

A HISTORY
OF THE
LATER ROMAN EMPIRE

FROM ARCADIUS TO IRENE

(395 A.D. TO 800 A.D.)

BY
J. B. BURY, M.A.

VOL. II

LIST OF CALIPHS (632-800 A.D.)

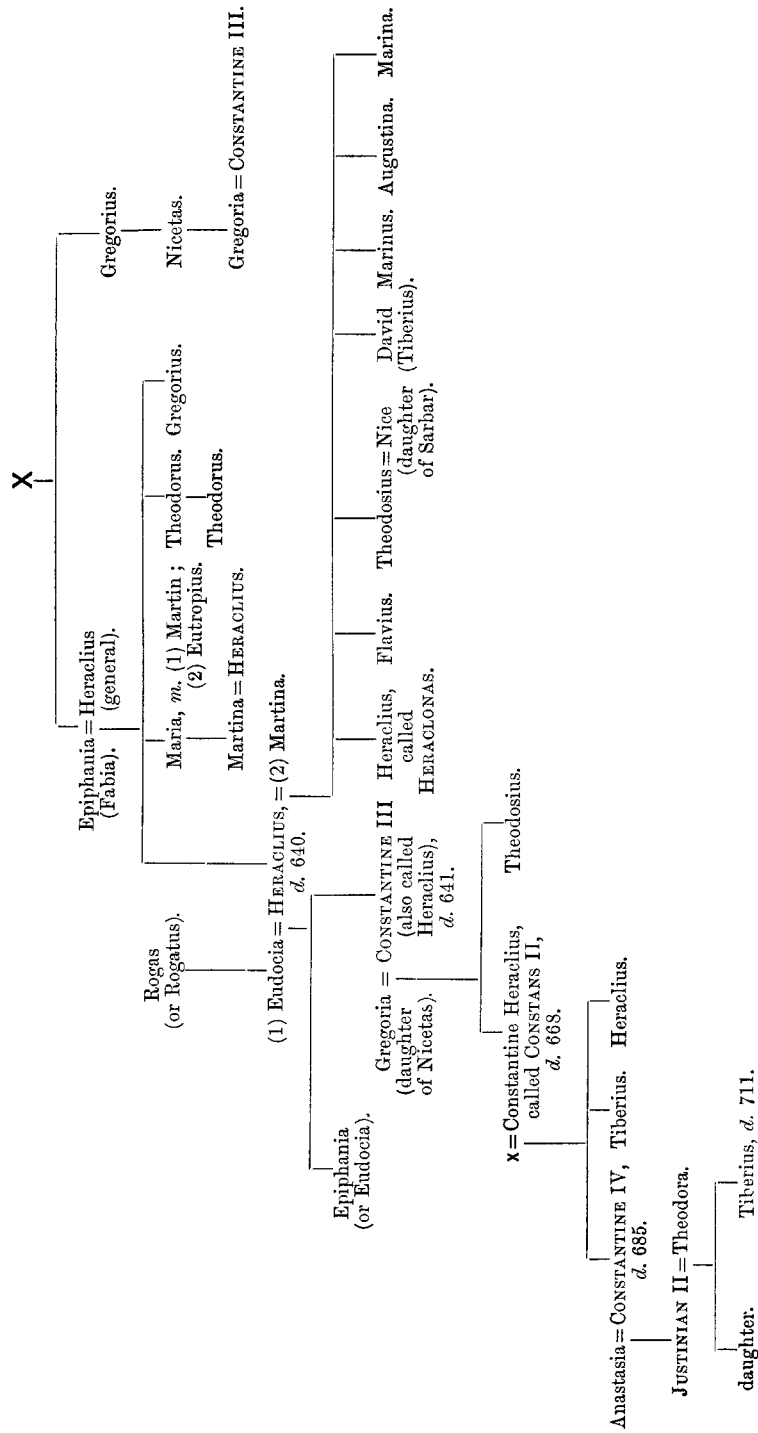
	A. D.
Abu Bekr	632
Omar I	634
Othman	644
Muaviah I }	656
Ali }	
Muaviah I	661
Yezid I	680
Muaviah II	683
Mervan I	683
Abd Almalik	685
Welid I	705
Suleiman	715
Omar II	717
Yezid II	720
Hischam	724
Welid II	743
Yezid III	744
Mervan II	744

End of Omeyyad dynasty in 750.

ABBASID DYNASTY.

Abd Allah (Abu-l-Abbas)	750
Abu Djafar Manssur	754
Mahdi	775
Hadi	785
Harun Arraschid	786

LONDON 1889,



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE FROM THE ACCESSION
OF JUSTIN II, 565, TO THE DEATH OF
IRENE, 802

A.D.	INDICTION.	A.M.	IMPERIAL ACCESSIONS.	EVENTS.
565	13-14	6057-8	Justin II.	Embassy of Avars arrives at Constantinople.
567	15-1	6059-60		Lombards and Avars overthrow Gepid kingdom.
568	1-2	6060-1		Lombards enter Italy.
569	2-3	6061-2		Embassy of Turks to Constantinople.
571	4-5	6063-4		Duchy of Beneventum founded.
572	5-6	6064-5		War with Persia begins. Campaign of Marcian.
573	6-7	6065-6		Roman victory at Sargathon. Persians invade Syria. Death of Alboin.
574	7-8	6066-7		Daras taken by Persians. Tiberius defeated by Avars. Tiberius made Caesar and regent.
575	8-9	6067-8		Peace for three years with Persia (except in Persarmenia).
576	9-10	6068-9		Chosroes defeated near Melitene.
577	10-11	6069-70		Slaves invade Illyricum and Thrace, and settle in Roman territory. Maurice invades Arzanene and Cordyene (date uncertain).
578	11-12	6070-1	Tiberius II.	
579	12-13	6071-2		Death of Chosroes Nushirvan.
581	14-15	6073-4		Sirmium lost to the Avars. Treaty with Avars. Roman victory at Constantina.
582	15-1	6074-5	Maurice.	

A.D.	INDICTION.	A.M.	IMPERIAL ACCESSIONS.	EVENTS.
583	1-2	6075-6		Avars seize Singidunum, etc. Battle of the Nymphius.
584	2-3	6076-7		Treaty with Avars. Autharis, king of Lombards. Death of Chilperic. Revolt of Hermenigild against Leovigild.
585	3-4	6077-8		Birth of the prince Theodosius.
586	4-5	6078-9		Victory of Romans (under Philippicus) at Solachon. Avars harry Moesia.
587	5-6	6079-80		Campaign of Comentiolus against Avars.
588	6-7	6080-1		Disaffection in eastern army.
589	7-8	6081-2		Martyropolis taken by Persians. Comentiolus wins a battle near Nisibis.
590	8-9	6082-3		Varahran rebels and becomes king of Persia. Monte Cassino rendered desolate. Agilulf king of Lombards. Gregory (the Great) becomes Pope.
591	9-10	6083-4		Maurice restores Chosroes II to the Persian throne. Peace with Persia. Avars invade Thrace.
592	10-11	6084-5		Expedition of Priscus against the Slaves.
593	11-12	6085-6		Campaign of Peter.
596	14-15	6088-9		Mission of St. Augustine to Britain.
597	15-1	6089-90		Peter's expedition against Slaves. Avars besiege Thessalonica.
598	1-2	6090-1		Avars besiege Singidunum and invade Dalmatia.
599	2-3	6091-2		Avars invade Moesia. Peace between Lombards and exarchate.
600	3-4	6092-3		Great victories of Priscus over the Avars.
602	5-6	6094-5	Phocas.	Gudwin's campaign against Slaves. Revolution, and overthrow of Maurice.
603	6-7	6095-6		Revolt of Narses.
604	7-8	6096-7		Death of Pope Gregory. Treaty with Avars.
605	8-9	6097-8		Conspiracy against Phocas.
606	9-10	6098-9		Daras taken by Persians. Invasion of Syria.
607	10-11	6099-100		Persians invade the Empire.
608	11-12	6100-1		Persians advance to Chalcedon.
609	12-13	6101-2		Revolt of Africa and of Alexandria.

A.D.	INDICTION.	A.M.	IMPERIAL ACCESSIONS.	EVENTS.
610	13-14	6102-3	Heraclius.	Revolt of Jews in Antioch. Phocas overthrown by Heraclius.
611	14-15	6103-4		Birth of Epiphania.
612	15-1	6104-5		Birth of Constantine.
614	2-3	6106-7		Persians invade Syria and take Damascus. Treaty of Heraclius with Sisinthus of Spain. Palestine invaded; Jerusalem taken.
615	3-4	6107-8		Egypt lost to the Persians (date uncertain).
616	4-5	6108-9		Persians take Chalcedon.
617	5-6	6109-10		Heraclius thinks of migrating to Carthage.
618	6-7	6110-11		Heraclius flees from Avars.
619	7-8	6111-12		Peace with Avars.
620	8-9	6112-13		Heraclius sets out for the Persian war. (1) Campaign of Cappadocia and Pontus. (16th July, era of the Hegira.)
622	10-11	6114-15		End of first campaign.
623	11-12	6115-16		(2) First campaign of Azerbiyan.
624	12-13	6116-17		Last imperial towns in Spain taken by Svinthila. (3) Campaign of Albania and Armenia.
625	13-14	6117-18		(4) Campaign of Cilicia.
626	14-15	6118-19		(5) Second campaign of Azerbiyan. Great siege of Constantinople by Avars and Persians.
627	15-1	6119-20		(6) Campaign of Assyria.
628	1-2	6120-1		Mohammed writes to Heraclius.
629	2-3	6121-2		Battle of Muta. Heraclius restores cross to Jerusalem.
632	5-6	6124-5		Death of Mohammed. Abu Bekr first caliph.
634	7-8	6126-7		Battle of Adjnadein (July). Omar becomes caliph.
635	8-9	6127-8		Battle of Yermuk (August). Saracens take Damascus.
636	9-10	6128-9		Capture of Emesa and Heliopolis. "Farewell" of Heraclius. Conquest of Antioch, Chalcis, Beroea, Edessa, etc. Battle of Cadesia.
637	10-11	6129-30		Jerusalem taken. Battle of Yalulah.
638	11-12	6130-1		Ecthesis published. Constantine attempts to recover Syria. Muaviah becomes emir of Syria. Conquest of Mesopotamia.

A.D.	INDICTION.	A.M.	IMPERIAL ACCESSIONS.	EVENTS.
639	12-13	6131-2	Constantine III. Heracloras.	Amru invades Egypt.
641	14-15	6133-4		Death of Heraclius. Death of Constantine III. Fall of Alexandria. Battle of Ne-havend.
642	15-1	6134-5	Constans II.	Fall of Heraclonas and Martina. Battle of Scultenna, and conquest of Liguria by Lombards.
644	2-3	6136-7		Othman becomes caliph.
646	4-5	6138-9		Foundation of Cairo (Fostât). Manifesto of Africa against monotheletism.
647	5-6	6139-40		Revolt in Africa.
648	6-7	6140-1		Type of Constans issued.
649	7-8	6141-2		Saracen expedition against Cyprus. Lateran Council condemns the Type.
650	8-9	6142-3		Aradus conquered.
651	9-10	6143-4		Saracens invade Asia Minor.
652	10-11	6144-5		Armenia lost.
654	12-13	6146-7		Saracens take Rhodes. Pope Martin at New Rome.
655	13-14	6147-8		Naval battle of Phoenix. Pope Martin banished to Cherson.
656	14-15	6148-9		Murder of Calipl. Othman. Double caliphate.
658	1-2	6150-1		Expedition of Constant against Slaves.
659	2-3	6151-2		Treaty with Saracens.
660	3-4	6152-3		Sylvanus founds a Paulician community.
661	4-5	6153-4		Death of Ali.
662	5-6	6154-5		Constans sets out for Italy.
663	6-7	6155-6		Saracens invade Romania in this and following years.
668	11-12	6160-1	Constantine IV.	Constans assassinated. Revolt of Saborios on Armenian frontier.
669	12-13	6161-2		Saracens attack Sicily.
670	13-14	6162-3		Foundation of Kairowan.
673	1-2	6165-6		Expedition of Muaviah against Constantinople.
674	2-3	6166-7		Siege of Constantinople continued until 677.
675	3-4	6167-8		Slaves besiege Salonica.
676	4-5	6168-9		Capture of Kairowan by Christians, but soon recovered.
677	5-6	6169-70		Siege of Constantinople raised. Slaves again besiege Salonica.
678	6-7	6170-1		Peace with the caliphate. Embassies of western nations to Constantinople. Slaves besiege Salonica.
679	7-8	6171-2		Foundation of Bulgarian kingdom.

A.D.	INDICTION.	A.M.	IMPERIAL ACCESSIONS.	EVENTS.
680	8-9	6172-3	Justinian II.	Death of Muaviah. Sixth Ecumenical Council begins. Kairowan taken by Christians.
683	11-12	6175-6		Treaty with Abd Almalik.
685	13-14	6177-8		Death of Constantine.
687	15-1	6179-80		Transmigration of Mardaites.
688	1-2	6180-1		Slaves settled in Opsikion.
690	3-4	6182-3		Expedition of Justinian against Bulgarians and Slaves.
692	5-6	6184-5		Quinisext Council.
693	6-7	6185-6		Battle of Sebastopolis. Revolt of Symbatius. Armenia finally subjected to the Arabs.
695	8-9	6187-8	Leontius.	Fall and banishment of Justinian.
697	10-11	6189-90	Tiberius III.	Lazica revolts. Asia Minor invaded by Saracens. Hassan's expedition against Africa. Takes Carthage and recovers Kairowan. John retakes Carthage. Election of first doge of Venice.
698	11-12	6190-1		John driven from Carthage. Leontius overthrown.
700	13-14	6192-3		Romans invade Syria.
701	14-15	6193-4		Mopsuestia taken by Saracens.
702	15-1	6194-5		Loss of Fourth Armenia.
703	1-2	6195-6		Victory of Heraclius over Saracens in Cilicia.
704	2-3	6196-7		Another victory of Heraclius.
705	3-4	6197-8	Justinian (II) Rhinotmetos.	Fall of Tiberius.
709	7-8	6201-2		Tyana destroyed by Saracens.
710	8-9	6202-3		Expeditions against Cherson and Ravenna.
711	9-10	6203-4	Philippicus.	Fall of Justinian. Saracens cross to Spain.
712	10-11	6204-5	Anastasius II.	Bulgarians invade Thrace. Amasea taken by Saracens.
713	11-12	6205-6		Saracens take Pisidian Antioch. Fall of Philippicus.
714	12-13	6206-7		Roman embassy sent to Damascus.
715	13-14	6207-8	Theodosius III.	Fall of Anastasius (near the end of 715). Gregory II becomes Pope.
716	14-15	6208-9		Saracens invade Asia Minor; besiege Amorium. Leo the Isaurian defeats the son of Theodosius.
717	15-1	6209-10		Leo III.

A.D.	INDICTION.	A.M.	IMPERIAL ACCESSIONS.	EVENTS.
718	1-2	6210-11		Siege of Constantinople raised (August). Birth of Constantine V.
720	3-4	6212-13		Constantine crowned. Death of King Terbel.
724	7-8	6216-17		Hischam becomes caliph.
726	9-10	6218-19		First decree against image-worship. Cappadocia invaded by Saracens.
727	10-11-12 ¹	6219-20		Revolt in Greece. John of Damascus writes first oration against iconoclasm. Council at Rome against iconoclasm.
728	12-13	6220-1		Revolt in Italy.
729	13-14	6221-2		<i>Silentium</i> against image-worship. Deposition of Germanus.
730	14-15	6222-3		Gregory III becomes Pope. Council at Rome against iconoclasm.
731	15-1	6223-4		Leo separates Churches of Sicily, Calabria, and Illyricum from Rome.
732	1-2	6224-5		Census of births proclaimed. Heavy taxation in Sicily.
734	3-4	6226-7		Saracens invade Asia Minor.
739	8-9	6231-2		Saracen invasion. Battle of Acroinon.
740	9-10	6232-3	Constantine V.	<i>Ecloga</i> published. Death of Leo. Zacharias becomes Pope.
741	10-11	6233-4		Revolt of Artavasdos.
742	11-12	6234-5		Artavasdos suppressed.
743	12-13	6235-6		Death of Liutprand.
744	13-14	6236-7		Great Plague begins, and lasts till 747.
746	15-1	6238-9		Saracens attack Cyprus.
748	2-3	6240-1		Aistulf king of Lombards.
750	4-5	6242-3		Fall of Omeyyad dynasty. Lombards take Ravenna.
751	5-6	6243-4		Constantine takes Melitene and Theodosiopolis. Stephen II Pope.
753	7-8	6245-6		Council at Constantinople in favour of iconoclasm. Pipin invades Italy.
755	9-10	6247-8		Bulgarians invade Thrace. Pipin again in Italy.
756	10-11	6248-9		Paul I. Pope.
758	12-13	6250-1		Constantine's expedition against the Selaviniats.
759	13-14	6251-2		Bulgarian victory at Berégaba.
760	14-15	6252-3		Eclipse of sun (15th August).
761	15-1	6253-4		Execution of Peter Kalybitis and John of Monagria.

¹ For the suppression of an indiction and my revision of the chronology, see Note on Bk. vi cap. ii. (vol. ii. p. 425).

A.D.	INDICTION.	A.M.	IMPERIAL ACCESSIONS.	EVENTS.
762	1-2	6254-5		Roman victory over Bulgarians at Anchialus.
764	3-4	6256-7		"Martyrdom" of Stephanus (date uncertain).
765	4-5	6257-8		Unsuccessful campaign in Bulgaria. Conspiracy against Emperor.
766	5-6	6258-9		Aqueduct of Valens restored. Executions of Paul and Andreas of Crete. Execution of Patriarch Constantinos. Constantine Anti-pope.
767	6-7	6259-60		Stephen III Pope.
771	10-11	6263-4		Hadrian I. becomes Pope.
773	12-12 ¹	6265-6		Victory over Bulgarians at Lithosoria.
774	12-13	6266-7		
775	13-14	6267-8	Leo IV.	Expedition against Bulgaria. Death of Constantine.
778	1-2	6270-1		Successes against Saracens.
780	3-4	6272-3	Constantine VI and Irene.	Harun takes Sémaliôs. Death of Leo IV.
781	4-5	6273-4		Revolt of Elpidius in Sicily.
782	5-6	6274-5		Harun invades Asia Minor.
783	6-7	6275-6		Reduction of Slaves of Macedonia and Greece.
784	7-8	6276-7		Tarasius becomes Patriarch.
786	9-10	6278-9		Harun becomes caliph.
787	10-11	6279-80		Seventh Ecumenical Council (at Nicaea).
788	11-12	6280-1		Bulgarian victory on the Strymon.
789	12-13	6281-2		Romania invaded by Arabs.
790	13-14	6282-3		Struggle of Irene and Constantine begins.
791	14-15	6283-4		Expedition against Bulgarians.
792	15-1	6284-5		Conspiracy in favour of the Caesars. Irene restored to dignity. Second Bulgarian campaign of Constantine VI.
793	1-2	6285-6		Revolt of Armeniac theme.
794	2-3	6286-7		Council of Frankfurt.
795	3-4	6287-8		Constantine divorces Maria, and leads a campaign in Asia. Leo III Pope.
796	4-5	6288-9		Third Bulgarian campaign of Constantine.
797	5-6	6289-90		Constantine blinded and deposed. Conspiracy in favour of the Caesars.
798	6-7	6290-1		Peace with Saracens.
799	7-8	6291-2		Revolt in Hellas.
800	8-9	6292-3		Coronation of Charles the Great.
802	10-11	6294-5		Fall of Irene.

¹ Here one indiction has been extended over two years in order to rectify the chronology.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

BOOK IV

THE HOUSE OF JUSTIN

PART I

THE AGE OF JUSTINIAN

CHAPTER XI

JUSTINIAN'S CAESAROPAPISM

Justinian's ecclesiastical policy—Paganism—Monophysitism—Agapetus—The three articles—Vigilius—Fifth Ecumenical Council—Aphthartodocetism—Prima Justiniana—Conversion of the Nobadae—Jacobitism Pages 1-10

CHAPTER XII

THE SLAVES

Sketch of the geography of Thrace—Mount Haemus—Thraco-Illyrians—Early settlements of the Slaves—Character of the Slaves—Slavonic invasions—Justinian's fortifications 11-24

CHAPTER XIII

CHANGES IN THE PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

Justinian's changes a preparation for the theme system—Combination of civil and military powers—Abolition of diocesan governors—Breaking up of provinces—The four Armenias—Double aspect of Justinian's reforms 25-30

CHAPTER XIV

THE GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE AT THE END OF JUSTINIAN'S REIGN

Changes in the map of Europe between 395 A.D. and 565 A.D.—The legend relating to Britain—Lombards and Gepids—Prefecture of Africa—Sardinia—The Vandal kingdom—Stratègia of Sicily—Exarchate of Italy—Greek character of the Empire Pages 31-34

CHAPTER XV

BYZANTINE ART

Paganism and christian art—Problem of uniting the arch with the column—Ravenna—Parenzo—Thessalonica—Anthemius of Tralles—St. Sophia—Carving—Painting; illumination—Symbolism 40-54

CHAPTER XVI

NOTES ON THE MANNERS, INDUSTRIES, AND COMMERCE IN THE AGE OF JUSTINIAN

Population, dwellings, food, amusements of Byzantium—A scene in the hippodrome—Laws against immorality—Commerce and industries—The Jews—Taugast 55-64

PART II

THE COLLAPSE OF JUSTINIAN'S SYSTEM

CHAPTER I

JUSTIN II AND TIBERIUS II

Collapse of Justinian's system—Ceremonies attending Justin's accession—Sophia—Justin's reactionary policy—Forces of disintegration—Religious persecution—The Emperor's madness—Tiberius regent—Anastasia—Character of Tiberius II—His extravagance—Arians—Death of Tiberius 67-82

CHAPTER II

MAURICE

Character of Maurice—His relations to the Patriarch and the Pope—His unpopularity—Insurrection of the army—Fall of Maurice—Political significance of the demes—The will of Maurice 83-94

CHAPTER III

THE PERSIAN WAR (572-591 A.D.)

Causes of war—The Turks—Invasion of Syria—Death of two thousand virgins—Truce—Battle of Melitene—Romans invade Persia—Death of Chosroes I.—Battle of Solachon—Mutiny in Roman army—Civil war in Persia—Maurice restores Chosroes II—Peace—Reign of Chosroes I. Pages 95-113

CHAPTER IV

SLAVES AND AVARS IN ILLYRICUM AND THRACE

The Avars—Invasions of Slaves—Avars take Sirmium—Slaves in Astica—Monembasia—Campaign of Comentiolus in 587 A.D.—The progress of Maurice—Campaign of Priscus in 591 against the Avars; in 592 against the Slaves—Campaign of Peter, 593—Peter against the Slaves in 597—Siege of Salonica—Relief of Singidunum—Avars invade Dalmatia—Priscus at Tomi—Peace with the Avars—Great victories of Priscus at Viminacium and on the Theiss 114-142

Note on Slavonic settlements in Greece 143-144

CHAPTER V

THE LOMBARDS IN ITALY

The Lombard conquests—Resulting geography of Italy—Pope Gregory the Great—His life—His relations with the Lombards—*Patrimonium Petri*—Gregory's position in western Christendom—His relations with Brunhilda—His relations with Maurice—His reforms and theology—His historical importance 145-158

CHAPTER VI

THE EMPIRE AND THE FRANKS

Relations of the Empire with the sons of Chlotar I.—Embassies—Gundovald the pretender—Franks and Romans combine against the Lombards—Childebert the "son" of Maurice—The Roman Empire recognised as the first power in Europe 159-166

CHAPTER VII

THE LANGUAGE OF THE ROMAIOI IN THE SIXTH CENTURY

Disuse of Latin—Three kinds of Greek: (1) the vulgar dialect, (2) the language of the educated, (3) the written language—Use of the words *Roman* and *Latin*—Latin words Graecised: βασιλεύς, *Hellene*, *barbarian*, *pagan*, etc. Pages 167-174

CHAPTER VIII

LITERATURE OF THE SIXTH CENTURY

Last Greek philosophers—John Philoponus—Cosmas Indicopleustes—Historians—Procopius—Agathias—Menander—Writings of Justinian—John the Lydian—Poetry—Agathias—Paul the Silentary—Latin literature—Cassiodorus—Boethius 175-194

BOOK V

THE HOUSE OF HERACLIUS

CHAPTER I

PHOCAS

Character of the reign of Phocas—Persian invasions—Revolts in Syria and Egypt—Conspiracies of Constantina's party—Africa—Expedition of Heraclius and fall of Phocas 197-206

CHAPTER II

HERACLIUS (610-622 A.D.)

Critical situation of the Empire—Character of Heraclius—His cautious policy—His marriages—Persian invasions—Loss of Palestine and Egypt—Heraclius' policy in regard to the Jews—Embassy to Chosroes—The true cross—Heraclius' project of making Carthage the capital—Sergius the Patriarch—Reforms of Heraclius—Loan from the Church—Treachery of the Avars—Peace with Avars—Preparations for the Persian war 207-226

CHAPTER III

THE PERSIAN WAR

(1) Campaign of Cappadocia and Pontus, 622-623 A.D.—(2) First campaign of Azerbiyan, 623 A.D.—(3) Campaign of Albania and Armenia, 624 A.D.—(4) Campaign of Cilicia, 625 A.D.—Battle of the Sarus—(5) The second campaign of Azerbiyan—The victory of Theodorus—The siege of Constantinople, 626 A.D.—(6) Campaign of Assyria, 627-628 A.D.—Battle of Gaugamela—Overthrow of Chosroes—*Heracliad* of George of Pisidia—Mistakes in policy after the peace with Persia—Shahr Barz Pages 227-248

CHAPTER IV

MONOTHELETISM

Doctrine of One Energy—Sergius—Cyrus of Phasis—Sophronius—Pope Honorius—Ecthesis 249-253

CHAPTER V

LITERATURE IN THE REIGN OF HERACLIUS

Theophylactus Simocatta—George of Pisidia 254-257

CHAPTER VI

DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE BY THE SARACENS

Arabia before Mohammed—Mohammed—The Koran—Battle of Muta—Al Wakidi—Conquest of Syria—Battles of Adjnadein and the Yermuk—Fall of Antioch, Jerusalem, etc.—Battle of Cadesia and conquest of Persia—Foundation of Bassra and Kufa—Conquest of Egypt by Amru—Foundation of Cairo (Fostât)—Death of Heraclius 258-273

CHAPTER VII

THE SLAVONIC SETTLEMENTS IN ILLYRICUM AND THRACE

Extension of the Slovenes—Origin of the Croatians—Invasion of Dalmatia—Foundation of Spalato, Ragusa, etc.—The Croatians and Serbians—Slaves of Macedonia and Thessaly—Tribes around Salonica—Settlements in Greece 274-280

CHAPTER VIII

CONSTANS II

Reign of Constantine III and Heraclonas—Death of Constantine—Martina—Revolt of Valentinus and elevation of Constans II—Flight of Pyrrhus—Fall of Martina and Heraclonas—Speech of Constans—Saracen hostilities—Battle of Phoenix—Contest of Ali and Muaviah—Peace with the Saracens—Expedition against the Slaves—The *Type*—Lateran Synod—Fortunes of Pope Martin—Policy and aims of Constans—His brother Theodosius—Constans goes to the West—Siege of Beneventum and battle of the Calor—Constans at Rome and Syracuse—His death—The tyrant Mizizios—Estimate of Constans and of his policy—Revolt of Saborios—The Saracens at Amorium Pages 281-307

CHAPTER IX

CONSTANTINE IV

Constantine Pogonatos—Anatolic theme—Great siege of Constantinople—"Romaic" fire—Peace with the Saracens—Embassies come to Constantinople from western powers—Ecclesiastical affairs—Sixth Ecumenical Council—Anathema on Pope Honorius 308-319

Note on Greek fire 319

CHAPTER X

JUSTINIAN II

Unpopularity—Removes the Mardaites—"Supernumerary corps" of Slaves—Battle of Sebastopolis—Armenia—Policy of transplanting peoples—The finance ministers Stephanus and Theodotus—History of financial bureaux—Buildings of Justinian—Quinisext Council—Justinian overthrown by Leontius—Conjecture that Justinian II desired to imitate Justinian I. 320-330

CHAPTER XI

FOUNDATION OF THE BULGARIAN KINGDOM

The Bulgarians—Legend of Kokrat and his five sons—The historical Kokrat—Bulgarians revolt against Avars—Bulgarians in Onglos—They defeat Constantine IV and settle in Moesia—Treaty with Constantine—Features of Slavonic history—Bulgarian institutions—Bulgarian war of Justinian II—Great (or Black) Bulgaria—Macedonian Slaves—Siege of Salonica 331-338

CHAPTER XII

ORIGIN OF THE SYSTEM OF THEMES

Treatise of Constantine VII—Origin of later *themes*—Justinian's reforms preparatory to the theme system—What we learn from Theophanes and Nicephorus—Theory as to the origin of the Asiatic themes—Armeniaccs, Anatolics, etc.—System of Leo III Pages 339-351

CHAPTER XIII

TWENTY YEARS OF ANARCHY

General survey—Reign of Leontius—Loss of Africa—Tiberius III—Armenia—Cyprus—Cherson—Adventures of Justinian Rhinotmetos—Restoration of Justinian—Bulgarian war—Loss of Tyana—Justinian's vengeance on Cherson—His fall—His expedition against Ravenna—Philippicus—Anastasius II—Revolt of the Opsikians—Theodosius III—Adventures of Leo the Isaurian in Alania—His operations against the Saracens—Fall of Theodosius—General reflections 352-386

CHAPTER XIV

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS DECAY IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY

Prevalence of superstition—Ecclesiastical complexion of the Empire—Coronation oath—Decline of culture—Study of Greek in western Europe—Theodore of Tarsus—Morality of the clergy—Survivals of paganism—Paulicianism 387-398

BOOK VI

THE HOUSE OF LEO THE ISAURIAN

CHAPTER I

THE REPULSE OF THE SARACENS

Constantinople besieged by the Saracens—Egyptian Christians desert—Plague in the army of the besiegers—Siege raised—Disasters of the Saracen fleet—Importance of this event—Caliph Hisham—Battle of Acroinon—Successes of Constantine V against the Moslem—Fall of the Omeyyad dynasty 401-407

CHAPTER II

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LEO III

Conspiracy of Artemius—Artavasdos—Birth, coronation, and marriage of Constantine—Revolt in Sicily—Leo's policy of reform—The *Ecloga*—Its ecclesiastical complexion—Tendencies of Roman law—*Ecloga* contrasted with Code of Justinian—Marriage laws—*Patria potestas*—Maritime Code—Agricultural Code—Disappearance of the colonate—Causes thereof—Military and financial reforms of Leo—Aberration in the chronology of the eighth century—Hypothesis to account for it—Taxes—Finance officers . . . Pages 408-424

Note on the chronology of the eighth century 425-427

An explanation and defence of the author's revision of the chronology from 727 to 773 A.D.

CHAPTER III

THE ICONOCLASTIC MOVEMENT

The true significance of the iconoclasm of Leo and Constantine—Rationalism—Connection with Monotheletism, Paulicianism, and Islamism—Decree of Leo—The *Antiphonetes*—Educational policy of Leo—The Ecumenical Doctor—Opposition of Germanus—The *silentium* of 729 A.D.—Revolt of Greece—The *Helladikoi* 428-438

CHAPTER IV

IMPERIAL ITALY IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY

Effects of iconoclasm on the history of Italy—Gregory II and the exarchs—Council of 727 A.D.—Liutprand and the Lombard dukes—Gregory III—Churches of southern Italy and Sicily separated from Roman see—Flight of iconodule Greeks westward—Legend of the *Hodêgêtria*—Graecisation of southern Italy 439-449

CHAPTER V

CONSTANTINE V

Revolt of Artavasdos—The great plague—Effects thereof in Greece and in Byzantium—The Slaves in Greece—Restoration of the aqueduct of Valens—Economic policy of Constantine—His family 450-458

Genealogical table of the Isaurian dynasty 459

CHAPTER VI

ICONOCLASTIC POLICY OF CONSTANTINE

Hostility of Constantine to monasticism—His merry court—Attitude to art—Council of 753 A.D.—Persecution of monks—Stephanus—Michael Lachanodrakon—The population question—Secularising of monastic property—The *charistic* system—The Patriarch Constantinos Pages 460-469

CHAPTER VII

BULGARIA

Succession of Bulgarian kings—Kormisoš—Teletz—Expeditions of Constantine against Bulgaria—*Scamars*—Telerig—Death of Constantine V—Expeditions of Constantine VI 470-476

CHAPTER VIII

LEO IV

Ecclesiastical policy—Creation of the Caesars—Saracen war—Death of Leo 477-479

CHAPTER IX

CONSTANTINE VI AND IRENE

Conspiracies of the Caesars—Revolt of Elpidius—Struggle of Irene and Constantine—The Armeniac theme—Constantine divorces Maria—Constantine blinded—Stauracius and Aetius—Charles the Great—Fall of Irene—Saracen war 480-493

CHAPTER X

THE REACTION AGAINST ICONOCLASM

Paul the Patriarch—Tarasius the Patriarch—Letters of Pope Hadrian—Iconoclasm in the army—Seventh Ecumenical Council 494-498

CHAPTER XI

THE POPES, THE LOMBARDS, AND THE FRANKS

Appeal of the Popes to the mayors of the palace—Their relations with Liutprand—Pipin the Patrician—Desiderius—Charles the Great conquers the Lombard kingdom—Donation of Charles to the Roman see—Charles and Hadrian—Council of Frankfurt—Coronation of Charles and foundation of the Western Roman Empire—Significance of this event 499-509

CHAPTER XII

THE GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECT OF EUROPE AT THE END OF
THE EIGHTH CENTURY

The Empires and the caliphates—Comparison of the Roman Empire and the Frank kingdom in eighth century—The Moslem in Gaul; in Spain—Extension of Frank power—The Franks in Italy—*Lombardy*—The *Romagna*—Principality of Beneventum—Venice—Bulgaria—The functions of the rival Empires compared Pages 510-517

CHAPTER XIII

SOCIETY IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY

Literature revived—Theodore Studites—John of Damascus—Superstition—Effects of the iconoclastic reforms—Attractions of monastic life—The abbot Plato and Theoctiste—Life of Theodore—Theophanes—Armenian and Slavonic elements—Metropolitan arrangements of Byzantium—Private life—Saracen civilisation—Bagdad—Orientalism of Byzantium—Romances—Tale of Barlaam and Josaphat 518-534

CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUSION

Function performed by the later Roman Empire—It was the bulwark of Europe against the Asiatic danger—It kept alive Greek and Roman culture—It maintained European commerce—It preserved the idea of the *Roman Empire*—It embodied a principle of permanence 535-540

INDEX 541-579

CHAPTER XI

JUSTINIAN'S CAESAROPAPISM

THE absolutism of Justinian extended to the ecclesiastical world, and in church as well as in state history he occupies a position of ecumenical importance. He was a sort of imperial pontiff, and this Caesaropapism, as it has been called, represents the fulfilment of the policy which Constantius tried and failed to realise.

Justinian's ecclesiastical policy rested on his support of the council of Chalcedon, and thus accorded in principle with the policy by which his uncle Justin had restored unity to Christendom. But this unity was only a unity of the western Church with the chief Church in the East; whereas the East itself was divided. The monophysites were a large and important body, and the Emperor was not content not to make an effort to reconcile this difference, especially as the Empress Theodora was an adherent of the heretical creed. His object was to secure a unity in the Church, which should exclude all sectarianism, and embrace both East and West. Consequently he did not rest in the policy of his uncle Justin; he tried to accomplish what Zeno and Anastasius had failed to accomplish, a conciliation of the Chalcedonians and monophysites.

One of his first acts was to deal a final blow to paganism. He shut up the philosophical schools at Athens, with which Theodosius II had not interfered when he founded the university of Constantinople. The abolition of the Athenian university has two aspects. In the first place, it was the last blow dealt by Christianity to the ancient philosophers and their doctrines, and was one of the acts which mark the reign

of Justinian as the terminus of the ancient world. In the second place, it was a measure in which Justinian's design of establishing a unity of belief and thought in the Empire was manifested; and it is to be taken closely with the law that pagans and heretical Christians were not to hold office in either the civil service or the army. His general principle is laid down clearly in a constitution (published shortly before his uncle's death)¹: "All will be able to perceive that from those who do not worship God rightly, human goods also are withheld,"—a most concise expression of religious intolerance. It may be observed that in this constitution the Manichaeans are mentioned with special acrimony, and rendered liable to the extreme penalties of the law. It was the instinct of Christianity, which was essentially monistic, though not with Semitic monism, to fight against all forms of dualism as the most odious kind of heresy.

The monophysites held a peculiar position. They were very numerous, and they were supported by the sympathy of the Empress Theodora, who shared their creed. Justinian considered it an important political object to unite them with the orthodox Church, and it was a theological problem to accomplish this—to make concessions to the heretics without abandoning the basis of Chalcedon.

Justinian might have carried this out in the East without much difficulty, if he had been content to sacrifice union with the western Church. But that would have been to undo what Justin had done and he himself had confirmed; and the union of the eastern and western Churches was of primary importance for the restorer of Roman rule in Italy and Africa. His political designs exercised a perceptible control on his ecclesiastical measures.

This was the dilemma that beset every Roman Emperor—quite apart from his personal opinions—ever since the council of Chalcedon. If he chose to attempt to establish unity in the East, he must sacrifice unity with the West, as Zeno and Anastasius had done. If he chose to seek unity with the West, like Justin, he must be satisfied to see his dominions distracted by the bitter opposition of synodites and monophysites. The imperial throne shared by the orthodox Justinian and the

¹ *Cod. Just.* i. 5, 12. Compare the other laws under the same title.

Eutychian Theodora was symbolic of the division of the Empire in the matter of theological beliefs.

Justinian's achievement was to overcome this dilemma.¹ He was powerful enough to carry a measure which tended to unity by modifying the synod of Chalcedon without breaking with the Church of Rome.

Apart from their personal opinions—which, while we admit that they co-operated, we must set aside in order to observe the influence of circumstances—the policies of Zeno, Anastasius, and Justin in regard to this problem were natural. To Zeno and Anastasius, who had no thought of recovering power in Italy, the opposition of the bishop of Rome was a matter of smaller importance than division in the Empire. Justin's policy was naturally anti-monophysitic, because it was a reaction against Anastasius; and such a policy implied a renewal of relations with Rome. Justinian's intervention in the political world of western Europe altered the position of the bishop of Rome, and in the fifth Council of Constantinople the Emperor exercised an unprecedented authority, which would have pleased Constantius II.

In 536 A.D., by the influence of Theodora, Anthimus, a man of monophysitic opinions, was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople. In the following year Pope Agapetus visited that city on political business, to treat for peace on behalf of Theodahad; it was the second time that an Ostrogothic king had despatched a Pope on a message to an Emperor. Agapetus succeeded in obtaining the deposition of Anthimus, and the election of an orthodox successor, Mennas. That Justinian was not aware of the real opinions of Anthimus, before Agapetus unveiled his heterodoxy, is unlikely, but the supporter of orthodoxy could not refuse to oppose him, once it was made public, and that by the bishop of Rome. Dante represents Justinian as originally holding monophysitic opinions, and owing his conversion to Agapetus.²

E prima ch' io all' opra fossi attento,
Una natura in Cristo esser, non piue
Credeva, e di tal fede era contento.

¹ Procopius (*de Aed.* i. 1) says of the Emperor's ecclesiastical policy, *συντριψας ὁδοὺς διεπράξατο ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ μιᾶς ἐστάναι κρηπίδος. ἀπάσας τὰς ἐπὶ τὰς πλάνας φερούσας*

² *Paradiso*, cant. vi. 13 sqq.

Ma il benedetto Agapito, che fue
Sommo pastore, alla fede sincera
Mi dirizzò con le parole sue.

The controversy of the "three articles," a long chapter in the ecclesiastical history of the sixth century, began in 544, and lasted for eight years. We need not follow its details, but the elements that were involved in it as well as its consequences must be briefly explained. Three points to be noticed are—(1) that it was externally connected with an Origenistic controversy which had disturbed Palestine for some years past; (2) that the difficulty of concluding the question depended on the wavering position of Pope Vigilius; (3) that Justinian's desire to carry his point was at first quickened by the monophysitic leanings of his consort, who died before the dispute was decided.

At Justinian's desire the Patriarch Mennas held a local synod, at which the writings of Origen were condemned. Theodore Ascidas, bishop of Caesarea, a monophysite who believed in the Origenistic theology, did not oppose this sentence, but made a fruitful suggestion to Justinian, of which the apparently exclusive aim was to reunite the monophysites, but which really contained a blow at a prominent opponent of Origen's methods, Theodore of Mopsuestia. The import of this suggestion was that what really repelled the monophysites was not any point of doctrine, but the countenance given by the council of Chalcedon to certain Nestorians.

Accordingly in 544 Justinian promulgated an edict,¹ wherein the Three Articles (*κεφάλαια*), which gave the name to the controversy, were enunciated—(1) Theodore of Mopsuestia and his works were condemned; (2) certain writings of Theodoret against Cyril were condemned; and (3) a letter of Ibas, addressed to a Persian and censuring Cyril, was condemned. The council of Chalcedon had expressly acknowledged the orthodoxy of these writings and their authors, and thus the authority of that council seemed called in question, though the edict expressly professed to respect it.

The bishops of the East, including Mennas, signed the

¹ This determination of ecclesiastical matters by imperial edicts is the key-

note of Caesaropapism. Basiliscus had attempted this policy in his brief reign.

edict; but Mennas made his adhesion conditional on the approval of the bishop of Rome, and it is just the attitude of the bishop of Rome that lends an interest to the controversy.

Vigilius had been elevated to the papal see of Rome under circumstances which appear at least unusual. He was at Constantinople when Agapetus died in 537, and his election rested on the support of Theodora, with whom he is said to have made a sort of bargain not to act against the monophysite Anthimus, the deposed Patriarch. Before he arrived at Rome, Silverius had been elected Pope in Italy, and the deposition and banishment of the latter, on the charge of treason, by Belisarius,¹ give room for suspicion that corrupt dealings were practised for the benefit of Vigilius.

When Vigilius was called upon to sign the edict of the "three articles" he felt himself in a dilemma. The western Church, especially the Church of Africa, cried out loudly against the document, while Vigilius felt himself under obligations to Theodora and the Emperor. A synod at Carthage went so far as to excommunicate the Pope (549).

At first he refused to sign. When he was at Rome, at a safe distance from the Caesar-Pope, resistance did not seem hard. But Justinian summoned him to Constantinople, where he remained until 554. During this time he wavered between the two forces in whose conflict he was involved—the ecclesiastical opinion of the West and the imperial authority. The latter finally conquered, but not until the Pope had been condemned in the fifth general Council, held at Constantinople in 553, after which he retracted his condemnation of the articles,² attributing it to the arts of the devil.

The fifth general Council, it should be observed, has an importance beyond the rather trivial subjects discussed. Its basis—its agenda—was an edict drawn up by the Emperor; it adopted theological tenets formulated by the Emperor. This is the most characteristic manifestation of Justinianean Caesaropapism.

¹ See Liberatus, *Brev.* 22; Anastasius, *Vita Silverii*. Liberatus wrote his *Breviarium causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum*, about 560, against Justinian's Articles.

² The "Condemnation of the Three Articles" is ambiguous. I use the ex-

pression in its proper sense, as the condemnation of the three proposals of Justinian's edict. But in popular usage the Three Articles meant the opinions which the edict condemned, and thus one who opposed the edict was said to defend the Articles.

The election of Pelagius as the successor of Vigilius¹ to the see of Rome is noteworthy, because the Roman Emperor exercised the right of confirming the election, which had belonged to the Ostrogothic monarch. This right gave Justinian an ecclesiastical power of European extent, and introduced an important theory into Christendom. "According to the *Liber Diurnus* (a collection of forms which represents the state of things in those days or shortly after), the death of a Roman bishop was to be notified to the exarch of Ravenna; the successor was to be chosen by the clergy, the nobles of Rome, the soldiery, and the citizens; and the ratification of the election was to be requested in very submissive terms both of the Emperor and of his deputy the exarch."²

Pelagius upheld the three articles of the council, but the unity of the East and the consent of the Pope were purchased at the expense of the unity of the West. Milan and Aquileia would know nothing of the fifth Council, and although the invasion of the Lombards soon drove Milan into the arms of Rome, the see of Aquileia and the bishop of Istria seceded from the Roman Church for more than a hundred and forty years.

In Egypt monophysitism was ineradicable. Alexandria "the Great" was a scene of continual religious quarrels between the Eutychians and the Melchites, as they called the orthodox Catholics. In Syria monophysitism continued under the name of Jacobitism—a name derived from its propagator in the sixth century, Jacob al Baradai, a travelling monk.

The Armenian Church also adopted the Eutychian heresy, and in the ultra-Eutychian form of apthartodocetism, the doctrine that Christ's body was incorruptible. It is curious that the same cause favoured the survival of the two opposite doctrines, Eutychianism and Nestorianism, in Armenia and Persia respectively. The Persian government tolerated Nestorian Christianity in its dominions, and looked with favour on a monophysitic Armenian Church, because both creeds were opposed to the State religion of Byzantium.

¹ Vigilius died at Syracuse on his way back to Rome in June 555. Those who are curious about the details of these transactions may be referred to a chapter in Mr. Hodgkin's *Italy and her*

Invaders, vol. iv., entitled "The Sorrows of Vigilius," as well as to ecclesiastical histories.

² Robertson, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. ii. p. 334.

I have mentioned apthartodocetism. It obtained a certain notoriety in the last years of Justinian's reign, for the old Emperor adopted the doctrine himself, and enforced it on his subjects by an edict. His death cut short the full execution of his last and least Caesaropapistic undertaking.

Among his acts of ecclesiastical autocracy we must mention the edict which raised the see of Prima Justiniana, in his own native province of Dacia Mediterranea, to the rank of an archbishopric (535 A.D.) "Desiring," this document begins, "to increase in many and divers ways our native land, in which God first granted us to come into this world, which He himself founded, we wish to augment it and make it very great in ecclesiastical rank."¹ This decree was confirmed in another decree ten years later (545 A.D.) I do not consider it justifiable to say, as ecclesiastical historians sometimes do,² that Justinian desired to found a sixth patriarchate; on the contrary, the new archbishop, as I understand the second edict, was to depend on the Pope of Rome, and to hold the same position, for example, as the archbishop of Ravenna.

In regard to the missionary activity which Justinian encouraged for the conversion of heathen nations, I cannot do

¹ Novel xix. (ed. Zacharia von Lingenthal, 1881). Below, the imperial style speaks of Dacia Mediterranea as *nostra felicissima patria*. For the confirmation of the privilege, see Nov. cli. The old idea that Tauresium, which Justinian restored because it was his birthplace, and called by the name of Justiniana Prima, was identical with Achrida, arose from the circumstance that the title of the archbishop was "Archbishop of Justiniana and Achrida." See Appendix E in vol. ii. of Mr. Tozer's delightful book on the highlands of Turkey. "The explanation of the double title is, that while Justinian had established the metropolitan see at the place on which he bestowed his name, it was transferred to Ochrida when that place was made the capital of the Bulgarian kingdom." Mr. Tozer agrees with Mannert in identifying Uskiub with Justiniana. "It fell within the district of Dardania, and was situated at a moderate distance from Ochrida; it was also the most important position in that neighbour-

hood, and from having been the leading city, would be most naturally pointed out for restoration and decoration." "Von Hahn [the Austrian traveller], who passed by here in 1858, has shown that the names Tauresium and Bederiana may be traced in those of Taor and Bader," two villages hard by.

² Robertson, ii. 333, "to erect a sixth patriarchate." The express words of Justinian are (Nov. cli. γ')—*καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ὑποκειμέναις αὐτῷ ἐπαρχίαις* [Dacia M., Dacia Ripensis, Prevalitana (Πρεβαλέα), Dardania, Upper Moesia, Pannonia] *τὸν τόπον ἐπέχειν αὐτὸν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ Ῥώμης θρόνου κατὰ τὰ ὀρισθέντα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πάπα Βιγιλίου*. That is, the archbishop was to hold the place of, or be the representative of, the Pope in these provinces. The Patriarchs did not "hold the place" of the Pope. This disposes of Robertson's remark that Justinian's design "proved abortive." Robertson is also wrong in the date, which he gives as 541.

to Gaul: "Come," he said, "for all the chief men of the kingdom of King Childebert invite you, and no one has dared to breathe a word against you. For we know that you are the son of Chlotar, and there is left in Gaul none able to rule his kingdom, unless you come." Having assured himself of the good faith of Boso by exacting oaths from him in twelve different sanctuaries,¹ and having bestowed gifts upon him, Gundovald set sail for Massilia, where he was received by the bishop Theodorus.² Massilia nominally belonged to both Burgundy and Austrasia, but at this time Gunthramn's power was preponderant there. The sympathies of the bishop, however, were with Brunhilda and Childebert, and he therefore welcomed Gundovald, whom they had invited.

Although no Roman ships or Roman soldiers had accompanied Gundovald from Constantinople to support him in his attempt to establish himself on a throne in Gaul, yet there is no doubt that Maurice looked with favour on his enterprise, and assisted him with ample sums of money. He arrived at Massilia with large treasures,³ of which the perfidious Boso robbed him. Gunthramn of Burgundy considered the arrival of Boso due to a definite scheme on the part of the Roman Emperor to reduce the kingdom of the Franks under the imperial sway⁴; and he arrested bishop Theodorus on the charge

¹ Gregory of Tours, vii. 36.

² *Ib.* and vi. 24.

³ *Ib.* vii. 36, *thesauros meos abstulit*; vii. 24, "Gunthramnus vero dux cum duce Gunthramni regis res Gundovaldi divisit et secum Arverno detulit inmensum ut ferunt argenti pondus et auri vel reliquarum rerum."

⁴ *Ib.* vi. 24: *reptans eum, cur hominem extraneum intromisisset in Galleis, voluisset Francorum regnum imperialibus per haec subdere ditionibus.* See M. Gasquet, *L'empire byzantin et la monarchie franque*, pp. 187, 188. In proof of the connection of Maurice with the expedition of Gundovald, M. Gasquet cites a passage in viii. 2, where Palladius, bishop of Saintes, charged with having taken part in the consecration of the bishop of Dax by the orders of Gundovald, replied, *Non potui aliud facere nisi quae ille qui omnem principatum Galliarum se testabatur accipere imperabat*; which M. Gasquet ingeniously and probably explains of a com-

mission given by Maurice to Gundovald. M. Gasquet also discusses the numerous coins of Maurice which have been found in the cities of the Rhone. It was usual to coin money with the image of the Emperor in Gaul under the Merovingians, but it is remarkable that while no coins of Tiberius have been found, only one of Justin, only one of Heraclius, and three of Phocas, we should have more than thirty of Maurice (from Marseilles, Arles, Vienne, Viviers, Valence, Uzès). M. Gasquet thinks that these were coined by Gundovald; his Austrasian allies allowed him to have them struck in their mints at Viviers and Uzès, while at the other towns he compelled the officials of Gunthramn's mints to work for him (p. 191). The abundance of these coins M. Gasquet explains by Gundovald's finding it necessary to coin immediately some of the nuggets which he had brought from Constantinople.

that he co-operated in this scheme by receiving the "stranger" Gundovald.

From Marseilles Gundovald proceeded to Avignon, where he was received by the Patrician Mummolus, who embraced his cause. But Boso, having betrayed the man whom he had invited to Gaul, and robbed him of his treasures, returned to his loyalty to Gunthramn, and led an army against Mummolus. The Burgundians, however, were vanquished, and Gundovald, who had withdrawn to an island on the sea-coast, returned to the city of Avignon. Two important dukes, Desiderius and Bladastes, embraced the pretender's cause; and after Chilperic's death, in 584, the arms of Gundovald and his supporters won many important towns in south-western Gaul, including Tolosa and Burdigala. But his success depended ultimately upon the support of Austrasia, and when Childebert made peace with Gunthramn the cause of Gundovald was lost. He was deserted by his adherents, and delivered by Mummolus into the hands of Gunthramn's army. Boso killed him by hurling a stone at his head, and his corpse was treated with contumely by the soldiers.¹ Such was the end of the pretender Gundovald, who seems to have been commissioned by the Emperor Maurice to wrest southern Gaul from Gunthramn in somewhat the same way as the great Theodoric was commissioned by Zeno to wrest Italy from Odovacar.

The peace between Gunthramn and Childebert did not interfere with the relations between the court of Metz and the court of Byzantium. Maurice sought the help of the Austrasian forces against the Lombards of Italy, and for that purpose sent fifty thousand solidi to Childebert or Brunhilda.² He also adopted Childebert as a son, even as Justinian had adopted Theudebert. Childebert crossed the Alps with a large army, but the Lombards hastened to submit themselves before he had time to strike a blow, and induced him with gifts and promises of loyalty to return to his kingdom. When Maurice heard that he had made peace with the Lombards he sent

¹ At Convenae (Comminges), where he was besieged. Count Ollo of Bourges called out, "Behold your Ballomer, who says he is the brother and the son of a king" (Greg. Tur. vii. 38). The sons of Gundovald were in Spain, cf. ix. 28.

² *Ib.* vi. 42: *Ab imperatore autem Mauricio ante hos annos quinquaginta milia soledorum acceperat, ut Langobardus de Italia extruderit. As ante hos annos means before 584, Maurice's communication with Childebert must have been very soon after his accession.*

It is interesting to observe how, while Greek words were told off to serve as the equivalents for Latin words connoting purely Roman things or relations, in other cases the Latin words were naturalised and assumed a Greek garb. Thus at a very early stage of the relations between Rome and Greece *ὑπάτος* became the technical word for consul, and *ἀνθύπατος* for proconsul. *ἐπαρχος* was adopted to express prefect, and *ἐπαρχία* was used in the double meaning of province or prefecture; *praeses* was officially rendered by *ἡγεμών*. On the other hand, *comes* was introduced as *κόμης*, and declined as a Greek noun (gen. *κόμητος*); the *comes sacrarum largitionum* was called at Constantinople *ὁ κόμης τῶν σακρῶν*

call *βάνδον* (vol. i. p. 415, ed. Bonn) he probably meant to say that *bandum* was a Latin word; but Theophylactus, when he says the same thing, means that it was a Romaic word, a word of the spoken language, perhaps of non-Hellenic derivation. Similar explanations are given by Theophylactus in similar formulae of *δίστριον* "an iron club," *σκριβῶν* "a scribe." We read of Musokios "the *rex*, as he is called in the language of the barbarians"; Theophylactus did not even know that *rex* was a Latin word (vi. 9, 1, *τὸν λεγόμενον ῥήγα τῆ τῶν βαρβάρων φωνῆ*); we also hear of *τὸν λεγόμενον κόστον* (*costum*, spikenard, vii. 13, 6). He does not, however, scruple to use *πραίτωρ* (i. 4, 6), *φαμίλια* (vi. 5, 15); the use of *καβαλάριος* in the letter of Chosroes is not remarkable, as it was the composition of Chosroes (who wrote it 'Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασιν), not of the historian. The only place where he talks of the *Latin tongue* is i. 3, 7, when he is explaining *σκριβῶν ὃν σκριβῶνα τῆ Λατινίδι φωνῆ Ῥωμαῖοι κατονομάζουσιν*, but I question whether *Λατινίδι* means more than 'Ῥωμαικῆ: for Theophylactus was evidently ignorant of Latin, and in viii. 5, 10 he speaks of *ὃν σκριβῶνα εἶθε τὰ πλήθη ἀποκαλεῖν*. This is the key to his use of the expression "Romaic language"; it is the language of τὰ πλήθη, to whom he applies the name *Λατινοὶ* as well as 'Ῥωμαῖοι: cf. ii. 2, 5, *ὃς Σαρακηνούς εἶθιστο Λατινοὺς ἀποκαλεῖν*.

If any further proofs are needed of what Theophylactus meant by Romaic, it may be noticed that when Priscus addressed the army (τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις) in their native tongue (vi. 7, 9), he spoke

in Romaic, not in Latin; and when we read of him as τὰ Θεμιστοκλέους Ῥωμαϊκῶς ἀπικίζοντος, the phrase seems to mean that he avoided colloquial expressions and grammar,—he made a dignified speech.

In Maurice's *Strategic* (Στρατηγικόν, often wrongly called *Tactics*; see above, Bk. iv. pt. i. cap. xii. p. 18) we meet with an immense number of Latin military terms slightly altered to suit the Greek language, or not altered at all. For example, *ακία*, *acies* (i. cap. 5); *δηποτάτοι* (who follow the army and remove the wounded), *ἀντικένσωρες* (precede in marches, select routes, etc.), *μίνσωρες* (*mensores*), *καντάτωρ*, etc. (i. 3); *ὀπισθοτελῶν*, *ἀντελῶν* (i. 2), etc. *ῥόγα*=*ray*, occurs in Maurice (i. 2, *χρυσικῆς ῥόγας*), and he tells us that *τοῦλδον* (see above) includes slaves. Latin was still used in words of command (iii. caps. 2 and 4), such as *largiter ambula*, *ad latus stringe*, *silentium*, *move! sta! cede! transmuta!* also *torna!* and the curious *mnina!* to which *ἐλα* corresponds in the treatise on tactics of Leo VI (cf. Festus, *Agasones, equos agentes, id est minantes*).

Maurice expressly says in his preface (which he begins by asking the blessing of the Holy Trinity) that he has no concern for *κόμπος ῥημάτων*.

[*σκοῦλκα* "a watch" (*σκοουλκάτωρ* "a spy") is Latin (= *ex-culca*); we can trace the original in Walachian *a sc culca* and Italian *coricarsi* "to lie down" (perhaps from *collocare se*). It is perhaps worth conjecturing that *τοῦλδον* came from **tultum*, a possible past part. of *tollo, tulsi*, in the sense *portatum*.]

λαργιτιῶνων: and as for the *comes rerum privatarum* he received the name *κόμης τῶν πριβάτων*. *Dux* became *δούξ*, and a secretary was called by a word of curious aspect, *ἀσηκρήτης*, which is merely the familiar *a secretis*. The *magister officiorum* is *ὁ μάγιστρος τῶν ὀφφικίων*: but *στρατηγός* is commonly used for *magister militum*.¹ *Castrum*, *castellum*, *velum*, *familia*, *foliis* had become thoroughly naturalised words in the "Romaic" vocabulary of the sixth century, *κάστρον*, *κάστελλον*, *βήλον*, *φαμίλια*, *φόλλις*: *μάππα* (*mappa*) as a technical word in the hippodrome, *ἰνδικτιῶν* (*indictio*) for the official chronological reckoning, *σκριβῶν* for scribe, *φόρον* for *forum*, were equally familiar. The Latin words *tu vincas!* (*τοῦ βίγκας*) were an exclamation equivalent to "God save the king!" in Constantinople. These are a few examples taken at random to illustrate how Latin words made their way into the Greek tongue.

The treatment of Latin verbs in *-ari* (*-ari*) deserves to be specially noticed. They were adopted with the Greek termination *-εῖω*: thus *praedari* appears as *πραιδεῖω*, *ordinare* as *ὀρδινεῖω*, *applicare* as *ἀπλικεῖω*.² This reminds us of the German termination *-iren*, by which French and Latin verbs are Germanised (*imponiren*, *frisiren*, etc.); in fact, Latin *dirigere* produces in German *dirigiren*, just as it produced in Romaic *δηριγεῖω*.

The Greek adjective 'Ῥωμαῖος was never replaced by the Latin adjective *Romanus*; in fact, in later times 'Ῥομανός was used in a special sense to denote the Romans who lived on the coasts of Dalmatia and maintained their independence against the Slaves. The Greek *βασιλεὺς* was adopted as the equivalent of *Imperator*, and became confined to this sense, at all events after the overthrow of the Persian monarchy in the seventh century; and the Latin *rex* (*ρήξ*) was the word applied to barbarian monarchs. But *αὐτοκράτωρ* was also used as an official title of the Emperor; while the Persian king and other foreign powers generally called him "Caesar." At the foundation of the Empire the appellation Augustus was rendered in

¹ *στρατηγός*, also translated *praetor*. When Justinian set a praetor over reconquered Sicily, his Greek name was *στρατηγός*.

² The aspirate seems to have come

from some connection with *ἄπλους*, but it must have soon fallen off, as there are no (pronounced) aspirates in modern Greek. *ὀρδινεῖω* occurs in Maurice's *Strategic*, i. cap. 5.

Constantinople, where Artavasdos, having fled from the field of Sardis, had shut himself up. The city, unprepared to stand a siege and blockaded by land and sea, was soon reduced to straits of distress,¹ and it was necessary to relieve the pressure by tacitly allowing a large number of the non-fighting inhabitants to escape. All these were received kindly in the camp of Constantine, and many persons of high position, to whom Artavasdos would not have deemed it safe to grant permission to leave the city, stole out secretly in the disguise of women or monks.

Nicetas meanwhile had collected new forces since his defeat at Modrine, and now advanced to the relief of his father. Constantine met him at Nicomedia and defeated him a second time, taking him prisoner, as well as Marcellinus, the archbishop of Gangra, whom he beheaded. After this discomfiture Artavasdos, who had doubtless been holding out in expectation of succour from his son, fled to Nicaea, and having there collected a few soldiers, took refuge in the fortress of Puzane, where he was captured by a battalion of Constantine's army. At the spectacle in the hippodrome which celebrated Constantine's restoration to Byzantium, Artavasdos and his two sons were exposed to the view of the populace and then thrown into prison. Some time afterwards the general of the Thracians, Sisinnius, who had stood by the Emperor in his difficulties, was convicted or suspected of treasonable plotting, and was deprived of his eyesight. It is possible that this plot was a scheme for the elevation of Artavasdos, as the eyes of Artavasdos² and his sons were also put out immediately afterwards.

The troubles that beset Constantine on his accession were a true augury of a stormy and uneasy reign; but the ability which he had displayed in overcoming the difficulties, also boded that his energy and skill would hold the joints of the

¹ The famine was so great that a bushel (modius) of barley was sold for 10, a bushel of pulse for 19, a bushel of millet or lupines for 8 nomismata respectively. 5 lbs. (litrai) of oil cost a nomisma, a pint of wine (*ξέρως*, *i.e.* *sectarius*) cost a semission. The Cibyriotes were kept at bay by the

fireships, which lay in the imperial arsenal at the disposal of Artavasdos.

² On the influence of Armenians and Asiatics in the Empire, see Finlay, ii. pp. 200, 201; cf. Bardanes, Artavasdos, Alexius Mouselé (790), Bardan (rebelling against Nicephorus I.), Arsaber (father-in-law of Leo V).

time together. Although it was a time of uneasiness, it was not a time of rottenness, like the reign of Phocas or the reign of Apsimar; the policy of Leo had reformed the State. But the very tendency to reform had created an uneasy surging movement in the Empire. This tendency did not consist merely in the conscious endeavours and definite activity of the Emperor and those who sympathised with his spirit of rational enlightenment. All these conscious endeavours and activities were themselves the result of a general tendency to change, which was latently at work among the inhabitants of the eastern Mediterranean in the eighth century. I already touched on this subject in speaking of the pestilence which raged in the reign of Justinian, and put forward the conjecture that plagues on a great scale spread at periods when the organisms of a people are involved in a precarious condition of transformation or decay, and may be peculiarly susceptible to noxious external influences. The plague itself contributes to the formation of a new world by clearing away an effete population and making room for new settlers, while only the fittest of the old inhabitants survive its ravages.

A great plague of this kind broke out in the reign of Constantine and desolated large portions of the Roman dominions. It originated in Syria (744) and spread thence to Constantinople, not, however, by way of Asia Minor, but in a circular direction, travelling through Egypt, Africa, Sicily, and Calabria, and passing thence to Greece and the Archipelago. It is interesting to note this course, for it shows that the plague followed lines of commercial traffic. Had Syria still belonged to the Roman Empire the pestilence would doubtless have traversed Asia Minor and so reached the Bosphorus, as in the days of Justinian; but there was now little intercourse by land between Asia Minor and Syria, as a chronic state of hostility prevailed between the caliphate and the Empire and the trade of the two states was carried on by sea.

The following account of this pestilence is given by Theophanes, who was born about the time of its prevalence:—

“A pestilential death, beginning in Sicily and Calabria, advancing like fire to Monobasia¹ (*i.e.* Monembasia) and Hellas

¹ In the biography of St. Wilibald, by his kinswoman, a nun of Heidenheim, we find the following statement:

Eudoxia, wife of Valentinian III, 1 124, 131, 132, 135; supports Majorian, 234, led captive by Gaiseric, 235, 239, restored, 242
 Eudubius, 1 435
 Euelthon of Salamis, 110
 Eugenius, general of Anastasius, 1. 295
 lover of Honoria, 1 174
 tyrant, 1 61, 63, 64, 117
 Eugippius, 1 286, 288
 Eugraphia, 1 93, 94
 Eugubium, 11 146
 Eulampius of Phrygia, 11 175
 εὐλογία, 11 417
 Eunapius, 1 62, 88, 126, style and spirit, 325 326
 Eunuchs, power of, 1 79
 Euphemia, daughter of John the Cappadocian, 1 347
 of Sura, 1 422
 wife of Justin I, 1 361
 Euphemius Patriarch of Constantinople, 1 187, 290, 295, 296
 grammarian, 11 455
 Euphrasius, bishop of Parenzo, 11 46
Euphratensis, 1 432
 Euplutus, 1 150
 Euric, 1 275
 Euripides, 1 319
 Euiopus, 1 432
 Eurymene, 11 23
 Eusebius - historian of Constantine, 1 10, 43, chronicle, 330, 11 178, 217
 author of *Gaene*, 1 90
 of Valentia, 11 96
 Eustathius of Epiphania, 1 264, on siege of Amida, 308, 11 177
 Eutropius, eunuch, 1 63, 66, 71 74, 78, Bk 11 cap 11 *passim*, fall, 85, conspiracy against, 74, harbour of, 11 402
 lector, 11 102
 Eutyches, originator of monophysite heresy, 1 190, 191
 Eutychius Patriarch of Constantinople, 11 81, 85
 exarch of Ravenna, 11 442
 Evagrius, 1 133 264, 302, 11 67, 73, 74, 84, 86, 93, 94, 121, 143, 177, notice of, 182
 Ewald, Paul, 11 149
Exarchs of Ravenna, 1 414, 11 38, 145 148, 151, 223, 277, 294, 345, 346 442, fall of exarchate, 500 of Africa, 11 35, 154, 203
Exedrae, 11 50
 Exhilaratus, 11 441
Exonarthex, 11 51
 Exuperius, bishop, 11 149
 Ezentes, 11 455

FABIA, see Epiphania

Faenza, 1 405
 Faesulae (Fiesole), 1 110, 395, 396
 Fallmerayer, theory on Greek population, 11 143, 144
 Fano, 1 394, 11 146, 442
 Faust, prototype of, 1 10
 Faustus, 1 281, 282
 Faventia, 1 280, 11 502
 Faviana (Mauer), 1 287, 288
 Felix II, Pope, 1 192
 of Arles, 11 315
 archbishop of Ravenna, 11 367
mag mil, 1 168, 169
 Ferrara, 11 146, 502
 Festus, 1. 282
 Feudalism, 11 468
 Feva, 1 288, 289
 Finlay, 1 27, on Zeno, 252; on commerce, 11 62 64, on Maurice, 93, 94, 215, 264, 266, 306, 309, 343, 349, 384, 401, 407, 419, 423, 432, 437, 476, 487, 526, 538
 Fire worship, 1 434, 11 231, 232
 Firminus, 11 159
 Firmum, 1 394
 Firmus, Moor, 1 76, 77
 Flaccilla, daughter of Arcadius, 1 84
 Flaccitheus, 1 288
 Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, 1 190, 191
 Flavius, son of Heraclius, 11 213
Flavus, title taken by Reccared, 11 153, 166
Floire et Blanceflor, 1 321 323
 Florence, 11 110
 Florentinus, jurist, 1 371
 Florentius, 1 83
pr pr, 1 129
 Florus, general, 11 311
Foederati, 1 64, 108, 235, 241, 11 80, 344
Follis (gleba), 1 41, 136
 (coin), 1 41
 Forno, battle of, 11 301
 Fortunatus, see Venantius
 Forum of Constantine (= Augusteum), 1. 54, 343
 Forum Livii, 11 502
 Pompilius, 11 502
 Sempronius, 11 146
 Fostat, 11 271, 288
 Fraehn, C M, 11 338
 Frankochorion, 11 513
 Franks, settled by Probus, 11 31, 138; on Lower Rhine, 171, call in Attila, 175, 176, kingdom of, 283 285, relations with Ostrogoths, 382, attitude to the Empire, 396, 397, conquest, 11 32, allies of Lombards, 146, coalition with Romans, 147, 149 151, relations with Empire in sixth century, 159 *sgg*, 207; extension of power in eighth century, 513

Fravitta, 1. 87, 89
 Fredegarius, 1 482, 11 207, 215, 313
 Frederic II, Emperor, 11 52
 brother of Theodoric II, 1 242
 the Rugian, 1 288, 289
 Freeman, Mr, 1 138, 139, 156, 160, 168, 169, 11 42, 157, 170, 511, 519
 Friedlander, 1 21
 Friuli, 11 149, 513
 Fulgimum (Foligno), 1 394
 Fulvis, 11 64
 GABALA, 1 251
 Gabbulon, 1 377, 378
 Gabellum, 11 502
 Gades, 1 152
 Gaeta, 11 439
 Gaius, Goth, 1 66, 74, 78; *mag mil*, 80; revolt, 83 89, 114
 Gaiseric (Genseric), Vandal king, allied with Attila, 1 162, encourages piracy, 163, succeeds Gunderic, 168, religion, 170; treaty with Empire, 170, relations to Visigoths and Huns, 175; in Italy, 235, enmity with Ricimer, 241, policy in Leo's reign, 242, 243, character, 245, 249, death, 279, 385, 387
 Gaus, 1 368
 Galata, 1 57, 11 57, 402
 Galatae (Celts), 1 58
 Galatia, 11 199, 244, 492
Galatia Prima, 11 26, 27, 343
 Galbio, general, 1 168
 Galerius, Emperor, 1 17
 Galla Placidia, see Placidia
 Gallacia, 1 151, 155, 416
 Gallia Cisalpina, 11 146
 Gallienus, 11 326
 Gallienus, 1 31
 γαλλικόν, 11 302
 Gambling, laws against, 11 61
 Gangra, 11 452
 Ganzaca, 11 112, 231, 243
 γαροδοειδης, 11 455
 Garda, lake, 1 179, 11 514
 Garm, council of, 11 250
 Gasquet, M, 1 186, 261, 282, 283, 397, 405, 11 8, 126, 162
 Gass, W, 1 104, 195, 11 157, 190, 520
 Gates of Cilicia and Syria, 11 227
 γαυδαρι, 1 343, 11 168
 Gaudentius, Aetius' father, 1 160, captive in Africa, 243
 Aetius' son, 1 178, 182
 Gaudiosus, 11 158
 Gaul, 1 111, state of, in 409 A D, 117, 118, barbarians in, 138 *sgg*, elevates Avitus, 236 *sgg*, 242, imperial reminiscences in, 397, 11 152, 153, 159 *sgg*

Gaza, idolatry at, 1 200 202, 205, 301; taken by Saracens, 11 263
 Gebhardt, O von, 11 53
 Gegnaeus, 11 432
 Gelars, 1 385
 Gelasius, Pope, 1 193, 291
 Gelmer, 1 385 387
Gello, 11 521
 Gennadius, exarch 11 35, 154
 Genoa, 11 146, 148
 Genseric, see Gaiseric
 Gentzon, 11 130, 133
 Genzo, son of Gaiseric, 1 385
 Geography of Europe, at end of fifth century, 1 285, in 565 A D, 11 31 *sgg*
 George Buraphos, 11 369, 370
 of Cyprus, 11 498
 Hamartolus, 11 433
 lieutenant, 11 92
 Maniakes, 11 440
 Patriarch of Constantinople, 11 316, 317, 319
 of Pisidia, 11 197, 199, 207, 208, 213, 214, 224 226, 228 *sgg*, lost poems, 231, 232, 234, 236, hymn of, 241, 242, notice of, 256, 257
 the *syncellus*, 11 518
 Syrus, logothete, 11 363
 turmarch of Armeniakon, 11 347
 Gepids, subject to Huns, 1 166, kingdom of, 261, 285, fall of, 11 33, 35, 115, 116, 129, 141, 145, 147, 239
 Germania, in Illyricum, 1 341
 Germanica, 11 236, 398, 406, 407, 432
 Germans, the, subjectivity and adaptation for Christianity, 1 17, settlements of, 31 *sgg*, danger to Empire, 78 90, 107, 108, alliance with Empire to form a united Christendom, 173, 176, 178, 279
 Germanus, general of Maurice, 11 109, 199
 son of Dorotheus, 1 480, 481
 bishop of Damascus, 11 108, 109
 duke of Phoenicia, 11 109
 friend of Cassian, 1 10
 general of Theodosius II, 1 162
 nephew of Justinian I, 1 407, 411, 423, 11 22, 71
 Posthumus, 1 411, 412
 father-in law of Maurice's son Theodosius, 11 87 *sgg*, 109, 201
 Patriarch, 11 303, 368, 370, 371, 409, 432, 435, deposed, 436, 443, 498
 Gerontius, commander at Thermopylae, 1 67
 the tyrant maker, 1 140, 142, 143, 151, 167, 276
 Gesornacum (Worms), 1 171

Longina, i 293
 Longinus, Zeno's brother, i. 251, 252; imprisonment, 256; influence of, 259, rebels against Anastasius, 291, 293
 an Isaurian chief, i 293
 Isaurian, *mag mil.* i. 291-293
 (?), *περὶ ψύχου*, i. 310
 exarch, ii. 146, 147
Longobardus, ii. 340, 351, 439
 Longus, i 321-323
 Lothemon, i. 272
 Lucania, supplies an Emperor, i 241; reduced by Totila, 405; ii. 146
 Luceoli, ii. 146
 Luceia, ii. 300
 Lucian, *com. or.*, i. 63
 of Samosata, i 11
 Lucretius, i 8
 Ludwig, F., i 92
 Luetjohann, C., i. 329
Lugdunensis Prima, i. 239
 Lupus, martyr, ii. 132
 Lusitania, i 151
Lusorae, i. 127
Abra, i. 369
Lycandus, theme of, ii. 340, 351
 Lycaonia, ii. 346, 347
 Lychmidus, i. 268, 269, 271
 Lycians, disabilities of, i. 62, removed, 72
 Lydia oppressed, i 336
 MACARIUS, bishop of Jerusalem, ii. 217
 St., of Egypt, i 11
 Patriarch of Antioch, ii. 315, 317, 318
 Macedonia, Ostrogoths in, i. 262, 266 *sqq.*, 273, foits in, ii. 23, Slaves in, 278, 280, 292, 335, 484
Macedonia, theme of, ii. 351
 Macedonian months, ii. 281, 388
 Macedonians of Taurus, ii. 375
 Macedonius, heresy of, i 207
 Macrobius, i 329, ii. 192
Magarise, to—*magarite*, ii. 236; meaning and derivation of, 267, 431
Mag, the Persian, i 304, 305
Magister epistolarum, i. 45
libellorum, i. 45
memoriae, i 45
officiorum, i 45, 49, 264; ii. 173
milium, in Africa, ii. 35
in praesenti, i. 48, ii. 451
per Armeniam, i 377, 422, later development of, ii. 346, 347
per Illyricum, i 48
per Orientem, i 48, later history of, ii. 347, 348
per Thracias, i. 48
Magistrum, i. 45

Magna Graecia, ii. 439, 440
Magnaura, ii. 402, 495
 Magnentius, revolt of, i. 32, 33, 107, 108
 Magne, consul, ii. 76
 Magnus, curator of palace, ii. 165
 Mahaffy, Prof. J. P., i. 58, 207, 323, ii. 47, 136, 177, 290
 Mahdi, ii. 491, 492, 530
 Maimbourg, l'abbé, ii. 401
 Maina, ii. 394
 Majorian, attempts at reform, i 30, 239; comrade of Aetius, 234; blockades Avitus, 237, elevation, 238, policy, 239, in Gaul, *ib.*; ineffectuality, 240; fall, 241, 243; panegyric on, 329
 Majûf, ii. 492
 Majûmas, feast, i 296
 Malaga, i 415, 416, ii. 31
 Malagma, ii. 497
 Malalas, John, i. 128; passage quoted in full, 133, 134, 373, 378; ii. 169, 197, 209, source for seventh century history, 281, 410, date, 411
 Malchus, historian, on Leo, i 230, 231; on Zeno, 253 *sqq.* 261, 325, 327, 328
 Malik, ii. 406
 Mallet, M., i 359, 361-363
 Mamas, saint of *Apelatar*, ii. 356
 St., hippodrome of, ii. 464; church of, 488
 Mamigonians of Armenia, i 306
 Mananalis, ii. 396, 432
 Manasses, C., ii. 326
Mandator, ii. 56
Mandye, i. 43
 Manes, stratêgos, ii. 350, 446, 447, 466
Mangana, i 56, ii. 62
 Manichaeans, ii. 57, 396, 397
 Manssur, Abu Djafar, caliph ii. 529, 530
Mansus dominicus, i 28
 Manuel, *pr. aug.*, ii. 269, 271
 Manufactures at Constantinople, ii. 62
Mappa, ii. 56, 173
 Marcellinus, count (chronicler), i 62, 134, 174, 279, etc.
 count, in Sicily and Dalmatia, i. 242, 243; pagan, 244, against Vandals in Sardinia, 245; death, 246, 274
 tribune in Africa, i 194
 Marcellon, fort of, ii. 471, 476
 Marcellus, captain of guards, i 347, 476, 477
 brother of Justin II, ii. 84
 Marcian, Emperor, i 41; reign, 135, 136, 166, 180, 190, 191; policy, 231, 238, 338
 general of Justin II, ii. 98, 100
pr. of Rome, i 118
 son of Anthemius, i. 233; revolts, 258, 259, 272

Marcianopolis, Huns take, i 165; Goths at, 265; bishops of, ii. 15, 120, 121, 131
 Marcion, theory of, ii. 89
 Marcus, biographer of Porphyrius, i. 94, 199
 Graecus, ii. 319
 son of Basiliscus, i. 252
 tyrant in Britain, i. 138
 Mardates, ii. 312, 314, 321, 323, 350, 356, 374
 Margus, Huns at, i 162, 164; ii. 23
 Maria, daughter of Stilicho, i 77, 112
 wife of Constantine V, ii. 458, 459
 wife of Constantine VI, ii. 344, 483, divorced, 487
 wife of Hypatius, i. 343
 wife of Leo I, ii. 409
 Marianus, general in Egypt, ii. 271
 Marina, i. 123, death, 135, palace, ii. 202
 Marmus, Apsilian chief, i. 377
 biographer of Proclus, i. 13
 comptroller, ii. 413
 minister of Anastasius, i. 300, 302
 general in Egypt, ii. 271
 son of Heraclius, ii. 286
 Mariolatry, ii. 397, 423, 429
Μαριαρωτόν, i 54
 Marrast, M., i 345; ii. 58, 530
 Marriage, legislation on, ii. 73, 416, 417
 Marsa, i 93
 Martianus Capella, ii. 192
 Martin, general of Justinian, i. 430, 435-437, 453, 454, 456, 457; at Phasis, 458 *sqq.*
 general of Maurice, ii. 121, 122
 Pope ii. 293, 297, 298
 Martina, Empress, ii. 213, 220, 231, 247, 265, 266, 273, 282 *sqq.*
 daughter of foregoing, ii. 286
 Martimianus, i. 265
 Martyrius, count, i 131
 Martyropolis, i 307, 379; ii. 29, 103, 106; taken by Persians, 110, restored, 112, 235, 355
Marzpan, ii. 96
 Mascezel, i 77
 Massila, i. 147; ii. 162
 Matasuntha, i 391, 393, 411
Mauretania, two provinces of, ii. 35
Mauriacus, locus, i 177, ii. 536
 Maurianus, general, ii. 239
 magician, i 259
 Maurice, Emperor, treatise on *Strategic*, ii. 18, 19, 35, 68, 83, 172, count of federates, 80, 81, marriage, 82, elevated, *ib.*, reign, 83 *sqq.*; character, 84, 86, revolution against, and fall, 87 *sqq.*, policy, 93, 94; testament, 94, *comes excubitorum*, 103, invades Arzanene, etc., 104; reforms army, 104; victory at Constantina, 105,

unpopular policy, 109; assists Chosroes Eberwiz, 111, 112, 124; progress in Thrace, 124, 125; refuses to ransom captives, 139, 148, relations with Gregory I, 152, 154, 155, 160-165; titles, 166, 168, patron of literature, 182, 198; policy, 210, 223-225; funeral oration on, 255
 Maurice, son of Mundus, i. 389
 Mauron, reign of, ii. 328
 Maurus, archbishop of Ravenna, ii. 301
 sent against Cherson, ii. 363, 365
 Mavortius, general, i. 168
 Maximian, bishop of Ravenna, i. 253, ii. 44, 45, 154
 Egyptian trader, i. 234
 Maximin, *pr. Italiae*, i. 32
pr. pr. Italiae, ii. 37
 ex quaestor, i. 130
 tyrant, i 179
 ambassador to Attila, i. 166, 173, 213 *sqq.*
 Maximianopolis, ii. 23
 Maximus, tyrant, revolt of, i. 33, 138, 235
 tyrant in Spain, i 142, 143
 Petronius, Emperor, i. 181, 182; elevation, 234, fall, 235
 bishop of Salona, ii. 154
 anti monothelete, ii. 285, 292, 298
 Mayors of palace, ii. 385
 Mazdak, communist, i. 306, 307, 372
 Mebodes, ii. 106, 110
 Mecca, ii. 261, 262
 Media, ii. 105, 108, 231
 Medina, ii. 261
 Mediolanum, Attila at, i. 179, Ricimer at, 247; Theodoric at, 280, in Ostrogothic war, 395, ii. 6; taken by Lombards, 146
 Medism, i 454, 455
 Megas, bishop, i 423
 Melana, i. 131
 Melantias, i. 273, 479, 480
 Melas, river, ii. 101
 Melchites, ii. 6, 215, 249, 269
 Meleda, ii. 278
 Melings, ii. 455
 Meltene, ii. 29, 101; burnt, 102, 368, 406, 407
 Mèlon, ii. 491
 Memphis, ii. 270
 Menander Protector, i. 467, ii. 67, 97, 101, 169, 170, 178; notice of, 181, 182
 Mendelssohn, L., editor of Zosimus, i. 113, 115, 121, 326
 Mennas, Patriarch, ii. 3, 4, 5
 Merdasan, ii. 403
 Meril, M. É. du, on Christianity, i. 9; 323
 Merivale, Dean, i. 27

art at, ii. 41, 43 *sqq.*; personified, 54, 146, 148, 164, 223, 301; Justinian II wroth with, 366, 441; succoured by Venice, 441, 445; taken by Lombards, 500; passes to the papacy, 502; archbishops of, 504

Ravenna chronicle, i. 109

Rawlinson, Prof., i. 305-307, 427, 434; ii. 72, 101, 111, 112, 237, 241, 269

Razates, ii. 241, 242

Razman, ii. 200, 209

Reccared, ii. 153, 164

Rechiar slain, i. 237

Recitach, i. 263, 273

Red Sea route, ii. 63

Redemption, Pope Gregory's theory of, ii. 157

Regula Pastoralis, ii. 156

Remi, ii. 159

Renatus Frigeridus, extract from, i. 173

Republic, the (*Respublica*), ii. 165

Révillout, E., i. 191

ῥήξ, i. 327; ii. 21, 129, 170, 172, 173

Rhaetia, i. 285, 286

Rhecithancus, i. 430

Rhegium, in Italy, i. 390; ii. 446
in Thrace, ii. 90

Rheon, river, i. 452

Rhine frontier, i. 137

Rhinokopia, ii. 329

Rhode, E., i. 320

Rhodes, ii. 28; taken by Saracens, 290, 350, 372

Rhodope, Mount, ii. 12, 292

Rhoedestus, ii. 22

Richter, H., quoted, i. 61

Ricimer, patrician, i. 33; wealth, 62, 182; defeats Vandals, 236; deposes Avitus, 237, 238; deposes Majorian, 240; sets up Severus, 241; defends Italy, *ib.*; his political position, *ib.*; opposes Marcellinus, 242; relations to Leo I., 243; marriage, 244; hostility to Anthemius, 247; sets up Olybrius, 248; death, 249

Riparienses, i. 47

Rizates, *see* Razates

Robert Wiscard, i. 457

Robertson, Rev. J. C., ii. 7

Roby, Mr., i. 367, 368

Roesler, R., ii. 123, 334, 336, 516

ῥόγα, pay, ii. 172

Romagna, name, ii. 514

Romaioi, the, ii. 38, 39, 88, 111, 167; meaning of, 170; Romaic language, 168, 170-174

Romances, Greek, i. 320 *sqq.*; ii. 532

Romani, ii. 171; *Ῥωμαῖός*, 173

Romania, name, i. 148; ii. 290, 306, 376, 492, 514

Romanoi, ii. 277

Romanus, general of Anastasius, i. 295, 308
general of Maurice, ii. 110
governor of Bostra, ii. 263
St., hymn-writer, ii. 241

Rome, New, *see* Constantinople

Rome, Old, first siege by Alaric, i. 115; second siege, 117; Alaric at, for third time, 121; taken by Vandals, 235; buildings injured by Avitus, 237, 239; besieged by Ricimer, 248; Belisarius enters, 390, 391; Gothic siege, 392, 393, 408, 409; uninhabited, 410; re-occupied, *ib.*; third siege, 411; ii. 148, 152; design of Constans II in regard to, 299; Constans at, 301, 499 *sqq.*, 539

Romuald I., ii. 300-302

Romuald II, ii. 445

Romulus Augustulus, i. 216, 238, 276, 277; ii. 507

Romulus, count, i. 216, 276

ῥοταί, *ai*, date of treatise, i. 29

Rosamund, ii. 147

Roscelin, ii. 176

Rose, A., i. 290, 292, 295, 307

Rossano, ii. 53, 146

Rotharis, ii. 148, 300

Rotrud, ii. 483

Roun, kingdom of, ii. 514

Roumanians, ii. 15, 21; language, 123, 172, 516

Rousseau, view of history, i. 16

Rufinianum, i. 347

Rufinus, *pr. pr.*, i. 62-67, 347

Rufus, protostrator, ii. 369

Rugians, the, i. 286, 288, 289

Rugila (Rua), Hun king, i. 160-162

Rumia, i. 427

Runchines, ii. 280, 338

Russians, the, ii. 335, 474, 539

Rusticius, i. 216

Rusticus, i. 454-456

Rusumbladeotus, i. 250

Rutilius Namatianus, i. 147, 328

SABBATES, said to be father of Justinian, ii. 58

Sabin, ii. 472, 473

Sabinian, general of Anastasius, i. 285

Sabinianus, general of Zeno, i. 269, 271, 272

Sabiri, Huns, i. 300, 447, 458; ii. 115

Saborius, revolt of, ii. 306, 307, 322, 341

Sabulente Canalin, ii. 121, 127

Saburrus, ii. 301

Sacae, ii. 96

Saccudion, monastery, ii. 487, 523

Sacellarius, ii. 206, 295, 324, 325, 414

Šaes, ii. 231-234, 237; death, 238

Safarik, ii. 12, 17, 275

Sagoleba, ii. 296

Said, conqueror of Persia, ii. 268
revolt of, ii. 320

Saif, Homerite, ii. 96

Sakalibe, ii. 404

Salarian bridge, i. 414; ii. 442

Salban (Van), ii. 235

Salerno, ii. 448

Sallustius, rebel in Gaul, i. 146

Salona, i. 66, 67, 157, 158, 245, 275, 276, 389, 390; ii. 42, 154; Slaves at, 277

Salvian, captain of Priscus, ii. 126, 127
theologian, i. 10; on contemporary morals, 31; *de gub. Dei*, 311, 312, 330; ii. 468

Salvina, i. 76, 95

Salzenberg, ii. 49, 50, 51

Samaritans, i. 377; ii. 72, 76

Samos, theme of, ii. 351

Samosata, ii. 236

Samothrace, ii. 476

Samovili, ii. 19

Sampson, hospice of, i. 56, 343

Sandichl, i. 477, 478, 481, 482

Sapaudia (Savoy), i. 171

Sapor, i. 304, 425

Sappho, i. 322; ii. 521

Sarablagas, ii. 233, 234

Saracens, of Arabia Petraea, i. 231, 232; in Africa, 236; of Hirah, ii. 95, 231; rise of their power, 246; Mohammedanism, 260; dismember Roman Empire, 262 *sqq.*; in Sicily, 294, 297; in Africa, 353; Saracen coinage, 322; siege of Constantinople (717 A.D.), 401; in Gaul and Spain, 512

Sardica (Sofia), ii. 12, 13, 21, 476

Sardinia, under Vandals, i. 171, 245, 285; Totila at, 411, 471; ii. 35, 38, 302, 303, 520

Sardis, ii. 451

Sargathon, battle of, ii. 98, 100

Sarmatians, Constantine's settlements of, i. 32; attacked by Ostrogoths, 262

Sarosius, Alan sovereign, ii. 115

Sarus, Goth, i. 114, 121, 140; death, 145, 149
river, battle of the, ii. 236

Satages, ii. 20

Satala, ii. 28, 200

Sathas, M. Constantine, i. 198, 252; ii. 312, 321, 323, 344, 356, 374, 433, 434, 455

Saturinus, i. 73, 86
com. excub., i. 134, 135

Satyros, ii. 403

Savia, province of, i. 262

Saxons, ii. 32, 513

Scala, R. von, ii. 64, 538

Scalae Veteres, i. 388

Scamars, i. 286; ii. 117, 473

Scampa, i. 268

Scanda, i. 450

Scardus mountains, i. 268

Scarlatus Byzantius, i. 56

Sceparnas, i. 445

Schadenfreude, idea of, i. 358

Scheffer, J., ii. 16

Schirin, ii. 242, 243

Schirren, i. 412

Schlosser, ii. 300, 309, 401, 487, 488

Schnurer, G., i. 192

Scholares, i. 49; decline, 254, 479

Scholasticus, ii. 180

Schurahbil, ii. 263

Scipio, *Scipiadae*, ii. 244

Sclavinia, ii. 279, 292, 336, 471, 476

Scopis, ii. 131

Scottas the Hun, i. 214, 215

Sculpture, ii. 41

Scultenna, battle of the, ii. 148

Scymnia, i. 452

Seyri, i. 126, 263

Scythia, province of, i. 165; Ostrogoths in, 262; Vitalian in, 299; ii. 137

Scythians, i. 214 *sqq.*, 223

Sebaste, ii. 101, 102

Sebastea, ii. 28; theme of, 340, 351

Sebastian, general of Isaurians, i. 373
martyr, son-in-law of Boniface, i. 163
tyrant, i. 145
minister of Zeno, i. 253, 254

Sebastopolis, ii. 28; battle of, 322, 328
Σεβαστόλις, ii. 174

Secret History, the, i. 339, 347, 351, 355, 356, 358; problem discussed, 359 *sqq.*; ii. 61

Secundinus, i. 293

Securisca (Curisca), ii. 22, 87, 132

Seeck, O., i. 53

Segontia, i. 417

Seleucia, port of Antioch, i. 425
in Cilicia, ii. 342

Seleucobolus, ii. 306

Selymbria, ii. 222, 223, 475

Sémaliños, ii. 479

Semi-barbarians, i. 33

Semi-pelagianism, i. 196

Semites, characteristics of, ii. 259, 260

Senate at Constantinople, i. 38, 39; ii. 524

Senate-house of Julian, i. 38, 39; site of, 55; burnt, 232

Senators, taxes on, i. 29, 40; class of, 38 *sqq.*

Senegallia, ii. 146

Septos, ii. 200, 207, 209, 220, 224, 238, 265

Sepinum, ii. 333

Septae, in Tingitana, ii. 284

Septem Provinciae, i. 153

Septimania, ii. 512, 513

Thescos, 1, 478
 Thessalon marbles, 11 50
 Thessalonica, 1 105, 158, Ostrogoths at, 262, 269, 11 22, 23; art at, 41, 47 *sqq*, Avars besiege, 134, 135; history of, 136, walls of, *ib.*; tumults at, 198; Slaves besiege, 280; play on name, 290, besieged by Slaves, 337, 338, government of, 345; theme of, 351, retreat of Anastasius II, 373, 408, 409, 487
 Thessaly, 11 23
 Theudebald, 1 397, 414
 Theudebert, king of Austrasia, 1 395, 397; 11 163
 Theudelinda, 11 151
 Theuderic, son of Chlodwig, 1 397
 Theudimund, brother of Theodoric, 1 271
 Theudis, 1 415
 Thierry, Am, 1 92, 93, 276
Tholi (θολῶτα), 11 47
Thomantes, 1 55
 Thomaschos, 11 289
 Thomas of Claudiopolis, 11 435
 a secretary of Justinian, 1 345
 Patriarch, 11 206
 commandant in Damascus, 11 265
 archbishop of Canterbury, 11 316
 rebels against Michael II, 11 452
 Thormund, king of Visigoths, 1 177
 Thrace, barbarian settlements in, 1 32, Huns invade, 164; Ostrogoths in, 264 *sqq*; Slaves and Bulgarians in, 294, Cotiguus in, 478 *sqq*; history of, 11 10, geography of, 11 *sqq*, 17, Slaves invade, 21; defences of, 22 *sqq*; invaded by Slaves and Avars, 114 *sqq*, stratega of, 345, 346, theme of, 351, Isaurians in, 374, 384, 470 *sqq*
Thracian theme, 11 343, 345, 348, 350, 351, 451, 466, 485
 Thracian Illyrian peoples, 11 14
 Thrasamund, king of Vandals, 1 382, 385
 Thraustila, 1 182
Three Articles, controversy of, 1 411; 11 4 6
 Thucydides, 11 181
 Thuringia, 11 115, 134
 Thuringians, 1 177; cruelty, 178, 286; kings of, 382; 11 35
 Thyatira, 1 86
 Tiberias, 11 247, 267
 Tiberius I, 1 27
 Tiberius II, 11 67, 68, 73, 74, made Caesar, 77, 100; Augustus, 78, reign, 79 *sqq*; extravagance, 80; policy, 93, 95, 101; made peace with Avars, 105, 117, 151; medal, 160
 Tiberius III, 11 342, 350, 352, reign, 354 *sqq*

Tiberius, son of Maurice, 11 94
 David, 11 286, 287
 son of Constans II, 11 308, 309, 316
 son of Justinian II, 11 365
 Petasius, 11 443
 Ticinum, 1 112, 179; 247, 275; held by Ostrogoths, 404, 413; 11 146, 149, 502
 Tiflis, 11 288
 Tikveš, 11 474
 Tillemont quoted, 1 228, etc
 Timasius, 1 70, 73
 Timotheus, an actor, 1 301
 Timothy (Weasel), 1 191
 (*Salophalaros*?), 1 191, 192
 Timseh, 11 272
 Tingitana, Provincia, 1 141, 11 32, 34
 Tridates, 11 451
 Tisamene, mother of Gratian, 1 115
 Titus, Emperor, 11 30
 Todi, 1 394
 Toktu, 11 473
 Tolbiacum, battle of, 1 171
 Toledo, 11 394
 Tolosa (Toulouse), 1 142, 147, 152, kingdom of, 167, 172, 175; Avitus proclaimed at, 236, 327, 11 163
 Tomi, 1 121, 137, 140, 141
 Topesius, 11 22
Toraa (τόρα), 11 123, 172
 Tortona, 1 240
 Totila, 1 323, accession, 405; career, 405 *sqq*; death, 413, coins, 405
 Tougard, M 1 abbe, 11 392
 τοῦλδον, 11 168, 171, 172
 Tours, 1 397
 Tovin, 11 322
 Tozer, Mr, 1 268; 11 7, 41, 136, 432, 498, 525
 Trachea, 1 445
 Tragurium (Trau), 11 276
 Trajan, Emperor, 1 16
 general, 1 432
 name among Slaves, 11 16, 19
 Trajanopolis, 11 23
 Transmund, 11 445, 499
 Trapezus, 1 473, 11 28
 Travouni, 11 278
 Trevirus, Life of St, 1 397
 Tribalh, 11 16
 Tribigild, count, 1 82 *sqq*, 114
 Tribonian, 1 341, 349, 366, 367, 369
Tribunal of the Nineteen Accubits, 11 409, 436, 478
 Tribunus, 1 440
 Tricameron, 1 386
 Tricca, 11 23
 Trident, duchy of, 11 149

1 Šafarik's identification with Mankala has been abandoned. Kustenge corresponds to Constantiana, a little north of Tomi.

Trier (Colonia Trevirorum, or Treviri), 1 140
 Trigetius, 1 179
Trilinos of Justinian II, 11 325, 326, 489
 Tripolis, 1 245, 386; 11 288, 302
 in Phoenicia, 11 290
Trisagios, hymn, 1 297
 Troad, marbles from, 11 49
 Trocundus, 1 257
 Troilus, poet, 1 82, 90, 320
 Tropaeum, 11 120
τροπάρια, 11 241
τρουλλῶτα, 11 47
Trullus, domed room in palace, 11 316
 Tryphiodorus, 1 320
 Tryphon, 1 342
Tsar, title, 11 516
Tu vinca, 11 173
 Tudunus, 1 363, 364
 Tufa, 1 280
Tuga, 11 275, 276
 Tumult valley of, 11 272
 Tundža, river, 11 473
 Turcilingi, 1 286
 Turks settlement at Constantinople, 11 63, embassy, 96, 97, 99, 115, 406
 Turpilio, *mag mil*, 1 113, 115
 Turrus, 11 21
 Tuscra, 11 38, 146; duchy, 149, 503
 Twelve Tables, authority abolished, 1 352, 370
 Tyana, 11 362, 367
Tyche, 11 54, 178, 180
Tyrrhe, the (of Constans), 11 293, 304
 Tyrrhos, brother of Aurelian, 1 80 *sq*
 Tzichar, 1 463 *sqq*
τζαγγαρεία, 11 57
 Tzani, 1 163, 441, 450, 458, 459, 469
 Tzathes, Colchian king, 1 456, 462
 (Tzath), Colchian, 1 372
 Trazo, 1 386
 Tzetztes, J, 1 482
 Tziblon, 1 446
Τζυγανος, 11 474
Tzukan, game of, 1 199
Tzukanisterion, 1 199
 Tzukanisterion, plum of, 11 466
 Tzurulon, 11 127, 128

UCHIMFRUM, 1 452

Ugro Fimnic rucs, 11 331
 Ulides, king of Huns, 1 39, 126, 161
 Ulfilas, general, 1 143, 144
 Ulpianus, 11 21
 Umm Dunin, 11 270
 Unger, F W, 11 43, 48, 50

1 Zeus, held that Tu lanus is not a proper name, but a title of a Khazar governor of Cherson and appeals to a passage in Einhard (*Die Deutschen und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 739)

University at Constantinople, 1 128, 11 1
Ἰπαιος, 11 172, 382
 Uranius, pseudo philosopher, 11 176
 Urbicus, chamberlain, 1 255, 290
 Urbicus, battle of, 1 236
 Urbino, 1 394, 11 146
 Ursus, duke of Venice, 11 442
 Ushub, 11 7
 Utrigui Huns, 1 477, 478, 481, 482, 11 115
 VAHAN, governor of Armenia, 1 306
 Valens, Emperor, 1 32, 91, Arianism of, 185
com domest, 1 115, *mag mil*, 118, 119
 Valentia, city of, 1 140, 146, 416
 Valentinian I, 1 138
 Valentinian II, 1 185
 Valentinian III, 1 124, 129, 131, 151, 158, 159, 172, 174, character, 174, 181 death, 182, 183, 191, influence, 241, 261
 Valentinian revolts against Constans, 11 287
 Valentinus of Selge, 1 83
 squire, 11 283, 284, 286, 287
 Valeria, sister in law of Zeno, 1 293
 Valerian, Emperor, 1 67, 304, 425
 general, 1 412, 430, 435, 436, 458
 Vahd, caliph, 11 362, 371
 Van, see Salbu
 Vandals, settlements of, in third century, 1 31, cross Rhine, 138, in Gaul, 140, 141, enter Spain, 142, in Spain, 151, expedition against in Spain, 155, 156, fleet of, 162, expedition against, 162, enter Africa, 168, expedition against (430 A.D.), 168, *sortes I and*, 170, unique position, 170, 171 danger from, 182, ravage Italy, 235, defeated by Ricimer, 236
 Majorian's preparations against, 240, threaten Sicily, 242, Leo's expedition against, 244 *sqq*, persecute Catholics, 245, in Sicily, 284, 285, 382, 384, 11 35, 36
 Varahran I, 1 304
 Varahran II, 1 305, 306
 Varahran III, 11 110, 112
 Varanes, *mag mil*, 1 113, 115
 Varangian guard, 11 80
 Vardar, valley of, 1 165
 Varua, 11 334, 360, 471
 Varnucion, 11 353
 Varro, 11 192
 Vartan, 11 264
 Vandois, 11 397
 Veglia, 11 277
 Vekral, 11 242
 Venables, Mr E, 1 92

