

^a Cf. Joh. Ant. c. 109. ^b Cf. Nik. i. 7 ff., Mich. Syr. ii. 378; Chr. 1234, 127; Agapios, 189; Chr. Seert, 207. ^c Cf. Chr. 724, 113, AG 920, ind. 12: Euphrates freezes, fish perish; Mich. Syr. ii. 378 [AG 918], 379.

¹ In fact, Thomas died on 20 Mar. 610 and Sergius was appointed on 18 Apr.: *Chron. Pasch.* 699 [where 8 Apr. ought to be corrected to 18].

² ἐπὶ τὴν μέσην. This name was not limited to the main street of Constantinople. A *mesē* at Ptolemais appears in *Doctr. Jacobi*, iv. 5. 23.

³ The murder of Anastasios by soldiers is dated to Sept. 610 by *Chron. Pasch.* 699. For the story of his murder by Jews cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 379, 401 (the year when Herakleios began to reign, i.e. 610/11). If Sept. 610 is correct, Phokas would hardly have had the time to dispatch Bonosos to Antioch. J. Kulakovskij, *VizVrem* 21 (1914), 1-14, argues that the mission of Bonosos occurred in 608 and was unconnected with a Jewish uprising. *Doctr. Jacobi*, i. 40, has Bonosos punishing and killing Greens at Antioch. This passage is also discussed by J. D. Frendo, *JOr* 2 (1982), 202-4, the point of whose argument escapes us.

⁴ For a glass weight bearing this name see Zacos, i/3, no.2997.

⁵ On the meaning of the passage see Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 288-9.

⁶ εἰς τὴν ἀγρᾶρεάν, ἀγρᾶραιαν, c, g; ἀγοράν, e, m. Not a fishing boat (ἀγρᾶριον), but presumably a military outpost from Lat. *agraria statio*. See Tabachovitz, *Stud* 11, 25-8.

⁷ Or possibly the castle Theodosiana. Several regiments bore the title Theodosiani. The castle in question may have been the same as the round castle of the Hebdomon, called Kyklobion or Strongylon, on which see Janin, *CA* 451, 454.

⁸ This is clearly a repeat of the conspiracy of 605 as shown by the identity of names. The *comes sacrarum largitionum* is called Athanasios in *Chron. Pasch.* 696. 11.

AM 6102 [AD 609/10]

Year of the divine Incarnation 602

Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 1st year

Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 22nd year

Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 2nd year

Zacharias, bishop of Jerusalem (22 years), 2nd year

John, bishop of Alexandria (10 years), 2nd year

In this year, on 4 October, a Monday, indiction 14,¹ Herakleios arrived from Africa bringing fortified ships that had on their masts reliquaries and icons of the Mother of God (as George the Pisidian relates)^a as well as a numerous army from Africa and Mauritania; and likewise Niketas, the son of the patrician Gregoras, came from Alexandria and the Pentapolis having with him a big host of infantry. Now, Herakleios had been betrothed to Eudokia, daughter

of the African Rogas, who at that time was at Constantinople together with Epiphaneia, the mother of Herakleios. (And when Phokas heard that the mother of Herakleios was in the City) as well as his fiancée Eudokia, he apprehended them and confined them in the imperial monastery called the New Repentance.²

299 ¶When Herakleios had reached Abydos, he found Theodore, comes of Abydos, whom he interrogated and learnt what was happening at Constantinople. Phokas, for his part, dispatched his brother, the *magister* Domentziolos, to guard the Long Walls; and when the *magister* learnt that Herakleios had reached Abydos, he abandoned the walls and fled to Constantinople. As for Herakleios, he received at Abydos all (the dignitaries who had been exiled) by Phokas and came with them to Herakleia. And Stephen, metropolitan of Kyzikos, took a crown from the church of the holy Mother of God of Artake³ and brought it to Herakleios.¶^b And when he reached Constantinople, he put in at the harbour of Sophia; and after giving battle, he defeated the usurper Phokas by the grace of Christ. The demes seized the latter, killed him, and burnt him at the [Forum] Bovis.⁴ Herakleios entered the palace and was crowned by the patriarch Sergius in the chapel of St Stephen, which is in the palace.⁵ On the same day his fiancée Eudokia was crowned Augusta and both of them received the nuptial crowns from the patriarch Sergius, so that on the same day he became emperor and bridegroom.

¶In the month of May the Persians marched into Syria and they took Apameia and Edessa⁶ and came as far as Antioch. The Romans met them and gave battle and were defeated; and the entire Roman host perished so that very few escaped.¶^c

¶On 7 July of the same indiction⁷ a daughter, Epiphaneia, was born to the emperor by Eudokia,¶^d and on 15 August she was baptized at Blachernai by the patriarch Sergios.

^a Geo. Pisid. *Her.* ii. 15. ^b From Joh. Ant. c. 110. ^c Cf. *Chr.* 724, 113, AG 922: Persians take Emesa; Mich. Syr. ii. 400, 1st year of Herakleios: Persians take Antioch, Romans defeated; *Chr.* 1234, 177 (closest to Theoph.): Persians take Antioch on 8 Oct. and Apameia on the 15th; Emesa capitulates; they destroy a Roman force; Agapios, 190. See also Sebeos, 67: decisive Persian victory near Antioch. ^d Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 702.

¹ Ind. 14 (AD 610/11) ought to correspond to AM 6103.

² See Janin, *Églises*, 332.

³ Modern Erdek, a short distance west of Kyzikos, of which it was for a time a suburb. Opposite the settlement was an island of the Panagia with ruins of a Byzantine church. See F. W. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* (Cambridge, 1910), 16 ff.

⁴ This succinct account of the overthrow of Phokas bears little resem-

blance to the fuller ones of *Chron. Pasch.* 699–701, *Joh. Ant. c.* 149 and *Nik. I* (the latter two being related).

⁵ In Hagia Sophia according to *Chron. Pasch.* 701.

⁶ Read Emesa.

⁷ AD 611.

AM 6103 [AD 610/11]

Year of the divine Incarnation 603

Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 2nd year

Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 23rd year

Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 3rd year

Zacharias, bishop of Jerusalem (22 years), 3rd year

John, bishop of Alexandria (10 years), 3rd year

|| In this year the Persians captured Caesarea in Cappadocia¹ and took therein many tens of thousands of captives.||^a

The emperor Herakleios found the affairs of the Roman state undone, for the Avars had devastated Europe, while the Persians had destroyed all of Asia and had captured the cities and annihilated in battle the Roman army. On seeing these things he was at a loss what to do. || He made a census of the army to find out if there were any survivors from among those who had revolted with Phokas against Maurice and found only two in all the *themata*.||^{b2}

On 3 May of the same year, indiction 15,³ a son was born to the emperor by Eudokia, namely the younger Herakleios, also called the new Constantine. And on 14 August of the same 15th indiction the Augusta Eudokia died.||^c

^a Cf. *Mich. Syr.* ii. 400, 2nd year of Herakleios, 22nd of Chosroes; *Chr.* 1234, 177–8; *Agapios*, 190. ^b Repeated from p. 414 above. ^c Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 702–3, giving the date of the death of Eudokia as Sunday, 13 Aug. 612. For her funeral *Nik.* 3.

¹ Caesarea was probably taken in 611: *W. E. Kaegi, BZ* 66 (1973), 322–3.

² ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς θέμασι (meaning 'contingents'). The anecdote is borrowed from *Theoph. Sim.* 307–8, who, naturally, does not use the technical term *thema* and refers the episode to the time when Herakleios was fighting Razates, i.e. AD 626–7. The normal length of service being about 24 years, it is understandable that very few soldiers who had taken part in Phokas' usurpation in 602 should still have been in the ranks in 626. See *N. Oikonomides, ZRVI* 16 (1975), 2–3.

³ AD 612.

[AM 6104, AD 611/12]

Herakleios, 3rd year
 Chosroes, 24th year
 Sergius, 4th year
 Zacharias, 4th year
 John, 4th year

||In this year, on 4 October, indiction 1,¹ Epiphaneia, daughter of Herakleios, was crowned Augusta by the patriarch Sergius in the chapel of St Stephen in the palace. On 25 December of the same 1st indiction the young Herakleios, also called Constantine, son of Herakleios, was crowned by the patriarch Sergius.||^a

||In the same year the Saracens invaded Syria and, after devastating several villages, returned home.||^b

^a Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 703, 3-5, 17-20, where the coronation of the younger Herakleios is correctly dated 22 Jan. 613; *Nik. 5.* 1-6 (baptism and coronation of the younger Herakleios without dates). ^b Cf. *Mich. Syr. ii.* 401, 1st year of Herakleios.

¹ AD 612.

[AM 6105, AD 612/13]

Herakleios, 4th year
 Chosroes, 25th year
 Sergius, 5th year
 Zacharias, 5th year
 John, 5th year

||In this year the Persians occupied Damascus and took a multitude of captives.||^a

The emperor Herakleios sent ambassadors to Chosroes urging him to cease shedding pitilessly the blood of men, to appoint levies, and receive tribute. But the latter dismissed the ambassadors empty-handed, without having spoken to them, for he hoped to seize the Roman state in its entirety.¹

In the same year Herakleios married Martina, whom he proclaimed Augusta and crowned in the Augustaion. The coronation was performed by the patriarch Sergius.²

^a Cf. *Chr.* 724, 113, AG 924; *Mich. Syr. ii.* 400 and *Chr.* 1234, 178 in the 4th year of Herakleios.

¹ The above passage concerning the dispatch of ambassadors may also

derive from an Eastern source. Note, however, that according to Mich. Syr. ii. 400; *Chr.* 1234, 177; Agapios, 190; and Sebeos, 65, they were sent immediately after the accession of Herakleios, hence in 610/11. Cf. Dölger, *Reg.* 162. It may be noted that no Greek source other than Theoph. mentions this embassy, whose historicity may be doubted. An embassy was certainly sent in 615 (AM 6109) following the interview at Chalcedon, ostensibly on behalf of the Senate, not the emperor. *Chron. Pasch.* 707-9 gives a copy of the letter which the ambassadors took with them (Dölger, *Reg.* 166). It is stated therein that, because of the prevailing disorder, Herakleios was unable to send to the Persian king the customary announcement of his accession to the throne.

² The sequence of events in Nik. 11 suggests that the marriage of Herakleios to Martina may have occurred as late as 623 (see our comments ad loc. 179 f.). He was certainly married to her by the spring of 624: *Chron. Pasch.* 714.

[AM 6106, AD 613/14]

Herakleios, 5th year
Chosroes, 26th year
Sergius, 6th year
Zacharias, 6th year
John, 6th year

|| In this year the Persians took [the region of] the Jordan, Palestine, and the Holy City by force of arms and killed many people therein through the agency of the Jews: some say it was 90,000.¹ For the Jews bought the Christians, each man according to his means, and killed them. As for Zacharias, patriarch of Jerusalem, and the holy and life-giving Cross, the Persians took them along with many captives and carried them off to Persia.||*

301

In the same year a second son called Constantine² was born to the emperor by Martina and was baptized in the Blachernai by the patriarch Sergius.

* Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 400, 5th year of Herakleios; *Chr.* 1234, 178, 6th year of Herakleios, 27th of Chosroes.

¹ Jerusalem fell in early May 614: Strategios, 13-14. Discussion of date in Flusin, *Anastase*, ii. 154 ff. *Chron. Pasch.* 704 dates the fall to 'about the month of June', which is probably when the news reached Constantinople. Strategios, 50-3, also gives a tabulation of the dead amounting to 66,509 (somewhat different figures in the Arabic versions). Table of figures in Flusin, *Anastase*, ii. 160. Sebeos, 69, has 57,000 dead.

² To distinguish him from Herakleios Constantine, b. 612. According to Nik. 11. 7, the first two sons born of Martina, both defective, were called

Flavius (*recte* Fabius) and Theodosios respectively. Seeing that the 'second Constantine' is not recorded elsewhere, one may wonder whether Theoph. has confused him with Heraklonas, officially styled Constantine (as shown by his coinage), born in Lazica in 626. A difficulty, however, is posed by Nik. 18. 7, who records that while Herakleios was in Persia two of his sons and two daughters died. If one of the two sons was Fabius, who was the other? Theodosios was still alive in 629/30, when he was married to Nike, daughter of Šahrvaraz (Nik. 17. 17). See also below, AM 6108.

[AM 6107, AD 614/15]

Herakleios, 6th year
Chosroes, 27th year
Sergius, 7th year
Zacharias, 7th year
John, 7th year

¶ In this year the Persians occupied all of Egypt and Alexandria¹ and Libya as far as Ethiopia and, after taking many captives and immense booty and money, returned home. They were unable to take Chalcedon,² so they left a force to besiege it and withdrew.¶

^a Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 401, 6th year of Herakleios; *Chr.* 1234, 178, 7th year.

¹ According to *Chr.* 724, 113, Alexandria was taken in June AG 930 (AD 619). Palmer, *Seventh Century*, 17, argues that this text was composed in AD 640. The date 619 is very probably correct. See L. S. B. MacCoull, *Studi classici e orientali*, 36 (1986), 307-13; V. Déroche, *Études sur Léontios de Néapolis* (Uppsala, 1995), 118 n. 64.

² *Chron. Pasch.* 706 records Šahin's advance to Chalcedon in 614/15, but after the mention of a liturgical innovation introduced by the patriarch Sergios in Lent of ind. 4 (616). Cf. also *Acta Anastasii Persae*, c. 8, ed. Flusin, i. 49, which adds that Šahin was obliged to withdraw from Chalcedon in order to pursue Philippikos, who had undertaken a diversionary incursion into Persia (presumably meaning Armenia). Discussion in Flusin, *Anastase*, ii. 83 ff. It should be noted that Theoph. omits the famous interview between Herakleios and Šahin at the harbour of Chalcedon. For this event see *Chron. Pasch.* 706 ff. and Nik. 6-7.

[AM 6108, AD 615/16]

Herakleios, 7th year
Chosroes, 28th year
Sergius, 8th year
Zacharias, 8th year
John, 8th year

|| In this year the Persians marched on Chalcedon and took it by war.||^{a1}

On 1 January of this year, indiction 5,² the younger Constantine, also called Herakleios, the son of Herakleios, assumed the consulship; and he raised to the rank of Caesar his own brother, the little Constantine, who had been born to Herakleios and Martina.

^a Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 401.

¹ Theoph. is alone in recording under two separate years (a) an abortive siege of Chalcedon, and (b) its capture. According to Nik. 6. 9, the siege lasted a long time (*χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνόν*).

² Not in 617, but in the next indictional cycle (632) as shown by the letter of Pope Honorius to Honorius, bishop of Canterbury, dated *Imp. Heraclio a.24, p.c. eius a. 23 (et Constantino) a.23, et cons. eius a.3, sed et Heraclio felicissimo Caesare, i.e. filio eius, a.3, ind. 7 (634): PL 80: 477-8; Jaffé, Reg. pont. rom., no.2020.*

[AM 6109, AD 616/17]

Herakleios, 8th year

Chosroes, 29th year

Sergius, 9th year

Zacharias, 9th year

John, 9th year

In this year Herakleios once again sent ambassadors¹ to Persia to ask Chosroes for peace, but Chosroes dismissed them again with the words, 'I shall not spare you until you renounce the Crucified one, whom you call God, and worship the sun.'²

¹ Actually in 615, following the interview with Šahin at Chalcedon. Cf. AM 6105, n. 1.

² Perhaps a borrowing from Geo. Pisid., placed here as a filler.

[AM 6110, AD 617/18]

Herakleios, 9th year

Chosroes, 30th year

Sergius, 10th year

Zacharias, 10th year

John, 10th year

In this year the Avars invaded Thrace and Herakleios sent ambassadors to them asking for peace. When the Chagan had agreed to conclude peace, the emperor went outside the Long Wall with the full

302

imperial retinue and many costly gifts so as to meet the Chagan after receiving from him pledges that they would make a peace settlement with one another. But the barbarian, transgressing the agreements and oaths, suddenly attacked the emperor in a treacherous manner. Discomfited by this unexpected event, the emperor took to flight and returned to the City. As for the barbarian, he captured the imperial baggage and retinue and as many men as he could take by surprise (deceived as they were by the hope of peace) and returned home after devastating many villages of Thrace.¹

¹ Fuller accounts of the Avar surprise in Nik. 12. 28-14.10 and *Chron. Pasch.* 712-13. Another relevant text is the sermon by Theodore Synkellos, *In depositionem pretiosae vestis* (BHG 1058), ed. F. Combefis, *Historia haeresis Monothelitarum* (Paris, 1648), 751-86. Re-edited in part by C. Loparev, *VizVrem* 2 (1895), 592-612. For the circumstances of its delivery, see V. Vasil'evskij, *VizVrem* 3 (1896), 83-95. English trans. of Loparev's edn. and commentary by A. M. Cameron, *Byz* 49 (1979), 42-56, with incorrect chronology. Theoph. may have abbreviated the same source as that used by Nik. The date of the incident in *Chron. Pasch.*, 5 June 623, is probably correct. N. H. Baynes, *BZ* 21 (1912), 110-28, was misguided in moving it to 617: in this he has been followed by several other scholars.

AM 6111 [AD 618/19]

Year of the divine Incarnation 611

Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 10th year

Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 31st year

Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 11th year

Zacharias, bishop of Jerusalem (22 years), 11th year

George, bishop of Alexandria (14 years), 1st year

In this year Herakleios sent ambassadors to the Chagan of the Avars to reproach him for the unlawful deeds he had done and urge him to make peace; for, intending to make an expedition against Persia, he wished to be at peace with the Chagan. Now the Chagan, out of respect for the emperor's friendly attitude, offered his regrets and promised to observe peace. After agreeing on the amount of the tribute, the ambassadors returned in peace.

In the same year the Persians took by war Ancyra in Galatia.¹

¹ The fall of Ancyra is recorded by Mich. Syr. ii. 408; *Chr.* 1234, 180; Agapios, 198, who place it in AH I (622/3). C. Foss, *DOP* 31 (1977), 70, accepts the date 622.

[AM 6112, AD 619/20]

Herakleios, 11th year
 Chosroes, 32nd year
 Sergius, 12th year
 Zacharias, 12th year
 George, 2nd year

|| In this year Chosroes hardened his yoke on all men by way of blood-thirstiness and taxation; for, being puffed up by his victory, he was no longer able to keep the established order.||^a Then Herakleios, becoming filled with divine zeal and, as he had thought, having made peace with the Avars, transferred the European armies to Asia and was planning to move against Persia with God's help.

^a Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 408; Chr. 1234, 180 (immediately following the fall of Ancyra), Agapios, 198.

[AM 6113, AD 620/1]

Herakleios, 12th year
 Chosroes, 33rd year
 Sergius, 13th year
 Zacharias, 13th year
 George, 3rd year

In this year, on 4 April, indiction 10,¹ the emperor Herakleios, after celebrating the Easter feast, straight away set out against Persia on Monday evening.^a Being short of funds he took on loan the moneys of religious establishments and he also took the candelabra and other vessels of the holy ministry from the Great Church, which he minted into a great quantity of gold and silver coin.² He left his own son at Constantinople in the care of the patriarch Sergius to conduct the business of state along with the patrician Bonosos,³ a man of prudence, intelligence, and experience. He also wrote an exhortation to the Chagan of the Avars that the latter might assist the Roman state inasmuch as he had concluded a treaty of friendship with him, and he named the Chagan guardian of his son. Setting out from the Imperial City he went by ship to Pylai,⁴ as the place is called.||^b From there he proceeded to the country of the *themata*,⁵ where he collected his armies and added new contingents to them. He began to train them and instruct them in military deeds. He divided the army into two and bade them draw up battle lines and attack each other without loss of blood; he taught them the battle cry, battle songs and

shouts, and how to be on the alert so that, even if they found themselves in a real war, they should not be frightened, but should courageously move against the enemy as if it were a game. || Taking in his hands the likeness of the Man-God—the one that was not painted by hand, but which the Logos, who shapes and fashions everything, wrought like an image without recourse to painting, just as He experienced birth without seed—the emperor placed his trust in this image painted by God and began his endeavours. ||^c after giving a pledge to his army that he would struggle with them unto death and would be united with them as with his own children; for he wished his authority to be derived not from fear, but rather from love. ||^d Having found, then, the army in a state of great sluggishness, cowardice, indiscipline, and disorder, ||^e and scattered over many parts of the earth, he speedily gathered everyone together. ||^f As by common agreement, everyone praised the might and courage of the emperor. And he spoke to them these words of encouragement: 'You see, O my brethren and children, how the enemies of God have trampled upon our land, have laid our cities waste, have burnt our sanctuaries || and have filled with the blood of murder the altars of the bloodless sacrifice; how they defile with their impassioned pleasures our churches, which do not admit of the passions.' ||^g Once again he prepared the army for a warlike exercise and ||formed two armed contingents; and the trumpeters, the ranks of shield-bearers and men in armour stood by. ||^h When he had securely marshalled the two companies he bade them attack each other: ||there were violent collisions and mutual conflict, and a semblance of war was to be seen. One could observe a frightening sight, yet one without the fear of danger, murderous clashes without blood, the forms (of violence) without violence, so that each man might draw a lesson from that safe slaughter and remain more secure. ||ⁱ Having in this manner fortified everyone, he bade them abstain from injustice and cleave to piety. ||^j

||When he had reached the region of Armenia, he ordered (a band of picked men to take the van. The Saracens were then tributaries of the Persians,) and a multitude of their horsemen were intending to fall upon the emperor unawares. But the emperor's advance party met them and brought their leader captive to Herakleios; ||^k and having routed them, killed a great number. || Since winter had set in, and the emperor had turned aside (to) the region of Pontos, the barbarians decided (to besiege him) in his winter quarters. ||^l Evading the Persians, however, he turned round and invaded Persia. ||When the barbarians learnt of this, they were cast down ||^m by the unexpectedness of his invasion. As for Sarbaros, the Persian commander, he

took his forces and came to Cilicia that he might turn the emperor round by his attack on Roman territory. Fearing, however, lest the emperor invade Persia by way of Armenia and cause disturbance therein, he could not make up his mind what to do.^{11ⁿ} Even so, he was compelled to follow the Roman army from behind, seeking a chance to steal a fight and attack them on a dark night. But there was that night a full moon and he was foiled in his scheme and uttered imprecations against the moon whom he had previously worshipped;^{11^o} and it so happened that the moon suffered an eclipse that night.^{11^p} Because of this, Sarbaros was afraid to attack the emperor and he made for the mountains as the deer do,^{11^q} and observed from a height the beautifully ordered generalship of the Romans.^{11^r} When the emperor became aware of his cowardice, he boldly encamped in places affording ample repose and provoked him to war.^{11^s} Often the Persians would come secretly down from the mountains and engage in sporadic conflict, and on all occasions the Romans had the upper hand and their army was further emboldened by seeing the emperor dashing forward in front of all the others and fighting courageously.^{11^t} There was a certain Persian, who a short time previously had come as a runaway and joined the emperor's army. This man escaped and went over to the Persians expecting them to destroy the Roman armament. But when he had perceived their cowardice, he returned to the emperor on the tenth day⁷ and reported to him exactly the barbarians' timidity.^{11^u}

As for Sarbaros, he could not endure any longer his sojourn on the mountain and was compelled to rush into battle. He divided his army into three parts and suddenly came down at daybreak, before the sun had risen, all ready for war.^{11^v} But the emperor had foreseen this, and he, too, marshalled his army into three phalanxes and led them into battle. When the sun had risen, the emperor happened to be on the east side so that the sun's rays blinded the Persians—those rays that they worshipped as a god.^{11^w} The emperor feigned that his men had turned to flight and the Persians broke their ranks to pursue them, as they thought, without restraint. But the Romans turned round and routed them valiantly; they killed many men and others they drove to the mountain and pushed them into precipices and inaccessible places and destroyed all of them. And in those precipices they remained like wild goats,^{11^x} while many were captured alive. The Persian camp and all their equipment were also taken. The Romans raised their arms aloft to give thanks to God and to praise earnestly their emperor who had led them well. For they, who previously had not dared to behold the Persians' dust, now found their tents undisturbed and looted them.^{11^y} Who had expected

305

306

that the hard-fighting race of the Persians would ever show their backs to the Romans?||² As for the emperor, he left the army with its commander to winter in Armenia, while he himself returned to Byzantium.||^{aa8}

^a Cf. Geo. Pisid. *Exp. Pers.* i. 132, 154. ^b *Ibid.* ii. 10. ^c *Ibid.* i. 139 ff.
^d *Ibid.* ii. 89-91. ^e *Ibid.* ii. 44-6. ^f *Ibid.* ii. 55-6. ^g *Ibid.* ii. 107-10.
^h *Ibid.* ii. 127 ff. ⁱ *Ibid.* ii. 140-8, 124. ^j *Ibid.* ii. 202. ^k *Ibid.* ii. 207 ff.
^l *Ibid.* ii. 256 ff., who, however, says it was the Persians who had wintered in Pontos (hence in 621/2). See Oikonomides as in n. 8. ^m *Ibid.* ii. 276-7.
ⁿ *Ibid.* ii. 340 ff. ^o *Ibid.* ii. 357 ff. ^p *Ibid.* iii. 1. ^q *Ibid.* iii. 17-24.
^r *Ibid.* iii. 32-3. ^s *Ibid.* iii. 41 ff., 63 ff. ^t *Ibid.* iii. 79 ff. ^u *Ibid.* iii. 144-74.
^v *Ibid.* iii. 178 ff. ^w *Ibid.* iii. 201 ff. ^x *Ibid.* iii. 210 ff., 251-2. ^y *Ibid.* iii. 278 ff. ^z *Ibid.* iii. 296-7. ^{aa} *Ibid.* iii. 336 ff., but without a mention of Armenia.

¹ AD 622, when Easter indeed fell on 4 Apr.

² The first minting of the silver hexagram is dated 615 by *Chron. Pasch.* 706. Cf. Grierson, *Catal. DO* ii/1: 17-18.

³ *Recte Bonus*, who was *magister praesentalis*. Cf. A. Pertusi, *Berichte XI Intern. Byzant.-Kongress* (Munich, 1958), 26-7; *PLRE* iii, Bonus 5.

⁴ Near modern Yalova, on the southern shore of the gulf of Nicomedia. See our discussion in *TM* 12 (1994), 150 ff.

⁵ Discounting the misplaced entry under AM 6103, this is the earliest mention of the *themata* (used here in a territorial sense). There has been endless comment on this passage. For a good assessment see N. Oikonomides, *ZRVI* 16 (1975), 1 ff., who argues that the use of the term *themata* here is not anachronistic, as some scholars have suggested. It is not clear which part of Asia Minor is meant.

⁶ A total eclipse of the moon occurred on 28 July 622.

⁷ Geo. Pisid. *Exp. Pers.* iii. 150 has the deserter going back to the Persians after fourteen days.

⁸ On the campaign of 622 see N. H. Baynes, *EHR* 19 (1904), 694-702; N. Oikonomides, *BMGS* 1 (1975), 1-9; Howard-Johnston, 'The Official History', 60 and n. 7.

AM 6114 [AD 621/2]

Year of the divine Incarnation 614

Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 13th year

Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 35th year¹

Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 14th year

Zacharias, bishop of Jerusalem (22 years), 14th year

George, bishop of Alexandria (14 years), 4th year

In this year, on 15 March, indiction 11,² the emperor Herakleios set out from the Imperial City and speedily arrived in Armenia.³ As for

Chosroes, the emperor of the Persians, he dispatched Sarbarazas, with his own army, to invade Roman territory. Herakleios wrote a letter to Chosroes bidding him embrace peace; if not, he would invade Persia with his army.⁴ But Chosroes neither embraced peace nor did he take any account of the statement that Herakleios would dare approach Persia. And on 20 April the emperor invaded Persia. When Chosroes learnt of this, he ordered Sarbarazas to turn back; and having gathered his armies from all of Persia, he entrusted them to Sain, whom he commanded to join Sarbarazas with all speed and so proceed against the emperor. As for Herakleios, he called together his troops and roused them with these words of exhortation: 307
 'Men, my brethren, let us keep in mind the fear of God and fight to avenge the insult done to God. Let us stand bravely against the enemy who have inflicted many terrible things on the Christians. Let us respect the sovereign state of the Romans and oppose the enemy who are armed with impiety. Let us be inspired with faith that defeats murder. Let us be mindful of the fact that we are within the Persian land and that flight carries a great danger. Let us avenge the rape of our virgins and be afflicted in our hearts as we see the severed limbs of our soldiers. ||^{a5} The danger is not without recompense: nay, it leads to the eternal life. Let us stand bravely, and the Lord our God will assist us and destroy the enemy.'

When the emperor had spoken these and many other words of exhortation, they replied llone and all: 'Thou hast expanded our hearts, O Sire, by opening thy lips to encourage us. Thy words have sharpened our swords and imbued them with life. Thou hast given us wing by thy statements. We blush to see thee leading us in battle, and we follow thy commands.' ||^b

So the emperor took up his army and straight away made for the heart of Persia, burning the towns and villages. And there happened at this stage an awesome miracle. For at the time of the summer solstice the air became cool and refreshed the Roman army so that they became filled with fair hopes. And when Herakleios heard that Chosroes was in the town of Gazakos⁶ with 40,000 fighting men, he rushed against him. He sent forward some of his subject Saracens as an advance party and they encountered the watch of Chosroes, some of whom they killed, whilst others they captured and brought to the emperor together with their commander. When he had learnt of this, Chosroes abandoned the town and his army and took to flight. Herakleios gave pursuit, and some he overtook and killed, whilst the rest escaped and scattered. And when the emperor reached the town of Gazakos, (he restored his army in its suburbs. The Persians who had taken refuge with him said that Chosroes had destroyed with 308

fire all the crops in those parts and had fled to the town of Thebarmais⁷ in the east, wherein were the temple of Fire and the treasure of Croesus, king of Lydia, and ||the deceit of the coals.||⁸ Setting out from Gazakos, the emperor reached Thebarmais, which he entered and burnt down the temple of Fire as well as the entire city; and he pursued Chosroes in the defiles of the land of the Medes. Chosroes went from place to place in this difficult terrain, whilst Herakleios, as he was pursuing him, captured many towns and lands. When winter had set in, he took counsel to decide where he should winter together with his army. Some said that they should do so in Albania,⁹ ||others that they should push ahead against Chosroes himself.||^d The emperor ordered that the army should purify itself for three days. He then opened the holy Gospel and found a passage that directed him to winter in Albania. So he immediately turned back and hastened to Albania. As he had with him numerous Persian captives, he was the object of several attacks by the Persian troops on the intervening journey, but with God's help was victorious against all of them. In spite of the severe winter cold that overtook him on the way, he reached Albania with 50,000 captives whom, in his compassionate heart, he pitied and liberated. He granted them proper care and repose so that all of them prayed with tears in their eyes that ||he should become the saviour even of Persia and slay Chosroes, the destroyer of the world.||^e

^a Geo. Pisid. *Her.* iii, frg. 3.

^b *Ibid.*, frg. 4.

^c *Ibid.*, frg. 4a.

^d *Ibid.*, frg. 4β.

^e *Ibid.*, frg. 4γ.

¹ Note the jump from his 33rd to his 35th year.

² This corresponds to AD 623. *Chron. Pasch.* 713-14 dates the emperor's departure from Constantinople to 25 Mar., ind. 12 (AD 624) and says that he celebrated Easter near Nicomedia before proceeding to the East. A slight difficulty is that whereas in 623 Easter fell on 27 Mar., it did so on 15 Apr. in 624. For a summary of scholarly debate on this question see Stratos ii. 883-91, who rightly opts for 624. We cannot give here a detailed commentary on the campaigns of 624-8 for which Theoph. is our principal, if at times faulty, source. For the many problems of chronology, topography, and interpretation the reader is referred to E. Gerland, *BZ* 3 (1894), 330-73; N. H. Baynes, *United Service Magazine*, 47 (1913), 401-12, 665-79; J. A. Manandjan, *VizVrem* 3 (1950), 133-53; Stratos, i-ii; J. Howard-Johnston, 'The Official History'.

³ It remains unclear why Theoph. should have omitted Herakleios' march through Armenia, including the capture of Dvin, the more so as the latter event is alluded to by Geo. Pisid. in *Her.* ii. 163. For a discussion of the emperor's route, mainly on the basis of Armenian sources, see Manandjan, *op. cit.*

⁴ Dölger, *Reg.* 179. Cf. *Stratos* i. 377–80.

⁵ This speech is plagiarized in *Theoph. Cont.* 478, where, with a few changes, it is put in the mouth of Nikephoros Phokas. Cf. A. Kolia-Dermitzaki, *Ο βυζαντινός ιερός πόλεμος* (Athens, 1991), 249.

⁶ Ganjak, Armenian Ganzak (Kanzakon in *Theoph. Sim.*), corresponding to Leylan, south-east of Lake Urmia. See Markwart, *Provincial Capitals*, 108–10; Minorsky, 'Atropatene', 254.

⁷ Now Takht-i Sulaimān (Shīz): Minorsky, 'Atropatene', 255.

⁸ Referring, it seems, to the fiction that the sacred fire left no ashes: Minorsky, *loc. cit.*

⁹ From Armenian Aluank', a district south-east of the Caucasus mountain range.

[AM 6115, AD 622/3]

Herakleios, 14th year

Chosroes, 36th year

Sergius, 15th year

Zacharias, 15th year

George, 5th year

In this year Chosroes, emperor of the Persians, appointed as his commander Sarablangas,¹ an energetic man filled with great vanity; and having entrusted him with the contingents of the so-called Chosroëgetai and Perozitai, sent him against Herakleios in Albania. They pushed ahead to the boundaries of Albania, but did not dare confront the emperor in battle; instead, they seized the passes that led to Persia in the belief that they would trap him. At the beginning of spring Herakleios set out from Albania and made his way towards Persia through level plains that provided an abundance of food, even if, by this lengthy detour, he was covering a great distance. Sarablangas, on the other hand, pushed ahead by the narrow and shorter way so as to anticipate him in Persian territory. 309

Herakleios exhorted his army with these words: 'Let us be aware, O brethren, that the Persian army, as it wanders through difficult country, is exhausting and debilitating its horses. As for us, let us hasten with all speed against Chosroes so that, falling upon him unexpectedly, we may throw him into confusion.' The troops, however, opposed this course, especially the Laz, Abasgian, and Iberian allies. For this reason they fell into misfortune. For Sarbarazas, too, had arrived with his troops, whom Chosroes had armed mightily and sent against Herakleios by way of Armenia. As for Sarablangas, he was following Herakleios from behind and did not engage him, expecting, as he did, to join Sarbarazas and then give battle. When

the Romans had been apprised of the onset of Sarbarazas, they were seized by timidity and fell at the emperor's feet, repenting with tears of their misguided disobedience, for they knew how great an evil it is when a servant does not yield to his master's wishes. And they said: 'Stretch out your hand, O lord, before we miserable ones perish. We obey you in whatever you command.' Then the emperor hastened to engage Sarablangas before the latter had been joined by the army of Sarbarazas and, having made many sorties against him both by night and by day, reduced him to a state of timidity. Leaving both of them in his rear, he pushed on with all speed against Chosroes. Now two Romans deserted to the Persians and persuaded them that the Romans were fleeing out of cowardice. Another rumour had also reached them, namely that Sain, the Persian commander, was coming to their help with another army. When Sarablangas and Sarbarazas learnt this, they strove to engage Herakleios in battle before Sain had arrived and transferred to himself the glory of victory. Trusting also the deserters, they moved against Herakleios and, when they drew near to him, encamped, intending to engage him in the morning. But Herakleios set out in the evening and marched all night, and when he had gone a long distance from them, he found a grassy plain and encamped in it. The barbarians, thinking that he was fleeing out of cowardice, pushed on in a disorderly manner so as to overtake him. But he met them and gave battle. He occupied a certain wooded hill and, gathering there his army, routed the barbarians with God's help and slew a multitude of them after pursuing them through the ravines. (Sarablangas fell, too, struck with a sword in his back.)² As these struggles were going on, Sain also arrived with his army, and the emperor routed him and slew many of his men, whilst the rest he scattered as they were fleeing, and he captured their camp equipment. Sarbarazas then joined forces with Sain and gathered together the barbarians who had survived. And, once again, they made plans to move against Herakleios. As for the emperor, he pushed on to the land of the Huns,³ through the rough and inaccessible places of their difficult country, while the barbarians followed him from behind. Now the Lazi and the Abasgians took fright; they broke their alliance with the Romans and returned to their own country. Sain was pleased at this and, together with Sarbaros, eagerly pressed on against Herakleios. The emperor gathered his troops and gave them courage by assuaging them with these words of exhortation: ||'Be not disturbed, O brethren, by the multitude (of the enemy). For when God wills it, one man will rout a thousand.||^b So let us sacrifice ourselves to God for the salvation of our brothers.

311 ||May we win the crown of martyrdom so that we may be praised in

the future^c and receive our recompense from God.' Having with these and many other words encouraged the army, he arranged the battle order with joyful countenance. The two sides faced each other across a short distance from morning until evening, but did not engage. When evening had fallen, the emperor continued his march, and again the barbarians pressed on behind him. Wishing to overtake him, they took another route, but fell into marshy ground, went astray, and experienced great danger. So the emperor crossed over and went by the regions of Persarmenia. That country being under Persian control, many men joined Sarbarazas and so increased his army. And when it was winter, the multitude dispersed in their own lands so as to take rest (in their houses). When Herakleios learnt of this, he decided to steal a battle by night.^d The winter, then, having set in, and Sarbaros not suspecting anything, he selected the strongest horses and the bravest soldiers and divided them into two. The first part he ordered to move ahead against Sarbaros, whilst he himself followed behind with the rest. So they hastened through the night and reached the village Salbanōn⁴ at the ninth hour of the night. The Persians who were there became aware of the attack: they rose up and rushed to resist, but the Romans slew all of them, except one who brought the news to Sarbaros. Rising up and mounting his horse, naked and unshod as he was, Sarbaros found his salvation in flight. His wives and the flower of the Persians, that is the commanders, satraps, and picked soldiers, were apprehended as they had climbed to the roofs of their houses and were preparing to fight. Herakleios brought them down by means of fire, and some he slew, others he burnt, whilst others were bound in fetters, so that nearly no one escaped except for Sarbaros. They took the arms of Sarbaros, namely his golden shield, his sword, lance, gold belt set with precious stones, and boots. When Herakleios had taken these things, he moved against the Persians who were scattered in the villages. These men, on learning of the flight of Sarbaros, also fled without restraint. He pursued them, killed or captured many of them, whilst the remainder returned to Persia in disgrace. As for the emperor, he joyfully collected his army and wintered in those parts.

312

^a Geo. Pisid. *Her.* iii, frg. 5.^b *Ibid.*, frg. 6a-β.^c *Ibid.*, frg. 6γ.^d *Ibid.*, frg. 9.

¹ 'The Panther of the Realm'. His identity is discussed by C. J. F. Dowsett, *Byz 21* (1951), 311-21 and his trans. of *Movsēs*, 81 n. 1. For the campaign of 625, which is very difficult to follow, see *Stratos*, i. 405 ff.

² This does not necessarily mean that he was killed. In *Movsēs*, 85 he turns up to relieve Tiflis (in 627).

³ According to Manandjan, *VizVrem* 3 (1950), 141, this should be corrected to Siunians (*Σύνων*). Cf. also Kulakovskij, *Istorija*, iii. 343-4.

⁴ This locality should be sought north of Lake Van and appears to correspond to Ahi in Sebeos, 82-3. Cf. Manandjan, *op. cit.* 143-4.

AM 6116 [AD 623/4]

Year of the divine Incarnation 616

Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 15th year

Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 37th year

Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 16th year

Zacharias, bishop of Jerusalem (22 years), 16th year

George, bishop of Alexandria (14 years), 6th year

In this year, on 1 March,¹ the emperor Herakleios collected his army and took counsel as to which road he should follow: for two roads lay before him, both narrow and difficult, one leading to Taranton,² the other to the land of Syria. And whereas the one to Taranton was superior, it lacked every kind of food supply, whereas the one to Syria that went over the Tauros provided a plentiful abundance of food. Everyone gave preference to the latter, even though it was steeper and covered with much snow. So, after traversing it with great toil, they reached in seven days the river Tigris,³ which they crossed and arrived at Martyropolis and Amida. The army and the captives rested there. From there the emperor was able to send letters to Byzantium in which he described all his actions, thus causing great joy in the City. As for Sarbaros, he collected his scattered army and went after him. The emperor picked a band of soldiers and sent them to guard the passes leading to his position; and ||sallying forth to the eastward passages, he moved to confront||^a Sarbaros. He crossed the Nymphios river⁴ and reached the Euphrates,⁵ where there was a pontoon bridge made of rope and boats. Sarbaros untied the ropes from one shore and shifted the whole bridge to the other. When the emperor came and was unable to cross by the bridge, he went by and found a ford which he safely traversed—an unexpected feat in the month of March—and so reached Samosata. Once again he went over the Tauros and arrived at Germanikeia;⁶ and, going by Adana,⁷ he came to the river Saros. Now Sarbaros stretched the bridge back to its former place and, crossing the Euphrates without hindrance, followed him from behind. The emperor crossed the bridge of the Saros⁸ and, finding a place to rest his army and horses, encamped there. Sarbaros, in the meantime, reached the opposite bank. He found the bridge and its forward bastions occupied by the

Romans, so he encamped. Now many of the Romans made disorderly sorties across the bridge and attacked the Persians, among whom they caused much slaughter. The emperor forbade them to sally forth indiscriminately lest the enemy found a means of entering the bridge and crossing it at the same time they did, but the army did not obey the emperor. Now Sarbaros set up ambushes and, feigning flight, drew many of the Romans to cross over in pursuit against the emperor's wish. He then turned round and routed them, and killed as many as he overtook outside the bridge—a punishment of their disobedience. When the emperor saw that the barbarians had broken ranks in pursuit and that many of the Romans who were standing upon the bastions were being slain, he moved against them. A giant of a man confronted the emperor in the middle of the bridge and attacked him, but the emperor struck him and threw him into the river. When this man had fallen, the barbarians turned to flight and, because of the narrowness of the bridge, jumped into the river like frogs,^b whilst others were being killed by the sword. But the bulk of the barbarians poured over the river bank: they shot arrows and resisted the passage of the Romans. The emperor did cross to the other side and bravely opposed the barbarians with a few men of his guard. He fought in a superhuman manner so that even Sarbaros was astonished and said (to) one Kosmas (a runaway Roman and an apostate) who was standing close to him: 'Do you see, O Kosmas, how boldly the Caesar stands in battle, how he fights alone against such a multitude and wards off blows like an anvil?'^c For he was recognized by his purple boots, and received many blows, although none (of a serious nature in this battle. And after they had fought this battle all day,) when evening came, they drew apart. Sarbaros became frightened and retreated in the night. As for the emperor, he collected his army and hastened to the city of Sebasteia. After crossing the river Halys,⁹ he spent the whole winter in that land.¹⁰

Chosroes in his rage sent emissaries to confiscate the treasure of all the churches that were under Persian rule. And he forced the Christians to convert to the religion of Nestorios so as to wound the emperor.

† Mamed, leader of the Arabs, 9 years.¹

^a Geo. Pisid. Her. iii, frg. 14.

^b Ibid., frg. 18.

^c Ibid., frg. 19.

¹ Presumably AD 626. The day of the month may have been drawn from the dispatch mentioned below. The geographical indications given in this entry are extremely confusing: see Stratos, i. 436 ff., ii. 900 ff.

² Taranta or Dalanda (modern Darende), west of Melitene (Malatya). For the site see Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, ii. 499 ff.

³ It is difficult to see how Herakleios, if he was coming from the area of Lake Van, would have crossed the Tigris before reaching Martyropolis (Silvan).

⁴ Modern Batman Su, east of Martyropolis.

⁵ If correct, this implies a westward retreat from a point in Arzanene, east of the Nymphios.

⁶ The Tauros does not lie between Samosata and Germanikeia (Maras).

⁷ Ramsay, *Geogr.* 311, wishes to correct Adana to Adata (between Melitene and Germanikeia). Cf. J. G. C. Anderson, *JHS* 17 (1897), 33-4.

⁸ It is usually assumed that the encounter took place at the great Roman bridge over the Saros at Adana, on which see Prok. *Aed.* v. 5. 8.

⁹ Sebasteia (Sivas) lies north of the Halys, which Herakleios would have had to cross in the first instance.

¹⁰ This indication appears incorrect. If Herakleios remained on the move starting 1 Mar. 626, he may have reached Sebasteia by late April, at least six months before winter. Besides, the siege of Constantinople, related under AM 6117, is securely dated to June-Aug. 626. The mistake may be due to the fact that Theoph. started the offensive against Persia one year too early (in 623) and so had extra time to fill.

315 [AM 6117, AD 624/5]

Herakleios, 16th year

Chosroes, 38th year

Sergius, 17th year

Zacharias, 17th year

George, 7th year

In this year Chosroes, emperor of Persia, made a new levy by conscripting strangers, citizens, and slaves whom he selected from every nation. He placed this picked body under the command of Sain and gave him, in addition, another 50,000 men chosen from the phalanx of Sarbaros. He called them the Golden Spearmen and sent them against the emperor. As for Sarbaros, he dispatched him with his remaining army against Constantinople¹ with a view to establishing an alliance between the western Huns (who are called Avars) and the Bulgars, Slavs, and Gepids, and so advancing on the City and laying siege to it. When the emperor learnt of this, he divided his army into three contingents: the first he sent to protect the City;² the second he entrusted to his own brother Theodore, whom he ordered to fight Sain; the third part he took himself and advanced to Lazica. During his stay there he invited the eastern Turks, who are called Chazars, to become his allies. Now Sain with his newly recruited army overtook the emperor's brother and prepared for battle. With God's help (by the mediation of the all-praised Theotokos),

when battle was joined a storm of hail fell unexpectedly on the barbarians and struck down many of them, whereas the Roman array enjoyed fair weather. So the Romans routed the Persians and slew a great multitude of them.³ When Chosroes learnt of this, he was angered at Sain. And Sain, because of his great despondency fell ill and died. By order of Chosroes his body was preserved in salt and conveyed to him; and, though it was dead, he subjected it to ill-treatment.

Now the Chazars broke through the Caspian Gates and invaded Persia, that is the land of Adraigan,⁴ under their commander Ziebel⁵ who was second in rank after the Chagan. And in all the lands they traversed they made the Persians captive and burnt the towns and villages. The emperor, too, set out from Lazica and joined them. When Ziebel saw him, he rushed to meet him, kissed his neck, and did obeisance to him, while the Persians were looking on from the town of Tiphilios.⁶ And the entire army of the Turks fell flat on the ground and, stretched out on their faces, revered the emperor with an honour that is unknown among alien nations. Likewise, their commanders climbed on rocks and fell flat in the same manner. Ziebel also brought before the emperor his adolescent son, and he took as much pleasure in the emperor's conversation as he was astonished by his appearance and wisdom. After picking 40,000 brave men, Ziebel gave them to the emperor as allies, while he himself returned to his own land. Taking these men along, the emperor advanced on Chosroes.

As for Sarbaros, he attacked Chalcedon, while the Avars approached the City by way of Thrace with a view to capturing it. They set in motion many engines against it and filled the gulf of the Horn with an immense multitude, beyond all number, whom they had brought from the Danube in carved boats. After investing the City by land and sea for ten days, they were vanquished by God's might and help and by the intercession of the immaculate Virgin, the Mother of God. Having lost great numbers, both on land and on sea, they shamefully returned to their country.⁷ Sarbaros, however, who was besieging Chalcedon, did not depart, but wintered there,⁸ laying waste and pillaging the regions and towns across the strait.

¹ Šahrvaraz reached Chalcedon several days before 29 June 626: *Chron. Pasch.* 716.

² The dispatch of a contingent to Constantinople is confirmed by Geo. Pisid. *Bell. avar.* 280-3.

³ Neither the place nor exact date of the battle is known. The army commanded by the emperor's brother appears to have reached the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus by Aug. 626: *Chron. Pasch.* 726.

⁴ According to de Boor, Theoph. may have originally written Adrabigan [Azerbaijan]. For the Chazar invasion see Movsēs, 81 ff. and Artamonov, *Istorija*, 145 ff.

⁵ His title was Jabgu- (or Djebu-) khagan and he was accompanied by his son, styled Šad: Movsēs, 83, 87–8.

⁶ Tiflis [Tbilisi]. For the siege see Movsēs, 85–6. Cf. Toumanoff, *Studies*, 391. A romantic version of the meeting of Herakleios with 'the lord of the Turks' in Nik. 12. 18 ff.

⁷ This account of the siege of Constantinople is remarkably short. For the events see esp. F. Barišić, *Byz* 24 (1954), 371–95 and now J. Howard-Johnston, 'The siege of Constantinople in 626', in C. Mango and G. Dagron, eds., *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, (Aldershot, 1995), 131–42. Our main sources are: *Chron. Pasch.* 716 ff., a contemporary account interrupted by a large lacuna at 724. 9; *Geo. Pisid. Bell. avar.*, on which see P. Speck, *Zufälliges zum Bellum Avaricum des Georgios Pisides*, MBM 24 (Munich, 1984); the homily of Theodore Synkellos, probably of 627, ed. L. Sternbach, *Analecta avarica*, *Rozprawy Akad. Umiejętności, Wydz. filol.*, ser. II/15 (Cracow, 1900), 298–320.

⁸ According to Theodore Synkellos, 313. 22, Šahrvaraz left Chalcedon a few days after the failure of the Avar attack, which appears more likely. He is said to have gone to Alexandria: Sebeos, 88.

317 AM 6118 [AD 625/6]

Year of the divine Incarnation 618

Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 17th year

Chosroes, emperor of the Persians (39 years), 39th year

Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 18th year

Zacharias, bishop of Jerusalem (22 years), 18th year

George, bishop of Alexandria (14 years), 8th year

In this year the emperor Herakleios, by invading Persia together with the Turks starting in the month of September¹—an unexpected move, since it was winter—threw Chosroes into a state of distraction when the news had reached him. But the Turks, in view of the winter and the constant attacks of the Persians, could not bear to toil together with the emperor and started, little by little, to slip away until all of them had left and returned home. Now the emperor addressed his troops, saying: 'Know, O brothers, that no one wishes to fight with us, except God and His ||Mother who bore Him without seed,||^a and this that He may show His might, (since salvation does not lie in the abundance of soldiers and weapons, but to those who trust in His mercy) He sends down His aid.'

As for Chosroes, he collected all his armies and appointed Razates² commander over them, a most warlike and brave man,

whom he sent against Herakleios. The emperor meanwhile was burning the towns and villages of Persia and putting to the sword the Persians he captured. On 9 October of the 15th indiction he reached the land of Chamaetha,³ where he rested his army for one week. As for Razates, he came to Gazakos, in the emperor's rear, and followed him, while the Romans, in front, were destroying the crops. ||Trailing behind, like a hungry dog,||^b he fed with difficulty on the emperor's crumbs. On 1 December the emperor reached the Great Zabas river, which he crossed and encamped near the town of Nineveh. Following him, Razates, too, came to the ford and, going another three miles downstream, found another ford which he crossed. The emperor sent out the commander Baanes with a small body of picked soldiers; the latter encountered a company of Persians and, after killing their captain, brought back his head and his sword, which was all of gold. He killed many more and made twenty-six captive, among whom was the sword-bearer of Razates. This man announced to the emperor that Razates was intending to give battle on orders from Chosroes, who had sent him 3,000 armed men; but these had not yet arrived. When the emperor had been informed of this, he sent ahead his camp equipment and himself followed, seeking a place in which to give battle before the 3,000 had joined the enemy. And when he had found a plain suitable for fighting, he addressed his troops and drew them up in battle order. Upon arriving there, Razates also drew up his army in three dense formations and advanced on the emperor. Battle was given on Saturday, 12 December.⁴ The emperor sallied forward in front of everyone and met the commander of the Persians, and, by God's might and the help of the Theotokos, threw him down; and those who had sallied forth with him were routed. Then the emperor met another Persian in combat and cast him down also. Yet a third assailed him and struck him with a spear, wounding his lip; but the emperor slew him, too. And when the trumpets had sounded, the two sides attacked each other and, as a violent battle was being waged, the emperor's tawny horse called Dorkon,⁵ was wounded in the thigh by some infantryman who struck it with a spear. It also received several blows of the sword on the face, but, wearing as it did a cataphract made of sinew, it was not hurt, nor were the blows effective. Razates fell in battle, as did the three divisional commanders of the Persians, nearly all of their officers, and the greater part of their army. As for the Romans, fifty were killed and a considerable number wounded, but they did not die, save for another ten. That battle was waged from morning until the 11th hour. The Romans captured twenty-eight standards of the Persians, not counting those that had been

318

319

broken, and, having despoiled the dead, took their corselets, helmets, and all their arms. And the two sides remained at a distance of two bowshots from one another, for there was no retreat. The Roman soldiers watered their horses at night and fed them. But the Persian horsemen stood until the 7th hour of the night over the bodies of their dead; and at the 8th hour of the night they set forth and returned to their camp; and taking it up, they went away and encamped in fear at the foot of a rugged mountain. The Romans took many gold swords and gold belts set with pearls, and the shield of Razates, which was all of gold and had 120 laminae, and his gold breastplate; and they brought in his caftan together with his head, and his bracelets and his gold saddle. And Barsamouses,⁶ the prince of the Iberians who are subject to Persia, was taken alive. (No one can remember such a battle being waged between Persians) and Romans inasmuch as it did not cease all day; and if the Romans won, they did so only by God's help.⁷

320 After encouraging his army, the emperor pushed on against Chosroes with a view to frightening him and making him recall Sarbaros from Byzantium [from Chalcedon].⁸ On 21 December the emperor was informed that the army of Razates—as much of it as had escaped from the battle—had been joined by the 3,000 men dispatched by Chosroes and had reached Nineveh in pursuit of him. After crossing the Great Zabas, the emperor (dispatched the turmarch George with 1,000 men to ride forward and seize the bridges of the Lesser Zabas) before Chosroes had become aware of it. After riding forty-eight miles, George seized the four bridges of the Lesser Zabas in the night⁹ and captured the Persians he found in the forts. On 23 December the emperor reached the bridges, crossed them, and encamped in the mansions of Iesdem;¹⁰ he rested both his army and his horses and celebrated the feast of Christ's Nativity in that place. When Chosroes was informed that the Romans had seized the bridges of the Lesser Zabas, he sent a message to the army that had been under Razates that they should try very hard to overtake the emperor so as to join him. Making haste, they crossed the Lesser Zabas in another place and overtook the emperor, in front of whom they now marched. As for the emperor, he came upon (a palace called Dezeridan¹¹, which he destroyed and burnt, while the Persians crossed the bridge of the river Tornas¹² and encamped there. The emperor came upon) a second palace of Chosroes called Rousa¹³ and this, too, he destroyed. He suspected that the enemy were going to fight him at the bridge of the river Tornas; but when they saw him, they abandoned the bridge and fled. So the emperor crossed without hindrance and reached another palace called

Beklal;¹⁴ here a hippodrome had been built, and he destroyed it. Several of the Armenians who accompanied the Persians came to the emperor (at night) and said: 'Chosroes with his elephants and his own army is encamped five miles on this side of the palace called Dastagerd,¹⁵ in a place called Barasroth,¹⁶ and he has given instructions that his forces should assemble there and fight you. There is a river there that is difficult to cross, and a narrow bridge, and many cramped spaces between buildings, and fetid streams.' After taking counsel with his officers and his army, the emperor remained in the palace of Beklal. He found therein in one enclosure 300 corn-fed ostriches, and in another about 500 corn-fed gazelles, and in another 100 corn-fed wild asses, and all of these he gave to his soldiers. And they celebrated 1 January there. They also found sheep, pigs, and oxen without number, and the whole army rested contentedly and gave glory to God. They caught the herdsmen of these cattle and were exactly informed by them that Chosroes had learnt on 23 December that the emperor had crossed the bridge of the Tomas¹⁷ and forthwith set out from the palace of Dastagerd (making all speed for Ctesiphon, and all the money he had in the palace he loaded on the elephants, camels, and mules that were in his service, and he wrote to the army of Razates that they should enter that same palace and the houses of the noblemen and take away anything they found therein. So the emperor sent one half of his army to Dastagerd), while he himself went by a different road to another palace called Bebdarch.¹⁸ This, too, they destroyed and burnt, and they thanked God for having wrought such wonders by the intercession of the Theotokos. ||For who had expected that Chosroes would flee||^c before the Roman emperor from his palace at Dastagerd and go off to Ctesiphon, when, for twenty-four years, he would not suffer to behold Ctesiphon, but had his royal residence at Dastagerd? In his palace of Dastagerd the Roman army found 300 Roman standards which the Persians had captured at different times. They also found the goods that had been left behind, namely a great quantity of aloes and big pieces of aloes wood, each weighing 70 or 80 lbs., much silk and pepper, more linen shirts than one could count, sugar, ginger, and many other goods. Others found silver, silken garments, woollen rugs, and woven carpets—a great quantity of them and very beautiful, but on account of their weight they burnt them all. They also burnt the tents of Chosroes and the porticoes he set up whenever he encamped in a plain, and many of his statues. They also found in this palace an infinite number of ostriches, gazelles, wild asses, peacocks, and pheasant, and in the hunting park huge live lions and tigers. Many of the captives from Edessa, Alexandria, and

323 other cities—a great throng of them—sought refuge with the emperor. The emperor celebrated at Dastagerd the feast of the Epiphany; he gladdened and restored his army while he destroyed the palaces of Chosroes. These priceless, wonderful and astonishing structures he demolished to the ground so that Chosroes might learn how great a pain the Romans had suffered when their cities were laid waste and burnt by him. Many of the palace *daitarii* were also arrested and, on being interrogated as to when Chosroes had departed from Dastagerd, they said: 'Nine days before your arrival he heard of your presence and secretly made a hole in the city wall near the palace. In this way he went out unhindered through the gardens, he with his wife and children, so there should not be a tumult in the city.' Indeed, neither his army was aware of it nor his noblemen until he had gone five miles, at which point he announced that they should follow him in the direction of Ctesiphon. And this man who was incapable of travelling five miles in one day, travelled twenty-five in his flight. His wives and children, who previously had not laid eyes on one another, now fled in disorder, one jostling the other. When night had fallen, Chosroes took shelter in the house of an insignificant farmer whose door barely let him through. When, later, Herakleios saw that door, he was amazed. In three days Chosroes reached Ctesiphon. Twenty-four years earlier, when he besieged Daras in the days of the Roman emperor Phokas,¹⁹ he had been given an oracle by his magicians and astrologers, namely that he would perish at the time he went to Ctesiphon; and although he would not suffer to go one mile in that direction from Dastagerd, he now went to Ctesiphon as he fled. But even there he did not dare stop; nay, he crossed the pontoon bridge over the river Tigris to the town on the other side, which is called Seleukeia by the Romans and Gouedeser²⁰ by the Persians. He deposited all his money there and remained there with his wife Seirem and three other women who were his daughters. His remaining wives and his many children he sent to a stronghold forty miles to the east.

324 ¶Now some Persians spoke slanderously to Chosroes concerning Sarbaros, namely that the latter was on the side of the Romans and railed at him. So he sent one of his sword-bearers to Chalcedon with an order to Kardarigas, Sarbaros' fellow-commander, in which he wrote that Kardarigas should kill Sarbaros and, taking along the Persian army, hasten to Persia to assist him. But the messenger who carried the letter was apprehended by the Romans in the area of Galatia. His captors, eluding the Persians, brought him to Byzantium and handed him over to the emperor's son.²¹ When the young emperor had ascertained the truth from the courier, he straight away

sent for Sarbaros, who came into the emperor's presence. The emperor handed him the letter addressed to Kardarigas and showed him the messenger. Sarbaros read the letter and, being satisfied of its truth, immediately changed sides and made a covenant with the emperor's son and the patriarch. He falsified Chosroes' letter by inserting in it the instruction that, along with himself, another four hundred satraps, commanders, tribunes, and centurions should be killed, and he cunningly replaced the seal on it. He then convened his commanders and Kardarigas himself and, after reading the letter, said to Kardarigas: 'Are you resolved to do this?' The commanders were filled with anger and renounced Chosroes, and they made a peaceful settlement with the emperor. After taking common counsel, they decided to depart from Chalcedon and return home without causing any damage. ^{ll^d22}

Now Herakleios wrote to Chosroes: ^{ll^e} 'I am pursuing you as I hasten towards peace. For it is not of my free will that I am burning Persia, but constrained by you. Let us, therefore, throw down our arms even now and embrace peace. Let us extinguish the fire before it consumes everything.' ^{ll^e} But Chosroes did not accept these proposals, and so the hatred of the Persian people grew against him. He conscripted all the retainers of his noblemen and all his servants and those of his wives and, having armed them, sent them to join the army of Razates and take a stand on the river Narbas, ²³ twelve miles from Ctesiphon. He commanded them that when the emperor had crossed the river, they should cut the pontoon bridge. As for the emperor, he set out from Dastagerd on 7 January and, after marching three days, encamped twelve miles from the river Narbas, where the Persian camp lay and where they had 200 elephants. The emperor sent George, turmarch of the Armeniacs, ²⁴ as far as the river to ascertain whether the Narbas had a ford. And when he had found that they had cut the bridges and that the Narbas had no ford, he returned to the emperor. Setting forth, the emperor came to Siazouros ²⁵ and, for the whole of the month of February, he went about burning the villages and the towns. In the month of March he came to a village called Barzan, ²⁶ where he spent seven days; and he dispatched the commander Mezezios ²⁷ on a foray. A certain Goundabousan, ²⁸ who was captain of a thousand men in the army of Sarbaros, went over to him together with five others, three of whom were captains and two officers of other rank; and he brought them to the emperor. This man Goundabousan announced some vital news to the emperor, saying that 'When Chosroes fled from Dastagerd and went to Ctesiphon and Seleukeia, he contracted dysentery and wanted to crown his son Merdasan ²⁹ who was born to Seirem. And

325

he crossed the river again and brought with him Merdasan along with Seirem and her other son Saliar.³⁰ As for his first-born son Siroes and his brothers and wives, he left them on the other side of the river. When Siroes was informed that Chosroes was intending to crown Merdasan, he was troubled and sent his foster-brother to Goundabousan with this message, "Come to the other side of the river that I may meet you." But Goundabousan was afraid to cross on account of Chosroes and declared to him, "Write me whatever it is you wish through your foster-brother." So Siroes wrote him the following: "You know how the Persian state has been destroyed by this evil man Chosroes, and now he intends to crown Merdasan and has scorned me, the first-born. If you tell the army that they should accept me, I shall increase their pay and make peace with the Roman emperor (and with the Turks), and we shall live in plenty. So strive with your men that I should become king. I will then promote and support all of you, and yourself in particular." I informed him through his foster-brother that I would speak to the army and strive to the best of my ability. And I spoke to twenty-two captains and won them over to my views, as well as many other officers and soldiers. I announced this to Siroes, who instructed me that on 23 March³¹ I should take some young regulars and meet him at the pontoon bridge of the Tigris river, present him to the army, and set forth against Chosroes. And, furthermore, that Siroes had with him the two sons of Sarbarazas, the son of Iesdem, the son of Aram, and many other sons of noblemen—a select company. If they succeed in killing Chosroes, well and good; but if they fail, all of them, including Siroes, will go over to the emperor. He sent me to you, O lord, because he feels ashamed before the Roman Empire; for, once upon a time, it saved Chosroes and, on his account, the land of the Romans has suffered many ills. Because of his ingratitude, he says, the emperor will have no reason to trust me either.'

Now the emperor sent this man back to Siroes with the message that he should open the prisons and bring out the Romans confined therein, and give them arms, and so move against Chosroes. Siroes obeyed the emperor and, after releasing the prisoners, attacked his parricide father Chosroes. The latter tried to escape, but failed and was captured. They bound him securely with iron fetters, his elbows behind his back, and hung iron weights on his feet and his neck, and so I cast him in the House of Darkness,³² which he himself had fortified and rebuilt to deposit his moneys therein, and they starved him by giving him a paltry amount of bread and water. For Siroes said, 'Let him eat the gold he collected in vain, on account of which he starved many men and made the world desolate.' He sent to

him the satraps that they might insult him and spit upon him, and he brought Mardesan, whom he had wished to crown, and slew him in his presence, and all his remaining children were killed in front of him, and he sent all his enemies that they might insult him, strike him, and spit upon him. After doing this for five days,³³ Siroes commanded that he should be killed with bow and arrows, and thus in slow pain he gave up his wicked soul. Then Siroes wrote to the emperor to give him the good tidings of the slaying of the foul Chosroes;³⁴ and after making with him a permanent peace, he handed back to him all the imprisoned Christians and the captives held in every part of Persia together with the patriarch Zacharias and the precious and life-giving Cross that had been taken from Jerusalem by Sarbarazas, when the latter captured Jerusalem.³⁵

^a Geo. Pisid. *Her.* iii, frg. 26.

^b *Ibid.*, frg. 29.

^c *Ibid.*, frg. 48.

^d Practically the same story in Mich. Syr. ii. 408-9; *Chr.* 1234, 181-2; Agapios, 201-2. Somewhat different in Nik. 12. 50 ff. Cf. also *Chr. Seert*, 220-1, which confirms that the messenger was captured in Galatia, and our remarks in *TM* 9 (1985), 107-9.

^e Geo. Pisid. *Her.* iii, frg. 50.

^f *Ibid.*, frg. 52.

¹ AD 626 according to Theoph. (ind. 15 given below). Seeing, however, that Chosroes was certainly killed in Feb. 628, the year must have been 627. Cf. also below, n. 4.

² Rāh-zādh: *Justi, Namenbuch*, 257-8; Rouzbihan in Syriac sources; Roč-Vehan or Ročveh ('the fortunate') in Sebeos, 83-4 and Movsēs, 89.

³ *Xvaithās* in Theoph. Sim. v. 8. 1, Syr. Hnāithā, north of Arbil. Cf. Minorsky, 'Atropatene', 244. Stratos, ii. 581, arguing on the basis of the distances involved, suggests that either Chamaetha should be sought elsewhere or 9 Oct. changed to 9 Nov.

⁴ 12 Dec. fell on a Saturday in 627.

⁵ 'The Gazelle.'

⁶ Vahram-Arsūša V of Gogarene. See Toumanoff, *Studies*, 263.

⁷ For the battle of Nineveh cf. Nik. 14 (imprecise); Sebeos, 84; Movsēs, 89. Short account in Mich. Syr. ii. 409; *Chr.* 1234, 183; Agapios, 204.

⁸ It is highly unlikely that Šahrvaraz was anywhere near Constantinople in Dec. 627. Note that Anast. 198-9, has merely 'imperator vero a se confortatum exercitum contra Chosrohen minabat, quatinus hunc deterreret', omitting all mention of Šahrvaraz.

⁹ Or, 'after riding 48 miles in the night, George seized the four bridges', etc. Stratos ii. 594, thinks that George could not have covered 48 miles (77 km.) in one night.

¹⁰ Yazdēn, the Christian treasurer of the Persian kingdom, who owned vast estates at Kerkuk, south of the Lesser Zab: Christensen, *Iran*, 451-2.

¹¹ Darzīndān or Darzanidan in Arabic sources, near Kufri-Salahiyyah, according to F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäol. Reise in Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, ii (Berlin, 1920), 88. Cf. O. Klima, *BSI* 22 (1961), 16-19.

¹² The Diyālā according to Sarre and Herzfeld, loc. cit. and J. Markwart,

Provincial Capitals, 59. H. C. Rawlinson, *JRGS* 10 (1841), 92-3, identifies the Tornas with the northern arm of the Nahrawan canal.

¹³ Ποσειδωνοσπόν in Evagr. vi. 21, p. 237. 15; Πησιωνχοσπόν in Theoph. Sim. v. 14. 7. Probably at Zengābād, north of the Diyālā river: Sarre and Herzfeld, loc. cit.

¹⁴ Djalūlā according to Sarre and Herzfeld, loc. cit.

¹⁵ The favourite residence of Khusro on the road from Ctesiphon to Hamadan, about 100 km. north-east of the capital. For the ruins see Sarre and Herzfeld, op. cit. 76 ff.

¹⁶ Barāzrūz, modern Beled-rūz: Minorsky, 'Atropatene', 247.

¹⁷ Or rather the Lesser Zab in the light of the preceding narrative: see Baynes, *United Service Mag.* 47 (1913), 673.

¹⁸ Unidentified: Sarre and Herzfeld, op. cit. 88. According to *Acta Anastasii Persae*, c. 22, p. 147, the army of Herakleios arrived at Dastagerd on 1 Feb, which Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 296 n. 1, corrects to 1 Jan. This solution is rejected by Flusin, *Anastase*, ii. 267 ff., who argues persuasively that the chronology of the *Acta* is correct, whereas Theophanes drops one month some time between the battle of Nineveh (12 Dec.) and late Feb. 628. In other words, Herakleios' advance was slower than described here, while his halt at Siarzur (about which Theophanes is very vague) was correspondingly shorter. Cf. below, nn. 31 and 34.

¹⁹ See AM 6098, n. 4.

²⁰ Vēh-Ardashēr, Arab. Bahurasir: Sarre and Herzfeld, op. cit. 48, 88; Christensen, *Iran*, 387-8; Markwart, *Provincial Capitals*, 102-3.

²¹ Herakleios Constantine.

²² This incident is misplaced. It pertains to the year 626 when Šahrvaraz was at Chalcedon.

²³ The Nahrawan canal, Ναββάν in *Chron. Pasch.* 731. 1.

²⁴ It is disputed whether this mention does or does not imply the existence by the year 628 of a *thema Armeniakon* (so accented after Lat. Armeniaci). For the former view see G. Ostrogorsky, *Byz* 23 (1953), 64-5, with some support from W. E. Kaegi, *Byz* 38 (1968), 273-7. For the latter view, A. Pertusi, *Berichte XI. Intern. Byzant.-Kongress* (Munich, 1958), 33.

²⁵ Šahrizūr, south-east of Sulaimaniyyah, Σιαρσοῦρα in *Chron. Pasch.* 732. 4.

²⁶ Called Barza by Arab geographers, modern Saqqiz, east of the Zagros range: Minorsky, 'Atropatene', 250-1, 253.

²⁷ Presumably Mžež Gnuni, 'le général de la région grecque': Sebeos, 91 ff.

²⁸ Aspad-Gušnasp: see Justi, *Namenbuch*, 120. Called Γουδοβάνσπας ὁ Παζεί in *Chron. Pasch.* 731. 8.

²⁹ Mardānšāh: Justi, *Namenbuch*, 196. Cf. *Khuz. Chr.* 25.

³⁰ Šahrīyar: Justi, *Namenbuch*, 174.

³¹ Presumably 23 Feb.

³² Called νέον καστέλλιον in *Chron. Pasch.* 728. 21; 'in domo viri cuiusdam cui nomen erat Mihraspend' in *Khuz. Chr.* 24; similarly Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 362; Maraspand in Movsēs, 92.

³³ *Chron. Pasch.* 729. 3 says that Chosroes was imprisoned four days (25-8 Feb.).

³⁴ The letter is preserved in part: *Chron. Pasch.* 735-7; new edn. by N. Oikonomides, *Byz 41* (1971) 269-81. *Chron. Pasch.* 727 ff. reproduces a dispatch of Herakleios, written on or soon after 8 Apr., which mentions a previous dispatch (now lost), sent from the camp near Ganzak on 15 Mar. (p. 730. 3), detailing the movements of the Roman army starting on 17 Oct. It would be tempting to assume that the narrative of Theoph. was based on the lost dispatch. There are, however, some serious difficulties. The preserved dispatch (that of Apr.) dates the uprising of Siroe to 24 Feb., his coronation to the 25th, and the execution of Khusro to the 28th; whereas Theoph., as already noted, informs us that in Mar. Herakleios, being at Barzan, learnt of the impending coup and encouraged Siroe to revolt.

³⁵ This is incorrect: see below, AM 6120.

AM 6119 [AD 626/7]

Year of the divine Incarnation 619

Herakleios, 18th year

Siroes, emperor the Persians (1 year), 1st year. (At which time also Moamed, leader of the Arabs, i.e. the Saracens, living under the Persians, was in his 6th year out of a total of 9)¹

Sergius, 19th year

Zacharias, 19th year

George, 9th year

In this year, peace having been concluded between the Persians and the Romans, the emperor sent his brother Theodore bearing letters and accompanied by emissaries of Siroes, emperor of Persia, with a view to sending back peacefully to Persia those Persians who were at Edessa, in Palestine, Jerusalem, and in other Roman towns: those were to cross Roman territory without harm.² Now the emperor, having defeated Persia in the course of six years, made peace in the seventh and returned with great joy to Constantinople,³ thereby fulfilling a certain mystical allegory: for God completed all of creation in six days^{||a} and called the seventh a day of rest. So the emperor also, after undergoing many toils for six years, returned in the seventh to the City amid peace and joy, and took his rest. When the people of the City had learnt of his coming, all of them, with unrestrained eagerness, went out to meet him^{||b} at Hiereia, together with the patriarch and the emperor Constantine, his son, holding olive branches and lights^{||c} and acclaiming him with tears of joy. Coming forward, his son fell at his feet and embraced him, and they both shed tears on the ground.^{||d} At the sight of this, all the people sent up to God hymns of thanksgiving. After receiving the emperor in this fashion, they entered the City dancing with joy.

328

^a Geo. Pisid. *Her.* iii, frg. 54a-β.^b *Ibid.*, frg. 54γ.^c *Ibid.*, frg. 54δ.^d *Ibid.*, frg. 54ε.

¹ *Chr.* 1234, 184 places the accession of Široe in the 19th year of Herakleios and the 7th of Muhammad.

² Theodore had to expel by force the Persian garrison at Edessa: *Mich. Syr.* ii. 409-10; *Chr.* 1234, 184-5; Agapios, 205-6.

³ The date of the emperor's return to Constantinople is uncertain. As we have seen, he was still at Ganzak in Apr. 628, from where he was intending to proceed to Armenia (*Chron. Pasch.* 734). Agapios, 452 ff. states that he spent the winter (of 628/9?) at Amida: cf. N. H. Baynes, *EHR* 27 (1912), 289 ff. He was certainly there at some point because he built a church at Amida: *Ps.-Dion. Chron.* 5. There is also an early tradition that he stopped at Caesarea and gave a fragment of the True Cross to the metropolitan John: John Mamikonian, tr. J.-R. Emine, *FHG* v/2: 380. The next reasonably certain date is July 629 when Herakleios met Šahrvaraz at Arabissos in Cappadocia: *Chr.* 724, 114. *Nik.* 19 states that Herakleios staged his triumphal return to Constantinople after the restoration of the True Cross at Jerusalem (Mar. 630). *Mich. Syr.* ii. 409-10 and *Chr.* 1234, 184-5 (which is fuller) imply that Herakleios proceeded directly to Syria by way of Tella (Constantina) and Edessa.

Pertusi in his edn. of *Geo. Pisid.* 233-4, argues that Herakleios came to Constantinople before 1 Jan. 629 and remained there until spring, but he is certainly wrong in connecting this visit with the processions described in *Cer.* ii. 28-29, pp. 628-30, which must be dated 1 and 4 Jan., ind. 12 (639), not ind. 2 (629) in spite of the reading of the MS. On the other hand, Pertusi may be right in saying that Novel IV of Herakleios of 21 Mar. 629, [ed. J. Konidaris, *Fontes Minores*, v (Frankfurt, 1982), 84 ff.] implies the emperor's presence in the capital.

AM 6120 [AD 627/8]

Year of the divine Incarnation 620

Herakleios, 19th year

Adeser, emperor of the Persians (7 months), 1st year

Sergius, 20th year

Zacharias, 20th year

George, 10th year

In this year, setting forth from the Imperial City in the early spring, the emperor proceeded to Jerusalem, taking with him the venerable and life-giving Cross so as to offer thanks to God.¹ When he had come to Tiberias, the Christians there accused a certain man called Benjamin of oppressing them. For he was very rich and received the emperor and his army. The emperor censured him, saying: 'For what reason do you oppress the Christians?' He replied, 'Because they are

enemies of my faith.' For he was a Jew. Then the emperor instructed him and, after converting him, had him baptized in the house of Eustathios of Neapolis, a Christian who also received the emperor.

On entering Jerusalem, the emperor reinstated the patriarch Zacharias² and restored the venerable and life-giving Cross to its proper place.³ After giving many thanks to God, he drove the Jews out of the Holy City and ordered that they should not have the right to come within three miles of the Holy City. And when he had reached Edessa, he restored the church to the orthodox: for, since the days of Chosroes, it had been held by the Nestorians.⁴ And when he came to Hierapolis,⁵ he was informed that Siroes, the emperor of the Persians, had died and that Adeser, his son, had succeeded to the empire of Persia.⁶ After the latter had ruled seven months, Sarbarazas rose up against him and, having smitten him, ruled over Persia for two months. But the Persians killed him and appointed queen the daughter of Chosroes, Borane, who ruled the Persian kingdom for seven months. She was succeeded by Hormisdas, who was driven out by the Saracens, and so the kingdom of Persia has remained under Arab sway to the present time.⁷

329

¹ This suggests that the True Cross had been taken to Constantinople, which was probably not the case. It is more likely that Herakleios took possession of it at Hierapolis: Mich. Syr. ii. 427; *Chr.* 1234, 186.

² An error: Zacharias had died in Persia. Cf. Flusin, *Anastase*, ii. 169. Modestus was probably appointed patriarch in Mar. 630 and died soon thereafter on 17 Dec.: G. Garitte, *Muséon*, 73 (1960), 132 n. 20; Flusin, *Anastase*, ii. 316.

³ MSS e and m read instead: 'When the emperor had entered Jerusalem, the patriarch Zacharias having died on his return to Palestine from captivity, and the holy Modestus, archimandrite of the monastery of St Theodosios, the one who rebuilt St Anastasia [i.e. the Anastasis] and holy Bethlehem—for these had been burnt by the Persians [*verb missing*]. Thereupon the emperor ordained the holy Modestus patriarch and drove out the Jews', etc. This version is closer to the truth, except that Modestus appears to have rebuilt, not the basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem, but the church of the Shepherds (Poimnion), one mile from that town: cf. Flusin, *Anastase*, ii. 176. The date of the restoration of the Cross has been much disputed, different scholars arguing for 628, 629, 630, and 631 respectively. The correct date is almost certainly 21 Mar. 630 (*Acta Anastasii Persae*, 12; Strategios, 54–5, also gives ind. 3 but, incorrectly, the 21st year of Herakleios). This is confirmed by the fact that Herakleios' dispatch announcing the event was received at Constantinople on the day of the resurrection of Lazarus (i.e. Saturday before Palm Sunday): Geo. Pisid. *In rest. S. Crucis*, 229, v. 104 ff. In 630 Easter fell on 8 Apr. and the day of Lazarus on 31 Mar., thus allowing ten days for the arrival of the letter. This

consideration rules out both 628 (Easter 27 Mar.) and 631 (Easter 24 Mar.). In 629 Easter fell on 16 Apr.. It is difficult to see why Baynes, *EHR* 27 (1912), 287-8, thought that a message could not have been conveyed from Jerusalem to Constantinople in ten days. It would certainly have gone by sea.

⁴ Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 411-12; *Chr.* 1234, 185. The cathedral of Edessa was then in the hands of the Jacobites.

⁵ See AM 6121.

⁶ Both Mich. Syr. ii. 410 and *Chr.* 1234, 186 record the death of Široe and the accession of Ardašir (Sept. 628) after Herakleios' visit to Edessa.

⁷ These indications are quite inaccurate, but correspond to those of Synkellos, 442. The accepted dates are (Nöldeke, *Tabari*, 432 ff.):

Kavad II Široe: 25 Feb.-Sept. 628

Ardašir III: Sept. 628-27 Apr. 630

Šahrvaraz: 27 Apr.-9 June 630

Boran: summer 630-winter 631

Various and Hormizd V: 631-2?

Yazdgerd III: 632/3-651/2.

Nik. 16-17 is even more confused in his sequence: Siroes, Kaboes (in reality one and the same person), Hormisdas, the latter's son, Sarbaros. Note that Theoph. did not follow the more accurate Syriac tradition as in Mich. Syr. ii. 410 and elsewhere.

AM 6121 [AD 628/9]

Year of the divine Incarnation 621

Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 20th year

Hormisdas, emperor of the Persians (11 years), 1st year

Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 21st year

Zacharias, bishop of Jerusalem (22 years), 21st year

George, bishop of Alexandria (14 years), 11th year

In this year, while the emperor Herakleios was at Hierapolis, the patriarch of the Jacobites, Athanasios, came to him.¹ This skilful and wicked man, who was filled with the cunning that is native to Syrians, took up with the emperor a discussion about religion, and Herakleios promised him that if he accepted the Council of Chalcedon, he would make him patriarch of Antioch. So he pretended to accept the council and confessed the two natures that are united in Christ, and he also enquired of the emperor concerning the energy and the wills, namely how these should be defined in Christ, double or single. The emperor was disconcerted by this novel language and wrote to Sergius, bishop of Constantinople; he also called in Kyros, bishop of Phasis, whom he questioned and found him

agreeing with Sergius on the one will and the one energy. For Sergius, being himself of Syrian origin, the son of Jacobite parents, confessed and propounded in writing one natural will and one energy in Christ. The emperor, being satisfied with the views of these two men, found that Athanasios, too, was in agreement with them. For the latter knew that if only one energy was recognized, one nature would thereby be acknowledged. Being assured in this matter, the emperor wrote the opinion of the two men to John, Pope of Rome,² but the latter did not accept their heresy. And when George of Alexandria had died,³ Kyros was sent to be bishop of Alexandria. He joined forces with Theodore, bishop of Pharan, and made that union writ in water, they, too, setting down one natural energy in Christ.⁴ These matters having followed such a course, the Council of Chalcedon and the catholic faith fell into great disrespect. For the Jacobites and the Theodosians⁵ boasted, saying: 'It is not we who have communicated with Chalcedon, but rather Chalcedon with us by confessing one nature of Christ through the one energy.'||^a At this juncture Sophronios was ordained bishop of Jerusalem and, having convened the bishops under his authority, anathematized the Monothelete doctrine and sent synodal letters to Sergius of Constantinople and John of Rome.||^{b6} When Herakleios had heard of this, he felt ashamed; on the one hand, he did not wish to cancel his own actions, while on the other he could not suffer the reproach. At this time, then, in the belief of doing a great deed, he published the so-called Edict,⁷ which prescribed that one should confess neither one nor two energies in Christ. When the sectaries of Severus had read this, they made a mockery of the catholic Church in taverns and baths, saying: 'The Chalcedonians, who formerly held the views of Nestorios, came to their senses and returned to the truth when they united with us in the one nature of Christ by way of the one energy. Now, however, repenting of what was right, they have lost on both counts by confessing neither one nor two energies in Christ.'||^c

||After the death of Sergius,⁸ Pyrros succeeded him in the see of Constantinople and impiously confirmed the doctrines of Sergius and Kyros. When Herakleios had died and his son Constantine became emperor, Pyrros along with Martina killed him by poison,⁹ and Heraklonas, Martina's son, was made emperor. But the Senate and the City drove out Pyrros for his impiety together with Martina and her son. And so Constans, Constantine's son, became emperor, while Paul, who was also a heretic, was ordained bishop of Constantinople.||^{d10} As for John, bishop of Rome, he convened a council of bishops and anathematized the Monothelete heresy.¹¹ Likewise, various bishops of Africa, Byzakion, Numidia, and

330

331

Mauritania gathered together and anathematized the Monophysites.¹² And when John of Rome had died, Theodore was ordained pope in his stead.¹³ ||Now, when Pyrrhos had come to Africa, he met the most holy father Maximus, who was venerable by reason of his monastic achievements, as well as the godly bishops who were there, who reproved and converted him¹⁴ and so sent him to Pope Theodore in Rome. He handed to the pope a declaration of orthodoxy and was received by him. But when he had departed from Rome and came to Ravenna, he returned to his own vomit like a dog.^e Upon learning this, Pope Theodore called together the full body of the Church and proceeded to the tomb of the foremost Apostle, where he asked for the holy chalice and, dripping some of Christ's life-giving blood into the ink, signed with his own hand the condemnation of Pyrrhos and those who communicated with him. When Pyrrhos had arrived at Constantinople, Paul having died, the daring heretics once again installed Pyrrhos in the bishop's throne of Constantinople. || After the death of Pope Theodore, the most holy Martin was appointed in Rome. And when Maximus had come to Rome from Africa and excited the zeal of Pope Martin, they convened a synod of 150 bishops and anathematized Sergius, Pyrrhos, Kyros, and Paul, while clearly proclaiming the two wills and energies of Christ our God¹⁵—this in the 9th year of Constans, grandson of Herakleios, indiction 8.¹⁵ On being informed of it, Constans was filled with anger and brought Martin and Maximus to Constantinople; and, after torturing them, he exiled them to Cherson and the Klimata.¹⁶ He also punished many of the western bishops. ||After Martin's exile, Agathon was ordained Pope of Rome, who, being moved by a divine zeal, also convened a holy synod and rejected the Monothelete heresy, while proclaiming the two wills and energies.¹⁷ And while the Church at that time was being troubled thus by emperors and impious priests, ||Amalek rose up in the desert, smiting us, the people of Christ,¹⁸ and there occurred the first terrible downfall of the Roman army, I mean the bloodshed at Gabithas,¹⁹ Hiermouchas,²⁰ and Dathesmos.²¹ After this came the fall of Palestine, Caesarea and Jerusalem, then the Egyptian disaster, followed by the capture of the islands between the continents and of all the Roman territory, by the complete loss of the Roman army and navy at Phoinix, and the devastation of all Christian peoples and lands, which did not cease until the persecutor of the Church had been miserably slain in Sicily. ||^f

^a Cf. Anast. Sin. *Sermo III*, 1. 20-65, Uthemann, 56-8. *V. Maximi*, PG 90: 76C-77C. ^b Cf. *V. Maximi*, 80A-B. ^c Cf. Anast. Sin. *Sermo III*, 1.

65-77, Uthemann, 58-9; V. Maximi, 80C-D. ^d Cf. V. Maximi, 81A-C.
^e 2 Pet. 2: 22. ^f Cf. Syn. Vetus, c. 138. ^g Cf. passage of same V. Maximi,
 ed. R. Devresse, *AnBoll* 46 (1928), 18 and comment thereon, p. 44. ^h Cf. V.
 Maximi, 108A. ⁱ Cf. Anast. Sin. *Sermo III*, 1. 85-101, Uthemann, 59-61.

¹ For this meeting see Mich. Syr. ii. 412; *Chr.* 1234, 186; *Chr. Seert*, 224.
 Anast. Sin. (as in note a) has it happen at Antioch.

² John IV (24 Dec. 640-12 Oct. 642). Dölger lists this letter as *Reg.* 215,
 but one may wonder whether John is mentioned here by mistake instead of
 Honorius I (625-38). Anast. Sin. *Sermo III*, Uthemann, 57, has Herakleios
 writing to Pope Martin (649-55)! Cf. also below, n. 6.

³ C.631.

⁴ On Theodore see V. Grumel, *ÉO* 27 (1928), 259 ff.; *DTC* xv (1946),
 279-82 (E. Amann); Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 25 ff. The union in question
 took place at Alexandria in 633: Mansi xi. 564C-568B.

⁵ Followers of Theodosios, Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria
 (535-66).

⁶ PG 87: 3148-3200; cf. Photios, *Bibl.*, cod. 231. The synodal letter was
 addressed to Sergius and Pope Honorius (not John).

⁷ The Ekthesis of 638 (Mansi x. 992-7), as shown by V. Grumel, *ÉO* 27
 (1928), 7-10.

⁸ 9 Dec. 638.

⁹ Cf. below, AM 6132.

¹⁰ Cf. below, AM 6133.

¹¹ In 640 or 641. Cf. *Syn. Vetus*, c. 137.

¹² *Ibid.*, cc. 133-6.

¹³ Theodore I (24 Nov. 642-14 May 649).

¹⁴ The disputation between Pyrros and Maximus (PG 91: 288 ff.) took
 place in July 645 (ind. 3).

¹⁵ The Lateran Council of 649.

¹⁶ The 'Regions' (*klimata*) were in the southern part of the Crimean
 peninsula. For references see *DAI* 323, s.v. Add I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 25 (1971),
 155-7; *DO Seals*, i. 182.

¹⁷ Pope Agathon (678-81). The council was held in 680. Cf. *Syn. Vetus*, c.
 140.

¹⁸ Instead of being smitten by the Chosen People, as the Amalekites are
 repeatedly in the OT (by Gideon, Saul, and David).

¹⁹ Al-Jābiya. Cf. AM 6125, n. 3.

²⁰ The Yarmūk, below called (dB 338. 8) *Τερμουχθās*. According to F.-M.
 Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* (Paris, 1933), i. 483 n. 3, the form
Τερμουχάν comes from the Arabic.

²¹ Anast. Sin. *Sermo III*, 1. 89 has τὴν Δαθεμών or Δαθενόν. Not men-
 tioned again by Theoph. Possibly refers to the village of Dāthin near Gaza,
 where the patrician Sergius was defeated in 634. Cf. Goeje, *Conquête*, 34;
 Donner, *Conquests*, 115; Kaegi, *Conquests*, 88 ff.

AM 6122 [AD 629/30]

Year of the divine Incarnation 622

Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 21st year

Mouamed, leader of the Arabs (9 years), 9th year
 Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 22nd year
 Zacharias, bishop of Jerusalem (22 years), 22nd year
 George, bishop of Alexandria (14 years), 12th year

333 In this year died Mouamed, the leader and false prophet of the Saracens, after appointing his kinsman Aboubacharos (to his chieftainship. ¹At the same time his repute spread abroad) and everyone was frightened. At the beginning of his advent the misguided Jews thought he was the Messiah who is awaited by them, so that some of their leaders joined him and accepted his religion while forsaking that of Moses, who saw God. Those who did so were ten in number, and they remained with him until his murder. ²But when they saw him eating camel meat, they realized that he was not the one they thought him to be, and were at a loss what to do; being afraid to abjure his religion, those wretched men taught him illicit things directed against us, Christians, and remained with him.

334 I consider it necessary to give an account of this man's origin. He was descended from a very widespread tribe, that of Ishmael, son of Abraham; for Nizaros, descendant of Ishmael, is recognized as the father of them all. He begot two sons, Moudaros and Rabias. Moudaros begot Kourasos, Kaisos, Themimes, Asados, and others unknown. ³All of them dwelt in the Midianite desert and kept cattle, themselves living in tents. There are also those farther away who are not of their tribe, but of that of Iektan, the so-called Amanites, that is Homerites. And some of them traded on their camels. Being destitute and an orphan, the aforesaid Mouamed decided to enter the service of a rich woman who was a relative of his, called Chadiga, as a hired worker with a view to trading by camel in Egypt and Palestine. Little by little he became bolder and ingratiated himself with that woman, who was a widow, took her as a wife, and gained possession of her camels and her substance. Whenever he came to Palestine he consorted with Jews and Christians and sought from them certain scriptural matters. He was also afflicted with epilepsy. When his wife became aware of this, she was greatly distressed, inasmuch as she, a noblewoman, had married a man such as he, who was not only poor, but also an epileptic. He tried deceitfully to placate her by saying, 'I keep seeing a vision of a certain angel called Gabriel, and being unable to bear his sight, I faint and fall down.' Now, she had a certain monk ⁴living there, a friend of hers (who had been exiled for his depraved doctrine), and she related everything to him, including the angel's name. Wishing to satisfy her, he said to her, 'He has spoken the truth, for this is the angel who is sent to all the prophets.' When she had heard the words of the

false monk, she was the first to believe in Mouamed and proclaimed to other women of her tribe that he was a prophet. Thus, the report spread from women to men, and first to Aboubacharos, whom he left as his successor. This heresy prevailed in the region of Ethribos,^{1b} in the last resort by war: at first secretly, for ten years, and by war another ten, and openly nine.⁵ He taught his subjects that he who kills an enemy or is killed by an enemy goes to Paradise; and he said that this paradise was one of carnal eating and drinking and intercourse with women, and had a river of wine, honey, and milk,^{1c} and that the women were not like the ones down here, but different ones, and that the intercourse was long-lasting and the pleasure continuous; and other things full of profligacy and stupidity; also that men should feel sympathy for one another and help those who are wronged.

In the same year, indiction 4, on 7 November,⁶ a son, David, was born to Herakleios in the East. On the same day was born Herakleios, the son of the younger Herakleios, who was also Constantine, son of the elder Herakleios; and he was baptized by the patriarch Sergius at Blachernai on 3 November, indiction 5.⁷

335

^a Cf. *Chr.* 1234, 187 (also 21st year of Herakleios, AG 943, after a 'reign' of ten years); *Chr.* 819, 7 (AG 942); Elias Nis. 63 (AH 11). ^b Borrowed with some abbreviation and a few changes (e.g. Khadij'a's adviser is called an Arian monk) by Geo. Mon. 697. 11-699. 10; *DAI* 14. 2-28 (from Geo. Mon.) and several later Byzantine authors. For the relation of *DAI* to Theoph. see J. B. Bury, *BZ* 15 (1906), 525 ff. This passage is certainly of eastern origin, but its source is unknown. Cf. *DAI*, Commentary, 70-1. Mich. Syr. ii. 403-5 and *Chr.* 1234, 178-80 give substantially different accounts of Muhammad. ^c Cf. Geo. Mon. 699, appar. (cod. P); *DAI* 14. 28-31.

¹ Muhammad died in 632.

² ἀχρι τῆς σφαγῆς αὐτοῦ, supported by Anast. (*usque ad caedem eius*). Note the variant φαγῆς (MSS e, f). Muhammad, of course, was not murdered. Besides, the sequence of thought appears to require something like 'until they had seen him taking food'. The reading φαγῆς is not appropriate unless it can mean the act of eating rather than 'food', the latter given by Du Cange, *Gloss.*, s.vv. φαγή, φαγι. Dr R. Hoyland has drawn our attention to *Chr.* 819, 7, which says of Muhammad, *primus fecit sacrificium, et comedendum imposuit Arabibus, praeter eorum morem*. The eating of camel is forbidden in Deut. 14: 7. The story of the rabbis, of whom only two embraced Islam sincerely, whereas the others pretended to do so, is found in the *Sīra* of Ibn Ishāq (d. 768), trans. A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad* (London, 1955), 239 ff., 246 ff.

³ These names correspond to Nizār, Mudar, Rabī'a, Quraish, Qais, Tamīm, and Asad. Discussion by L. I. Conrad, *ByzF* 15 (1990), 11 ff. Longer genealogy in *Chr.* 1234, 187-8. On genealogies see *EP*², s.v. 'Arab (Djazīrat al-)', 544 ff.

⁴ μοναχόν is changed to μοιχόν in codd. d, f, z and is so already in Anast.

209. 19 (*adulterum*). The legend of a Christian monk, variously called Sergius, Bahîrâ, or Nastûr, who was either the teacher of Muhammad or recognized him as a prophet, enjoyed a wide currency. See S. Gero in *Syrie colloque*, 47-58.

⁵ The durations given here, although presumably derived from an Arab source, do not agree with the Muslim tradition. See L. I. Conrad, *ByzF* 15 (1990), 18 ff.

⁶ AD 630.

⁷ AD 631.

AM 6123 [AD 630/I]

Year of the divine Incarnation 623

Herakleios, 22nd year

Aboubacharos, leader of the Arabs (3 years), 1st year

Sergius, 23rd year

Modestus, bishop of Jerusalem (2 years),¹ 1st year

George, 13th year

In this year the Persians rose up one against the other and fought an internecine war. At the same time the king of India sent gratulatory gifts to Herakleios on the occasion of his victory over Persia, namely pearls and a considerable number of precious stones.

Mouamed, who had died earlier,² had appointed four emirs to fight those members of the Arab nation who were Christian, and they came in front of a village called Mouchea,³ in which was stationed the *vicarius* Theodore, intending to fall upon the Arabs on the day when they sacrificed to their idols.⁴ The *vicarius*, on learning this from a certain Koraisite⁵ called Koutabas,⁶ who was in his pay, gathered all the soldiers of the desert guard and, after ascertaining from the Saracen the day and hour when they were intending to attack, himself attacked them at a village called Mothous, and killed three emirs and the bulk of their army. One emir, called Chaled, whom they call God's Sword,⁷ escaped. Now some of the neighbouring Arabs were receiving small payments from the emperors for guarding the approaches to the desert. At that time a certain eunuch arrived to distribute the wages of the soldiers, and when the Arabs came to receive their wages according to custom, the eunuch drove them away, saying, 'The emperor can barely pay his soldiers their wages, much less these dogs!' Distressed by this, the Arabs went over to their fellow-tribesmen, and it was they that led them to the rich country of Gaza, which is the gateway to the desert in the direction of Mount Sinai.⁸

336

¹ Incorrect: see AM 6120, n. 2. *Nik. Chron.* 126 gives him one year; Eutychios, *PG* III: 1091B, nine months.

² According to Arab tradition the expedition to Mu'ta (east of the southern end of the Dead Sea) took place in 629, well before Muhammad's death. See 'Mu'ta', *EI*¹ iii. 773-4 (F. Buhl); M. V. Krikov, *VizVrem* 40 (1979), 96-103; Donner, *Conquests*, 101 with n. 26, 103 with n. 39; Kaegi, *Conquests*, 71 ff.

³ Identification unclear: Ma'ab according to Goeje, *Conquête*, 6-7; Khirbat al-Mahna according to A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, i (Vienna, 1907), 152; Mu'an (Ma'n?) according to Krikov, *op. cit.*

⁴ The construction is ambiguous (τῆ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς εἰδολοθυσίας αὐτῶν). We believe Krikov, *op. cit.* 98, is right in saying that must refer to the Muslims irrespective of the nature of the sacrifice in question. We find it less likely that Theoph. is reproducing a Muslim tradition which referred to idolatrous Christian worship: so L. I. Conrad, *ByzF* 15 (1990), 23-6.

⁵ Κορασσηνός here and elsewhere.

⁶ Presumably Qutba.

⁷ Khālid b. al-Walīd surnamed Sayf Allah.

⁸ A different story involving the non-payment to Byzantine Arabs of 30 lbs. of gold by Sergius is told by Nik. 20.

AM 6124 [AD 631/2]

Year of the divine Incarnation 624

Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 23rd year

Aboubacharos, leader of the Arabs (3 years), 2nd year

Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 24th year

Modestus, bishop of Jerusalem (2 years), 2nd year

George, bishop of Alexandria (14 years), 14th year

|| In this year Aboubacharos sent four generals¹ who were conducted, as I said earlier, by the Arabs and so came and took Hera² and the whole territory of Gaza.³ At length, Sergius arrived with some difficulty with a few soldiers from Caesarea in Palestine. He gave battle and was the first to be killed along with his soldiers, who were 300.⁴ Taking many captives and much booty, the Arabs returned home after their brilliant victory.||^a

|| At the same time an earthquake occurred in Palestine; and there appeared a sign in the heavens called *dokites* in the direction of the south, foreboding the Arab conquest. It remained for thirty days, moving from south to north, and was sword-shaped.||^b

^a Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 413; *Chr.* 1234, 189-90. Both tell a similar story: Sergius, styled a patrician, raises a force of 5,000 including (or composed of) Samaritans, who defect; he escapes from battle, falls off his horse three times, then is killed. No mention of either Hera or Gaza. Condensed account in Agapios, 193-4, 208-9. ^b Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 414 (nearly the same text; earthquake in Sept. AG 945); Agapios, 194; Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 5 (AG 937, stars moving north, presaging Arab conquest); *Chr. Seert*, 260.

¹ According to Syriac sources (as in note a), the four generals were sent respectively against Palestine, Egypt, Persia, and the Christian Arabs. Arabic sources also speak of four commanders: Donner, *Conquests*, 113 ff. The traditional date is AH 13 (634).

² *Ḥpav*, accusative (var. *Ḥpav*, *Ran Anast.*). Caetani, *Annali*, ii. 1143 n. 1, thinks this is a confused reference to al-Hīra, the Lakhmid capital in Iraq, which was captured by Khālid b. al-Walīd in 633. Cf. *Chr. Seert*, 260. P. Meyerson, *TAPA* 95 (1964), 161, suggests that it refers to Pharan in Sinai. Kaegi, *Conquests*, 90, takes it to mean simply 'camp' (hīra), i.e. one occupied by Arab guards in the neighbourhood of Gaza. See also L. I. Conrad, *ByzF* 15 (1990), 30.

³ Not Gaza itself, which was taken in June/July 637: A. Guillou, *BCH* 81 (1957), 396-404.

⁴ Possibly he had 300 Romans, the rest being Samaritans. The death of Sergios (called a *candidatus*) is mentioned in *Doctr. Jacobi*, v. 16, and, rather obscurely, by Nik. 20. 11, who calls him *Σέρργιος ὁ κατὰ Νικήταν*, if that is, indeed, the same person.

[AM 6125, AD 632/3]

Herakleios, 24th year

Aboubacharos, 3rd year

Sergius, 25th year

Sophronios, bishop of Jerusalem (3 years), 1st year¹

Kyros, bishop of Alexandria (10 years), 1st year

337

|| In this year Aboubacharos died after being emir two and a half years, and Oumaros succeeded to the power. He (sent an expedition against Arabia)² and took the city of Bostra as well as other cities.||^a And they advanced as far as Gabitha.³ Theodore, the brother of the emperor Herakleios, engaged them, but was defeated and came to the emperor at Edessa.⁴ The emperor appointed another commander called Baanes and sent Theodore the *sakellarios* at the head of a Roman army against the Arabs.⁵ When he came to Emesa,⁶ he met a multitude of Saracens whom he slew together with their emir, and drove the rest as far as Damascus; and he encamped there by the river Bardanesios.⁷ As for Herakleios, he abandoned Syria in despair⁸ and, taking the Holy Cross from Jerusalem, proceeded to Constantinople. He diverted Baanes and Theodore the *sakellarios* from Damascus to Emesa at the head of an army of 40,000,⁹ and they pursued the Arabs from Emesa to Damascus.

^a Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 417, AG 946, AH 13, 24th year of Herakleios (nearly the same as Theoph., except that AbūBakr is given a reign of 2 years); *Chr.* 1234, 192 (AbūBakr 2 years).

¹ Sophronios became patriarch of Jerusalem early in 634: Schönborn, 85.
² i.e. the Roman province of that name. Bostra was taken in 634 according to some Arab sources: Donner, *Conquests*, 129.

³ Al-Jābiya. Also mentioned by Nik. 20. 27. The Syriac fragment, ed. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 29 (1875), 76 ff.; tr. Chabot. *CSCO*, Scr. Syri, 3rd ser. 4 (1904), 60, associates Gabita with the battle of the Yarmūk (636). So does Mich. Syr. ii. 420. See the map in Kaegi, *Conquests*, 113.

⁴ The defeat of Theodore is told very differently by Mich. Syr. ii. 418; *Chr.* 1234, 190-1 (fuller than Michael). He was one of two commanders at the battle of Ajnādain, an engagement not mentioned in Greek sources by that name. On its situation see Kaegi, *Conquests*, 98.

⁵ The construction is unclear (ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς προχειρίζεται ἕτερον στρατηγόν, ὀνόματι Βαάνην, καὶ Θεόδωρον σακελλάριον . . . πέμπει κατὰ Ἀράβων). This can mean either that Theodore alone or that Baanes together with Theodore were sent against the Arabs. Kedr. i. 745 understood it in the former sense (τὸν δὲ σακελλάριον, etc.). Cf. Goeje, *Conquête*, 84-5, who proposes various emendations of this passage.

⁶ According to the Syriac fragment, Emesa had capitulated in Jan. 635: Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 29 (1875), 78. The same document, p. 79, refers to the Roman army pursuing the Arabs in the region of Emesa.

⁷ The Baradā Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 420: 'le fleuve Farfar, que les Arabes appellent Bardan'. It is difficult to equate this Roman success with any event known from Arabic sources. Perhaps it refers to the engagement of Merdj as-Soffar near Damascus in which Khālid b. Sa'īd was killed. See Goeje, *Conquête*, 78 ff.

⁸ The departure of Herakleios, when he uttered the famous exclamation, 'Farewell, Syria!' (Mich. Syr. ii. 424; *Chr.* 1234, 196), would more naturally have taken place after the battle of the Yarmūk rather than the previous year, when the considerable army he had raised was as yet undefeated.

⁹ De Boor prints ἔχοντας στρατόν from Anast.'s *cum haberent*, in preference to ἔχοντα (x, z). This agrees with the statement under AM 6126 that the combined force of the two generals was 40,000. The movements of Baanes and Theodore are difficult to follow at this juncture.

AM 6126 [AD 633/4]

Year of the divine Incarnation 626

Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 25th year

Oumaros, leader of the Arabs (12 years), 1st year

Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 26th year

Sophronios, bishop of Jerusalem (3 years), 2nd year

Kyros, bishop of Alexandria (10 years), 2nd year

|| In this year the Saracens—an enormous multitude of them—(setting out from) Arabia, made an expedition to the region of Damascus.¹

338

When Baanes had learnt of this, he sent a message to the imperial *sakellarios*, asking the latter to come with his army to his help, seeing that the Arabs were very numerous. So the *sakellarios* joined Baanes and, setting forth from Emesa, they met the Arabs. Battle was given and, on the first day, which was a Tuesday, the 23rd of the month Loos,² the men of the *sakellarios* were defeated. Now the soldiers of Baanes rebelled and proclaimed Baanes emperor, while they abjured Herakleios. Then the men of the *sakellarios* withdrew, and the Saracens, seizing this opportunity, joined battle. And as a south wind was blowing in the direction of the Romans, they could not face the enemy on account of the dust and were defeated. Casting themselves into the narrows of the river Hiermouchthas, they all perished, the army of both generals numbering 40,000.³ Having won this brilliant victory, the Saracens came to Damascus and captured it⁴ as well as the country of Phoenicia, and they settled there and made an expedition against Egypt.

339

¶(When Kyros, the bishop of Alexandria, had been informed of their onset, he took measures and, fearing their rapacity, concluded a treaty with them, promising that Egypt would pay them every year 200,000 denarii⁵ and send them gold in respect of the appointed delay. By providing these sums for three years, he spared Egypt from disaster.) Now Kyros was accused before the emperor of giving to the Saracens the gold of Egypt. The emperor, in anger, sent a message to recall him and appointed a certain Manuel, an Armenian by origin, as *augustalis*. At the end of the year the Saracen tribute collectors came to receive the gold, but Manuel drove them away empty-handed, saying, 'I am not unarmed like Kyros that I should pay you tribute. Nay, I am armed.' When these men had departed, the Saracens immediately took up arms against Egypt and, after joining battle with Manuel, routed him. He took refuge in Alexandria with a few men. Then the Saracens imposed taxes on Egypt. When Herakleios had heard of these events, he dispatched Kyros to persuade the Saracens to depart from Egypt according to the former treaty. So Kyros went to the camp of the Saracens and offered many excuses, saying he was innocent of the transgression and urging them, if they so wished, to confirm the former accord by oath. The Saracens, however, were not satisfied and said to the bishop, 'Are you able to swallow that enormous pillar?' He replied, 'That is impossible.' To which they said, 'Nor is it possible for us to depart from Egypt at this time.'⁶

^a Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 420-1 (some details different, but basically the same account); Chr. 1234, 195-6 speaks of two battles, at the second one of which a Roman army of 300,000, led by three commanders was defeated.

^b Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 425; Chr.

1234, 197-8 adds a story about the role of the Monophysite patriarch Benjamin in facilitating the Arab conquest. Cf. also Agaprios, 211-14.

¹ Note that the verb *ἐπεστράτευσαν* is an emendation (*ἐστράτευσαν* codd.) and (*καταλιπόντες*) an addition, both from Geo. Mon. 707 (*ἐπιστρατεύσαντες οἱ Ἀραβες . . . καὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν καταλιπόντες*, etc.).

² July in the Macedonian calendar. The day of the week corresponds to AD 636.

³ For the battle of the Yarmūk see Goeje, *Conquête*, 103 ff.; Donner, *Conquests*, 133 ff.; Kaegi, *Conquests*, 112 ff.

⁴ Elias Nis. 63 dates the capture of Damascus to Radjab, AH 14; *Chr. 819*, 7 to AG 945.

⁵ De Boor by mistake prints 120,000 (the passage being supplied from Anast., who has *ducenta milia*). The use of the term 'denarii' (*dīnar*) betrays the Oriental source.

⁶ The story of Kyros, given very differently by Nik. 23, 26, is hopelessly confused. Butler, *Conquest*, 207-9, 261-4, 481-2, 526 ff., argues that the report of the tribute paid by Kyros to stave off the conquest of Egypt is a myth; that he made an offer of tribute only during the siege of Babylon (Sept. 640) and was recalled to Constantinople at the end of that year; that he returned to Egypt in Sept. 641. On the expedition of Manuel (late in 645), *ibid.* 469 ff. See also P. M. Fraser's additional notes, pp. lxxviii ff.

AM 6127 [AD 634/5]

Year of the divine Incarnation 627

Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 26th year

Oumaros, leader of the Arabs (12 years), 2nd year

Sergius, bishop of Constantinople (29 years), 27th year

Sophronios, bishop of Jerusalem (3 years), 3rd year

Kyros, bishop of Alexandria (10 years), 3rd year

|| In this year Oumaros invaded Palestine and, after investing the Holy City for two years, took it by capitulation;¹ for Sophronios, the bishop of Jerusalem, received a promise of immunity for the whole of Palestine. Oumaros entered the Holy City dressed in filthy garments of camel-hair and, showing a devilish pretence, sought the Temple of the Jews—the one built by Solomon—that he might make it a place of worship for his own blasphemous religion. Seeing this, Sophronios said, 'Verily, this is the abomination of desolation standing in a holy place, as has been spoken through the prophet Daniel.'² And with many tears the defender of piety bewailed the Christian people. While Oumaros was there, the patriarch begged him to receive from him a kerchief and a garment to put on, but he would not suffer to wear them. At length, he persuaded him to put them on until his clothes

were washed, and then he returned them to Sophronios and put on his own.^{1b} Thereupon Sophronios died² after adorning the Church of Jerusalem by word and deed and struggling against the Monothelete heresy of Herakleios and his companions Sergius and Pyrros.

|| In the same year Oumaros sent Iad³ to Syria and he made all of Syria subject to the Saracens.^{1c}

^a Dan. 11: 31; cf. Mt. 24: 15; Mk. 13: 14. ^b Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 425-6 (AG 948, AH 15, 26th year of Herakleios); Chr. 1234, 199-200 (AG 946, AH 15, 46th (sic) year of Herakleios); Agapios, 215. ^c Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 426 ('Iyād not mentioned); Chr. 1234, 200 (presumably under AH 19); Agapios, 216 (mentioning 'ābbād b. 'Āsim instead of Iyād).

¹ Jerusalem is usually said to have been taken in Feb. 638, but there is serious evidence that it was in Arab hands by Dec. 637. See A. Guillou, *BCH* 81 (1957), 401.

² According to Schönborn, 97 n. 136, Sophronios died on 11 Mar. 639.

³ 'Iyād b. Ghanm al-Fihri.

340 [AM 6128, AD 635/6]

Herakleios, 27th year
Oumaros, 3rd year
Sergius, 28th year
Kyros, 4th year

|| In this year John surnamed Kataias, the governor of Osrhoene,¹ came to Iad at Chalkis and covenanted to pay him every year 100,000 *solidi* on condition that he would not cross the Euphrates either peacefully or by force of arms as long as that amount of gold was paid to him.² Thereupon John returned to Edessa and, having collected the annual tax, sent it to Iad. When Herakleios had heard of this, he judged John to be guilty for having done such a thing without the emperor's knowledge; and, having recalled him, condemned him to exile. In his stead he appointed a certain general called Ptolemaios.^{1a3}

^a Cf. Chr. 1234, 200 (John given no surname); Mich. Syr. ii. 426 (Ptolemy not mentioned); Agapios, 216 (Byzantine governor of Mesopotamia called Paul, replaced by Ptolemy).

¹ ἐπίτροπος. His exact title is unclear. Cf. *PLRE* iii. 703, Ioannes 241.

² For the truce concluded at Chalkis cf. Kaegi, *Conquests*, 159-60. The expression 'peacefully or by force of arms' corresponds to the Arabic formula *sulhan—'anwatan*.

³ *PLRE* iii. 1070, Ptolemaeus 7. For his seal see Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no. 200.

[AM 6129, AD 636/7]

Herakleios, 28th year
 Oumaros, 4th year
 Sergios, 29th year
 Kyros, 5th year

|| In this year the Arabs captured Antioch. Mauias¹ was appointed by Oumaros commander and emir of all the territory under the Saracens, from Egypt to the Euphrates.||^a

^a Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 200 (presumably under AH 20), Agapios, 216–17; not in Mich. Syr.

¹ Mu'awiya b. Abi Sufyan.

AM 6130 [AD 637/8]

Year of the divine Incarnation 630
 Herakleios, emperor of the Romans (31 years), 29th year
 Oumaros, leader of the Arabs (12 years), 5th year
 Pyrros, bishop of Constantinople (3 years), 1st year¹
 Kyros, bishop of Alexandria (10 years), 6th year

|| In this year Iad crossed the Euphrates with his whole army and reached Edessa. The Edessenes opened their gates and were given terms, including their territory, their military commander, and the Romans who were with him. The Saracens went on to Constantia,² which they besieged and took by war and killed 300 Romans. From there they went on to Daras, which they also took by war and slew many people therein. In this way Iad captured all of Mesopotamia.||^a

^a Cf. *Chr. 1234*, 200–1, AG 951, with further details; Mich. Syr. ii. 426, less detailed (same AG, AH 18, 27th year of Herakleios, 6th of 'Umar); Ps.-Dion. *Chron.* 6 (invasion of Mesopotamia in AG 948, capture of Dara by capitulation in AG 952); Elias Nis. 64 (capture of Edessa in AH 16, of Tella and Amida in AH 18).

¹ Ordained 20 Dec. 638: Van Dieten, *Patriarchen*, 58.

² More correctly Constantina (Tella, modern Viranşehir).

[AM 6131, AD 638/9]

Herakleios, 30th year
 Oumaros, 6th year
 Pyrros, 2nd year
 Kyros, 7th year

||In this year the Saracens invaded Persia. They gave battle and utterly defeated the Persians, whom they subjugated entirely. Hormisdas, emperor of Persia, took to flight and, abandoning his palace, made for the innermost part of Persia. The Saracens on their part captured the daughters of Chosroes and all the royal equipment, and these were brought to Oumaros.||^a

||At the same time Oumaros ordered a census to be made of all the inhabited territory under his rule. The census embraced people, beasts, and plants.||^b

^a Source unclear. The end of the Persian Empire is described by Mich. Syr. ii. 423-4, 430 and, differently, in *Chr.* 1234, 193-4, 213 (which does specify that the Arabs, after taking Ctesiphon, *eius thesauros et divitias tulerunt, cum familia regis et familiis optimatum*). The last king of Persia was, of course, Yazdgerd. ^b Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 426, AG 951; not in *Chr.* 1234.

[AM 6132, AD 639/40]

Herakleios, 31st year

Oumaros, 7th year

Pyrros, 3rd year

Kyros, 8th year

||In this year, in the month of March, indiction 14, the emperor Herakleios died of dropsy after a reign of 30 years and 10 months.¹ After him, his son Constantine reigned 4 months and died after being poisoned by his stepmother Martina and the patriarch Pyrros.² And so Heraklonas, Martina's son, became emperor together with his mother Martina.||^a

^a Cf. Mich. Syr. ii. 426, *Chr.* 1234, 203. 16-23 (both very close to Theoph.), *Chr. Seert*, 308-9.

¹ Read 5 months as in the Syriac sources. Nik. 27 implies that Herakleios died on 11 Feb. 641. The *Chr. Altinate* gives 11 Jan., which has been accepted by P. Grierson, *DOP* 16 (1962), 48. Stratos, iii. 162, 231-2, returns to Feb. Nik. 29. 6 says that Constantine III survived his father by 103 days, which means that he died on 24 May if Herakleios died on 11 Feb.

² It is more likely that Constantine died of natural causes. See J. Kaestner, *De imperio Constantini III* (Leipzig, 1907), 13.

[AM 6133, AD 640/1]

Heraklonas, emperor of the Romans (6 months), 1st year

Oumaros, 8th year