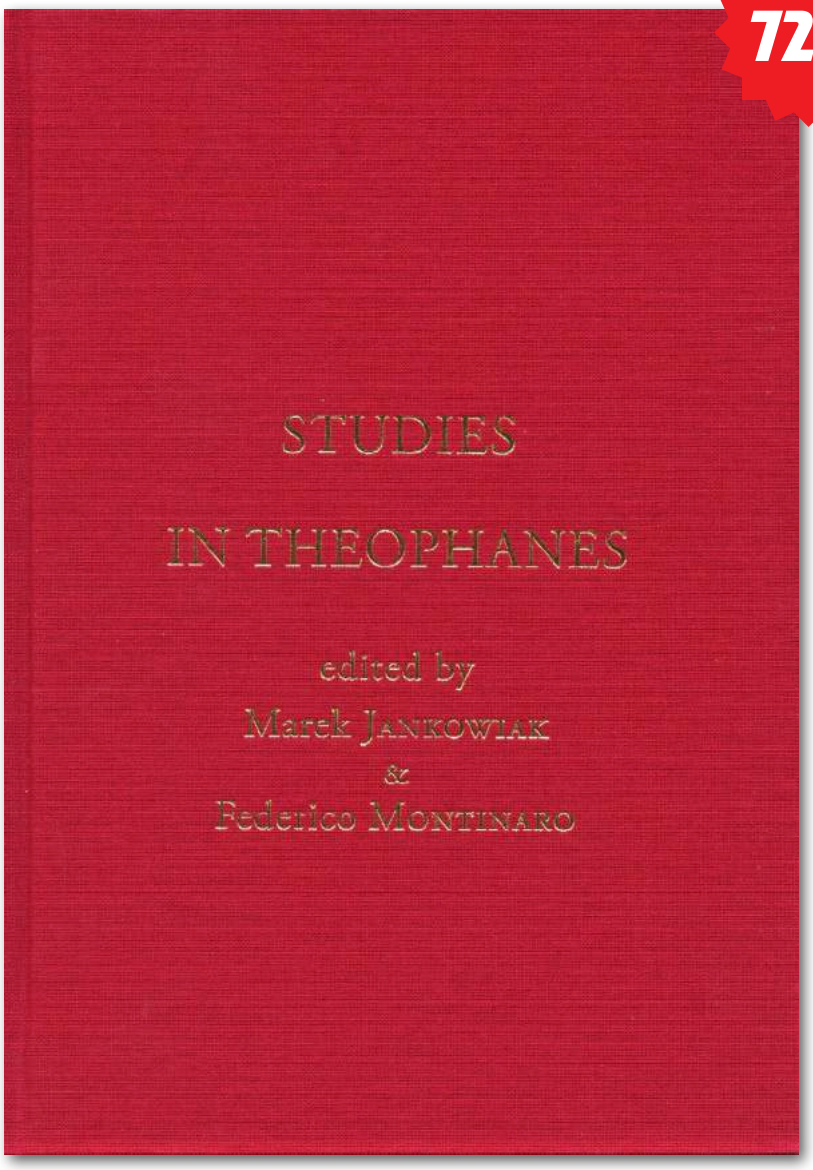
257. As is observed by Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses,* p. 307; Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician (quoted n. 4), p. 591.

258. It is noted that ἤκμαζεν can also mean "to be at the prime of life." Here, however, it is probably best translated as "flourished" or, more generally, "lived," rather than being taken as an indication that Trajan was literally "at the prime of his life" (or around the age of 40) at the time of the reign of Justinian II, as is argued by Treadgold, Trajan the Patrician, p. 590, who used this as an indication of Trajan's age and thus speculated a birth date of *circa* 665. For another instance in the *Suda* where ἤκμαζεν is clearly to be taken as simply "flourished" rather than "at the prime of life," see the entry on Apollonius of Tyana (α, 3420). According to the *Suda,* Apollonius ἤκμαζεν from the time of Claudius (ad 41–54) up to the time of Nerva (ad 96–8)—a span of well over 40 years. Evidently, he cannot have been "at the prime of his life" for the entirety of this time, which strongly suggests ἤκμαζεν had a much less literal meaning to the writers of the *Suda*.

RÉDUCTION SPÉCIALE DE 20 %

SUR TOUTES NOS PUBLICATIONS

72 €



PUBLICATIONS
DU CENTRE D'HISTOIRE ET CIVILISATION DE BYZANCE

TRAVAUX ET MÉMOIRES DU CENTRE DE RECHERCHE D'HISTOIRE ET CIVILISATION DE BYZANCE

Format 18 x 24 cm, relié pleine toile ; ISSN 0577-1471

Mélanges Jean-Pierre Sodini (TM15) ; prix 75 €
XXVI-725 p. (1900 g). 2005. ISBN 2-9519198-7-5.

Le volume des *Mélanges* dédié à Jean-Pierre Sodini, correspondant de l'Institut, pour son 65e anniversaire, comporte quarante-sept contributions consacrées pour la plupart aux régions et aux sites explorés par le dédicataire. Il présente des études de différents types de matériel archéologique – sculpture, céramique et métal – ainsi que quelques descriptions littéraires de monuments.

Mélanges Cécile Morrisson (TM16) ; prix 90 €
XXX-893 p. (1860 g). 2010. ISBN 978-2-916716-28-2.

Le volume des *Mélanges* dédié à Cécile Morrisson, correspondante de l'Institut, pour son 70e anniversaire, comporte quarante-huit contributions portant sur la numismatique, la sigillographie, l'archéologie et l'histoire économique et sociale tant de l'Empire d'Orient de l'Antiquité tardive à la fin de la période byzantine que du haut Moyen Âge occidental.

Constructing the seventh century (TM17) ; edited by Constantin Zuckerman; prix 90 €
VII-930 p. (1970 g). 2013. 978-2-916716-45-9.

The title of this volume could be misleading. "Constructing the 7th century" by no means implies an intellectual construction. It should rather recall the image of a construction site with its scaffolding and piles of bricks, and with its plentiful uncovered pits. As on the building site of a medieval cathedral, every worker lays his pavement or polishes up his column knowing that one day a majestic edifice will rise and that it will be as accomplished and solid as is the least element of its structure. The reader can imagine the edifice as he reads through the articles collected under this cover, but in this age when syntheses abound it was not the editor's aim to develop another one. The contributions to the volume, regrouped in five sections, explore various aspects of institutional, political and cultural life of the century producing unpublished material and new insights on some much debated topics.

Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé (TM18) ; prix 90 €
XXX-893 p. (1800 g). 2014. ISBN 978-2-916716-51-0.

Le volume des Mélanges dédié à Jean-Pierre Mahé, membre de l'Institut, pour son 70e anniversaire, comporte quarante-six contributions portant sur l'histoire, la philologie, l'archéologie, l'épigraphie et l'iconographie du monde caucasien, arménien mais aussi géorgien, ainsi que sur la gnose, l'hermétisme et la patristique.

Studies in Theophanes (TM19) ; edited by Marek Jankowiak & Federico Montinaro ; prix 90 €
XII-516 p. ill. (1200 g) 2015. ISBN 978-2-916716-58-9

This book presents the proceedings of the conference "The *Chronicle* of Theophanes: sources, composition, transmission," organized by the editors in Paris in September 2012. The first section of the volume is devoted to the question of the authorship of the *Chronicle*, raised by C. Mango almost forty years ago. The second section is devoted to issues of transmission, both direct (manuscript tradition) and indirect (readership, translations). The third section concerns Theophanes' sources for early Byzantine history. A separate section hosts papers by some of the major actors in the current debate on Theophanes' Eastern source. The last section of the book deals with the later part of the *Chronicle* and with its sources.

Bon de commande/Orders from : Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance
52, rue du Cardinal Lemoine – 75005 Paris. Tél. 01 44 27 17 79 – fax 01 44 27 18 85
e-mail : achcbyz@college-de-france.fr ou commande en ligne sur www.achcbyz.com

	Titres	Prix unit.		Total
TM 15	• *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Sodini*	75 €	**60 €**	
16	• *Mélanges Cécile Morrisson*	90 €	**72 €**	
17	• *Constructing the seventh century*, edited by Constantin Zuckerman	90 €	**72 €**	
18	• *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Mahé*	90 €	**72 €**	
19	• *Studies in Theophanes*, edited by Marek Jankowiak & Federico Montinaro	90 €	**72 €**	
BR 1	• J. Lefort, *Société rurale et histoire du paysage à Byzance*	40 €	**32 €**	
2	• M.-Fr. Auzépy, *L'histoire des iconoclastes*	40 €	**32 €**	
3	• J.-Cl. Cheynet, *La société byzantine : l'apport des sceaux*, 2 volumes	60 €	**45 €**	
4	• J. Gascou, *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine*	40 €	**32 €**	
5	• G. Dagron et V. Déroche, *Juifs et chrétiens en Orient byzantin*	40 €	**32 €**	
6	• J. Beaucamp, *Femmes, patrimoines, normes à Byzance*	40 €	**32 €**	
7	• D. Feissel, *Documents, droit, diplomatique de l'Empire romain tardif*	40 €	**32 €**	
8	• G. Dagron, *Idées byzantines*, 2 volumes	60 €	**45 €**	
9	• J.-M. Martin, *Byzance et l'Italie méridionale*	40 €	**32 €**	
MTM 13	• A. Laniado, *Recherches sur les notables municipaux dans l'Empire protobyzantin*	30 €	**24 €**	
14	• *La pétition à Byzance*, éd. D. Feissel et J. Gascou	30 €	**24 €**	
15	• *Recherches sur la Chronique de Jean Malalas* I, éd. J. Beaucamp *et al.*	30 €	**24 €**	
16	• C. Zuckerman, *Du village à l'Empire : autour du Registre fiscal d'Aphroditô*	30 €	**24 €**	
17	• *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, éd. J. Durand et B. Flusin	30 €	**24 €**	
18	• M. Loukaki, C. Jouanno, *Discours en l'honneur du patriarche Georges Xiphilin*	30 €	**24 €**	
19	• *Lire et écrire à Byzance*, éd. B. Mondrain	30 €	**24 €**	
20	• D. Feissel, *Chroniques d'épigraphie byzantine (1987-2004)*	30 €	**24 €**	
21	• K. Smyrlis, *La fortune des grands monastères byzantins*	30 €	**24 €**	
22	• *Les nécropoles de Viminacium à l'époque des Grandes Migrations*, éd. V. Ivanisevic *et al.*	30 €	**24 €**	
23	• *Pèlerinages et lieux saints dans l'Antiquité et le Moyen Âge. Mélanges Pierre Maraval*	30 €	**24 €**	
24	• *Recherches sur la Chronique de Jean Malalas* II, éd. J. Beaucamp *et al.*	30 €	**24 €**	
25	• *La Crimée entre Byzance et le Khaganat khazar*, éd. C. Zuckerman	30 €	**24 €**	
26	• M.-H. Congourdeau, *L'embryon et son âme dans les sources grecques*	30 €	**24 €**	
27	• M. Detoraki, *Le Martyre de saint Aréthas et de ses compagnons (BHG 166)*	30 €	**24 €**	
28	• J.-P. Grélois, *Pierre Gilles, itinéraires byzantins*	30 €	**24 €**	
29	• *Oralité et lien social au Moyen Âge*, éd. M.-Fr. Auzépy et G. Saint-Guillain	30 €	**24 €**	
30	• Puer Apuliae. *Mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Martin*, 2 volumes	60 €	**48 €**	
31	• *Guerre et société au Moyen Âge*, éd. D. Barthélemy et J.-Cl. Cheynet	30 €	**24 €**	
32	• *Le massacre de Najrân. 2, Juifs et chrétiens en Arabie*, éd. J. Beaucamp *et al.*	30 €	**24 €**	
33	• J.-Cl. Cheynet et D. Theodoridis, *Sceaux byzantins de la collection D. Theodoridis*	30 €	**24 €**	

34	• A. Mardirossian, *La Collection canonique d'Antioche*	30 €	**24 €**	
	Titres	Prix unit.	**£**	Total
MTM 35	• *Liquid & Multiple : Individuals & identities in the thirteenth-century Aegean*, (Eds) G. Saint-Guillain & D. Stathakopoulos	30 €	**24 €**	
36	• V. Ivanišević and M. Kazanski, *The Pontic-Danubian Realm in the Period of the Great Migration*	60 €	**48 €**	
37	• *Les réseaux familiaux Antiquité tardive et Moyen Âge*, (éd.) Béatrice Caseau	30 €	**24 €**	
38	• *Géoponiques*, (trad.) J-P. Grélois et J. Lefort	30 €	**24 €**	
39	• *Réduire le schisme ? Ecclésiologies et politiques de l'Union entre Orient et Occident (XIIIe-XVIIIe siècle)*, édité par Marie-Hélène Blanchet et Frédéric Gabriel	30 €	**24 €**	
40	• *Léon le diacre. Empereurs du Xe siècle* René Bondoux et Jean-Pierre Grélois (présentation, traduction et notes)	30 €	**24 €**	
41	• Dimitri Afinogenov, *MNOGOSLOŽNYJ SVITOK:* the Slavonic Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilos	30 €	**24 €**	
42	• *Thessalonique au temps des Zélotes* (1342-1350), (éd.) Marie-Hélène Congourdeau	30 €	**24 €**	
43	• *Richesse et croissance au Moyen Âge. Orient et Occident*, (éds) Dominique Barthélemy et Jean-Marie Martin	30 €	**24 €**	
44	• Nana Mirachvili-Springer, *Prostituées repenties et femmes travesties dans l'hagiographie géorgienne*	60 €	**48 €**	
45	• *Inheritance, Law and Religions in the Ancient and Mediaeval Worlds*, (Eds) Béatrice Caseau & Sabine R. Huebner	30 €	**24 €**	
46	• *Nourritures terrestres, nourritures célestes : la culture alimentaire à Byzance*, Béatrice Caseau	50 €	**40 €**	
47	• *"Pearls before swine" Missionary Work in Byzantium*, Sergey A. Ivanov	50 €	**40 €**	
48	• *Michel Psellos portraits de famille*, Textes traduits et commentés par Jean-Claude Riedinger et Corinne Jouanno, avec le concours de Vincent Déroche	60 €	**48 €**	
49	• *ŁEWOND VARDAPET DISCOURS HISTORIQUE, avec en annexe LA CORRESPONDANCE D'OMAR ET DE LÉON*, Textes traduits et commentés par Bernadette Martin-Hisard et Jean-Pierre Mahé, texte arménien établi par Alexan Hakobian	60 €	**48 €**	
PCBE	• S. Destephen, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire. 3, Diocèse d'Asie*	180 €	**144 €**	
	• *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire. 4, la Gaule Chrétienne* sous la direction de Luce Pietri et Marc Heijmans	360 €	**288 €**	
Occ. Mon.	• *Kiev-Cherson-Constantinople*, Ukrainian Papers	40 €	**32 €**	
	• *Collectanea Borisoglebica.* 1, éd. C. Zuckerman	40 €	**32 €**	
	• F. Androshchuk V. Zotsenko / *Scandinavian Antiquities of Southern Rus'*	50 €	**40 €**	
	• N. Alekseyenko *L'Administration Byzantine de Cherson*	50 €	**40 €**	
Catalogue	• E. Vardanyan, *Reflets d'Arménie - Reflections of Armenia*	29 €	**23 €**	
	• Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, *Monuments médiévaux de Chypre : Photographies de la mission de Camille Enlart en 1896*	36 €	**29 €**	

BON DE COMMANDE AU VERSO

BON DE COMMANDE

ACHCByz

52, rue du Cardinal Lemoine
75005 Paris
tel : + 33 1 44-27-17-79
mail : achcbyz@college-de-france.fr

COORDONNÉES DU CLIENT	
nom / raison sociale	
adresse	
e-mail	
tel	

OUVRAGES ACHETÉS	
références	prix TTC
Frais de port	
Montant à payer	€

Je commande les ouvrages décrits ci-dessus. **J'autorise** ACHCByz à débiter, sur son site **www.achcbyz.com** (sécurisé par la **Banque Postale**) ma carte bancaire pour le montant à payer.

Votre carte ☐ ☐ ☐

n° carte bancaire :	
date de validité :	
cryptogramme (3 derniers chiffres au dos de la carte) :	

Date et signature

Règlement par chèque bancaire ou postal français joint, à l'ordre de ***ACHCByz*** ou par virement :

Code banque	Code guichet	N° compte	Clé RIB	Domiciliation	IBAN	BIC
30002	00420	0000009504J	03	Paris Maubert Mutualité	FR76 3000 2004 2000 0000 9504 J03	CRLYFRPP

Je demande l'envoi du volume par la poste à l'adresse suivante : _____

_____