

# **The Chronicle of John Malalas**

**Books 16-18**

**(A.D. 491-563)**

**Translated from Greek by**

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Finally all of us in the group recognize that collectively we owe more than we can say to our long-suffering spouses and families, who have found themselves living with John Malalas for longer than they expected.

## PREFACE

The chronicle of John Malalas is the earliest extant example of a Byzantine world chronicle. Written at a linguistic level that approaches the vernacular, it gives an insight into an average Byzantine's view of the past. Not only is this work fascinating in itself, but it strongly influenced later writers in the genre, which flourished in the Greek-speaking world until the sixteenth century; it also deeply affected the Syriac and especially the Slavonic historiographical traditions. However, until now, no translation of the whole text has been made into a modern European language, and only a few excerpts have been made available (eg the portions of Book 18 translated by Veh, 1970). Furthermore, there is no satisfactory text. Until I. Thurn's new edition (announced in the series *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*) becomes available, one must still have recourse to that of L. Dindorf, published in the Bonn Corpus in 1831.

In 1980 Roger Scott in Melbourne and a group of Byzantinists and classicists in Sydney discovered that they had each, working independently, produced versions of Book 18 of Malalas: Roger Scott some years previously for teaching purposes, the others as the programme of a reading group. It was decided to pool resources and to tackle the whole chronicle. Books were assigned to individuals, who produced first drafts which were then discussed line by line in a series of meetings. Since the chronicle has a highly repetitious style, a list of the more common phrases was drawn up and versions agreed upon, which were then imposed as far as possible over the whole chronicle to ensure a consistency of approach matching that of Malalas. The revised version was circulated for further comment.

It quickly became apparent that simply translating Dindorf's often unsatisfactory edition of the unique Oxford manuscript (itself long recognised to be, in places, an abbreviation) raised more problems than it solved. A decision was taken to face the issue of the lost original and present in a 'subtext' such evidence as could be found for the original version. The material for the subtext was collected and drafted by Elizabeth and Michael Jeffreys. Simon Franklin worked on the Slavonic texts and presented their evidence in usable form; Brian Parker was cajoled into reading the sections of Pseudo-Dionysios of Tell Mahre not translated by Chabot while Witold Witaboski provided further advice. None of these can be held responsible for any distortions the editors may have perpetrated in using their work.

We have not attempted to present the material in the subtext in Greek, or in whatever language it now happens to be preserved, partly because this would be encroaching on Thurn's territory, partly because of the considerable number of these languages (Slavonic, Syriac, Ethiopic, Latin), and partly because we would like this material to be accessible to undergraduate students of late antiquity as well as to specialists. As so many languages are involved and especially since Malalas' Greek is difficult to recover as a result of abbreviation and linguistic 'correction', there seems positive merit in publishing a kind of edition in translation in some neutral modern language. This will provide a more readable guide to the available evidence on what Malalas wrote than any conceivable edition in the original.

The Introduction to this volume is brief. Most space is given to explaining the principles on which the subtext has been compiled and discussing the texts which are used in it. Further discussion of these issues and on the nature of the chronicle will be provided, and our conclusions on the identity of Malalas and his position in Byzantine society will be explained and defended, in a forthcoming volume, *Studies in John Malalas* (*Byzantina Australiensia* 6). Other material which has been collected in the course of preparing this translation will be presented later in the form of a commentary.

The roles played by members of the group will also become more apparent in these future volumes. While everyone has joined in the translation process, our historians are Brian Croke (who has written the section on author and genre in the Introduction), Jenny Ferber, Douglas Kelly, Ann Nixon and Roger Scott. Alan James has kept a classicist's rigorous eye on the early material, Douglas Kelly has performed a similar function for the middle books and Roger Scott for the later; Michael Jeffreys has scoured the secondary literature; Ann Moffatt has checked on the references to artistic monuments and read the translation in an effort to eliminate undue 'translationese'; Elizabeth Jeffreys has co-ordinated the multifarious revisions into a coherent whole. The project has been held together by Roger Scott and Elizabeth Jeffreys, who have also undertaken the editing and production and who, with Michael Jeffreys, must take the responsibility but not the credit for our team's final version.

We hope that this volume will not only introduce to a wider audience an unjustly neglected figure in Byzantine cultural history but also act as a stimulus to further work on the chronicle tradition of the ancient and medieval world.

Elizabeth Jeffreys  
Michael Jeffreys  
Roger Scott

# ABBREVIATIONS

The following is not an attempt at a complete bibliography of material on Malalas, but simply lists the texts and secondary literature referred to in the introduction and in the subtext to the translation.

- A** Parisinus Graecus 1336, ff 143-161: 'Εκλογὴ τῶν χρονικῶν; Cramer, 1839, 231-42.
- Abr(amovich)** D.I. Abramovich, *Otryvok khroniki Ioanna Malaly v Zlatostruye XIIv, Sbornik statey v chest' akademika A.I. Sobolevskogo*, Leningrad, 1928, 19-24.
- Acts** See New Testament.
- AJA** *American Journal of Archaeology*.
- Allen, 1981** P. Allen, *Evagrius Scholasticus, the Church Historian*, Louvain.
- Amelotti and Zingale, 1977** M. Amelotti and L.M. Zingale, edd., *Scritti teologici ed ecclesiastici di Giustiniano*, Milan.
- Anon Mal** Malalas, *Chronographia*, Book 1; L. Dindorf, ed., Bonn, 1831.
- Arkh** Arkhijivskiy khronograf (the 'Archive' Compendium), cited from Ist (see below).  
MSS: Arkh = TSGADA, sobr GAMID 279/658.  
*Vil* (see below).
- B** Parisinus Graecus 1630, ff 234-9: Johannes Antiochenus; Müller, FHG IV, 540-9.
- Ba** Oxford, Baroccianus 182.
- Baldwin, 1981** B. Baldwin, The date of a circus dialogue, *REB* 39, 301-6.
- Beck, 1959** H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich.
- Bentley** R. Bentley, Epistula ad J. Millium, in Malalas, *Chronographia*; L. Dindorf, ed., Bonn, 1831, 679-755.
- Beševliev, 1980** V. Beševliev, Die Nachrichten des Malalas über die Bulgaren bei Theophanes, *Byzantina* 10, 339-46.
- Bikerman, 1951** E. Bikerman, Les Maccabées de Malalas, *Byzantion* 21, 63-83.
- BMGS** *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*.
- Bo** Malalas, *Chronographia*; L. Dindorf, ed., Bonn, 1831.
- Bourier, 1900** H. Bourier, Über die Quellen der ersten vierzehn Bücher des Johannes Malalas, I-II, *Programm des kgl. hum. Gymnasium St Stephan*, Augsburg, 1899/1900.
- Brock, 1984** S. Brock, Some Syriac excerpts from Greek collections of pagan prophecies, *Vigiliae Christianae* 38, 77-90.
- Brooks, 1892** E.W. Brooks, The date of the historian John Malala, *EHR* 7, 291-301.
- Bury, 1897** J.B. Bury, The text of the codex Baroccianus, *BZ* 6, 219-30.
- Bury, 1897a** -----, The Nika Riot, *JHS* 17, 92-119.
- Bury, 1923** -----, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the death of Theodosius I to the death of Justinian (395-565)*, vol. 2, London.
- BZ** *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.
- C** Parisinus Graecus 854, ff 71-99: 'Εκλογὴ ιστοριῶν; Cramer, 1839, 166-230.
- Cameron, 1973** Alan Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer*, Oxford.

- Cameron, 1976 ----, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium*, Oxford.
- Cameron, 1976a ----, Theodorus τρισέπαρχος, *GRBS* 17, 269-86.
- Cameron, 1978 ----, Cyril of Scythopolis, V. Sabae 53; a note on κατά in late Greek, *Glotta* 56, 87-94.
- Cameron, 1982 ----, The empress and the poet: paganism and politics at the court of Theodosius II, *Yale Classical Studies* 27, 217-89.
- Cantarella, 1970 R. Cantarella, Giovanni Malalas, Themis e le origini della tragedia, *Acme* 23/24, 61-66.
- Cantarella, 1972/3 ----, Parva quaedam, *Athena* 83/4, 525-31.
- Charles, 1916 See JN.
- Chernysheva, 1983 M. I. Chernysheva, O sootnoshenii slavyanskogo perevoda'Khroniki Ioanna Malaly' i yeye grecheskogo teksta (na materiale portretnoyleksiki), *Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoy Literatury* 37, 222-8.
- Chil Malalas, *Chronographia*; E. Chilmead, ed., Oxford, 1691.
- Chrysos, 1966 E. Chrysos, Eine Konjektur zu Johannes Malalas, *JÖBG* 15, 147-52.
- Conybeare, 1902 F.C. Conybeare, The Relation of the Paschal Chronicle to Malalas, *BZ* 11, 395-405.
- Costanza, 1959 S. Costanza, Sull'utilizzazione di alcune citazione teologiche nella cronografia di Giovanni Malala e in due testi agiografici, *BZ* 52, 247-52.
- CP Chronicon Paschale; L. Dindorf, ed., Bonn, 1832.
- CP *Classical Philology*.
- Cramer, 1839 J.A. Cramer, ed., *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis*, vol. 2, Oxford, reprinted Hildesheim, 1967.
- Croke, 1981 B. Croke, Two early Byzantine earthquakes and their liturgical commemoration, *Byzantion* 51, 122-47.
- Croke, 1983 ----, Basiliscus the boy-emperor, *GRBS* 24, 81-91.
- Croke, 1983a ----, The origins of the Christian world chronicle, in *History and Historians in Late Antiquity*; B. Croke and A.M. Emmett, ed., Sydney, 116-131.
- CSCO Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.
- Cyril Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Julianum* I, PG 76, cols 552-6.
- Da Dares, *De excidio Troiae historia*; F. Meister, ed., Leipzig, 1873.
- Dagron, 1974 G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Paris.
- Daniel* See *Septuagint*.
- de Boor See Th.
- de Boor, 1904 See GM
- De insid Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpta de insidiis*, in *Excerpta historica*; C. de Boor, ed., Berlin, 1905, 151-176.
- De virt Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis*, in *Excerpta historica*; T.Büttner-Wobst and A.G. Roos, ed., Berlin, 1906-10, 157-63.
- Dihle, 1976 A. Dihle, Textkritische Bemerkungen zu frühbyzantinischen Autoren, *BZ* 69, 1-8.
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- Downey, 1938 -----, Seleucid Chronology in Malalas, *AJA* 42, 102-20.
- Downey, 1961 -----, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*, Princeton.
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- Dulière, 1970 -----, Protection permanente contre des animaux nuisibles assurée par Apollonius de Tyane dans Byzance et Antioche. Evolution de son mythe, *BZ* 63, 247-77.
- Eccl Hist Parisinus Graecus 1555A, ff 7r-23r: 'Εκλογὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας; Cramer, 1839, 87-114.
- EEBS 'Επετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν.
- EL Letopisets ellinskiy i rimskiy ('Hellenic and Roman Chronicler'), cited from Ist (see below) and Mify (see below); paragraph references according to Tvorogrov, 1975, 274-304.  
MSS: see Tvorogrov, 1975, 111-9.
- EHR *English Historical Review*.
- Ensslin, 1949 W. Ensslin, Zu den Kriegen des Sassaniden Schapur I, *Sitzungsberichte des bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil-hist. Klasse*, 1947 (published 1949), Bd. 5.
- Erbse, 1941 H. Erbse, *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien*, Hamburg.
- Eur Euripides, *Iph(igenia) Taur(ica)*, *Herakl(eidae)*, *And(romache)*, *Bac(chae)*; G. Murray, ed., Oxford, 1902-9.
- Eusebios R. Helm, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, Berlin, 1956.
- Ev Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*; J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, edd., London, 1898; reprinted Amsterdam, 1964.
- Festugière, 1978 A.J. Festugière, Notabilia dans Malalas I, *RPh* 52, 221-41.
- Festugière, 1979 -----, Notabilia dans Malalas II, *RPh* 53, 227-37.
- Festugière IV -----, *Corpus Hermeticum*, vol. 4, Paris, 1954.
- FHG C. Müller, ed., *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, 4 vols., Paris, 1848-51.
- FGrHist F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Leiden, 1923-.
- Förster, 1897 R. Förster, Antiochia am Orontes, *Jahrbuch des k. deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 12, 103-49.
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- Gelzer, 1885 -----, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinischen Chronographie*, vol. 2, Leipzig (both vols reprinted in one, New York, 1967).
- Genesis See *Septuagint*.
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- Gleye, 1894 -----, review of Sestakov, 1890, in *BZ* 3, 625-30.



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 Gleye, 1899 -----, review of Ist, Book 1, in *BZ* 8, 499-508.  
 Gleye, 1899a -----, Über monophysitische Spuren in Malalaswerke, *BZ* 8, 312-27.  
 GM George Monachos, *Chronicon*; C. de Boor, ed., Leipzig, 1904; 2nd ed., P. Wirth, Stuttgart, 1978.
- GRBS* *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies.*  
 Gr Chron L.M. Whitby, The Great Chronographer and Theophanes, *BMGS* 8, 1982/3, 1-20.
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 Haury, 1900 J. Haury, Johannes Malalas identisch mit dem Patriarchen Johannes Scholastikos? *BZ* 9, 337-56.
- Hdt Herodotus, *Historiae*; C. Hude, ed., Oxford, 1908.  
 Hes Ἡσυχίου ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὴν Χριστοῦ γέννησιν; H. Hody, ed., Prolegomena, in Bo, lii-liii
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 Hunger, 1979 -----, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. 2, Munich.  
 Hyp 'Hypatian Chronicle', *Polnoye sobraniye russkikh lekopisey*, II.2, St Petersburg, 1908.
- Iliad* Homer, *Iliad*; D.B. Munro and T.W. Allen, edd., Oxford, 1920.  
 IP Isaac Porphyrogenitus, Περὶ ἰδιότητος καὶ χαρακτήρων τῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Τρώων, in *Polemonis declamationes*; H. Hinck, ed., Leipzig, 1873, 57-88.
- Isaiah* See *Septuagint.*  
 Ist V. Istrin, *Khronika Ioanna Malaly v slavyanskom perevode*:  
 Book 1: *Zapiski Imp. Akademii Nauk*, ser. 8, vol. 1, no. 3, St Petersburg, 1897, 1-23.  
 Book 2: *Letopis' istoriko-filologicheskogo obshchestva pri Imp. Novorossiyskom universitete*, 10. vizantiysko-slavyanskiy otdel 7, Odessa, 1902, 437-86 (subsidiary pagination 1-22 for text).  
 Book 3: *Sbornik otdeleniya russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Ak.Nauk* (= SbORYaS) 91.2, 1914, 49-51.  
 Book 4: *Letopis' istoriko-filologicheskogo obshchestva pri Imp. Novorossiyskom universitete*, 13, viz.-slav. 8, 1905, 342-67 (text 1-15).  
 Book 5: *ibid*, 16, viz.-slav. 9, 1910, 1-51  
 Books 6-7: SbORYaS 89.3, St Petersburg, 1911, 4-50.  
 Books 8-9: SbORYaS 89.7, 1912, 1-39.  
 Book 10: *Letopis' ist.-fil., obshch.pri Imp. Novorossiyskom universitete* 17, 1912, 3-44.  
 Books 11-14: SbORYaS 90.2, 1913, 1-31.  
 Books 15-18: SbORYaS 91.2, 1914, 1-47.

- JA Johannes Antiochenus, Fragments; in FHG IV, 540-622.  
 JD John of Damascus, *De Imaginibus oratio III*, PG 94, cols 1369-73.  
 JE John of Ephesos, *Commentarii de beatis orientalibus et historiae ecclesiasticae fragmenta*; W.J. van Douwen and J.P.N. Land, trans., Amsterdam, 1889, 224-43.  
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 Jeffreys, 1979 -----, The attitudes of Byzantine chroniclers towards ancient history, *Byzantion* 49, 199-238.  
*JHS* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.  
 JM John Moschos, *Pratum Spirituale*, PG 87, cols 2888-9.  
 JN *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*; R.H. Charles, trans., Oxford, 1916.  
*JÖB* *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, formerly *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft*.  
*JÖBG* See *JÖB*.  
 Jones, 1962 A.H.M. Jones, The constitutional position of Odoacer and Theoderic, *JRS* 52, 126-30.  
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 Jones, 1971 -----, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, 2nd ed., Oxford.  
 Josephos Josephos, Ant: Jewish Antiquities; BJ: Jewish War; S.A. Naber, ed., 6 vols., Leipzig, 1888-96.  
 Jo Styl *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*; W. Wright, trans., Cambridge, 1882.  
*JRS* *Journal of Roman Studies*.  
 Justinian, C *Codex Iustinianus*; P. Krüger, ed., *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. 2, Berlin, 1929, reprinted 1954.  
 Justinian, Nov *Novellae*; R. Schöll and W. Kroll, ed., in *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. 3, Berlin, 1928, reprinted 1954.  
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 Kern, *Orph Fr* O. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, Berlin, 1922.  
*Kings* See *Septuagint*.  
 KPW *Der Kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike*, 5 vols, Munich, 1979.  
 Krumbacher, 1897 K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, Munich.  
 KVI *Khronograf po velikomu izlozheniyu* ('A Chronicle taken from the Great Narrative'), cited from *Pol.Pal.* (see below).  
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 LG Parisinus Graecus 854, ff 328-422: Leo Grammaticus; Cramer, 1839, 243-379 (reprinted Bonn, 1842).  
 Liebeschutz, 1972 J.H.W.G. Liebeschutz, *Antioch: city and imperial administration in the later Roman Empire*, Oxford.  
 LSJ H.G. Liddell, R. Scott and H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed., Oxford, 1940.  
 Lucan Lucan, *Belli civilis libri decem*; A.E. Housman, ed., Oxford, 1926.  
*Luke* See *New Testament*.  
 LM Laterculus Malalianus; T. Mommsen, ed., MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi 13, *Chronica Minora* 3, Berlin, 1898, reprinted 1961, 424-37.  
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- Mark See *New Testament*.
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- Matthew See *New Testament*.
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- Meyer, 1897 P. Meyer, Zur Chronologie der *praefecti Aegypti* in zweiten Jahrhundert, *Hermes* 32, 210-34.
- MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
- Mify O.V Tvorogov, Antichnyye mify v drevnerusskoy literature XI-XVI vv, *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoy literatury* 33, 1979, 1-31.
- MK Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians*; R.W. Thomson, trans., Cambridge, Mass., 1978.
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- PL Patrologia Latina
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## Special abbreviations

app	in the subtext
c.	circa
cent.	century
corr	correction, corrected by
cos	consul
d.	died
fl.	flourished
fr.	fragment
M*	the original form of Malalas' chronicle (see p. xxvii)
mod.	modern
MUM	<i>magister utriusque militiae</i> (commander of both infantry and cavalry)
Mag.off .	<i>magister officiorum</i> (see glossary)
ms, mss	manuscript(s)
PPO	<i>praefectus praetorio</i> (praetorian prefect; see glossary)
PSC	<i>praepositus sacri cubiculi</i> (see glossary)
PUC	<i>praefectus urbis Constantinopoleos</i> (city prefect)
QSP	<i>quaestor sacri palatii</i> (see glossary)
s.v.	<i>sub voce</i> (see under)

# AUTHOR AND GENRE

## The aim and scope of the chronicle

The chronicle of John Malalas treated the period from Adam to at least AD 565 in eighteen books, the longest of which is Book 18 covering the reign of Justinian.<sup>1</sup> Although composed in two separate versions decades apart, it is probably a unified work by a single author. As indicated in the preface to the chronicle (see p. 1 below), Malalas' purpose in writing his work is twofold: 1) to set out the course of sacred history as interpreted by the Christian chronicle tradition (covered by Books 1-9); and 2) to provide a summary account of events under the Roman emperors up to and including his own lifetime (covered by Books 10-18). Throughout the chronicle he follows his purpose consistently, using in Books 1-8 the chronology of Hebrew history as a framework into which he integrates the history of the Persians, Greeks, Romans and other nations. From Augustus (Book 9) onwards he structures the chronicle around the reigns of individual Roman emperors, devoting a single book to each of the emperors from Zeno (Book 15) to Justinian (Book 18), a period for which he tells us that he is using oral sources.

## Genre

In setting out to write a 'chronography', which was probably the original title of the work, Malalas was following a pattern of history-writing that was well established by the mid-sixth century. The first full-scale Christian chronicle was written by Eusebios of Caesarea in the late third century (Croke, 1983a). Although Eusebios' chronicle proved to be immensely popular and influential, its elaborate tabular format, setting out contemporaneous kingdoms in parallel columns linked to years from Abraham, was modified and adopted by subsequent chroniclers in both the Greek East and the Latin West (Mosshammer, 1979). Moreover, the chronicle emerged as a significant and usual form of history-writing in the early Byzantine world because chronological issues such as the dates of Creation and of the Incarnation and the duration of the world became increasingly important and disputed (Gelzer, 1885 and 1885a).

By their very structure chronicles lent themselves easily to interpolation and expansion through the addition of supplementary material, and to simplification by combining several related entries across a number of years. It is reasonable to assume that in terms of structure and narrative format Malalas was merely following his now lost chronographical predecessors, such as Panodorus and Annianos. This form of chronicle probably does not represent a new direction in Byzantine history-writing, though the chronicle was itself very influential in shaping the Byzantine chronographical tradition (Jeffreys, 1979; Mango, 1980, 189-200).

## Author

Everything that is known about the author has to be gleaned from the chronicle itself, except that later writers refer to him as 'John the Rhetor' (John of Ephesos, Evagrius), 'John Malalas' or 'Malelas' (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, John Tzetzes) and 'John of Antioch' (John of Damascus, and again Tzetzes). As a 'rhetor' or 'scholastikos' (which is the meaning of the Syriac word 'malal' from which the name Malalas is derived) Malalas possessed the education

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1 For an introduction to the problems surrounding the chronicle, together with the relevant scholarly literature, see Krumbacher, 1897, 325-34; Wolf, 1916, 1795-9; Moravcsik, 1958, 329-34 and Hunger, 1978, 319-26.



designed to equip one for the mainstream of government service, and so he was fairly well educated by contemporary standards. The implications of this elementary fact have not usually been appreciated. Although applauded as a valuable and frequently unique reservoir of information, the chronicler has been dismissed as entirely naïve, ignorant and incompetent.<sup>2</sup> Such judgements fail to understand the extent to which Malalas was conditioned by contemporary knowledge and interpretation of both the past and the world around him (Reinert, 1985). His distorted knowledge of Roman republican history, for example, is essentially the same as that of his contemporary John the Lydian. So also many of Malalas' seemingly novel interpretations of classical mythology and culture appear to have been widely shared in his day. He was not so much the inventor as a reflector of the newly emerging Byzantine view of the past.

Malalas was probably born around 490, since he dates his access to oral sources of information from the time of the emperor Zeno (see Malalas' preface, p. 1 below), and was evidently educated in Antioch. Often the home of emperors in previous generations, Antioch was now the headquarters of the *comes Orientis*, the *magister militum per Orientem* and the proconsul of Syria I. It was the axis through which information flowed between Constantinople and the East, and it was the base for all military campaigns against the Persians. It was a cosmopolitan Greek capital where the native Syrian language and culture mingled easily with Greek and Latin, the languages of the Roman government which formed such a central part of the city's life and society (Downey, 1969; Liebeschütz, 1972). The city of Antioch looms large in the chronicle, together with the region under the jurisdiction of the *comes Orientis*. Indeed it is quite likely, in view of the knowledge and attitudes that he shows, that Malalas came to be employed in the middle to upper echelons of the imperial bureaucracy at Antioch, probably in the office of the *comes Orientis*. It may even be presumed that he was himself involved in many of the transactions described in the chronicle in the 520s and early 530s.

At some point Malalas moved from Antioch to Constantinople, perhaps after the virtual abolition of the office of the *comes Orientis* in 535 (Justinian, Nov 8.5) or perhaps in the wake of the Persian sack of Antioch in 540. At Constantinople he probably continued his bureaucratic career until his death, probably some time in the 570s. The chronicle shows that he was a loyal supporter of Justinian and was of orthodox doctrinal views, despite paying little attention to recent and contemporary theological struggles. Partly for this reason, however, he cannot be identified with John Scholastikos, the patriarch of Constantinople, as was argued initially by Haury, 1900.

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<sup>2</sup> Some characteristic assessments: 'John Malalas was undoubtedly the world's worst chronicler...but [the historian] must use him for Malalas has preserved a great amount of the most important data...' Olmstead, 1942, 22; 'Confused in content, mixing fables and facts, important events and minor incidents, it is clearly intended not for educated readers but for the masses' Vasiliev, 1958, 183; '...John Malalas whose narrative, though childish, has at least the merit of being a contemporary record' Jones, 1964, 267; 'Uncritical, confused, and often childish, Malalas preserves many otherwise unknown facts and is, of course, of special importance for his own time. His popular language, his interest in local traditions and his desire to appeal to the semi-educated Christian are in themselves extremely significant' Momigliano, 1970, 641.

### Editions and date of composition

It is apparent that the chronicle was composed and circulated in two stages or editions. The original edition which Evagrius used in Antioch in the 590s most likely reached the end of Book 17 (AD 527) and was put together at Antioch in the early 530s. This edition was primarily concerned with Antioch and may have been designed to appeal to the large audience of like-minded officials in that city.

The updated version or edition (apparently not available to Evagrius in Antioch) extended the chronicle to cover the reign of Justinian, although there is no absolute certainty about where it ended and whether or not the latter part was the work of Malalas himself. (These issues will be discussed in full in the *Studies* volume.) The early years of Justinian's reign (to 532) continue the tone and perspective of the first seventeen books and can definitely be ascribed to Malalas. From that point on there is a notable shift in emphasis and perspective from Antioch to Constantinople. Almost all the events recorded from 532 (Book 18, para 77) onwards occurred in Constantinople, where Malalas now lived, and many were probably derived from the so-called 'City Chronicle' of Constantinople. Despite the difference in the material before and after 532, including a change to consistently brief entries, the stylistic unity between the sections implies the same author in both parts.

It is not so clear where the chronicle ended, although the most likely point is the end of Justinian's reign in 565, which would mean that Malalas was writing for his Constantinopolitan audience not long after that date and probably died soon afterwards. It could, however, be argued (see below, Book 18, para 152) that the chronicle continued (presumably in a nineteenth book) to the ninth year of the reign of Justin II (AD 574) and was therefore written in the mid to late 570s; but this seems less likely than a terminus at 565.

### Sources

As indicated in its preface the chronicle may be divided, in terms of sources of information, into two parts. For the period before the emperor Zeno Malalas had to rely on written records and therefore cites, largely at second hand, numerous Greek and Latin authors, including some that are otherwise unknown. For the period from Zeno onwards (that is, for his own lifetime), he claims reliance on oral sources of information. The preface makes specific mention of Julius Africanus, Eusebios and others, and their use in the chronicle is well signposted. These were among his major sources, along with the chroniclers Domninos and Nestorianos and the 'City Chronicles' of Antioch and Constantinople. Sources are rarely cited in Books 15-18, covering material derived from oral sources and dealing with events likely to have been within the author's personal experience. Still it is possible to identify the origin of certain portions of this material; for example, Marinos the Syrian is likely to have been the source for the rebellion of Vitalian (Bo 402.3-406.8), Julian for the embassy to the Axoumite court (Bo 456.24-459.3) and Hermogenes for the first Persian war of Justinian (Bo 445-477). In addition Malalas clearly made use of documentary sources such as imperial laws, decrees and letters (Scott, 1981 and 1985). Again, the evidence for this and a detailed discussion will be presented in the *Studies* volume.

# ABOUT THIS TRANSLATION

## i) General comments

Malalas' chronicle is written at a level of Greek that is close to the vernacular (this will be discussed by Alan James in the forthcoming volume *Studies in John Malalas*). His syntax prefers paratactic to subordinating constructions; his use of pronouns is casual, often leading to confusion over the identity of the person referred to. In other words, he does not use the carefully wrought classicising Greek of writers like Prokopios or Agathias, but rather the matter-of-fact tone of an administrator not concerned to avoid frequent use of technical terms or bureaucratic clichés. We have tried to represent this in our translation with a plain but, we hope, readable level of English.

Nevertheless there are places in the chronicle where a different language register may be discerned, still remaining from Malalas' source despite the reworking that he gave the text as a whole. There is, for example, an official tone to Veronica's petition to Herod in Book 10, to the account of the Axoum embassy and the exchange of letters with the Persian king in Book 18; the description of the earthquake at Antioch in Book 17 attempts some rhetorical structures not noticeable elsewhere, and there is a close paraphrase of *Isaiah* at the end of Book 5. We have attempted to reflect these by an appropriate level of English, especially in Book 5, where the translation now has a distinct tinge of seventeenth-century English, on the grounds that the *Septuagint* and the King James' version of the Bible hold a similar position in the histories of their respective languages. Ann Moffatt, however, felt that this was an unnecessary complication, that the connotations of the two styles are not identical, and would have preferred a more neutral tone.

Technical terms for civil and military offices have been represented by their Latin equivalents (which are explained in the Glossary). This was done for the sake of consistency. Malalas, writing at a time of transition from Latin administrative terminology to Greek, uses the Latin forms slightly more frequently than the Greek. But few modern readers would be able to appreciate the equivalence of the two sets of terms if we were to follow his example and try to reflect the mixture as in the original.

Other recurrent phrases also we have attempted to translate throughout the chronicle in similar terms, to indicate the repetitious nature of Malalas' style and his restricted vocabulary. This is especially true of the two- and three-line portraits of Greek and Trojan heroes and of emperors which are a feature of the work, but also of the sequences of actions expected of an emperor (eg on reacting to an earthquake or on initiating a building programme). These phrases have been translated by standard clichés from the first book to the last, since this reflects Malalas' own usage and appears to be part of his unified (often anachronistic) view of the past. There will be a full discussion of this in the *Studies* volume. Thus Agamemnon summons a *conventus* and Agenor fights on the *limes*. The most striking feature of this practise comes in Malalas' use of βασιλεύς throughout the text to refer to a head of state. Since the majority of the group would agree that Malalas found it almost impossible to conceive of a state existing without a βασιλεύς and since, for Malalas, the function of a βασιλεύς appears to be the same during the Trojan War as in the sixth century AD, we have translated this word throughout as 'emperor'. Alan James, however, feels that this has not been a satisfactory solution and would have preferred a distinction made between 'king' in the earlier books and 'emperor' later. When 'king' does occur in the translation it represents ῥήξ.

Other features of Malalas' style are the incessant use of ὁ αὐτός ('this' or 'the same'), and ὁ ἴδιος ('the same'). We have usually ignored these in our translation, since to include them produced almost unreadable English, and English of the wrong sort (more like a London Cockney story-teller than the bureaucratic legalese that was the probable cause). We have, however, translated the other frequent and nearly as disconcerting phrases, ὁ λεγόμενος, 'known as', and ὀνόματι, 'called', both often used in places where the information must have been thoroughly familiar to Malalas and to a large proportion of those for whom he was writing.

Other points to notice are that Ἑλλην has been translated throughout as 'Hellene', though in the later books it must clearly mean 'pagan'; it seemed, however, preferable to mark the unity of vocabulary in Malalas' mental world; a list of cases where 'Hellene' probably means 'pagan' is given in the Glossary. Similar problems have arisen in other cases where Malalas uses a word in both a general and a restricted meaning. The verb ἀγανακτῶ is frequently used as a technical term of official imperial displeasure, but also means 'I grow angry'. Equally, θεωρῶ has become the word used to express imperial presidency over the hippodrome games, without losing its basic meaning 'I watch'. In these cases too we have usually preferred the general translation to the technical, leaving the latter to be implied by the context. It seems preferable to leave the reader with a sense of Malalas' restricted means of expression rather than making on each occasion a choice which must often be questionable.

Material in brackets in the translation in the form 'Kadmiades (daughters of Kadmos)' indicates that this is an explanation we have added to help the reader; in the form 'image (*icon*)', the italicized word is a transliteration from the Greek, usually to make sense of an untranslatable pun.

Proper names have provided their usual headache and produced the usual arbitrary compromises. Commonly known names (classical: Achilles; historical: Justinian; biblical: Nebuchadnezzar) are given in their accepted English forms. Less well-known names (though less well-known to whom?) have been transliterated in a Greek form if from a Greek root (Bakchylides) and in a Latin form if from a Latin root (Secundinus). Barbarian names have been given in the forms in which they appear in most modern handbooks (Grod). The form preserved in Ba, if it is different, has been noted in the subtext ('Sapor', written as 'Sabbourarsakios'). Consular names, where we may usually be sure of the original at which Malalas and his textual tradition are aiming, but which are frequently distorted, have been corrected in the translation and the manuscript form has been noted in the subtext. Our purpose in cases such as this is to make the text useful to our non-expert readers. However, some cases have left us in despair; eg the Roman provinces for which Malalas has provided an eponymous Greek founder: Kilix is now credited with the establishment of Cilicia.

Malalas from time to time indicates the date for an event by whatever system may be available to him: the consuls for the year, the indiction number, the eras of Antioch or Alexandria. Since such systems are not readily equated with our dating by the Christian era, we have provided for the convenience of readers the equivalent date *anno domini* in the margin. We stress that these AD dates are merely the equivalent of Malalas' forms, and are not to be taken as support for Malalas' dating of any particular event. We have also provided, in the subtext, the AD dating equivalents for those witnesses which use an annalistic system. This information is included for the same reasons as the other dates, and with the same proviso that it does not imply support for the annalists' dates.

## ii) How to use this volume

### 1 For those who wish to avoid complexity

Many readers of this book will have no need to examine the convoluted textual tradition of Malalas' chronicle. Most pages of this translation are in two layers. The upper is a translation of the manuscript, Baroccianus Graecus 182 (Ba), the only text of the chronicle to cover the whole period from the Creation down to near the end of the reign of Justinian, and the manuscript which is almost the sole basis for the standard edition by Dindorf in the Bonn Corpus. The lower layer is a collection of the evidence available from other sources for what Malalas wrote. This guidance will suffice for many of the readers at whom this volume has been aimed. There is little need for them to read the paragraphs which follow.

### 2 Textual problems faced by the translators

The textual reconstruction of John Malalas' chronicle is an extremely complicated task, and has so far defeated all attempts at a critical Greek edition. Ba gives the only text complete enough to provide a clear idea of the scope of the whole work. But this manuscript has substantial lacunas, and frequently towards the end degenerates into a summary. Apart from Ba, the evidence consists of later Byzantine fragments and collections of excerpts, and an extensive network of influences in subsequent texts in Greek, Slavonic, Syriac, Ethiopic and Latin. This other evidence demonstrably preserves at many points more accurate reflections of the wording of the original chronicle than Ba, which is a late and rather unreliable witness, owing its pre-eminent position only to its comprehensiveness. This complicated situation has imposed on us an unusual format, which readers who wish to use this material critically should examine carefully to avoid misunderstanding.

### 3 Does it provide a translation of the Bonn Corpus edition?

Yes, though strictly speaking it is a translation of Ba, the manuscript on which that edition was based. (Readers of the Bonn edition will find that it has been corrected and supplemented in places; see 4 and 5 below). This is the upper of the two sections into which most pages are divided, referred to here as the *translation*, while the lower is called the *subtext*. We have divided the translation into numbered paragraphs (our own divisions, not found in the edition), for convenience of presentation in this volume: we do not anticipate that these divisions will necessarily have any wider use. The bold numbers in brackets in the body of the text, (128), (129) etc, are references to the beginnings of the pages in Dindorf's edition, or to the editions of the other texts occasionally used to supplement it.

### 4 Correcting the faults of Dindorf's text

Where misreadings would have an effect on the translation they have been corrected. They may be picked out in the subtext by cases where Bo (= Bonn edition) appears after the colon; in most cases there also follows the reference 'Bury, 1897', to Bury's long list of the edition's misreadings. Eg:

not right (277.1): 'right' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 227.

We have incorporated in the translation a number of scholarly corrections (some marked in Dindorf's apparatus, some from other sources), and added some of our own. These are all marked in the subtext by the abbreviation 'corr':

Apellaios (275.5; corr Chil): 'Aprilleos' Ba.

This refers to a correction made by Malalas' first editor, Chilmead.

We have avoided placing in the translation any corrections which might reverse deliberate changes, eg the conscious abbreviations found towards the end of Ba. Corrections have only

been incorporated where we detect an involuntary error, and the resultant text is in some way inadequate.

### 5 The missing pages and lacunas of the Baroccianus

There are five areas where at least a folio of text has been lost through physical damage to Ba or one of its predecessors. Four of these, namely the beginning, the end, part of the catalogue of Greek heroes in Book 5 and a lacuna near the end of Book 18, are identifiable as lacunas because Ba breaks off in mid-sentence. There is also a substantial gap in the sequence of imperial reigns covered by Book 12, not now marked by textual raggedness in Ba; however, it seems likely to have resulted from physical damage at some point in the tradition between Malalas and Ba. In all cases but the last mentioned there survives another text which seems to preserve an approximation to what has been lost, or two other texts which can be used in sequence to fill the lacuna. We have incorporated these texts into the translation, indicating in the first item of the *testimonia* of the subtext the fact that we are not using Ba but another text for the translation (see 8 below). The ending and the lacuna just before the end are completed with passages from Theophanes, a writer who regularly reorganises and often corrects the passages which he takes from Malalas: for this reason we have put these parts of the translation into italics. In the last case in the list above, in Book 12, there is no surviving connected narrative to fill the lacuna. As a result, the attempts at reconstruction are confined to the subtext.

### 6 The subtext compared with the critical apparatus of a conventional edition

There are obvious general similarities in layout: a *lemma* (a word or phrase taken from the translation in the upper layer to serve as a reference for the textual discussion), followed by a colon, then by a word or phrase which has not been included in the translation. But there are two crucial differences:

(a) The words or phrases following the colon, while they are rejected from the translation of Ba (or whatever other text is being translated at the time), are not being branded as false intrusions into the textual tradition, as would be the case in a conventional edition. Unless there is some indication to the contrary (see 12 below), these words are being proposed as more accurate reflections (than the *lemma* provided) of the original form of Malalas' chronicle. This original Malalas, which must be referred to frequently in this introduction, will be represented here (though not in the subtext) by the symbol M\*.

(b) No attempt is made to quote all the divergent passages in the wide range of texts to which reference is made in the subtext. The great majority of passages cited come under the definition given in (a) above, where it is possible to suggest a more authentic reading of M\*. Passages quoted for other reasons are marked as such.

### 7 The purposes of the subtext

(a) To give a reference to the text used for the translation in the upper section in each paragraph, and a list of *testimonia* (references to the subsequent texts, if any, which have used this paragraph of Malalas). In a few cases it is possible to add at the end of the list a reference to sources used by Malalas which still survive independently of the chronicle.

(b) To indicate the dates (expressed in *anno domini* form) under which the relevant material has been included by witnesses using an annalistic framework (*Chronicon Paschale*, Theophanes, Pseudo-Dionysios of Tell-Mahre).

(c) To note all cases where corrections have been made, whether of misreadings in Bo or in the edition of another text used at that point, or of brief lacunas or corruptions in the texts (see 3 above).

(d) To translate passages from later texts which seem to us to reflect M\* more accurately than Ba, or whatever other text is in use at the time (see 5 above).

- (e) To translate other material which, though less likely to derive from M\*, should (we think) be included here for other reasons.
- (f) To give references to textual discussions in the secondary literature.

### 8 How are the lists of *testimonia* given?

Each numbered paragraph in the translation has a corresponding numbered entry in the subtext. The first item in that entry (in bold) is a reference to the text which has been translated, with page and line number. There follows a list of other *testimonia*, indicated by symbols, which may be looked up in the list of abbreviations, pp xi-xix, and also in the discussion on the texts used, pp xxxi-xli, where the editions we have employed are also listed. Here is a sample entry:

1 **Bo 171.1-13**; CP 204.4-14, Ke 257.19-21, GM 21.8-14, Su III 29.1-2, IV 7.2, JN 56.1-6; Slav: Ist 18.1-12, Soph 68, KVI (Pol Pal) 119.

The text translated in this paragraph is Dindorf's Bonn edition, p.171. References then follow to the use of the same material in the *Chronicon Paschale*, the chronicles of Kedrenos and George Monachos, two entries in the Souda lexicon and the Ethiopic text of John of Nikiu. References are by page and line, except for the volume numbers in the case of the Souda, and John of Nikiu, where references are made by means of chapter and paragraph number of Charles' translation. References to the Slavonic texts (which nearly all certainly derive from a single act of translation) are listed together at the end, preceded by the word 'Slav'. In the few cases where Malalas' source survives independently of his text, the reference is placed at the end of the list of *testimonia* and preceded by the word 'See'.

### 9 How complete is the list of *testimonia* ?

No attempt is made at completeness for its own sake. A major criterion for inclusion is the usefulness of a particular witness for the reconstruction of M\*. Thus Kedrenos, who is often useful in this way, is regularly listed in the *testimonia*, while Zonaras, Manasses and Glykas, for example, who are rarely important for this purpose, are largely ignored. When the symbol 'cf' appears in these lists, the texts which follow it reflect the relevant paragraph of the translation only in a limited way - for example, they may be abbreviated or substantially rewritten. Even so, such passages may be useful supporting evidence for the form of M\*; they may, for example, confirm the form of a name, or the omission of an adverb from Ba.

### 10 The source of the *lemma*

The *lemma* is taken from the translation, and apart from exceptional circumstances the translation is of the text, to which reference is made in the first item of the *testimonia*. Reference is often made then in the *lemmata* to other texts which share the reading of the *lemma*:

Sostris (27.15) JA, PsS, GM: cf 'Sesostris' Slav, CP, Ke.

In this case it must be assumed that the text which is being translated, Ba, shares the reading of the witness or witnesses listed before the colon, even though the symbol Ba is not used.

When a correction or addition is made to the text, the source of this is given with the *lemmata* and the rejected reading is given after the colon.

### 11 Conventions governing the words following the *lemma*

After the *lemma*, and references and comments associated with it, there is a colon, as in a conventional critical apparatus. But (as stated in 6(a) above) words and phrases following the colon are not rejected as mistakes: they are proposed as part of the reconstruction of M\*, unless there is a statement to the contrary. Two basic patterns are used:

(a) beautiful (28.13): 'very beautiful' Slav, CP.

Here 'beautiful' on page 28 of Bo is reflected by 'very beautiful' both in the Slavonic text and in the *Chronicon Paschale*, and so we assume that a superlative stood at this point in M\*. There is no need to introduce the superlative into the translation, for Ba makes adequate sense here without it. However, it is included in the subtext, as a proposal about M\*. The proposed reading follows immediately after the colon, and the symbols for the texts from which it is drawn come at the end. This pattern indicates that the *lemma* should be replaced by the other reading to give the proposed text of M\*.

(b) beauty (46.16): Slav, De virt add 'and stature'.

This means that on page 46 of Bo the Slavonic text and the Constantinian excerpts De virtutibus have the added words 'and stature', following the point where 'beauty' stands in the translation. Again, Ba makes adequate sense, and so the addition is confined to the subtext. The reference symbols follow immediately after the colon, the verb 'add(s)' is inserted and the proposed reading comes at the end. When a second or subsequent addition is needed, the verb 'continue(s)' is used in place of 'add(s)'.

### 12 Words following the colon which are not proposed as part of M\*

(a) Corrections and misreadings (see 4 above) where Bo or Ba is found after the colon. The marker 'corr' is also found before the colon in such cases.

(b) Cases where the words of another text are of intrinsic interest to readers of Malalas, or where our decision to exclude them from M\* was a difficult one, or where others have suggested that the passage reflects M\*, and we feel that we should record their judgement while expressing disagreement with it. In these cases the reason for our interest and/or the degree of our scepticism has often been made explicit in an attached note. At the least, the sign 'cf' has been placed before the word(s) in question, to show that the item has been included for purposes other than the reconstruction of M\*. Sometimes, for the same reason, 'cf' is used before the third alternative reading at a disputed point, after the *lemma* and the preferred suggestion.

### 13 When two or more symbols are used to show that the *lemma* or other part of the subtext derives from two or more texts, can verbal identity between those texts be assumed?

No. In some cases, where texts in different languages are involved, verbal identity is hard to define. But even when all texts concerned are in Greek, some elasticity has been allowed, especially over inessential variations of wording in passages which are otherwise identical over several lines. The translation has been made either from the text being translated at that point (in the case of the *lemma*) or from the first text to which reference has been made.

Where variation is wider, though the texts concerned still give combined support to a proposal being made, two other tactics have been employed:

(a) a system of brackets to indicate points of disagreement and show the readings of individual witnesses;

(b) qualifications of the support given by one or more witnesses, by the sign 'cf'.

In general, we would discourage readers from making any deductions from the subtext about the precise readings of any witnesses, apart from those directly translated in the subtext.

### 14 The order in which texts are cited in the subtext

The first text cited in the testimonia and other lists of witnesses is that which has been translated (see 13 above). The rest are then cited in rough order of age and/or usefulness (two criteria which agree in general but often disagree in particular). At the end are those texts whose value must be qualified by 'cf', apart from the Slavonic texts in the *testimonia* lists, which are given together at the end. However, these principles have been followed in an impressionistic way, with no attempt at scholarly rigour.



### 15 Citations of secondary literature

We must stress that these are references to textual comments only, not to discussions of the content of the passage, unless that influences a textual point. Some references are to brief items in a list, but are included to show the scholarly context of the textual decisions we have made. Others refer to substantial analyses of the relevant textual issues. The passages referred to usually support the line we have taken, unless disagreement is indicated.

### 16 How secure are the proposals made in the subtext about the original Malalas?

An answer to this question is complicated by the difficulty of defining 'the original text of Malalas', M\*. While the possibilities of multiple authorship or multiple editions remain open, the question has no straightforward answer. It is in any case likely that the M\* being reconstructed at different points of the text represents different stages in the textual history of the chronicle.

Our methods have been empirical. It is fortunate that there are several very early witnesses, eg the Tusculan fragments, Evagrius, John of Ephesos and the *Chronicon Paschale* which were all written within about a century of the chronicle's latest events. Against this sound comparative material we may check the practice of later texts, eg the Slavonic translation and the fragment to which we give the symbol A are good witnesses. But there is no doubt that some of our proposals for M\* do not go back to sixth-century wording. Some, for example, are merely Theophanes' summaries of M\*, material which is abbreviated even more in Ba.

Elsewhere we may have gone back too far, beyond Malalas' text to his sources. In Book 5, for example, we may be going back past Malalas to Diktys, and there may be other similar cases in the detailed narrative of the last three books where we may be reconstructing, say, items in a city chronicle which have been abstracted separately by another source as well as by Malalas.

Archaeological reconstruction of earlier textual layers is made easier by the tendency of the Greek chronicle tradition towards the abbreviation of items from one text to another. The purpose is to leave space for material from other sources, especially the writer's own contemporary material. At points where our decisions may be governed by good early witnesses, it seems that in most cases where a fuller version of an event is preserved in another text, a shorter narrative in Ba is to be explained as Ba's abbreviation of M\*, which must be reflected, at least to some extent, by the other, fuller version. We have therefore tried to employ the same principles at points where no early witness survives. Our task is made easier because we are working in translation, and so there is no reason for us to agonise over small Greek linguistic points, or the change of narrative colouration visible, for example, in Syriac witnesses. We have probably included more proposals for M\* than could be accommodated in a critical Greek edition.

In selecting material for unqualified support in the subtext, we have had in mind a probability of 50%. Where we think it more probable than not that given words are derived from M\* (or that they are on the direct line of textual descent from Malalas to Ba) we have included them without comment in the subtext. Where this derivation has less than 50% probability, we have omitted the passage, or have included it with an expression of doubt, or 'cf', if it seemed of interest.

### 17 Special principles concerned with the 'portraits'

In a long passage in Book 5 and scattered through the later books, at the beginnings of imperial reigns, Malalas gives a large number of descriptions of the main characters of his work. These take the form of lists of attributes, physical and moral, and like all lists they are particularly unstable in the textual tradition. There is much scope here for omission and contamination from portrait to portrait. The formal characteristics of the lists were extensively studied at the

beginning of this century by Fürst, 1902, Schissel von Fl, 1908, and Patzig, 1911. As a result of the principles enunciated in these studies, we have made for these passages unusually positive proposals on material derived from M\*, even when it survives in late and obviously problematical sources, like the *Homerica* of Tzetzes (which are in hexameter verse).

### iii) List of texts used

What is presented in this volume, in the translation and subtext, is an attempt to express in English the significant evidence for the fuller, original Malalas. Since it is not a critical edition (that is being prepared by I. Thurn), we are not producing a *stemma codicum* of the surviving witnesses, nor have we used all the available surviving manuscript fragments (listed, for example, in Moravcsik, 1958) but only those that seemed to us to have material with relevant variants that could be usefully expressed in English. We have, of course, had to develop a practical hypothesis of how the texts that preserve portions of Malalas relate to each other and of the weight that can be attributed to each. The list that follows attempts to explain our views by giving a brief comment on each text. Our purpose here is explanation, not exhaustive discussion or justification, and so we give references to handbooks rather than provide a detailed bibliographical survey. There will be a fuller discussion of the transmission of the chronicle in the *Studies* volume.

References in the subtext to the texts listed here (and to the texts not discussed but given in the list of abbreviations) are, unless otherwise stated, by page and line of the edition to which reference is made.

**A** Parisinus Graecus 1336, ff 143-151: Ἐκλογὴ τῶν χρονικῶν; Cramer, 1839, 231-42.

This anonymous chronicle of world history of unknown date is preserved in an eleventh century ms, the first 142 folios of which contain a variety of theological and chronological material. The chronicle itself, written in a clear, neat hand, starts on f 143r with a heading which states that the chronicle runs from Adam to Michael (Michael I Rangabe, 811-813) and that the contents are taken from John (Malalas), George Synkellos and Theophanes. (For a description of the ms, see Weierholt, 1965, 18-20.) The ms breaks off, with a torn sheet, at f 160v in the reign of Trajan. The material from Malalas forms the opening section from f 143r to f 156v (third line), and as far as 152v (fourth line) has been published by Cramer. The unpublished portions are scrappy summaries of the last part of Book 4 and of Books 6 and 7. A is a useful text for the limited areas it covers.

**Anon Mal** Malalas, *Chronographia*, Book 1; L. Dindorf, ed., Berlin, 1831.

Ba lacks the first Book and the opening words of Book 2. E. Chilmead, in preparing the *editio princeps* (ultimately published by H. Hody in 1691) filled this gap with material from another ms held by the Bodleian, Baroccianus Gr. 194; this is in fact a version of the chronicle of George Monachos (see GM below and de Boor, 1904, lix), which at its beginning follows Malalas closely. This material was reprinted by Dindorf in Bo. Though cited once in the subtext, it has not been translated in the present volume since it is now recognized that P and V preserve the authentic form of Book 1.

**B** Parisinus Graecus 1630, ff 236-9; Müller, FHG IV, 540-9.

A parchment ms of the fourteenth century which includes in its collection of historical, medical, theological and astronomical texts, a block of Greek mythological material, written in a dense and much abbreviated hand. For a description, see Weierholt, 1965, 21-2. The heading, which attributes the work to a John of Antioch, reflects closely the opening words of Malalas, Book 1 and the passages that follow are clearly drawn from Malalas' chronicle. Nevertheless the material must be attributed to John of Antioch (see JA and Hunger, 1978, 326-8) It has been published partially by Cramer (Cramer, 1839, 379-81) and completely by Müller (FHG IV, 540-9). B, which after its early folios has recast its source, is useful only on occasion for confirmation of wording.

**Ba** Oxford, Baroccianus Graecus 182.

This ms is the sole comprehensive witness to Malalas' chronicle. It consists of 322 folios written throughout in the same neat hand (apart from a few lines on f 206r), probably of the eleventh century. For a detailed palaeographical description, see Weierholt, 1965, 12-18. It shows few signs of iotacism though many names have been distorted in the transmission process. A later hand has made alterations to some of the linguistic forms (eg changing  $\pi\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\nu$  to  $\pi\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\alpha\nu$  to  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\nu$ ). Folios are missing at the beginning, the end and at two points within the ms (cf the comments on pp. xxvi-xxvii above). Neumann has calculated that nine folios (one complete gathering and the first sheet of the second gathering) are missing at the beginning, one folio at 49v/50r (in Book 5: Bo 103.10-11), two folios at 318v/319r (in Book 18: Bo 490.12) and two folios at the end, after 322r (Neumann, 1880, 358; the folio numbers given here differ from Neumann's since we are using the ms's later numbering). Neumann calculated that the ms originally contained 336 folios in 42 gatherings. There is one other major lacuna (at Bo 295.15-16) which is due to a fault in the ms tradition and not to physical damage to Ba. (There is now also a portion missing on f 206; see Bury, 1897, 221.) As well as these lacunas, the ms is plainly abbreviating Malalas' text, especially towards the end.

**Bo** Malalas, *Chronographia*; L. Dindorf, ed., Bonn, 1831.

Dindorf's edition of Bo (reprinted in PG 87 virtually unchanged) is based closely on Chilmead's edition of 1691 without further inspection of Ba. It is the basis for this translation. The edition is inaccurate in many places, as noted by Bury in 1897; the methods we have used to correct and supplement Bo have been discussed on pp. xxvi-xxvii above.

**C** Parisinus Graecus 854, ff 71-99; 'Εκλογὴ ἱστοριῶν; Cramer, 1839, 166-230.

This is an anonymous chronicle contained in a large compendium of historical texts (over 420 folios), copied in the late thirteenth century. Compiled in 886 and originally extending as far as the reign of Anastasios, it survives now only to Ozias of Israel (Hunger, 1978, 332-3; Gelzer, 1885a, 298-315). Drawing for its earlier section on Eusebios' chronicle (which does not survive in Greek), C has used Malalas extensively for material on the Trojan War, where it is a valuable witness in the debate over how much of Diktys' narrative was ever included in Malalas (see Sept below). C also uses Malalas on Romulus' introduction of circus factions to Rome.

**CP** *Chronicon Paschale*; L. Dindorf, ed., Bonn, 1832.

The *Chronicon Paschale* is a world chronicle that runs from Adam to the reign of Herakleios (originally ending in 629). The prime purpose of the unknown author (possibly a cleric associated with the patriarch Sergius, 610-638) was to provide an accurate basis for the rules for

calculating the date of Easter (and hence the name, the Easter Chronicle). The basic chronological framework (of Olympiads, consular years, regnal years and indictions) is filled out with narrative passages from a variety of sources (Hunger, 1978, 328-9), prominent among which is Malalas, which is used for Greek mythological material and Byzantine history (up to 532). CP takes passages over from Malalas almost verbatim, with scarcely any rewriting, and is thus an accurate witness for the text of the full Malalas, more accurate than Ba. Occasionally, however, details (especially dates according to the Roman system) are interpolated from other sources into passages derived from Malalas.

**Cyril** Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Julianum* I, PG 76, 552-6.

Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria (412-444), a prolific polemicist against paganism and an opponent of Nestorios and his doctrines, also wrote a refutation of the (now lost) work of the emperor Julian the Apostate against Christianity. Two brief passages of this are of interest for the reconstruction of the text of Malalas (in Book 2, para 5 and Book 7, para 15), though the material, on pagan foreshadowings of the Trinity, has had a complex textual transmission in which Cyril's version is but one stage (see Erbse, 1941, *passim* and Brock, 1984).

**Da** Dares, *De excidio Troiae Historia*; F. Meister, ed., Leipzig, 1873.

Dares of Phrygia is the name attached to what purports to be an eyewitness account of the Trojan War, written from a Trojan viewpoint. The original was almost certainly in Greek but the work survives now only in a Latin translation of the fifth or sixth century AD (Schissel von Fl, 1908, *passim*). It is an important witness for the reconstruction of the portraits of Greek and Trojan heroes (in Book 5, paras 13-40) which are partially missing in Ba and wholly missing in Sept (see below), but which seem nevertheless to have been part of the Greek alternative and non-Homeric version of the Trojan War (Patzig, 1911; Jeffreys, 1979).

**De insid, De virt** Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpta Historica: De insidiis*, C. de Boor, ed., Berlin, 1905, 151-76; *De virtutibus*, T. Büttner-Wobst and A.G. Roos, ed., Berlin, 1906-10, 157-63.

Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (905-959) was the instigator of a series of encyclopaedic compilations on a variety of topics: agriculture, court ceremonial, diplomacy etc (Hunger, 1978, 360-2, 366; Lemerle, 1971 [and 1986]). Of the surviving collections of excerpts from historians made under his direction, the excerpts, *De insidiis* (on plots) and *De virtutibus* (on virtues), contain substantial passages from Malalas, covering the whole text from Book 1 to beyond the present end of Ba. Though there is an occasional tidying up of pronouns and a few excerpts are brief summaries of major episodes like the Nika riot, in general there is little sign of rewriting. In the later books especially, where Ba preserves an abbreviated text, these excerpts are invaluable evidence for the state of the original.

**Eccl Hist** Parisinus Graecus 1555A, ff 7r-13r: Ἐπιλογὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας; Cramer, 1839, 87-114.

This 'Selection from the Ecclesiastical History', published by Cramer from one ms in Paris, falls into two sections. The first and major section (as far as Eccl Hist 111.31) is an abbreviated apograph of another ms of the now largely lost *Ecclesiastical History* of Theodore Anagnostes (6th century). Theodore Anagnostes was used as a source by Th. The second and shorter section (Eccl Hist 111.32-114.31), a disconcertingly mixed set of chronicle notices (Hansen, 1971, xxv), is in many passages clearly connected with Malalas and also reflected in Th. Its status is puzzling and may simply reflect a common source underlying the last part of

Malalas, Book 18 and Th, a problem which will be discussed in the *Studies* volume. We have not distinguished between the two sections of Eccl Hist in the subtext.

**Ev** Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*; J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, ed., London, 1898, reprinted Amsterdam, 1964.

Evagrius Scholastikos, or advocate, born in Epiphaneia in Syria between 532 and 537, spent most of his career as a successful legal official in Antioch. His *Ecclesiastical History*, which makes careful use of documentary sources, covers events from 428 to 594. He drew on Malalas for secular events between 502 (when his previous source Eustathios of Epiphaneia ended) to 526 (Allen, 1981, 7). His *History* shows that he had access to a fuller text of Malalas than that of Ba, one supported at a number of points by the Slavonic translation (see Simon Franklin in the *Studies* volume). However, his copy of Malalas ended, according to his comment at Ev IV 5, 156.7-9, in 526, though Patzig (Patzig, 1890/1, 20) argues that Ev's Malalas must have extended to 527 (the end of Book 17 and the death of Justin) and probably to 528 (ending at the chronological excursus of Bo 428.8-429.9). References in the subtext are given to the book and chapter of the *History*, together with page and line reference to the edition of Bidez and Parmentier.

**GM** George Monachos, *Chronicon*; C. de Boor, ed., Leipzig, 1904 (2nd ed., P. Wirth, Stuttgart, 1978).

The world chronicle of George the monk, which runs from Adam to 842 (though originally intended to reach 867), was widely read, to judge from the number of surviving mss. Written from the religious standpoint of an anti-iconoclast who rejected Byzantium's heritage from the classical past, it gives a selective and compressed account of mythological and secular history while paying greater attention to biblical and ecclesiastical history (Moravcsik, 1958, 277-80; Hunger, 1978, 347-50). He has used Malalas quite extensively, but frequently abbreviates and paraphrases his borrowings. The situation is further muddled by his use of Th, for whom Malalas is also a source. The result is that GM is rarely of decisive value in attempts to reconstruct the original Malalas. (One ms was used by Chilmead, the first editor of Malalas, to provide the missing first pages of Ba; see Anon Mal above).

**Gr Chron** L.M. Whitby, *The Great Chronographer and Theophanes*, *BMGS* 8, 1982/3, 1-20.

The Great Chronographer is a shadowy source of which only 15 short fragments survive, inscribed in blank areas of the ms of CP; it would appear to have been composed between 751 and 812/15 (Whitby, 1982/3, 8-9). It is very likely that one of its sources was a Constantinopolitan chronicle also used by Malalas in Book 18 (Freund, 1882, 36 ff). The value of its evidence for reconstructing the original Malalas is not satisfactorily evaluated and will be discussed further in the *Studies* volume.

**Hes** Ἡουχίου ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὴν Χριστοῦ γέννησιν; H. Hody, ed., in the *Prolegomena* to Bo, lli-liv.

Hesychius Illustis, born in the reign of Anastasios (491-518), wrote two histories, of which one is partially extant, and a book of biographies of famous literary figures which survives in entries in Su. There is also ascribed to him a fragmentary piece on the dating of Christ's birth (Krumbacher, 1897, 325) which is connected with a difficult passage in Malalas, Book 10.

**IP** Isaac Porphyrogenitus, *Περὶ ἰδιότητος καὶ χαρακτήρων τῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Τρώων*, in *Polemonis declamationes*, H. Hinck, ed., Leipzig, 1873, 57-88.

'On the personality and appearance of the Greeks and Trojans at Troy' is the second of two pamphlets written by Isaac Porphyrogenitus on 'What Homer omitted'. The author is probably to be identified with Isaac (1093-c1151), third son of the emperor Alexios I (1057-1118); he founded the Kosmosotira monastery, sponsored illuminated mss and is securely identified as the author of other short works (Hunger, 1979, 58; Varzos, 1984, 353). The pamphlet is based very closely on the portrait lists included in Malalas' account of the Trojan War (itself drawing on Dares and Diktys), and is invaluable in reconstructing the lacuna in Ba in Book 5.

**JA** Johannes Antiochenus, *Fragments*, in Müller, FHG IV 540-62.

Author of a world chronicle from Adam to 610 (the accession of Herakleios), nothing is known of Johannes Antiochenus (John of Antioch) except that, as his name indicates, he came from Antioch. His work survives only in fragments, partly in the Constantinian excerpts, partly in separate mss. Wide in scope, he covered biblical and oriental material as well as Roman history. For Greek mythological material (surviving in B, see above) he drew on Malalas (Hunger, 1978, 326-8). However, since he was working at a different language level, many of his borrowings from Malalas are recast and are not often of decisive value in reconstructing Malalas' words. Because of the similarity of name and subject-matter JA and Malalas were frequently confused in the ms tradition.

**JD** John of Damascus, *De Imaginibus Orationes III* (πρὸς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας τὰς ἀγίας εἰκόνας), PG 94, 1369-73.

John of Damascus (c650-c750), in his defence of the use of icons, cited Malalas' account in Book 10 of the statue of Christ erected by the woman healed of an issue of blood. Because of recasting to suit the context, the quotation is of limited use as evidence for Malalas' wording.

**JE** John of Ephesos, *Commentarii de beatis orientalibus et historiae ecclesiasticae fragmenta*; W.J. van Douwen and J.P.N. Land, trans., Amsterdam, 1889, 224-43.

John of Ephesos (516-c580) wrote, in Syriac, an ecclesiastical history from Julius Caesar onwards, in three parts, of which only the third (dealing discursively with the reigns of Justin II and Tiberius, 565-82) survives complete. The second part, covering the reign of Justinian, survives independently in a fragmentary state (cited in the subtext as JE, from the Latin translation of van Douwen and Land) and also embedded, with other authors (like Joshua the Stylite) in the chronicle known as that of Dionysios of Tell Mahre (cited in the subtext as PsD, though most of the passages referred to are probably derived from JE; see PsD below). JE constructed his history from earlier writers including Eusebios, Theodoret and Malalas. The material identifiably from Malalas in the independently surviving fragments is often 'written up' with biblical quotations and emotional phraseology, which makes it difficult to accept the more sober additional information it contains as reflecting the original Malalas. The material in PsD is, of course, one stage further still from Malalas' own wording. Nevertheless JE does preserve in several passages a fuller and probably more authentic version of Malalas' account. The ms of Malalas used by JE would appear to have extended to the death of Justinian (565) (Nau, 1897, 493).

**JM** John Moschos, *Pratum Spirituale*; PG 87, 2888-9.

John Moschos (died 619, probably), a monk who spent his life moving around religious centres in Egypt, Syria and Palestine, wrote the *Pratum Spirituale*, a collection of monks' lives and edifying tales (Beck, 1959, 412). One tale concerns the emperor Anastasios and sheds light on a curious adjective in Malalas, Book 16.

**JN** *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*; R.H. Charles, trans., Oxford, 1916.

John, bishop of Nikiu (in Lower Egypt), wrote at the end of the seventh century a world chronicle from Adam to his own day. He treats oriental and Greek mythological history somewhat sketchily but gives later material at some length. One of his main sources was Malalas. However, his value for defining the wording of Malalas is limited since he abbreviates his sources and also inserts other material, eg, biblical quotations; finally, the chronicle as it now exists is at several removes from the form in which it was written. Originally in Greek with some passages possibly in Coptic, it was translated at some stage into Arabic and then in 1602 into Ethiopic, the only version in which it now survives (Krumbacher, 1897, 403-4; Charles, 1916, v). Though frequently of interest in confirming other witnesses, John of Nikiu is rarely of independent value as a witness to Malalas' text. The subtext has been constructed using Charles' English translation, to whose chapters and paragraph numbers reference is made.

**Jo Styl** *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*; W. Wright, trans., Cambridge, 1882.

Joshua the Stylite, a monk of the monastery of Zuknin, wrote in the reign of Anastasios (491-518), at the request of Sergius, abbot of a community near Edessa, a chronicle in Syriac heavily laced with Greek loan words. It survives embedded in the chronicle attributed to Dionysios of Tell Mahre (see under PsD below). The last date mentioned is November 506 (Wright, 1882, ix). Joshua the Stylite's chronicle cannot be used to establish the wording of Malalas but, given the similar phraseology in a number of episodes (eg the Illus conspiracy), a common source must underly the two accounts. The relationship between Malalas and Joshua the Stylite still needs to be elucidated.

**Ke** Georgios Kedrenos, *Σύνοψις ἱστορίας*; I. Bekker, ed., Bonn, 1828.

Georgios Kedrenos, probably a monk, wrote in the early twelfth century a world chronicle from Adam to 1057. It is a compilation based on a variety of sources of which those relevant to the period covered by Malalas are PsS and Th (Praechter, 1897; Hunger, 1978, 393-4). For Greek mythological history, which is treated selectively with greater emphasis laid on biblical history, Ke is transcribing the as yet unpublished chronicle of PsS; in the subtext references are given to PsS as well as to Kedrenos. Ke presents much material which is ultimately derived from Malalas, but most has been paraphrased and rewritten, often by intermediaries. Occasionally, however, especially in the Trojan War narrative, Ke presents important independent evidence for Malalas' wording.

**LG** Leo Grammaticus, Parisinus Graecus 854, ff 328 ff; Cramer, 1839, 243-379, reprinted Bonn, 1842.

Leo Grammaticus is the name ascribed in some mss to a redaction (compiled in 1013) of the chronicle of Symeon the Magister and Logothete, which in turn is a re-working of the so-called 'Epitome' based in its early sections on the shadowy work of Patrikios Trajanos (ending in 713) (Moravcsik, 1958, 515-8; Hunger, 1978, 354-7). The inter-relationships of the various versions of the 'Epitome' have so far defied lucid explanation. The passages connected with

Malalas have little independent value as evidence for the text, but are cited for interest's sake (from Cramer's edition and also from the unchanged reprint in the Bonn edition).

**LM** *Laterculus Malalianus*; T. Mommsen, ed., MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi 13, *Chronica Minora* 3, Berlin, 1898, 424-37.

The *Laterculus Malalianus* is a short document, surviving in an eighth-century uncial ms, that discusses the millennial implications of the date of Christ's birth. Written originally in Latin (to judge from its Vergilian echoes), it relies either on Malalas' Greek text or on an accurate Latin summary of it. Both the opening pages, which draw on Malalas Book 10, and the subsequent list of imperial reigns reflect the Greek chronicle closely. Arguing that Christ appeared in the sixth millennium and that the world is now in the seventh, the author appears to be taking a position against Bede's dating of Christ's birth to the year of the world 3952. A date of c740 AD for the composition of the piece was suggested by Mommsen.

LM is significant for the text of Malalas in the chronological discussion in Book 10, the lacuna in Book 12 (where it preserves the sequence of emperors), and for the ending, where it hints that its source may have extended beyond the death of Justinian. However, the status of LM as a witness and the weight to be given to its evidence has yet to be satisfactorily resolved, and will be discussed further in the *Studies* volume.

**MK** Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians*; R.W. Thomson, trans., Cambridge Mass, 1978.

Moses Khorenats'i, ostensibly writing in the fifth century but more probably in the late ninth, produced a history of the Armenian people, setting them in the context of world and biblical history. His work was based on a variety of sources (the Bible, Greek classical literature, Greek ecclesiastical historians etc) all of which were available in Armenian translations. Though no Armenian version of Malalas is known, there are a number of parallels between it (and the *Chronicon Paschale*) and Moses' history (Thomson, 1978, 22-3). The similarities, however, are very vague and are of little value in reconstructing the text of Malalas.

**MS** Michael the Syrian, *La Chronique de Michel le Syrien*; J.B. Chabot, ed. and trans., 3 vols, Paris, 1899-1904.

Patriarch of Antioch from 1166 to 1199 and author of a world chronicle from the creation to his own day, Michael the Syrian drew on a wide range of sources in both Greek and Syriac. Of these perhaps the most relevant for Malalas is the chronicle attributed to PsD, in which are embedded portions of the *Ecclesiastical History* of JE, who made use of Malalas. Though not often of independent value for establishing the contents, let alone the wording of the original Malalas, MS sometimes provides useful confirmatory evidence. We have used Chabot's French translation, cited by book and chapter.

**P** Paris, *Supplementum Graecum* 682, ff 9-14; V. Istrin, ed., *Zapiski Imp, Akademii Nauk*, ser. 8, vol. 1, no.3, St. Petersburg, 1897, 1-29.

P and V (see below) are portions, now separated, of one tenth-century ms containing a collection of ecclesiastical and chronological texts. The order of the folios has been disturbed and should run: P ff 15-22, V ff 140-7, ff 1-139, P ff 2-14, V ff 148-159; gatherings are lost at the beginning and after f 139v. On P ff 9r-14v followed by V f 148r-v is found Book 1 of Malalas, and the opening sections of Book 2 (Richard, 1955, 333-5). We have collated P directly and V from photographs. (In this connection, E.M. Jeffreys would like to express her



great appreciation to M. Ch. Astruc for help and advice on several occasions.) P and V provide the text that is translated for Book 1 and until Ba begins at Bo 23.1.

**PsD** *Chronicon anonymum Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*; J.B. Chabot, ed. and trans., CSCO, *Scriptores Syri*, ser. 3, vols 1-2, Louvain, 1927, 1933, 1949.

Written in Syriac and ascribed, wrongly, to Dionysios of Tell Mahre (patriarch of Antioch, 818-45), this chronicle covers world history to 775 AD (Urbina, 1965, 211-2). Its sources are Eusebios and other Greek writers, as well as JE (writing in Syriac) who had drawn extensively on Malalas and whose *Ecclesiastical History*, Book 2 survives only as part of this chronicle. PsD's work thus provides evidence at two removes, and filtered through a second language, for Malalas' original text; it can, however, provide useful confirmatory evidence for the shape of that text. We have used Chabot's Latin translation, where available. We have also consulted, too little and too late, Brian Parker, of the University of Sydney, and Witold Witaboski, of Uppsala University, for translations of the remainder. To both of these, but especially to Brian Parker, we are extremely grateful for their patient assistance. We must, however, stress that any shortcomings in the treatment of the Syriac evidence are due not to them but to the editors' belated appreciation of the relevance of this material.

**PsS** Pseudo-Symeon, *Chronicle*; in Parisinus Graecus 1712, ff 18v-272r.

This is an as yet unpublished chronicle, formerly ascribed to Symeon the Magister and Logothete (see under LG), which covers world history to 963 AD. For the period from the creation to Julius Caesar the sources seem to be JA, Synkellos, a version of the 'Epitome' (see under LG), biblical material, and also Malalas. Much of this, though slightly rearranged and with some omissions, is taken over by Ke (see above); thus references to PsS in the subtext tend to appear beside those to Ke. From Julius Caesar to Diocletian PsS's main source is the 'Epitome' and from Diocletian onwards it is Th (Praechter, 1896; Markopoulos, 1978). During these periods PsS has little independent value as a witness to the text of the original Malalas and has not been cited in the subtext after Book 10. References are to the folios of the ms.

**Sept** Dictys Cretensis, *Ephemeris*; W. Eisenhut, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1973.

L. Septimius is the name of the purported author of the Latin version (fourth century AD) of what claims to be Diktys of Crete's eyewitness account of the Trojan War; it is what is printed as the *Ephemeris* of Dictys Cretensis in the edition cited above. A Greek version of this material, though in a rearranged order and ascribed to the otherwise unknown Sisypchos of Kos as well as to Diktys, exists in Book 5 of Malalas. Additional passages from the same source appear in other witnesses (eg C, Ke and Su). Diktys' novel is probably to be dated to the first century AD. It has been a matter of controversy how much of Diktys' narrative Malalas knew, whether he drew on it directly and whether it continued to circulate later independently (Patzig, 1892, Griffin, 1907). Sept lacks, eg, the portraits of the Greek and Trojan heroes almost certainly present in the original and is clearly at two removes at least from the Greek of Malalas. It is of limited value in establishing Malalas' wording though it can be useful in, eg, sorting out minor lacunas.

## Slav

A detailed discussion of the Slavonic translation will appear in the *Studies* volume. The following note (supplied by Simon Franklin) is designed to indicate the texts used and to explain the selection and translation of the Slavonic variants in the subtext. Since the

Slavonic texts are cited together in the subtext they are treated together here: references are given in full to each separate text in the list of abbreviations.

The fullest extant version of Malalas, apart from that of Ba, is that which survives in the medieval Slavonic translation, the best and fullest text of which is that published by Istrin (for the complex publication details, see the list of abbreviations). Istrin's edition is based on both mss of Arkh for Books 1-2, 4-10, and on EL (in a small sample of mss), for Books 13-18. Istrin also uses EL for variants in the earlier books, Soph for Books 11-12 and sporadically elsewhere, and Tikh (especially for Book 3). Wherever possible, readings from Arkh and EL are given here with reference to Istrin's edition, and the particular source of the reading (ie whether Arkh or EL) is not specified. Full account is taken of Istrin's apparatus, and of the variant readings found in the studies which accompany several of the volumes of his text.

Small fragments of Malalas, in Arkh but overlooked by Istrin, are published in Meshchersky.

Parts of EL's version of Books 1, 2 and 4 appear in Mify, including passages not published by Istrin.

Soph contains abbreviated and paraphrased material from all 18 Books of Malalas. Despite the abbreviated form, it does include some passages and details not in Arkh or EL. The full text recently published by Tvorogov, 1983, is preferable to the sporadic extracts in Istrin.

KVI provides a text of parts of Books 7 and 9, and is unpublished. KVI is a hypothetical compilation, dating from at least the late eleventh century in Russia, and partly preserved in several later compendia of historiographical works. Here the variants are taken from a ms of *Pol Pal*, and checked against the version of KVI in the 'Trinity' compendium (GPB NSRK, ff 287-8, 291-2).

Readings from the Slavonic version are taken only from texts which reflect the Slavonic translation of Malalas' chronicle itself. No reference is made to fragments of Malalas which enter the Slavonic through being parts of other translated works of Byzantine literature, such as the translation of the chronicle of George Monachos, or the selections from the Souda lexicon cited by Maximos the Greek (Maksim Grek). One exception to this rule has been made, in the case of Abramovich. Abramovich prints extracts from (but unfortunately does not publish in full) a section of Book 10 which was translated independently of the 'full' chronicle and which survives in a twelfth-century ms of a florilegium. This is the oldest Slavonic ms containing fragments of Malalas. The 'full' translation dates from the tenth or eleventh century, but no ms survives from before the fourteenth century.

Slavonic variants in the subtext are mostly based on Istrin. However, the subtext does not provide a full or accurate guide to Istrin's text, neither to the Slavonic nor to its relations to the Greek.

The subtext takes into account more sources than were used for Istrin's edition.

The sole purpose of the subtext is to provide material which may reflect a Greek text of Malalas. The purely Slavonic tradition, however curious or important, is ignored. Thus if any Slavonic text agrees with the Greek of Ba, all Slavonic variants at that point are ignored. For example, where Ba differs from Istrin but is supported by Soph or Tikh, nothing appears in the subtext. In order to check the justification for such omissions it is necessary to check the texts indicated in the *testimonia*.

The English in the subtext does not necessarily represent an accurate translation of the Slavonic. This is again because the subtext is concerned not with Slavonic but with Greek. Thus no variant is given:

i) where the Slavonic clearly follows the Greek of Ba but produces a slightly different meaning, and

ii) where the Slavonic translator (or editor) deliberately alters the Greek. For example, in Books 15-18 *Ἕλληται* is frequently rendered 'Greeks' in the Slavonic version, in line with the common practice of Slavonic translators and scribes. The subtext does not record such

changes, nor does it record the occasions on which Greek indirect speech is turned into Slavonic direct speech.

Where the Slavonic contains additional material not in Ba, an attempt has been made to translate in accordance with the conventions of the present English version. This may require a distortion of the literal meaning of the Slavonic, since the conventions relate not to the Slavonic but to the Greek from which it is assumed to derive. For example, Malalas' frequent formulaic epithet for a writer is σοφός, rendered throughout the present translation as 'learned'. In this position σοφός becomes, in Slavonic, *mudrŭ*. Where the formulaic epithet is absent in Ba but present in the Slavonic, *mudrŭ* is rendered as 'learned', despite the more natural 'wise'. For the same reason, if a Slavonic addition or variant is similar to a cited variant from another Greek text, the English in the subtext aims to convey not the specific nuances of the Slavonic but its affinity with the Greek.

**Sk** Theodoros Skoutariotes, *Σύνοψις χρονική*; C. Sathas, ed., *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol 7, Paris, 1894, 1-556.

Theodoros Skoutariotes, a member of the court of Theodore II Laskaris (1254-8) and supporter of Michael VIII Palaiologos' (1259-82) policy of Church union, became eventually bishop of Kyzikos. He was the author of a chronicle from Adam to 1261 (and the recapture of Constantinople), for the earlier part of which he drew intermittently on Malalas (Moravcsik, 1958, 526-9; Hunger, 1978, 477-8). His work, though rarely of independent value, is useful for confirming details, eg, of reign lengths, especially in the lacuna in Book 12.

**Su** *Suidae Lexicon*; A. Adler, ed., 4 vols, Leipzig, 1928-38.

The 'Souda', an encyclopaedia compiled towards the end of the tenth century and based largely on previous dictionaries, contains, in addition to brief lexical items, fuller entries on people and places, etc. Malalas is amongst Su's sources for these larger entries but, like the other historical texts used in Su, has been consulted not directly but through the Constantinian excerpts (see De insid above) (Hunger, 1978, 40-2). The usefulness of this witness is limited by the scrappy nature of some of the material preserved.

**TF** Tusculan Fragments (Cryptoferratensis Za xxxiv, ff 62r-69v); A. Mai, ed., *Specilegium Romanum*, vol.2, Rome, 1829, Appendix, 6-28.

Palimpsest sheets from a ms of the sixth or seventh centuries (and so very close to the date of the chronicle's composition) and very difficult to read (because of Cardinal Mai's experimental use of walnut juice to bring up the lettering), the Tusculan fragments are among the most valuable witnesses to the text of the original Malalas (Patzig, 1890/1; Moravcsik, 1958, 330). In addition to their own intrinsic value, they confirm enough of the additions found in Th's borrowings from Malalas to establish his credibility as a witness.

**Th** Theophanes, *Chronographia*; C. de Boor, ed., Leipzig, 1888.

Theophanes the Confessor (c760-818) in 810-14, at the request of his friend George Synkellos (and probably from material collected by him), composed a chronicle covering the years 284-813 (Hunger, 1978, 334-9). One of the sources he used extensively, though selectively, for the fourth to the sixth centuries was Malalas. Th has, however, frequently rewritten his borrowings (often to eliminate Malalas' linguistic awkwardnesses), rearranged their order and combined some entries. Thus, although not far removed from Malalas' original wording, he cannot be trusted to give a precise record of it, even if the general shape of an entry can be accepted. Th has also used and combined other sources. Th provides continuous narrative,

likely to be derived from Malalas, to fill the lacuna in Book 18, at paras 130-132 (though the linguistic variations which he makes elsewhere are sufficiently marked to make us indicate the change in text with *italics*); however, at the end of Book 18 Th's entries, perhaps because they may draw on a Constantinopolitan chronicle also used by Malalas, give no clear evidence (linguistic or otherwise) for deciding whether or not Malalas' chronicle continued beyond 565.

**Tz Ah, H, Ph** Tzetzes, *Antehomerica, HomERICA, Posthomerica*; I. Bekker, ed., Berlin, 1816.

**Tz Ex** Tzetzes, *Exegesis in Iliadem*; L. Bachmann, ed., *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem*, Leipzig, 1835

**Tz Hist** Tzetzes, *Historiae*; P.A.M. Leone, ed., Naples, 1968.

**Tz I** Tzetzes, *Allegoriae in Iliadem*; J. Boissonade, ed., Paris, 1851.

**Tz Schol Lyk** Tzetzes, *Scholia in Lycophronis Alexandram*; E. Scheer, ed., *Lycophronis Alexandra*, vol 2, Berlin, 1881.

John Tzetzes, c1110-80, was a cantankerous polymath who made his living from his writings (for several patrons at the Comnenian court) and by teaching (Wendel, 1949). He seems to have had access to a full text of the chronicle, to which he refers explicitly on several occasions as well as quoting items which can only have come from Malalas (Patzig, 1901, 391). Tzetzes' evidence is particularly important for the lacunose portrait list in Book 5, items from which reappear in several of his works (listed above) based on the Homeric poems. Tzetzes, however, must always be treated with caution since he rewrites (several of the works referred to are in verse), adds details from elsewhere and allows his personal feelings to cloud his judgement (eg the portrait of Palamedes is unrecognisable because of Tzetzes' personal identification with that hero).

**V** Vatopedi 290, f 148.

See under P.

**Vat Gr 163** Vaticanus Graecus 163, ff 1-61r.

A ms of the 'Epitome' (see under LG), which has some interesting readings that are relevant to Malalas, though its precise relationship to the chronicle needs further clarification (Moravcsik, 1958, 516; Praechter, 1896)

# BOOK 16 The Time of the Emperor Anastasios

AD491 1. (392) After the reign of Zeno, the most sacred Anastasios, known as Dikoros, began to reign during the consulship of Olybrius, the son of Areobindus. He came from Dyrrachium in Nova Epirus, and was an *ex-silentarius*. He reigned for 27 years and three months and was crowned in the month of April on Holy Thursday of Holy Week. He married Ariadne, who had been the wife of the previous emperor Zeno. He was very tall, with short hair, a good figure, a round face, both hair and beard greying; he had a grey pupil in his right eye and a black one in his left though his eyesight was perfect; and he shaved his beard frequently.

AD494/5 2. In his reign he made the patrician Hierios praetorian prefect, who then appointed his relative Kalliopios as *comes Orientis*. While Kalliopios was in office (393) the Greens of Antioch attacked him in the praetorium, but he escaped to safety. When he learned of this, the prefect Hierios reported it to the emperor Anastasios who immediately appointed Constantius of Tarsos as *comes Orientis*, granting him full authority over life and death since the Green faction, which was rioting in Antioch, was attacking the governors. Constantius made the people of Antioch obey the governors' orders. This was in the year 543 according to the era of Antioch.

This emperor supported the Red faction at Constantinople and took measures against the Greens and Blues everywhere when they caused disturbances.

3. When the emperor heard that the Isaurians were gathering in

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1. Bo 392.1-10; LM 437.8, CP 607.5-12 (AD491), Th 136.20-22 (AD491/2); Slav: Ist 13.1-6, Soph 124.

in Nova Epirus (392.2): 'in the province of Nova Epirus' CP, Slav.

27 years and three months (392.4): '27 years, nine months and nine days' LM, Slav.

and was crowned...Holy Week (392.5): 'he was crowned in the month of Xanthikos-April ('on 14th April' Th), on Thursday of Holy Week, in the 14th indication' CP, Slav, Th. CP adds 'in the year 537 (to be corrected to '539', see 391.3 above), according to the era of Antioch'; see Patzig, 1890/1, 10. (14 April 491 was in fact Easter Day).

2. Bo 392.11-393.11; De insid 36 (167.21-23).

life and death (393.4; corr Chil): 'every zone' Ba.

The emperor supported...caused disturbances (393.9-11): Before, during or after para 2 (ie before para 3, cf JA De insid 100; see Cameron, 1976, 226, note 7) we must place De insid 36, 'During the reign of Anastasios there occurred a disturbance in the hippodrome; there were many fatalities and serious fires, and the four dancers were exiled'.

3. Bo 393.12-394.10; De insid 37 (167.24-168.10), cf Th 137.23-140.7

their own area intending to rebel, he immediately began a campaign against them. He made war on them and sent out as generals the *magister militum praesentalis* John, nicknamed the hunchback, and the patrician Diogenianos, the relative of the Augusta, and others, with a force of Scythians, and a band of Goths and Bessoi. He massacred the Isaurians, ravaged their land, destroyed their cities and burned down their fortresses; he took prisoner the exarchs who had led their rebellion, the *ex-magister* Longinus the bald, Athenodoros the younger, Longinines the lame and the *ex-bishop* of Apameia Konon, the son of Fuscianus. Longinines was the first to perish at the outset of the war when (394) the armies met each other at Kotyaion, a city in Phrygia. He was killed there and after him Konon, the son of Fuscianus, was struck by a spear and fell. The Isaurians were put to flight and then captured, with their remaining exarchs taken alive. They were beheaded and their heads taken to the emperor Anastasios. After this victory he bestowed gifts on all tax-payers under his rule.

The most sacred emperor Anastasios imposed on all land-holders a tax to be paid in gold, based on acreage, to prevent taxes in kind being demanded and used for their own purposes by the soldiers.

4. During his reign the supporters of the Greens at Constantinople appealed to the emperor, while the chariot-races were being held, for the release of some people who had been arrested by the city prefect for throwing stones. The emperor did not yield to them but grew angry and ordered troops to attack them, and there was great disorder. The supporters advanced against the *excubitores*, and approached the *kathisma* and they threw stones at the emperor Anastasios. Among them was a man called Mauros who threw a stone at the emperor, who stood up and dodged it. The *excubitores*, having seen the man's

(AD492/6); Slav: Ist 13.6-8.

intending to rebel (393.13): De insid adds 'which they did, and advanced as far as Kotyaion; taking up arms he'.

as generals (393.14): cf 'three *magistri militum*' De insid.

the patrician Diogenianos (393.16): cf 'Diogenianos and Patricius' De insid (probably incorrectly, an error which may also have motivated the 'three *magistri militum*' above; see PLRE II 840, but cf *ibid.* 362).

Longinines (393.22): cf 'Lingines' De insid, 'Ninilingis' Th; on this difficult name, see PLRE II 683, *s.v.* Lilingis.

under his rule (394.7): De insid adds 'battle was joined again with the Isaurians, and Longinus of Selinus (written as 'Silountios', cf PLRE II 688) and Indes and his brother were brought as prisoners from Isauria, and Longinus, the brother of the emperor Zeno, was exiled'.

used for their own purposes (394.10; reading (μη) διατρέπεσθαι for διατρέφεισθαι with Dihle, 1976, 5): 'nourished' Ba; cf Festugière, 1978, 237 who proposes for the whole phrase 'and the soldiers being nourished by them'.

4. Bo 394.11-395.5; CP 608.1-18 (AD498), Th 147.17-20 (AD504/5), De insid 38 (168.11-25), 39 (168.26-34), JN 89.19-21.

they threw stones...Mauros who threw a stone (394.17-18; corr Dind) CP: cf 'they threw a stone' Ba, cf 'someone threw a stone' De insid; see Patzig, 1890/1, 12.

dodged it (394.19): CP, De insid add 'since he would have been killed'; see Patzig, 1890/1, 13.

boldness, went for him and dismembered him limb by limb, and so he breathed his last. The crowd, which was hemmed in, set fire to the Chalke, as it is known, of the hippodrome, and the colonnade was burned as far as the imperial *kathisma* (395); and also the public colonnade, as far as the Hexahippion and the Forum of Constantine, was completely burned and destroyed, collapsing throughout its length. After many had been arrested and punished, there was quiet, when Plato, who was patron of the Green faction, was appointed as the city prefect.

5. During his reign a man named John Isthmeos, who came from the city of Amida, appeared in Antioch the Great. He was an alchemist and a tremendous imposter. He secretly went to the money dealers and showed them some hands and feet of statues made of gold, and also other figurines, saying that he had found a hoard of such figurines of pure gold. And so he tricked many of them and conned them out of a lot of money. The Antiochenes nicknamed him Bagoulas, which means a slick imposter. He slipped through everyone's fingers and fled to Constantinople, and there too he conned many money dealers and so came to the emperor's attention. When he was arrested and brought before the emperor, he offered him a horse's bridle of solid gold with the nose-piece inlaid with pearls. The emperor Anastasios took it, saying to him, "Me you will not con", and banished him to Petra, where he died.

AD507 6. In the same year of his reign, during the third consulship of the emperor Anastasios, a charioteer named Kalliopas, an *ex-factionarius* from Constantinople, came out to Antioch the Great. (396) He was given to the Green faction at Antioch while Basileios of Edessa was *comes*. He took over the stable of the Green faction, which was vacant, and was completely victorious. A short time later the usual celebration of the Olympic festival was held in the customary way at Antiochene Daphne. The Antiochene populace went up to Daphne, and those who had been on the rampage set off with the charioteer Kalliopas and

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the man's boldness (394.20) cf De insid: 'Mauros' boldness' CP.  
 dismembered him (394.21) CP; cf 'dismembered Mauros' De insid.  
 the colonnade was burned (394.23): 'that side of the arena was burned'  
 CP, De insid; see Guillard, 1969, 481.

Here, or after para 5 (ie between paras 4 and 6), De insid adds, 'When Constantius ('Constantinus' in De insid here, but 'Constantius' later and in JA and Marcellinus; see PLRE II 313), surnamed Tzouroukkas, was city prefect, a disturbance took place. While Constantius the prefect was watching the afternoon session (of the races, see Cameron, 1976a, 288) during the festival known as the Brytai in the theatre, the factions set on each other in the theatre. Many were drowned in the water, wounded or killed in fighting with swords, resulting in the death in the theatre of the emperor's son by a concubine (cf Th). The emperor grew angry and punished many from both factions, and also exiled the factions' four dancers', cf Th.

5. Bo 395.6-19; De virt 14 (163.6-19), Th 150.12-22 (AD506/7), GM 622.9-18, LG 317.33-318.6 (121.19-122.5); Slav: Ist 13.8-12.

alchemist and tremendous imposter (395.8): 'tremendous alchemist and imposter' De virt, cf Th.

6. Bo 395.20-398.4; cf De insid 40 (168.35-6), JN 89.23-29.

In the same year (395.20): para 6 is probably summarized in De insid, 'In his reign there were many riots in Antioch and many murders'.

attacked the Jewish synagogue which was in Daphne; they set fire to it, plundered everything that was in the synagogue and massacred many people. This was on 9th July of the 15th indiction. They set up the holy cross there, and turned the place into a martyrrium of St Leontios. AD507

When these events were reported to the emperor Anastasios, he appointed Prokopios of Antioch, the ex-*commerciarius*, as *comes Orientis*. The latter took out with him, in accordance with a sacred decree, a man named Menas of Byzantion as *praefectus vigilum*. When a riot broke out, caused by members of the Green faction, Menas wanted to arrest some of the rioters. They heard about this and sought refuge at St John's outside the city. When the *praefectus vigilum* heard about this, he went in the middle of the day to St John's with a force of Goths. He entered the church unexpectedly and found there one of the troublemakers, named Eleutherios, under the holy altar in the sanctuary. He stabbed him with his sword there, dragged (397) his body from the sanctuary and cut off his head, with the result that the holy sanctuary was drenched in blood. Then, taking the head, he set off for the city of Antioch and when he reached the bridge over the river Orontes, he threw the head into the river. He then went to Prokopios, the *comes Orientis*, and told him of these events. This was reported to the Greens during the afternoon and they went out to St John's, where they found Eleutherios' headless corpse. They took the body, put it on a litter and carried it back to the city. But at the bath known as the Bath of Olbia, opposite what is known as the basilica of Rufinus, they were met and joined battle with the combined forces of the *praefectus vigilum* and the members of the Blue faction in the street of the Thassalioi. The Green faction got the better of the encounter, seized the basilica of Rufinus and that known as the basilica of Zenodotos, and set fire to them. The entire basilica of Rufinus was burned, including the two *tetrapyla* on each side of it, and the praetorium of the *comes Orientis*. All these were destroyed by the fire and collapsed. The *comes Orientis* fled to the Alexandria of Cambyses. The members of the Green faction seized Menas, the *praefectus vigilum*, slit him open and disembowelled him. Then after dragging his corpse around, they hung it on the bronze statue known as the Koloniosios, in the middle of the antiferum. (398) They then removed his corpse and dragged it outside the city of Antioch and burned it on a pyre of brushwood. On being informed of this, the emperor Anastasios appointed Eirenaios Pentadiastes, an Antiochene, as *comes Orientis*. This man brought vengeance and fear upon the city.

7. The emperor remitted by sacred decree the whole of the recurrent tax known as the *chrysargyron* and in its place he provided revenue for the Sacred Largesse from his own funds. This was a great and tremendous example of his munificence.

8. The emperor built the basilica in Antioch known as that of Rufinus, and also various buildings in every city of the Roman state.

9. During his reign Amida, the extremely strong metropolis of Mesopotamia, and also Theodosioupolis were captured in a campaign by

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The members (397.19; corr. Chil): om. Ba.

7. Bo 398.5-8; cf Ev III 39 (136.32-33); Slav: Ist 13.12-13.

8. Bo 398.9-10; JN 89.30-31.

9. Bo 398.11-399.12; cf Ev III 37 (135.27-136.7), PsD 814 (AD502/3), 817 (AD505/6) (=Jo Styl); Slav: Ist 13.13-14.1.



Koades, emperor of the Persians, who had attacked with a large army. The Persian emperor took prisoner the powerful Roman general Constantine, who was defending Theodosiopolis, and many others, who died in Persian territory. The emperor Anastasios began a campaign against the Persians, sending the *magister militum per Orientem* Areobindus, the son of Dagalaifus and husband of Juliana, the senior *magister militum praesentalis* Patricius, the *magister militum praesentalis* Hypatios, who was the son of the patrician Secundinus, the patrician Appion whom he made praetorian prefect of the East, and with them a huge military (399) force consisting of infantry and cavalry. Battle was joined between the two armies and many were the dead and fallen from both sides. The most learned chronicler Eustathios wrote about this battle; however, he died shortly afterwards, before he was able to complete the writing of his narrative. The emperor Anastasios recalled the general Hypatios, the son of Secundinus, to Constantinople and sent in his place the most illustrious Celer the Illyrian, a learned man. The cities held by the Persians were regained by Celer, the *magister*. Then there was peace and an end to hostilities and the armies withdrew, together with all the Roman and Persian forces.

10. The most sacred Anastasios immediately fortified Dara, a place in Mesopotamia, as a very large and powerful stronghold, lying between the Roman and Persian frontiers. In it he built two public baths, churches, colonnades, warehouses for storing grain and cisterns for water. The reason why this place received the name Dara from Alexander of Macedon was that he had captured the emperor of the Persians there, and it derives its name from this. But now, it has been given the status of a city and renamed Anastasiopolis. They set up statues of Anastasios there.

11. (400) In his reign Euphemios, the patriarch of Constantinople, was deposed. Anastasios banished him to Euchaita in Pontus as a Nestorian. In his place Makedonios became patriarch of Constantinople, but he too was deposed as a Nestorian. Likewise Flavian, the patriarch of Antioch, was banished as a Nestorian to a city called Petra, which is in Third Palestine. Severus, who was a monk, replaced him as patriarch of Antioch the Great on 6th November in the year 561 according to the era of the Antiochenes.

12. The emperor relieved John the Paphlagonian of his post as

who had attacked (398.13): cf Slav which adds 'the Greeks', probably translating 'Ρωμαῖοι.

Persian emperor (398.15): 'Koades', Slav.

Juliana (398.20): 'the lady Juliana' Slav.

10. Bo 399.13-399.21; CP 608.19-609.7 (AD498), Th 150.24-29 (AD507/8), Ke 630.14-18, JN 89.32 PsD 817 (AD505/6) (= Jo Styl); Slav: Ist 14.1-5.

The most sacred (399.13): 'the emperor' CP, Slav.

he had captured the emperor of the Persians there (399.19): 'Alexander struck Dareios the emperor of the Persians there with a spear' CP, Slav ('with a spear', δόρατι reflects Ba's writing of Dara, as Δοράς cf CP, thus making the etymological point).

its name (399.20): CP adds 'to the present day'.

11. Bo 400.1-10; cf JN 89.46, PsD 809 (AD497); Slav: Ist 14.6-11.

Severus (400.8): 'the presbyter Severus' Slav.

12. Bo 400.11-21; cf Ev III 42 (144.24-28); Slav: Ist 14.12-13.

*tractator* of public documents in the praetorium of the prefects and gave him the rank of ex-consul, and in his place he appointed Marinus the Syrian as both *tractator* and *logothetes*. This man dismissed all members of the city councils, and in their place created the *vindices*, as they are known, in each city of the Roman state. The emperor appointed the ex-consul John the Paphlagonian, known as Caiaphas, as *comes largitionum* in Constantinople. This man changed all the current small coinage into *folles* which were to be current from then on throughout the Roman state.

13. John melted down the bronze statues of the Plateia of Constantinople, which the most sacred emperor Constantine (401) had collected from every city as being the finest, and brought for the decoration and adornment of Constantinople. After melting these down, John made from them an exceedingly large statue of the emperor Anastasios, and placed this statue on the great column which stood unused in the place known as the Forum Tauri. This column had previously held a statue of Theodosios the Great, but the statue alone had fallen during the earthquakes.

14. In that year the emperor promulgated a decree outlawing the practice of making a record by tattooing; the actual name of tattooist was banned and likewise the practice. The law was as follows: "That it is our desire to free those under the yoke of slavery. How therefore can we tolerate that those who are free be brought into a servile condition?" The emperor published another sacred decree that no one, without an imperial rescript, was to adopt children either male or female, but only by a rescript, so that even an adopted child should have the right of a legitimate son or daughter to inherit the property of the adoptive parent even if intestate.

15. In that year of his reign the people of Alexandria the Great, because of a shortage of oil, rioted and murdered their *augustalios*, named Theodosios, who was originally from Antioch, the son of the patrician Kalliopios. This was in the year 564 according to the era of the Antiochenes, of the 9th indiction. (402) The emperor became angry and punished many Alexandrians for rebelling against their governor.

AD515/6

16. During his reign the Thracian Vitalian rebelled, allegedly giving the banishment of the bishops as a pretext. He gained control of

current (400.19): -reading προχωροῦν with Dind; cf Bury, 1897, 229.

13. Bo 400.22-401.8; Th 149.10-14 (AD505/6); Slav: Ist 14.14-19.

14. Bo 401.9-19; Slav: Ist 14.19-23.

15. Bo 401.20-402.2; De insid 41 (169.1-7), Th 163.9-16 (AD516/7), JN 89.35.

shortage of oil (401.23); 'shortage of bread and oil' De insid.

the son of the patrician Kalliopios (401.23): cf, incorrectly, 'the son of Patrikios, the son of Kalliopios' De insid, cf Th; see PLRE II 1102.

governor (402.2): 'governors. The factions again began a fight and the soldiers went out against them. The factions became reconciled, and killed many people and burned much property' De insid; see Mommsen, 1872, 374.

16. Bo 402.3-406.8; Ev III 43 (145.1-29), De insid 41 (169.8-170.3), Th 160.13-18 (AD513/4), GM 619.16-620.2, JN 89.71-88, cf LG 316.3-9 (118.18-119.3); Slav: Ist 14.23-15.5.

Thrace, Scythia and Moesia as far as Odessos and Anchialos, having with him a large army of Huns and Bulgars. The emperor sent out Hypatios, the *magister militum per Thracias*, who engaged Vitalian in battle but was betrayed and was captured by him. He was given back to the Romans after payment of a large ransom. Hypatios was dismissed and, after his return to Constantinople, the Illyrian Cyril was appointed to succeed him as *magister militum per Thracias*. Cyril immediately went out and engaged Vitalian and in the battle many from both sides fell. Cyril however proved superior and entered the city of Odessos where he stayed, while Vitalian retreated from those regions. Vitalian bribed those who were guarding the gates of the city of Odessos, with a gift of money. Through some relatives of the gate-keepers he sent the money and various promises. As a result of this treachery Vitalian entered the city of Odessos at night, captured Cyril, the *magister militum per Thracias*, and killed him. He then went and plundered again (403) the whole of Thrace and Europa until he reached Sykai and Anaplous opposite Constantinople, as he wanted to take Constantinople itself. He took up his position at Anaplous at a place known as Sosthenion in the chapel of the archangel Michael.

The emperor Anastasios had formerly summoned, through Marinus, the philosopher Proklos of Athens, a famous man. The emperor Anastasios asked him, "Philosopher, what am I to do with this dog who is so disturbing me and the state?" Proklos replied to him, "Do not despair, emperor. For he will go away and leave as soon as you send some men against him". The emperor Anastasios immediately spoke to the ex-prefect Marinus the Syrian, who was standing close by while the emperor was conversing with the philosopher Proklos, and told him to prepare for battle against Vitalian who was then opposite Constantinople. The philosopher Proklos said to Marinus the Syrian in the presence of the emperor, "Take what I give you and go out against Vitalian". And the philosopher ordered that a large amount of what is known as elemental sulphur be brought in and that it be ground into fine powder. He gave it to Marinus with the words, "Wherever you throw some of this, be it at a building or a ship, after sunrise, the building or ship will immediately ignite and be destroyed by fire". Marinus asked the emperor to send one of his *magistri militum* with the weapon.

The emperor immediately summoned (404) the Phrygian Patricius, the *magister militum*, and John, the son of Valeriana, and told them to prepare an attack against Vitalian across the water, and to take fast ships and soldiers. They fell at the emperor's feet, saying, "We two have been his friends and his father's friends. We are afraid that chance may bring an unfavourable result and we might be suspected of treachery". The emperor was angry with them and dismissed them from the palace. He then ordered Marinus the Syrian to take the ships, the elemental sulphur and the force of soldiers that had been prepared and to go out against Vitalian. When Vitalian heard that Marinus was moving against him with a large force, he seized every ship he could find and

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**During his reign...Huns and Bulgars (402.3-7):** on the relationship between Ba and Th here, see Beševliev, 1980, 539-43.

**Athens (403.6):** De insid adds 'a city in Hellas'.

**or a ship (403.20) JN:** cf 'or ships' De insid, 'or ships of the enemy' Slav.

loaded them with bands of Huns and Goths, fully armed. He then set out to attack Constantinople, confident that he would certainly capture it and crush Marinus, who was coming to meet him, together with the force under his command.

Marinus distributed the elemental sulphur, which the philosopher had given to him, among all the fast ships, telling the soldiers and sailors, "There is no need for weapons but throw some of this at the ships that are coming against you and they will burn. And if we get to the houses on the other side, where the enemies of the emperor are, throw it there". Marinus told his men to throw it exactly as the philosopher had told him, when he had said that the ships would be set alight by the fire (405) and sunk with the men on board. So he set out for the other side against Vitalian and his men, and Vitalian's ships came to meet them. They drew very close to one another opposite St Thekla's in Sykai at that part of the Bosphorus which is called Bytharion. The sea battle took place there at the third hour of the day. Suddenly all the ships of the rebel Vitalian caught fire and were set ablaze and plunged to the bottom of the Bosphorus, taking with them the Gothic, Hunnish and Scythian soldiers who had joined him. But when Vitalian and those on the other ships saw what happened, that their own ships had suddenly been set ablaze, they fled and returned to Anaplous. The ex-prefect Marinus crossed over to Sykai and killed all Vitalian's men whom he found in the suburbs and houses, pursuing them as far as St Mamas. When evening fell, Marinus and his force stayed there, defending those areas. Vitalian fled from Anaplous during the night with his remaining men and travelled 60 miles that night. At daybreak none of Vitalian's men could be found on the other side. Christ the Saviour and the emperor's *tyche* had won the victory.

The emperor Anastasios made a *processus* to Sosthenion and gave thanks in the church of the archangel Michael for many days. The philosopher Proklos the Athenian (406) successfully sought permission from the emperor to leave and refused to accept anything from the emperor, who had in fact ordered that he should receive four *centenaria*. The philosopher returned to his own city of Athens, where he immediately died. There were some people in Constantinople who said that it was from the heat of the sun that the elemental sulphur, as it was so fine, caught fire, when it was thrown into the air, and that this was its nature. Vitalian withdrew to Anchialos and stayed there quietly.

17. In the time of the emperor Anastasios the Sabir Huns, a very warlike race, crossed the Caspian Gates and reached Cappadocia, plundering it and all the Roman territory they passed through. They killed a great many people, burned estates and then returned home with much booty. Those who had been plundered of their possessions went to the emperor, who provided generously for those who had been looted in each city. He also built walls around the large towns in Cappadocia and made the two Cappadocias secure. He granted that the taxes of all the provinces that had been plundered be completely remitted for three years.

18. During his reign the island of Rhodes suffered its third calamity from the wrath of God, at night. The emperor gave generously

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17. Bo 406.9-18; cf Ev III 43 (145.30-31), Th 161.28-30 (AD515/6).

18. Bo 406.19-21; Ev III 43 (145.32-146.2), cf PsD 815 (AD503/4).

both to the survivors and to the city for building purposes.

19. In his reign a civic insurrection took place (407) among the Byzantines in Constantinople over Christian belief, because the emperor wanted to add to the *Trisagion* the phrase they use in the eastern cities, "He who was crucified for us, have mercy on us". The population of the city crowded together and rioted violently on the grounds that something alien had been added to the Christian faith. There was uproar in the palace which caused the city prefect Plato to run in, flee and hide from the people's anger. The rioters set up a chant, "A new emperor for the Roman state", and went off to the residence of the ex-prefect Marinus the Syrian, burned his house and plundered everything he had, since they could not find him. For he had heard that this great mob of people was coming towards his house, and had fled. They claimed that, as an easterner, Marinus had suggested this phrase to the emperor. After plundering his official apartments they cut up his silver with axes and divided it out. They found an eastern monk in the house whom they seized and killed and then, carrying his head on a pole, they chanted, "Here is the enemy of the Trinity". They went to the residence of Juliana, a patrician of the most illustrious rank, and chanted for her husband, Areobindus, to be emperor of the Roman state. Areobindus fled and hid in Perama. The emperor Anastasios went up to the *kathisma* in the hippodrome, (408) without a crown. When the people learned this, they went into the hippodrome. The emperor, through his sacred pronouncement, gained control of the populace of the city, exhorting them to stop murdering and attacking people at random. The whole crowd became quiet and begged him to put on his crown. As soon as they became quiet and stopped forming crowds, the emperor ordered that arrests be made. Of the many brought into custody, he had some punished and others thrown into the Bosphorus by the city prefect. They suffered in this way for many days and after countless numbers had been executed, excellent order and no little fear prevailed in Constantinople and in every city of the Roman state.

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19. Bo 406.22-408.11; CP 610.1-6 (AD507), De insid 42 (170.4-17), GM 620.3-621.4, JN 89.58-68, cf Ev III 44 (146.3-30), Ke 631.12-21, LG 316.10-24 (119.4-19), PsD 818 (AD506/7); Slav: Ist 15.5-24, 9.18-20. run in, flee (407.8): Gleye, 1896, 447 conjectures 'flee in a fast ship', reading εἰς δρόμωνα φορεῖσθραμόνια. in Perama (407.21): 'On the other side' CP, which has a lacuna here, ending at 'the residence of Juliana'. De insid summarizes the first part of this passage, between an introduction on the *Trisagion* and Anastasios' arrival in the *kathisma*, as follows, 'The populace killed a male and female anchorite' (see Mommsen, 1872, 375). No female victim is mentioned in Ba, CP (lacunose), Slav or JN. However, the murders of one male and one female anchorite are described in Ke, LG and GM, the latter having a version closer to Ba than the other two, though all share some common elements with the translation printed here. Comparisons between versions at this climax of the monophysite controversy suggest interesting insights into textual history (see Gleye, 1896, 447-9 and Patzig, 1898, 120-3); but they will not be made here, since it is uncertain whether the textual history concerned is that of Malalas or of his source.

20. A short time later the emperor Anastasios saw, in a dream, an elegant, full grown man standing in front of him. He was carrying a book with writing in it, which he was reading. He turned over five pages, read out the emperor's name and said to him, "See, because of your insatiability, I am erasing 14". And with his finger he erased them, it was said. The emperor Anastasios woke up in a panic, summoned Amantios, the *cubicularius* and *praepositus*, and told him about the vision he had in his dream. (409) Amantios said to him, "May you live forever, emperor. I too have had a dream tonight that I was standing facing your majesty, and from behind me a pig, as big as a wild boar, came up and seized the edge of my cloak in its mouth, shook me and pulled me to the ground and killed me by trampling on me and devouring me". The emperor summoned Proklos the philosopher from Asia, the interpreter of dreams who was a close associate of his, and told him his dream, as did Amantios likewise. He explained to them the meaning of the dream, which was that they would die some time later.

21. In addition to his original gifts the emperor Anastasios again sent other gifts to all tax-payers in his state. In every city of the Roman state he carried out a variety of building projects, including walls and aqueducts; he dredged harbours, constructed public baths from their foundations and provided much else in every city.

22. Shortly afterwards the emperor Anastasios became ill and was confined to bed. There was a great flash of lightning and a thunderclap; he was terrified and breathed his last, at the age of 90 years and five months.

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20. Bo 408.12-409.10; JM 2888c-2889a, CP 610.10-611.8 (AD518), Th 163.31-164.8 (AD517/8), Ke 635.21-636.7, cf LG 317.1-3 (120.8-10), Sk 91.3-7; Slav: Ist 15.24-16.6.

elegant (408.13-14): 'white-robed' JM, CP (reading λευχεῖμων for λευοχῆμων app), Slav; on this and other textual points in this para, see Patzig, 1898, 125-6.

insatiability (408.16) CP, Slav: cf 'lack of belief' JM, LG, 'wrong belief' Th, Ke, Sk.

14 (408.17) CP, JM, Th: cf '11 years' Ke, LG, Sk.

and told him his dream...to them the meaning (409.8-9; corr Dind) CP: 'and told him the meaning' Ba; see Patzig, 1890/1, 12.

some time later (409.9-10): 'a short time after' CP, cf 'not long after' Th, Ke.

21. Bo 409.11-16; Slav: Ist 16.6-7, Soph 126.

22. Bo 409.17-20; CP 611.8-10 (AD518), JM 2889a, cf Th 164.19-21 (AD517/8), GM 619.11-15, Sk 91.7-9; Slav: Ist 16.7-10, Soph 126.

## BOOK 17 The Time of the Emperor Justin

- AD518 1. (410) After the reign of Anastasios, the most sacred Justin, a Thracian from Bederiana, began to reign on 9th July in the eleventh indiction during the consulship of Magnus. At God's command the army with the *excubitores* guarding the palace, together with the people, crowned him and made him emperor, for he had been the *comes excubitorum*. He reigned for nine years and 22 days. In stature he was of medium height, with a good chest, curly completely grey hair, a good nose, a rather ruddy complexion, and handsome. He was a veteran of war, generous, but unlettered.
2. As soon as he began to reign he executed his *praepositus*

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Book 17...Justin: 'Book 16. The time of the emperor Justin ('Justinian' mss) and the destruction (in Antioch)' Slav.

1. Bo 410.1-8; LM 437.9, Ev IV 1 (153.5-11), CP 611.11-17 (AD518), cf LG 318.19-22 (122.17-123.1), Ke 636.17-637.1, JN 90.2; Slav: Ist 17.1-7, Soph 127.

Anastasios (410.1): CP, Slav add 'Dikoros'.

Bederiana (410.2): cf 'Bendara' CP, Slav.

July (410.3): 'Panemos-July' CP, Ev, Slav.

eleventh indiction (410.3): CP, Ev, Slav add 'in the year 566 according to the era of the Syrian Antiochenes'. See Patzig, 1890/1, 10; Gleye, 1896, 434; Vasiliev, 1950, 70, note 53.

At God's command (410.4): like 'by the will of God' (411.2), this phrase is not found in any witness to the text apart from Ba; see Gleye, 1896, 435.

the army with the *excubitores* (410.3; see Bury, 1897, 229): 'the army of *excubitores*' Bo, CP, cf Ev.

2. Bo 410.8-411.5; CP 611.19-612.8 (AD519), Th 165.24-166.2 (AD518/9), De insid 43 (170.18-22), cf Ev IV 2 (153.17-154.5), LG 318.26-32 (123.5-11), Ke 637.23-638.1, Sk 93.19-24, 94.1-3, JN 90.3; Slav: Ist 17.7-14.

As soon as (410.8): In place of the whole of this paragraph De insid reads 'Under the emperor Justin uproar broke out in the most holy church and Amantios the *praepositus* and Marinus the *illustris* were shouted down. Amantios the *praepositus*, Theokritos the *domesticus* and Andreas Lausiacus were put to death. The *cubicularii* Ardabourios and Misael were sent into exile'. The excerpt in question (De insid 43) continues without a break with the Vitalian story given under paragraphs 5 and 8 below. Patzig, 1890/1, 13 lists the additional material from the excerpt (also available in, eg, Marcellinus Comes *sub annis* 519, 520) and calls into question whether this is really an excerpt from a fuller Malalas text. Certainly, at a point where Ba, Slav, CP and Th agree on the general shape of the text given (with some confirmation from Ev and

Amantios and his *cubicularius* Andreas Lausiacus as well as the *comes* Theokritos, the *domesticus* of Amantios. Amantios had planned to make the latter emperor by giving Justin money to distribute so that Theokritos might become emperor; and (411) Justin distributed it. However, the army and people, after accepting the money, did not choose to make Theokritos emperor, but by the will of God made Justin emperor. After beginning to reign Justin put to death inside the palace those who had intended to plot against his rule.

3. The emperor recalled the patrician Appion and also the senators Diogenianos and Philoxenos, who had been sent into exile by the previous emperor. He made Appion praetorian prefect and Diogenianos *magister militum per Orientem*. Some time later he made Philoxenos consul.

4. At the beginning of his reign there arose in the East a tremendous star, named a comet which sent out a beam pointing downwards. People called it Bearded, and they were afraid.

5. The emperor immediately won over Vitalian as well, who had rebelled against the emperor Anastasios and the state, and appointed him *magister militum praesentalis*.

6. In the first year of his reign, Severus, the patriarch of Antioch, fled to Egypt in fear of Vitalian, and in his place Paul, the

LG), it is hard to suggest how the passage in De insid may be defined within the textual history of Malalas.

his *praepositus* Amantios (410.9) CP, Th, cf De insid: but 'Amantios the *praepositus* and eunuch' Slav, cf Ev, underlines the point of the story.

against his rule (411.4): CP, Slav add 'as usurpers', cf Th.

3. Bo 411.6-10; CP 612.9-14 (AD519), Th 166.2-5 (AD518/9), cf LG 319.29-30 (124.17-18), Ke 638.1-2; Slav: Ist 17.14-15.

the senators Diogenianos and Philoxenos (411.7): 'Diogenianos the ex-*magister militum* and Philoxenos who was also an ex-*magister militum*' CP. *magister militum per Orientem* (411.9) Th: 'ex-*magister militum per Orientem*' CP; see PLRE II, 362.

4. Bo 411.11-13; CP 612.15-18 (AD519), Th 166.6-8 (AD518/9), cf Ke 638.3-5, PsD 836 (AD524/5) JN 90.5; Slav: Ist 17.16-18.

At the beginning of his reign (411.11) cf Slav: 'In the same year' CP, Th, Ke.

in the East (411.11): 'throughout the East' CP; cf Slav which adds 'in the evening', Ke adds 'it had a beam pointing to the West'.

5. Bo 411.14-16; Th 165.3-6 (AD518/9), De insid 43 (170.23-26).

The emperor (411.14): The whole story of Vitalian during Justin's reign is included in De insid 43 (see para 2 above). Corresponding to para 5 here we find, 'Vitalian immediately came to Constantinople, and became *magister militum*, with the rank of ex-consul, and consul *ordinarius*. In negotiations with him, Justin the emperor appealed to him and gave him sworn assurances', cf Th for another version, which has some points of similarity with De insid.

*magister militum praesentalis* (411.16): Th adds 'and *comes*'; see PLRE II 1174.

6. Bo 411.17-412.2; Th 165.15-18 (AD518/9), JN 90.7-9, cf Ev IV 4 (154.22-155.17), Ke 637.17-20, PsD 831 (AD519/20); Slav: Ist 17.18-18.5. Antioch (411.18): 'Antioch the Great' Slav.



ex-warden of the hospice in the quarter of Euboulos, was appointed patriarch. He included in the diptychs of the churches of each city the 630 bishops of the Council of Chalcedon. As a result there was a great schism and many broke communion with him, (412) stating that those who followed the Council supported the doctrines of Nestorios.

7. During his reign hippodromes were provided for the Seleukeians and Isaurians.

In that year a woman from the region of Cilicia appeared. She was of the race of the giants, in stature being a cubit taller and broader than a full-grown man. She travelled around the whole Roman state begging, and turned up at Antioch the Great where she collected from each workshop one *follis*.

8. The emperor Justin designated as consul the *magister militum praesentalis* Vitalian, and he served as consul of the Romans. While he was consul, after his first race, Vitalian was put to death in the

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Euboulos (411.20): Slav adds 'in Constantinople'.

patriarch (411.19): Slav adds 'in Antioch'. Gleye, 1896, 433-4 sees the influence of Malalas in an Antiochene date inserted in Ev's account at this point, and makes proposals about possible omissions from Ba.

7. Bo 412.3-9; Th 171.29-32 (AD524/5), LG 319.15-19 (124.2-6), GM 626.19-21; Slav: Ist 18.5-12.

taller and broader than a full-grown man (412.6; corr Chil) reading ὑπερέχουσα τέλειον Th: ὑπερτέλειον Ba.

one *follis* (412.9) Th: cf 'one copper coin, and after accumulating 40 silver coins, which is what the Antiochenes call a *follis*, she left the city' Slav.

8. Bo 412.10-15; Ev IV 3 (154.17-20), Th 165.6-8 (AD518/9), 166.19-21 (AD519/20), De insid 43 (170.26-171.5), cf LG 318.25-6(123.4-5).

While he was consul, after his first race, Vitalian (412.12-13): At some point after para 5 above and before the death of Vitalian narrated here, De insid refers to some hippodrome disturbances. The text continues without interruption, but the transition is most abrupt (Vasiliev, 1950, 111) and it seems best to regard them as a separate event, distinct from Vitalian's death. Further, all sources agree that Vitalian was killed inside the palace, and nowhere else is his death connected with the hippodrome. A particular problem with the Ba text is that there is no suggestion elsewhere that Vitalian was murdered at the beginning of his consulate (see, eg, Stein 1949, 230; PLRE II 1176), as is implied by 'after his first race'. We tentatively suggest a lacuna (or a clumsy abbreviation amounting to the same thing), and propose some degree of connection between 'after his first race' and the hippodrome disturbances of De insid. Within this lacuna, therefore, De insid adds 'When the chariot races had been held, the faction members created a disturbance in the afternoon. The soldiers came out and killed many of them. After that the factions were reconciled, while the prefect Theodoros was watching the afternoon session (see Cameron, 1976a 285), and both left the hippodrome, joining in revelry. The next day they assembled in the hippodrome and asked the emperor to watch the races, and the factions chanted requests for dancers. The Greens called for Karamallos, the Blues for a certain Porphyrios from Alexandria, the Reds and Whites for their favourites. The emperor granted each faction what it had asked for. After this they rushed with their cloaks through

palace for having rebelled against the Romans and for having plundered many cities and territories of the Roman state.

9. During his reign Ztathios, the emperor of the Laz, angrily departed from Persian territory. This was while the Persians were ruled by Koades, a friend of Ztathios, emperor of the Laz, who had once been under the rule of Koades. Thus whenever an emperor of the Laz happened to die, his successor, though from the race of the Laz, was appointed and crowned by the emperor of the Persians. (413) The emperor of the Laz had rejected the belief of the Hellenes and so as not to be appointed by Koades, emperor of the Persians, and not to perform sacrifices and all the other Persian customs, as soon as his father Damnazes died, he immediately travelled to the emperor Justin in Byzantion, put himself at his disposal and asked to be proclaimed emperor of the Laz. He was received by the emperor, baptized, and, having become a Christian, married a Roman wife named Valeriana, the granddaughter of Nomos the patrician, and he took her back with him to his own country. He had been crowned by Justin, the emperor of the Romans, and had put on a Roman imperial crown and a white cloak of pure silk. Instead of the purple border it had the gold imperial border; in its middle was a true purple portrait medallion with a likeness of the emperor Justin. He also wore a white tunic, a *paragaudion*, with gold imperial embroideries, equally including the likeness of the emperor. The shoes that he wore he had brought from his own country, and they were studded with pearls in Persian fashion. Likewise his belt was

the city and the hippodrome, and paraded in celebration over nearly all the city. Members of the factions joined together and dragged around some of the riff-raff (reading παρακενωτιών for παρακενότων cf CP 622.20, but the meaning is uncertain) and threw them into the sea'.

**Vitalian was put to death in the palace** (412.13): 'Vitalian, the consul and *magister militum*, was put to death in the palace, as was Celerianus, his treasurer' (reading σκελλάριος for κελλάριος, 'cellarer'; other possible readings are βουκελλάριος, 'bodyguard', or even, 'secretary') De insid; see PLRE II, 278 and Vasiliev, 1950, 111.

**Roman state** (412.14): cf Th which adds 'at the time of his uprising against Anastasios'.

9. Bo 412.16-414.16; CP 613.3-615.4 (AD522), Th 168.14-169.12(AD522/3), JN 90.35-41, Ke 638.17-639.7; Slav: Ist 18.12-19.13.

**During his reign** (412.16): cf CP, which presents the material of the first few sentences in a different order from Ba; neither is really satisfactory.

**Ztathios** (412.6): written as 'Tzathios' CP, Th, cf Ke, JN; see Vasiliev, 1950, 259, note 1 and Rochow, 1983, 464-5.

**crowned by the emperor of the Persians** (412.21): CP adds 'of the time'.

**Damnazes** (413.5): cf 'Zamnaxes' CP.

**Nomos** (413.9) Th: written as 'Oninos' CP, cf Slav, JN.

**the patrician** (413.9): CP, Th, Slav add 'and *ex-curopalates*'; see Patzig, 1890/1, 11.

**He had been crowned** (413.10-11): 'He had been appointed and crowned' CP, Slav, cf Th; see Rochow, 1983, 465.

**true purple portrait medallion** (413.14): 'small purple portrait medallion' CP, cf Slav.

**shoes** (413.17): 'red shoes' CP, Th, Slav; see Rochow, 1983, 465.

decorated with pearls. He received many gifts from the emperor Justin, as did his wife Valeriana.

When Koades, the emperor of the Persians, learned of this, he sent (414) the following message to the emperor Justin by an ambassador, "Though friendship and peace between us are discussed and are now established, your actions are hostile. Witness the fact that you have appointed as emperor of the Laz a subordinate of mine, who does not come under the Roman administration but has from time immemorial belonged to the Persian state". In reply Justin, the emperor of the Romans, made the following statement through an ambassador, "We have neither annexed nor won over any of those subordinate to your empire. In fact, a man named Ztathios came to us in our empire and begged as a suppliant to be rescued from Hellenic belief, from impious sacrifices and from the errors of demons, and asked to become a Christian, worthy of the grace of the eternal God, the Creator of all things. It was impossible to prevent someone who wished to enter a better way and to know the true God. Thus, when he had become a Christian and worthy of the heavenly mysteries, we sent him back to his own country". As a result, there was enmity between Romans and Persians.

10. In that year the emperor of the Persians won over a king of the Huns, named Zilgibi. The emperor Justin heard about this, and since he had formerly won over Zilgibi to aid the Romans and had sent him many gifts and made an agreement with him on oath, he was exceedingly displeased at the news that he had gone over to the Persian emperor. (415) After he had been won over by Koades, emperor of the Persians, the Hun marched to join Koades, the Persian emperor, against the Romans with 20,000 men, to begin a campaign against the Romans. The most sacred Justin revealed king Zilgibi's perfidy and perjury to the emperor Koades through his envoy in a friendly message proposing peace, just as if, it is said, he had written for another purpose. He told him that he had accepted money from the Romans to act against the Persians, to betray them and to join the Romans the moment the battle began; "It is necessary", he continued, "for us, brothers as we are, to speak out in friendship and not be made the sport of these dogs". When the Persian emperor learned of this, he asked Zilgibi, "Have you accepted gifts from the Romans and been won over against the Persians?" Zilgibi told the truth and confessed. Koades, emperor of the Persians, was

his wife Valeriana (413.21): CP adds 'since she had now been compelled, or persuaded, to marry him and to go to a foreign empire', cf Slav; see Patzig, 1890/1, 12.

Hellenic belief (414.9): 'polluted Hellenic belief' CP, Th, Slav.

It was impossible (414.13; corr Dind) CP: 'we win him over' Ba; Dind points out the problem.

10. Bo 414.17-415.21: CP 615.5-616.8 (AD522), Th 167.4-20 (AD520/1), JN 90.42-6; Slav: Ist 19.13.

Zilgibi (414.18): on the forms of the name in the texts deriving from Malalas, see Vasiliev, 1950, 265, note 18.

gone over to the Persian emperor (414.22): CP adds 'Koades'.

to join Koades, the Persian emperor (415.1; corr) CP, cf JN: om Ba; see Patzig, 1890/1, 12.

Zilgibi told the truth and confessed (415.12-13): 'Zilgibi said, "Yes"' CP, Th, JN.

enraged and, suspecting that Zilgibi had come to him treacherously, put him to death and destroyed many of his horde at night. He despatched a large force against the Huns, who were unaware that this force had been sent against them by the Persian emperor but thought that it was an invasion from some other country against the Huns and their king. The remaining Huns who survived fled. Then the emperor Koades resolved to discuss terms for peace and informed the Roman emperor Justin of this through the envoy Labroios.

11. In this year Paul, the patriarch of Antioch, died and (416) Euphrasios of Jerusalem was appointed in his place. He carried out a great persecution of those known as Orthodox, and put many to death.

12. At that time the Blue faction rioted in all the cities and threw the cities into confusion with stone-throwing, violence and murder. They even attacked the officials in each city, beginning in Byzantion. These activities continued until the appointment in Constantinople of the *ex-comes Orientis* Theodotos as city prefect. He was appointed during the first indiction and restored order over the rioting among the Byzantines by punishing many of the rioters at the emperor Justin's command. Among these he arrested a certain Theodosios, nicknamed Ztikkas, who was very wealthy and held the rank of *illustris*. Theodotos, on his own authority, put him to death without

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Labroios (415.20): written as 'Broios' CP; see PLRE II 652.

11. **Bo** 415.22-416.2; **Ev** IV 4 (155.21-2), **JN** 90.14; **Slav:** Ist 19.13-16. of Jerusalem (416.1) cf **JN:** cf 'patriarch of Jerusalem' Slav.

12. **Bo** 416.3-417.4; **Th** 166.26-33 (AD519/20), **Ke** 638.5-11, cf **JN** 90.16-23; **Slav:** Ist 19.17-20.

**At that time** (416.3): 'In the second year of the reign of Justin' Slav, cf **Th**.

**beginning in Byzantion** (416.6): 'This evil disorder arose in Antioch' **Th**, **Ke**, cf **Slav**; **Th** adds (replacing the rest of this section), 'and from there spread to all cities and was rampant for five years. They killed with their swords the Greens whom they encountered, going up and murdering even those who were hiding at home. The authorities did not dare impose punishments for the murders. This went on until the sixth year of the pious Justin', cf **Ke**, **Slav**.

**the ex-comes Orientis Theodotos** (416.8): before this **JN** adds 'And there arose many men belonging to the people who in Constantinople and the cities of Hellas loudly accused the patrician Justinian, his brother's son. Now Justinian helped the Blue faction to commit murder and pillage among the various nations. And the emperor appointed (as) prefect'. This and the following readings of **JN** are interesting in that a) they provide a narrative which could have been abbreviated into **Ba**, since there are several points of correspondence; b) they seem to show some knowledge of the situation described in Prokopios, **SH** IX 35-42, especially Justinian's personal involvement and his illness at a crucial moment. On the other hand a) **JN** does not correspond to Prokopios in detail; b) the monophysite **JN** was anxious to find material derogatory to the orthodox Justin and Justinian. The issues are partly faced by Vasiliev, 1950, 117.

**Justin's command** (416.11): **JN** adds 'and he made him swear that he would show no partiality'.

**put him to death** (416.14): **JN** adds 'And next he had Justinian the

reporting this to the emperor. This met with the emperor's anger and he was dismissed from office, deprived of his rank and ordered into exile in the East. After reaching the East, he fled in terror in the third indiction and sought asylum in Jerusalem where he stayed in hiding. Theodoros, the ex-consul, nicknamed Teganistes, was appointed city prefect in his place. Ephraimios of Amida was appointed in Antioch. He took measures against the rioting by the Blues. Then the rioting of the Blue faction (417) ceased and caused no more disturbances in the cities. But spectacles were prohibited and all dancers throughout the East were banished, except from Alexandria the Great in Egypt.

13. The emperor prevented the Olympic festival from being celebrated in Antioch after the 14th indiction. The number of alytarchs who held office, from Afranius to the year 568 when the Olympic festival was stopped, was 77.

14. In that year while Anatolius, son of Carinus, was *comes Orientis*, a great conflagration occurred in Antioch through divine anger. This conflagration foretold God's coming displeasure. The burned area extended from the martyrrium of St Stephen to the praetorium of the *magister militum*. Even after this many conflagrations occurred in various neighbourhoods of Antioch; many houses were burned and many lives lost and no one could discover the source of the fire. At the entreaty of Euphrasios, the patriarch of Antioch, the emperor generously gave two *centenaria* of gold to the places that had been burned.

15. In that year it happened that the place known as Dyrrachium,

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patrician arrested, and wished to put him to death. But when he fell ill, he let him go'.

13. Bo 417.5-8; Slav: Ist 19.21-23.

The emperor (417.5): 'Justin' Slav.

14. Bo 417.9-19; Th 172.1-11 (AD525/6), JE 224.12-18, Ke 640.12-17, JN 90.24-5, cf Ev IV 5 (155.23-6); Slav: Ist 19.23-27.

In that year (417.9): cf 'In this year, in October of the fourth indiction' Th.

a great conflagration occurred in Antioch (417.10-11): cf 'a great conflagration arrived unseen in the middle of the city' Th.

praetorium of the *magister militum* (417.13): JN adds 'and as far as the bath called Tainadonhus and the bath of the Syrian nation'; see Downey, 1961, 520, note 76.

neighbourhoods of Antioch (417.15): Th, JE, cf JN add 'for six months'; for the relationship of JE to the Greek texts throughout the description of the Antioch fire and earthquake, see Brooks, 1892, 293-5.

source of the fire (417.16): Slav and Th add 'For the fire flared up from the roof-tiles'; Th continues, cf JE, 'of the five- (JE adds 'and six-') storey buildings'. See Stein, 1949, 242, note 3.

Euphrasios (417.17; corr Chil) Th, Slav: 'Euphraimios' Ba; see PLRE II 395.

15. Bo 417.20-419.4; Ev IV 8 (159.10-23), Th 168.8-11 (AD521/2), 171.14-28 (AD524/5), LG 319.30-320.2 (124.18-24), cf Ke 638.14-16, JN 100, PsD 842 (AD530/1); Slav: Ist 19.28-20.23.

In that year (417.20) Th: cf 'During his reign' Slav.

a city in the province of Nova Epirus, the birthplace of the emperor Anastasios, suffered from the wrath of God. Anastasios had built many buildings there and (418) had even provided a hippodrome for the inhabitants. The emperor Justin provided the city of Dyrrachium with much money for reconstruction; it had formerly been called Epidamnus. Likewise he gave generously to the survivors.

In that year Corinth in Hellas also suffered; and the emperor graciously gave much there too.

In the next year Anazarbos, a city in Cilicia, suffered its fourth calamity from the wrath of God. The emperor restored it.

In that year Edessa, a great city in the province of Osrhoene, was engulfed one evening by the wrath of God in the form of river-water, from the river known as Skirtos which flows through the middle of the city. The inhabitants perished together with their houses. The survivors and inhabitants of the city used to say that the river had flooded this city on another occasion but had not caused such destruction. "For we have learned", they said, "that the same thing has happened on other occasions". After the anger had ceased, there was found by the buildings near the river, when they were having their foundations cleaned out, a large stone tablet, on which was carved the following inscription, "The river Skirtos (Leaper) will leap terrible leapings for the citizens". The city of Edessa was built by Seleukos Nikator, who fortified it. Seleukos, who was a Macedonian, had named it Antioch the Half-barbarian and, after its first (419) calamity, it was renamed Edessa. The emperor gave much to each city, renewing them with many beautiful works and giving generously to the survivors. He renamed Edessa Justinoupolis.

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**Nova Epirus** (417.21): Th adds 'in Illyricum'.

**in Hellas** (418.5): 'the metropolis of Hellas' Th, Slav.

**a city in Cilicia** (418.7): 'the metropolis of Cilicia Secunda' Ev, Th Slav; Th adds 'while Kalliopios, son of Eirenaios, was its governor; and the whole city collapsed'.

**restored it** (418.7-8): Th adds, cf Ev, 'and named it Justinoupolis'; see Rochow, 1983, 465.

**a great city in** (418.9): 'a great and famous city' Th; Slav and Th add 'and metropolis of'.

**middle of the city** (418.10): Slav adds, cf Th, LG, 'and providing it with beauty and with its needs. And through the wrath of God it became swollen with water, more than the sea, and it flooded the city and its inhabitants and flattened all the houses which stood there, while those in the houses shouted to be spared, for they were unable to help themselves'.

**the anger had ceased** (418.16): Slav adds, cf Th, LG, 'the water had dried up'.

**by the buildings near the river...cleaned out** (418.16-17; corr) cf Slav: 'the buildings near the foundations of the river which were being cleaned out' Ba ('by' has been proposed by Chil and inserted in Ba by a late hand, see Bury, 1897, 229; and 'foundations' seems to be misplaced); cf 'on the banks of the river' Th, LG.

**carved** (418.18): cf Th, LG which add 'in hieroglyphics'.

16. In the seventh year of his reign, in the month of May, Antioch the Great suffered its fifth calamity from the wrath of God, during the consulship of Olybrius. Great was the fear of God that occurred then, in that those caught in the earth beneath the buildings were incinerated and sparks of fire appeared out of the air and burned anyone they struck like lightning. The surface of the earth boiled and foundations of buildings were struck by thunderbolts thrown up by the earthquakes and were burned to ashes by fire, so that even those who fled were met by flames. It was a tremendous and incredible marvel with fire belching out rain, rain falling from tremendous furnaces, flame dissolving into showers, and showers kindling like flames consumed even those in the earth who were crying out. As a result Antioch became desolate, for nothing remained apart from some buildings beside the mountain. No holy chapel nor monastery nor any

16. Bo 419.5-421.21; Ev IV 5 (155.23-156.9), JE 224.18-225.25, Th 172.11-173.7 (AD525-7), GM 626.8-15, LG 319.9-13, 20-24 (123.20-24, 124.7-11), Ke 640.18-641.16, JN 90.26-34, PsD 846 (AD534/5); Slav: Ist 20.24-24.20.

**seventh year** (419.5): Slav and Ev add 'and the tenth month'.

**in the month of May** (419.6): 'on 29th Artemisios-May' Slav, Ev, cf 'on 20th May' Th; Slav and Th add 'of the fourth indiction'; cf Ev which adds 'on Friday'; Slav adds 'at the sixth and seventh hours', cf 'at the seventh hour' Th, JE. See Rochow, 1983, 465.

**Antioch the Great** (419.6): Slav, Th, JN add 'in Syria'.

**Olybrius** (419.7): Slav, Th add 'in Rome'; Slav, PsD, JE continue, cf Th, Ev, LG, GM, 'The destruction was indescribable, such that no mortal tongue could express'.

**Great was the fear** (419.7): 'So great was the anger' Th, JE, LG, GM, cf Slav.

**in that** (419.8): 'that' JE, Th, LG, GM, Slav.

**those caught...incinerated** (419.8-9) cf Slav, JE: cf 'Almost the entire city collapsed and became a tomb for its inhabitants. Some of those who were buried and still alive beneath the ground were burned by fire that came out of the earth' Th, Ke, GM, cf LG, probably resulting from an attempt to tidy the text.

**boiled** (419.11): PsD, JE, cf Slav, add 'and blazed, setting fire to everything'.

**met by flames** (419.13): Slav, JN add 'like those who remained in their houses'. Slav continues 'Except for the soil in the fields this fire consumed everything in the city, as soon as it had received the command from God; everything was consigned to a single conflagration'. The sentence may be an interpolation, since Slav is concerned, elsewhere in this description, to stress the directness of divine intervention.

**Antioch** (419.17): 'Christ-loving Antioch' Slav.

**nothing remained** (419.18): Slav adds 'in this glorious city'.

**some buildings** (419.18-19): 'sporadic rows of buildings' Slav, cf 'a few buildings' JE.

**beside the mountain** (419.18): Slav adds, cf JE, 'From the spring called Olympias to the gates known as those of Draduon one could see them standing, but with crumbling walls that threatened death; many of them fell (JE adds 'the next day'), killing those who lived in them and

other holy place remained which had not been torn apart. Everything had been utterly destroyed. The great church of Antioch, which had been built by the emperor Constantine the Great, (420) stood for seven days after this tremendous threat from God, when everything else had collapsed to the ground during the wrath of God. Then it too was overcome by fire and razed to the ground. Likewise other houses which had not collapsed through the divine calamity were destroyed to their foundations by fire. In this terror up to 250,000 people perished. For this was the great festival of the Ascension of Christ our God and a great throng of visitors had come to town. During the wrath of God it became clear what a great number of citizens there was. Many of those who had been buried by earth survived to be

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burying passers-by. Not one single dwelling, house or stall ('garden wall' JE) in the city remained undestroyed'.

**torn apart** (419.20): Slav adds 'and collapsed to its foundations through the wrath of God'; PsD, JE continue, cf Slav, 'The rest of the buildings were reduced to heaps of dust and were destroyed by fire. Liquid mud ('sea sand, as it were' Slav) boiled and bubbled up from the nether regions, there was a rank stench of the sea, and water seemed to flow out, just as if sea-water were coming up together with the hot mud'.

**Constantine the Great** (419.22): Slav, PsD JE add 'and which had no equal even among the Romans ('Greeks' Slav)'.

**seven days** (420.2) JE: 'two days' Bo (see Bury, 1897, 229), cf 'five days' Slav.

**from God** (420.2-3): JE adds 'though it was cracked'.

**razed to the ground** (420.4): Slav adds 'Likewise the great church of the Archangel Michael and the church of the Holy Virgin Mary collapsed to the ground. The church of the Archangel Michael had been built by the emperor Zeno. Both these sacred houses had remained standing, wholly undamaged by the earthquake. But through the wrath of God they suddenly caught fire, together with the church of the Holy Prophets and the church of St Zacharias, and then they collapsed to the ground'.

**other houses** (420.4): 'other churches' Slav, JE.

**In this terror** (420.6): 'As far as the survivors were able to count the dead or their bodies were found' JE, cf 'According to informed estimates' Slav.

**perished** (420.6): Slav adds 'citizens and strangers'; Slav and JN continue 'men and women, young and old ('babies' JN)'.

**to town** (420.8): Slav adds, cf JN, 'and just when the bells of the church called Kration (probably 'Kerateion') were ringing across the city in customary celebration of the sacred litany, at that very moment the earthquakes started'; despite Downey, 1961, 522, note 85, it seems likely that Slav and JN are referring to the same service here at the same moment of the earthquake.

**During the wrath of God...citizens there was** (420.8-10): 'There had been a great multitude of citizens; and the wealth of the property of that multitude and the length and breadth of their civic possessions were inestimable. As for the splendour of the city and its good climate and the beauty of its churches, visitors who had seen it both before and after exclaimed, "This quiet haven from the world, this refuge of the universe has been utterly desolated! Where are its creatures and their finery?"' Slav.



brought up alive but then died. Some of the citizens who survived gathered whatever of their possessions they could and fled. Peasants attacked them, stole their goods and killed them. But God's benevolent chastisement of man was revealed even in this, for all those robbers died violently, some by putrefaction, some were blinded and others died under the surgeon's knife, and after confessing their sins they gave up their souls. One who plundered at that time was Thomas, a *silentarius*, who had escaped in flight from the wrath of God and lived three miles out of the city at the place known as St Julian's Gate, and, by means of his servants, stole everything from the fugitives. He did this for four days, and as he was polluting everything he suddenly died though he had been in good health, (421) and everyone glorified God. His property was stolen and lost. He was buried there, in the place where he died.

Other mysteries of God's love for man were also revealed. For pregnant women who had been buried for 20 or even 30 days were brought up from the rubble in good health. Many, who gave birth underground beneath the rubble, were brought up unharmed with their babies and survived together with the children to whom they had given birth.

**stole their goods and killed them** (420.13-14): 'and strangers robbed them and stole from them. For there were robbers who entered the city to plunder, and they killed many who refused to hand over their property. When these strangers killed, they robbed their victims of the only hope or possession left to them: their lives. The strangers entered the city and pillaged the ruins. They found caskets of silver plate, and gold coins and silver lying about. They found many women adorned with much gold and with precious stones and beads' Slav.

**even in this, for...violently** (420.14-15): 'in the fate of these looters and strangers, for all who took whatever it was that they had decided upon died instantly, and not one of them remained alive' Slav.

**plundered at that time** (420.18): 'with his servants plundered a lot' Slav.

**Thomas** (420.18): 'called Thomas the Hebrew' Slav.

**in flight** (420.19): 'unharmed' Slav.

**three miles** (420.20): 'two or three miles' Slav.

**fugitives** (420.21): 'from passers-by and from those fleeing the wrath of God. There were also looters who took much gold from under the rubble' Slav.

**for four days** (420.22): Slav adds 'and they took much gold and silver and other possessions'.

**in good health** (420.23): Slav adds 'and strong, he collapsed and died suddenly, before he had even compiled an inventory of all that he had plundered'.

**everyone glorified God** (421.1): 'everyone who heard of this glorified God, the righteous judge' Slav.

**His property** (421.1): Slav adds 'was dispersed by the elders, and some of it'.

**stolen and lost** (421.1-2): Slav adds 'so that he had nothing left but the robes he wore'.

**where he died** (421.2): Slav adds 'and in that robe, for fear of the citizens who were clamouring against him'.

**20 or even 30 days** (421.4): '21 days' Slav.

Equally other children were brought out alive after 30 days. Many even more tremendous things occurred. On the third day after the collapse the Holy Cross appeared in the sky in the clouds above the northern district of the city, and all who saw it stayed weeping and praying for an hour. After the collapse of the city many other earthquakes occurred during the next 18 months. Buildings collapsed too at Seleukeia and at Daphne over a distance of some 20 miles. The emperor provided much money for the cities that had suffered. When he had heard of God's benevolent chastisement of man, he was afflicted with great sorrow; the games were not held in Byzantion and, when the time of Holy Pentecost came, he entered the church without his crown, weeping and wearing a purple cloak along with all the senators who also were wearing purple.

were brought out alive (421.8): cf 'perished' Slav.

after 30 days (421.8): Slav adds, cf JN, 'Other infant children lay next to their mothers, who were stretched out dead beside them, yet the children lived and sucked from the women who had died'.

occurred (421.9): Slav adds 'the like of which no human tongue can express, but only immortal God knows the secret'.

after the collapse (421.9): Slav adds, cf JE, 'that is, on Sunday at the eighth hour'.

northern (421.10): 'western' Slav, PsD, JE.

an hour (421.12) PsD, JE: cf 'one and a half hours, so long did it remain after it had appeared in the heavens' Slav, which, in a very corrupt and difficult addition to the next sentence, may be attempting a parallel between the hour and a half of vision and the year and a half of earthquakes.

18 months (421.14) Slav, PsD, JE: cf 'one year' Th, Ke; Slav adds 'Yet of that which remained, nothing fell; no house or church or anything else fell, though its fall seemed constantly imminent. It was as if someone had said, "God, the lover of all mankind, has forbidden it; they must stand, and not fall". And so they survived the later earthquakes intact'.

over a distance of some 20 miles (421.14-15): 'over an area some 20 miles square' Slav, cf 'within a radius of 20 miles' JN.

The emperor provided much money (421.15-16): 'the divine Justin sent many *centenaria* of gold, more than any other emperor' Slav, JN.

with great sorrow (421.17): Th adds, cf LG, Ke, Slav, JN 'he took off (Slav adds 'immediately') the diadem from his head and the purple, and mourned in sack-cloth (LG, Ke add 'and ashes') for many days'.

in Byzantion (421.18): 'in Constantinople, for he knew the city of Antioch and praised and loved it' Slav.

Holy Pentecost (421.18): cf 'Holy Thursday of the Great (ie Easter) Week' Slav, JN.

he entered the church...wearing purple (421.19-21): 'When he went (Slav adds 'in Constantinople from the palace') to the church on a feast day, he refused to wear the crown or the chlamys, but he went dressed very plainly in a purple mantle and wept in the presence of the whole senate (Slav adds 'and the citizens'); everybody wept ('watched him' Slav), and wore mourning like him' Th, cf Slav, Ke. Ke adds (perhaps from another source) 'all the inhabitants of the city put on dark clothes and met together in the plain, seven milestones from the city,

17. (422) In that year the emperor sent out the *comes* Carinus with five *centenaria*. With him he also sent Phokas the patrician and Asterios, learned men, giving them much money for the reconstruction of the city, its aqueducts and bridges over the river, since he knew the city; for he had lived in it for some time when he had gone there with the *magistri militum* during the Persian war. He wrote frequently to these patricians to take care of the city.

AD527 18. After eight years and nine months of Justin's reign the most sacred Justinian became co-emperor with him, together with the Augusta Theodora, and was crowned by his most sacred uncle during the consulship of Mavortius. The emperor Justinian gave generously to the city of the Antiochenes. He established a secure, orderly condition in every city of the Roman state and despatched sacred rescripts to

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and went on processions of prayer for seven days, fasting'; see Praechter, 1897, 105.

It is interesting that Ev's reference to Ioannes Rhetor (=Malalas) here mentions that the earthquake is the last event in the chronicle; see Patzig, 1890/1, 20.

17. Bo 422.1-8; Th 173.7-13 (AD526/7); Slav: Ist 24.21-25.4.

five *centenaria* (422.2): Slav adds, cf Th, 'for excavation, to see whether any person or property had survived'; Th continues 'and to preserve what had been buried from robbers and looters'; Slav continues 'and to investigate the earthquake thoroughly and on his return he was to report to the emperor what should be done'.

Phokas the patrician (422.2-3): Slav adds, cf Th, 'son of Krateros, and a rich man'.

and Asterios (422.3): Slav continues, cf Th, 'the patrician and ex-*referendarius* and ex-prefect of the city, a wise man, instructing them, "Both of you, see that the men survive, and put up the city's buildings quickly"'. See Rochow, 1983, 465.

for the reconstruction of the city (422.4) Th: 'and told them about the various places in the city, about the public baths and' Slav.

had lived in it (422.6): Slav adds 'pleasantly'.

frequently (422.7): 'every day' Slav.

take care of the city (422.8): 'saying, "As many *centenaria* as you need, let me know, so that I may send them" Slav.

18. Bo 422.9-21; Ev IV 9 (159.24-29), CP 616.15-617.6 (AD527), Th 170.24-29 (AD523/4), Eccl Hist 109.26-30, 110.6-7, JN 90.48; Slav: Ist 25.5-11, Soph 127.

nine months (422.10): CP, Slav, cf Ev, add 'and five days'.

most sacred Justinian (422.10): CP adds, cf Slav, 'his relative, who was magnanimous beyond measure'.

together with the Augusta Theodora (422.11) Slav: cf 'was proclaimed together with his wife Theodora' CP.

uncle (422.12): CP, Slav add 'Justin'.

in the consulship of Mavortius (422.12): 'on 1st Xanthikos, April according to the Romans, of the fifth indiction, in the year 575 of Antioch in Syria, when Mavortius was consul in Rome' CP, Slav, cf Ev, Th; see Patzig, 1890/1, 10.

The emperor Justinian...Antiochenes (422.12-13): 'The emperors provided many gifts of money for restoration in Antioch' Eccl Hist.

orderly condition in (422.14-15): CP adds 'Constantinople and'.

every city so that rioters or murderers, no matter to what faction they belonged, were to be punished; thus in future no one dared to cause any kind of disorder, since Justinian had struck fear into all provinces. For a short period the factions of Antioch the Great were on friendly terms.

19. (423) He built in Antioch a church of the Holy Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, opposite the building known as the basilica of Rufinus, building close to it another church, that of Saints Kosmas and Damian. Equally he also built a hospice, baths and cisterns. Likewise the most devout Theodora also provided much for the city. She built an extremely fine church of the archangel Michael; she also built what is known as the basilica of Anatolius, for which the columns were sent from Constantinople. The Augusta Theodora made and sent to Jerusalem a very costly cross, set with pearls. The emperor Justinian despatched gifts to all tax-payers in the Roman state.

20. The emperors appointed the patrician Hypatios as *magister militum per Orientem* to protect the eastern regions from Saracen incursions.

21. At that time many Manicheans were punished in every city. Among those punished was the wife of the senator Erythrios and other women as well.

22. The *comes Orientis*, when the wrath of God occurred, was Ephraimios, who was compelled a short time later to accept appointment as patriarch of Antioch, for his predecessor Euphrasios had been burned to death during the wrath of God. The pious emperors, learning (424) that Ephraimios, the *comes Orientis*, had been consecrated patriarch canonically by the clergy, appointed as *comes Orientis* in his place

to be punished (422.16): CP adds 'and that nobody was to throw stones or commit murder, but to watch the races in good order'.

19. Bo 423.1-12; Eccl Hist 110.7-9, JN 90.50.

he built (423.1): 'the emperors built' Eccl Hist.

a hospice (423.4): Eccl Hist adds 'the one named after Justinian'; cf Eccl Hist which continues 'They (ie probably Justinian and Theodora) ordained that the city be named Theoupolis'; but cf Book 18, para 29.

the columns were sent (423.8): the translation with a passive verb reflects an active masculine participle, which apparently refers to Theodora (but in a formulaic construction normally applied to an emperor).

20. Bo 423.13-15; Th 170.30-171.2 (AD523/4).

Hypatios (423.13): Th adds 'the son of Secundinus'; see Rochow, 1983, 465.

the eastern regions from (423.15): Th adds 'the Persians and'.

21. Bo 423.16-18; Th 171.2-3 (AD523/4); Slav: Ist 25.11-13.

At that time...every city (423.16-17): 'The two emperors undertook the persecution of God's enemies, the Manicheans' Slav; Slav and Th continue 'and they punished many of them'.

the senator Erythrios (423.17): cf 'the patrician Andronikos' Slav.

other women as well (423.18): Slav adds 'and from that time the theatre was discontinued'.

22. Bo 423.19-424.13; cf Th 173.21-22 (AD526/7), 172.30-31 (AD526/7), Eccl Hist 109.31-110.2, PsD 842 (AD530/1); Slav: Ist 25.14-15.

Ephraimios (423.20): cf Th, Eccl Hist, who add 'of Amida'.

Zacharias, who came from Tyre. When Zacharias saw the destruction in the city, he entreated the pious emperors by letter to let him come to Byzantium and lead a delegation on behalf of the city of the Antiochenes. He took with him the bishop of Amida, a devout man, and other clergy. They reached Constantinople and, after accomplishing much, they returned to Antioch the Great with imperial gifts, bringing 30 *centenaria* of gold and decrees on a variety of subjects to maintain the ancestral customs in that city. A short time later the emperors bestowed on the city an additional ten *centenaria*.

23. Meanwhile the most sacred Justin became ill from the ulcer which he had on his foot, for he had been struck there in battle by an arrow and that is what caused the danger to his life. He died at the age of 75 on 1st August of the fifth indiction. Altogether his reign lasted nine years and 22 days, including four months with his nephew.

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30 *centenaria* of gold (424.10): Slav summarizes this whole section as follows 'For the rebuilding of the city 30 *centenaria* were given and ten for restoring the churches'.

23. Bo 424.14-20; CP 617.6-10 (AD527), Th 173.17-19 (AD526/7), Eccl Hist 109.26-29, JN 90.47; Slav: Ist 25.15-21.

the age of 75 (424.18): 'the age of 77' Slav, CP; see Vasiliev, 1950, 63, note 43.

on 1st August of the fifth indiction (424.17): 'in the month Loos, August according to the Romans, on Sunday 1st, at the third hour in the current fifth indiction' CP, cf Slav.

## BOOK 18 The Time of the Emperor Justinian

1. (425) After the reign of Justin, the most sacred Justinian ruled for 38 years, 7 months and 13 days from 1st April in the 5th indiction, in the year 575 according to the calendar of Antioch, during the consulship of Mavortius.

AD527

In appearance he was short, with a good chest, a good nose, fair-skinned, curly-haired, round-faced, handsome, with receding hair, a florid complexion, with his hair and beard greying; he was magnanimous and Christian. He favoured the Blue faction. He too was a Thracian from Bederiana.

2. In the month of October of the 6th indiction the emperor appointed an Armenian named Patrikios as *comes Orientis* in Antioch. He gave him a large sum of money with instructions (426) to go and reconstruct the city in Phoenice on the *limes*, known as Palmyra, and its churches and public baths. He ordered a *numerus* of soldiers to be stationed there with the *limitanei*, and also the *dux* of Emesa, to protect the Roman territories and Jerusalem. Palmyra had formerly been great, for in that place, before the city was built, David fought with the fully armed Goliath in single combat. David struck Goliath with a stone and felled him and, running up, beheaded him with the sword which Goliath had been carrying. He took his head and kept it for some days, and then brought it into Jerusalem in victory, raised on a pole before him. So the emperor Solomon made Palmyra a great city because of his father David's victory and gave it its name, since it had been the death (*moira*) of Goliath. Formerly this city also protected Jerusalem. Thus

AD527

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Book 18...Justinian: 'Book 17 (*sic*), The sixth destruction in Antioch' Slav.

1. Bo 425.1-9; CP 616.19-617.1,11-15 (AD527), cf Th 173.13-14(AD526/7), 241.3-4 (AD565), Ke 642.10-15; Slav: Ist 26.1-5.

ruled...13 days (425.1-2): 'reigned alone, reckoning the years from the time when he was proclaimed emperor; that is, from the month of Xanthikos, which is April 4th' Slav, cf CP. This variant may indicate that Slav's text of Malalas derived from a stage in the tradition in which the chronicle did not extend to Justinian's death - perhaps coming to an end approximately where Slav itself now ends (cf the comments of Ev at Book 17, para 16). CP, which seems to reflect the phrasing of Slav and gives a different length for Justinian's reign (38 years and 11 months), hints at the possibility of an intermediate stage of the tradition.

he was short (425.5): Slav adds 'he made mistakes while speaking the Roman language, though he wrote it flawlessly'.

2. Bo 425.10-426.20; Th 174.12-15 (AD527/8).

in Phoenice on the *limes* (426.1): 'in Phoenice Libanensis situated on the inner *limes*' Th.

the Persian emperor Nebuchadnezzar advanced by way of it and took it with great effort first, for he feared to leave it at his rear since an army of Jewish soldiers was stationed there. He captured it, burnt it and so took Jerusalem.

AD528 3. Justinian distributed consular largesse in the 6th indiction in the month of January.

4. (427) In that year the Persian emperor went to war with Ztathios, the emperor of the Laz, because he had gone over to the Romans. The emperor of the Laz sent a request to the emperor of the Romans, asking for a military force from him. Justinian sent him three *magistri militum* - Gilderic, Kerykos and Eirenaios - with a great Roman force, and when they joined battle many fell on both sides. On hearing of this the Roman emperor was angry with the *magistri militum*, since they had betrayed one another through mutual jealousy. Because of his anger he dismissed them. The *magister militum* Peter came, removed their commission, took their armies from them and withdrew from that area.

5. The emperor reconstructed a city in Armenia named Martyropolis, renaming it Justinianoupolis. He constructed its walls and colonnades for they had fallen into ruin in the course of time, and transferred

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took Jerusalem (426.20): Th has a lacuna in this paragraph from 'and also the *dux*' up to its last words, which are '...and the Holy Places'. 3. Bo 426.21-22; CP 617.18-21 (AD528), Th 174.16-18 (AD527/8), Ke 642.15-643.2; Slav: Ist 26.6-8.

Justinian...January (426.21-2): 'The emperor Justinian in the 1st year of his reign, in the month Audynaïos, on 1st January by the Roman system, in the 6th indiction, distributed more money, and bestowed it on all, than any other emperor during his consulship' CP, cf Th, Slav.

At this point, in an area otherwise apparently drawing on Theophanes, Ke has a passage on Justinian's persecution of Arians and his construction of a monastery out of the churches of Saints Sergius and Bacchus and of the Holy Apostles near his palace and the sea; since it is not attested by Th or CP its position in the tradition is unclear.

4. Bo 427.1-13; CP 618.1-13 (AD528), Th 174.19-26 (AD527/8), JN 90.52, Ke 643.3-9; Slav: Ist 26.8-12.

Ztathios (427.2): written as 'Tzathios' CP, Th.

emperor of the Romans (427.3): 'the emperor Justinian' CP, Slav.

Gilderic (427.5): 'Belisarios' CP, Th, Ke, JN, Slav; see Patzig, 1891/2, 26.

Eirenaios (427.5): CP adds 'son of Pentadia', cf Slav.

many fell on both sides (427.6-7): 'many Romans fell' CP, JN, cf Th, cf 'many Persians fell' Slav (perhaps by confusion with 'they cut down many Persians', as read by CP, JN, cf Th, at 427.12-13.

betrayed one another (427.9): CP adds 'and sent information to the emperor against each other'.

The *magister militum* Peter (427.11): 'Peter, the *magister militum* and ex-imperial *notarius*' CP, cf Th.

withdrew from that area (427.12-13): 'When he attacked the Persians with the Laz, they cut down many Persians' CP, JN, cf Th.

5. Bo 427.14-17; Slav: Ist 26.12-14.

in Armenia (427.14): 'in Armenian Souphania (= Sophanene)' Slav; see Jones, 1971, 224-5.

an eastern *numerus* there.

6. In that year the king of the Heruli, named Grepes, came over to the Romans and arrived in Byzantion with his own force. He made obeisance to the emperor Justinian and asked to become a Christian. He was baptized at Holy Epiphany with the emperor Justinian acting as his sponsor in holy baptism. His senators and (428) twelve of his relations were baptized with him. When Justinian had bestowed many gifts on him and dismissed him, he travelled with his force to his homeland, with the emperor of the Romans saying to him, "Whenever I want you, I will inform you".

7. In his reign various heresies were suppressed and their churches taken away from them, except for those known as the Exakionite Arians.

8. The whole period from the accession of Augustus Octavian Imperator to the completion of the second consulship of the emperor Justinian in the 7th indiction is 559 years, so that the total of years from Adam to this indiction is 6497, which is the number of years I found in the works of Clement, Theophilus and Timotheos, the chroniclers who agree among themselves. In the chronology of Eusebios Pamphilou, I found the number of years from Adam to the consulship of the emperor Justinian in the 7th indiction to be 6432, but the chroniclers Theophilus and Timotheos have calculated and recorded the years with greater accuracy. The writings of all therefore indicate that the sixth millennium had been passed. So from the foundation

AD528

AD528/9

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6. Bo 427.17-428.4; Th 174.27-175.5 (AD527/8), Ke 643.10-15, JN 90.70, PsD 844 (AD532/3), MS 9.21 (192); Slav: Ist 26.14-27.1.

Grepes (427.19): written as 'Gretes' Th, Ke, 'Grates' Slav, 'Agripas' MS; see Stein, 1949, 305, note 3.

Byzantion (427.19): 'Constantinople' Th, Slav.

7. Bo 428.5-7; Th 176.17-19 (AD527/8), Ke 645.7-8; Slav: Ist 27.1-3. away from them (428.1): Th adds, cf Ke, 'and given to the Orthodox'.

8. Bo 428.8-429.9; Slav: Ist 27.3-28.6, Soph 128.

559 (428.11): cf '6059' Slav.

from Adam to this indiction (428.11-12): 'from Adam the first-created to the imperial consulship of the divine Justinian, to its termination and to the end of the indiction' Slav.

6497 (428.12; '4' is in rasura and a later hand, see Bury, 1897, 229): cf '6407' ('6417' Soph) Slav. Slav continues 'According to the Antiochenes who live in the city by the Orontes this was the 577th year starting from Julius Caesar. According to the Alexandrians, who are Egyptians and live by the Nile, this was the 245th year from Diocletian. According to the so-called Syrian Macedonians of Apamea, this was the 40th (*sic*) year from Seleukos Nikator' Slav.

Clement, Theophilus and Timotheos, the chroniclers (428.13-14): cf 'Timotheos and Theophilus, the very learned chroniclers' Slav.

agree among themselves (428.14): cf 'spoke accurately' Slav.

6432 (428.17): cf '6032' Slav.

Theophilus and Timotheos (428.17-18): cf Slav which adds 'and Clement'.

sixth millennium had been passed (428.19): cf 'and that the seventh thousand is to come long after the present seventh indiction' Slav (a corrupt passage; see Franklin, 1987).



of Rome to the second consulship of the most sacred Justinian there were 1280 years more or less; from the foundation of Constantinople to the consulship mentioned above of Justinian and the completion of the 7th (429) indiction is 199 years. One must not add up the years of the earlier emperors according to the number mentioned above for their reigns, because two used to reign at the same time; equally fathers would crown their children from infancy and reign with them. The chronicler must thus record how many years each emperor reigned, but readers of chronicles must pay attention simply to the sum of the years that have elapsed in the case of the reigns of all the emperors mentioned above.

9. At this time, as I mentioned above, the most sacred Justinian reigned; Koades Darasthenos, the son of Perozes, was emperor of the Persians and Athalaric, grandson of Valemeriacus, reigned in Rome; Hilderic, grandson of Geiseric, was king of Africa; Andas, who became a Christian, reigned over the Axoumite Indians, and Samanazos over the Iberians.

10. In the year of Justinian's reign mentioned above a man named Sittas was dispatched as *magister militum per Armeniam*, for in previous times Armenia did not have a *magister militum* but *duces*, governors and *comites*. The emperor gave Sittas *numeri* of soldiers from the two *magistri militum praesentales* and the *magister militum per Orientem*. Sittas enrolled indigenous (430) *scriniarii* and made them his own military *scriniarii* in accord with an imperial rescript, having requested the emperor to enrol natives since they knew the regions of Armenia. The emperor granted him this and the rights of the Armenian *duces* and *comites*, and also consulars who were formerly *milites castrensiani*; for the former offices had been abolished. He also took

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1280 years more or less (428.21): cf '1200 years, no more, no less' Slav.

foundation of Constantinople (428.22): 'foundation of the very rich city of Constantinople, that is, from 11th of the month of May-Artemision' Slav.

199 years (429.1): Slav adds 'no more, no less'.

reign with them (429.4): Slav adds 'Others reigned in Rome'.

each emperor reigned (429.6): Slav adds 'from the time he was proclaimed emperor'.

simply (429.8): 'not simply' Slav; see Gleye, 1896, 425.

9. Bo 429.10-15; Slav: Ist 28.7-12.

reigned (429.10): Slav adds 'over the Romans and in Constantinople'.

son of Perozes (429.12): 'elder son of Perozes' Slav.

Athalaric (429.12; corr Chil): 'Alaric' Ba; see PLRE II 172-3.

Hilderic (429.13): written as 'Gilderic' Ba.

Geiseric (429.13): written as 'Ginzirichos' Ba.

Axoumite (429.14): Slav adds 'and Amerite' (= 'Homerite').

Samanazos over the Iberians (429.15; 'Zamanazos' Ba, see Bury, 1897, 229): 'Samanazos reigned in Lazica' Slav.

10. Bo 429.16-430.11; Th 175.5-11 (AD527/8), Ke 643.16-22; Slav: Ist 28.12-22.

Sittas (429.17): written as 'Ztittas' Ba (see PLRE III).

*duces*, governors and *comites* (429.19): 'satraps, *duces*, *comites* and governors' Slav.

four *numeri* from the *magister militum per Orientem* and from that time he became a great bulwark for the Romans. Sittas was a warlike man who married the sister of the Augusta Theodora, named Komito, whose wedding took place in the palace of Antiochos near the hippodrome in Constantinople.

11. In that year the emperor promulgated a sacred decree concerning bishops, heads of orphanages, *oikonomoi* and wardens of hospices, that each of those mentioned above should have power of bequest only over those things held as property before entering office, and that immediately upon appointment his wealth was to be declared.

12. In that year the district of Sykai with its theatre and walls was reconstructed, and he renamed it Justinianoupolis.

13. In that year the queen of the Sabir Huns came over to the Romans. She was a woman manly both in size and wisdom, named Boa, a widow with two small sons and 100,000 people under her command. (431) She ruled the lands of the Huns after the death of her husband Blach. Having been won over by the emperor Justinian with many gifts of imperial raiment and a variety of silver vessels and not a little money, she took captive two other Hunnish kings whom Koades, the emperor of the Persians, had persuaded into an alliance with him against the Romans. Queen Boa captured them as they were passing into Persian territory to Koades, emperor of the Persians, with a force of 20,000 men, the majority of whom were slain in the battle. She captured one of the kings, named Tyranax, and she sent him as a prisoner to the emperor Justinian in Constantinople, who had him executed at St Konon's on the other side of the Golden Horn. Glom, the other king of the Huns, was

11. Bo 430.12-17; Th 176.20-24 (AD527/8), Ke 645.9-14, MS 9.21 (193); Slav: Ist 28.23-29.2.

to be declared (430.16): Slav adds 'From the time he is subject to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, then the following applies: whatever he acquires or disposes of subsequently - that is, after taking office - all goes to the church or to the institution which he administers'; cf Th, Ke, MS.

12. Bo 430.18-17; CP 618.14-17 (AD528); Slav: Ist 29.2-4.

In that year the district...Justinianoupolis (430.18-19): 'In that year the emperor Justinian restored the suburb formerly known as Sykai, which lies opposite Constantinople, and also the theatre at Sykai and its walls, giving it the status of a city and renaming it Justinianoupolis' CP, cf Slav; CP adds 'He also built the bridge by which one can make the crossing from the other side to the all-blessed city'.

13. Bo 430.20-431.15; Th 175.12-23 (AD527/8), Ke 644.1-12, JN 90.61-5; Slav: Ist 29.4-8.

Boa (430.22): 'Boa, rex' Slav, Th, cf 'Borex' Ke.

Blach (431.2): written as 'Balach' Th, JN, 'Malach' Ke.

two other Hunnish kings (431.5): 'two kings from another tribe of the inner Huns' Slav, Th.

into Persian territory (431.8): Slav, Th, Ke add 'through her own land'.

Tyranax (431.11): written as 'Styrax' Th, Ke, 'Stourax' Slav, 'Asterax' JN.

Glom (431.13): written as 'Glonos' Th, 'Gloes' Ke, 'Eglon' Slav, 'Aglanos' JN.

killed in the battle by the queen's warriors.

14. In that year the king of the Huns near Bosporos, named Grod, also came over to the emperor. He came to Constantinople and was baptized. The emperor stood sponsor for him at baptism, and after bestowing many gifts upon him sent him away to his own country, to guard the Roman territory, including Bosporos, the city built by Herakles who came from Spain. Herakles made it contribute a yearly tax of cattle to the Romans instead of money, and named the city "Boon phoros" (tax of cattle) (432) which is what he had ordered it to pay. He stationed in that city a *numerus* of Roman or Italian troops known as Spaniards, giving them a tribune to be on guard with them. There was trade in the city between Romans and Huns.

This king who had become Christian went away to his own country near Bosporos where he found his brother. Leaving him behind with a force of Huns, he went away. The Huns used to worship idols; they took these and melted them down, for they were made of silver and electrum, and they exchanged them at Bosporos, taking *miliarasia* in return. The priests of the Huns were furious, and killed the king and made his brother Mougel king in his place. Fearing the Romans, they went to Bosporos and killed those who were guarding the city.

Hearing this, the emperor made the ex-consul John the *comes* of the Straits of the Pontic Sea, and ordered him to take up his position at the place known as Hieron, at the mouth of the Pontic Sea, despatching him with a force of Goths. The emperor began a campaign against the Huns, sending ships full of soldiers, together with an exarch, through the Pontic Sea and sending likewise by land a large force under the command of the general Badouarios. When the barbarians heard this (433)

queen's warriors (431.15): Th, Ke add 'And in this way she became an ally at peace with the emperor Justinian'. Slav adds '(Here) ends the Hellenic chronicle'.

14. Bo 431.16-433.2; Th 175.24-176.17 (AD527/8), Ke 644.13-645.6, PsD 845 (AD533/4), MS 9.21 (192), JN 90.66-9.

Grod (431.17): written as 'Gordas' Th, Ke, 'Gourdios' MS.

to Constantinople (431.18): Th adds 'and became a Christian', cf Ke, JN.

to be on guard with them (432.3): Th adds 'against the Huns and to exact the cattle tax', cf Ke.

trade (432.4): 'much trade' Th.

This king (432.5): Th adds 'of the Huns'.

his brother (432.6): Th, Ke add 'and told him of the emperor's love and liberality and that he had become Christian', cf JN.

furious (432.10): Th adds 'and, united with his brother, went away', cf Ke.

Mougel (432.12): written as 'Mouageris' Th, 'Mougeras' Ke.

Fearing the Romans...guarding the city (432.12-13): 'In fear that the Romans might seek him out, they fell suddenly on the city of Bosporos and killed the tribune Dalmatius and his soldiers' Th, cf Ke.

the ex-consul John (432.16): Th adds 'the grandson of John the Scyth and son of the patrician Rufinus', cf Ke.

force of Goths (432.17): 'large force of Scyths' Th, Ke, cf JN.

by land (432.20): Th, Ke add 'Godilas from Odysopolis and'.

they fled, and Bosporos became peaceful under Roman government.

15. In that year a war occurred among the Indians, between those called the Axoumitai and the Homeritai. The cause of the war was as follows.

The emperor of the Axoumitai is further into the interior than the Homeritai, while the emperor of the Homeritai is near Egypt. It is through the country of the Homeritai that the Roman traders reach Axoum and the Indian empires further into the interior. For there are seven empires of Indians and Ethiopians - three of the Indians and four of the Ethiopians, the latter being close to the Ocean in the areas further east. Now when the traders entered the country of the Homeritai for trading purposes, Dimnos, the emperor of the Homeritai heard of it and killed them, confiscating all their goods. He alleged that the Christian Romans were ill-treating the Jews in their territory, and killing many of them each year. That was why trade was cut off. The emperor of the Axoumitai declared to the emperor of the Homeritai, "You have done wrong in killing the Christian Roman traders, and you have caused damage to my empire". As a result of this there was great enmity between them, and they went to war against each other. When the emperor of the Axoumitai was on the point of fighting, he made a vow, (434) saying, "If I defeat Dimnos the emperor of the Homeritai, I shall become a Christian, for I am fighting him on behalf of the Christians". The emperor of the Axoumitai was victorious and took Dimnos prisoner, killed him and all his forces, and took over his land and empire.

After the victory he sent two of his senators and with them 200 men to Alexandria, asking the emperor Justinian that he might receive a bishop and clergy, be introduced to and taught the Christian mysteries and be baptized, and that all the land of India pass under the Romans. All this news was brought to the emperor Justinian by Licinius, the *augustalios* of Alexandria. The emperor decreed that they should take whomever they wanted as bishop. The Indian ambassadors chose the

they fled (433.1): Th, Ke add 'and disappeared', cf JN.

under Roman government (433.1): Th, Ke add 'without fear'. See Patzig, 1892, 26 on the textual variants of this passage.

15. Bo 433.2-434.18; Th 222.33-223.27 (AD542/3), Ke 656.6-15, PsD 846 (AD534/5), JN 90.71-8.

Axoumitai (433.4): Th adds 'Indians', and probably after 'Homeritai' adds 'Jews' though the text has a partial lacuna.

areas further east (433.11; Bury, 1897, 229): 'eastern areas' Bo.

Dimnos (433.13): written as 'Damianos' Th (and elsewhere), Ke, 'Dammus' JN, 'Dimmun' PsD.

trade was cut off (433.17): Th adds 'with the more inland Indians', cf JN.

The emperor of the Axoumitai (433.18): Th adds 'Adad', (cf 'Andas' 434.16, cf 'Andug' PsD) here and elsewhere.

to my empire (433.20): Th adds 'and inland India by preventing Roman traders from reaching us', cf JN.

was victorious (434.3): Th adds 'with the help of God', cf Ke.

After the victory (434.6): Th adds 'and giving thanks to God', cf Ke.

*augustalios* of Alexandria (434.12): Th adds 'and Justinian rejoiced greatly at this'.

Indian ambassadors (434.14): Th adds 'after thorough enquiries'.

*paramonarios* of St John's in Alexandria, a devout and celibate man named John, 62 years of age. Taking the bishop and the clergy whom John himself had chosen, they brought them back to the land of India to Andas their emperor.

16. In that year it happened that enmity developed between the *dux* of Palestine Diomedes, a *silentarius*, and the phylarch Arethas. Arethas took fright and went to the inner *limes* towards India. On learning this Alamoundaros, the Persian Saracen, attacked the Roman phylarch, (435) captured him and killed him, for he had 30,000 men with him. On learning this, the emperor Justinian wrote to the *duces* of Phoenice, Arabia and Mesopotamia and to the phylarchs of the provinces to go after him and pursue him and his army. There set out at once the phylarch Arethas, Gnouphas, Naaman, Dionysios *dux* of Phoenice, John *dux* of Euphratesia, and the chiliarch Sebastianus with their military force. Learning of this Alamoundaros the Saracen fled to Indian territory with the Saracen force that he had. The Roman *duces* and phylarchs went in with an accompanying force and, not finding him anywhere there, they set off towards Persian territory. They captured his camp and took prisoner a number of men, women and children, as many dromedaries as they found and other animals of various kinds. They burnt four Persian fortresses, capturing the Saracens and Persians in them, and they returned victorious to Roman territory in the month of April of the 6th indiction.

17. The emperor also completed the public bath in Constantinople known as *Dagistheos*, which the emperor Anastasios had begun to build. He built the central hall of the Basilican cistern (436), intending to bring the water of Hadrian's aqueduct into it. He also reconstructed the city's aqueduct.

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their emperor (434.18): Th adds 'and so became believers in Christ and were baptized', cf Ke.

16. Bo 434.19-435.17; Th 179.15-27 (AD528/9), JN 90.79-80.

phylarch Arethas (434.20): Th adds 'of these Saracens under the Romans', killed him (435.1): Th adds 'and took his women and children and returned'.

Indian territory (435.9): Th adds 'where none of the Romans have ever been'.

as many dromedaries...kinds (435.14): 'as many Roman prisoners as they found, plus camels, sheep, oxen and much silk and clothing' Th.

victorious (435.17): 'most victorious' Th.

in the month...indiction (435.17; Bury, 1897, 229): om Bo.

17. Bo 435.18-436.2; CP 618.20-619.6 (AD528), Th 176.24-27 (AD527/8), Ke 645.14-16.

known as *Dagistheos* (435.20): 'in the quarter of *Dagistheos*' CP, Th.

He built the central hall of the Basilican cistern (435.20-436.1): 'He made the central hall of the Basilica of Illos into a great reservoir' CP, Th, cf Ke.

He also reconstructed the city's aqueduct (436.2): 'The emperor reconstructed this aqueduct which had been built previously by the emperor Hadrian to provide water for the people of Byzantion before the foundation of Byzantion' CP (reading ἰδρυέσθαι for ὑδρευέσθαι 'before Byzantion had a water supply'); see Downey, 1937b, 205.

18. In that year some of the bishops from various provinces were accused of living immorally in matters of the flesh and of homosexual practices. Amongst them was Isaiah, bishop of Rhodes, an ex-*praefectus vigilum* at Constantinople, and likewise the bishop from Diospolis in Thrace, named Alexander. In accordance with a sacred ordinance they were brought to Constantinople and were examined and condemned by Victor the city prefect, who punished them: he tortured Isaiah severely and exiled him and he amputated Alexander's genitals and paraded him around on a litter. The emperor immediately decreed that those detected in pederasty should have their genitals amputated. At that time many homosexuals were arrested and died after having their genitals amputated. From then on there was fear amongst those afflicted with homosexual lust.

19. In that year Pompeiopolis in Mysia suffered from the wrath of God. When the earthquake occurred, the ground suddenly split open and half the city with its inhabitants was swallowed up. They were beneath the ground and the sound of their voices was carried to the survivors. The emperor made many benefactions for excavations (437) to rescue those beneath the ground, and equally to those left alive and to the city for its reconstruction.

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18. Bo 436.3-16; Th 177.11-17 (AD528/9), Ke 645.17-646.2, GM 645.1-8, MS 9.26 (221).

**He tortured...genitals** (436.10-11): cf 'He mutilated the genitals of some and ordered sharp straws to be inserted into the genital orifices of others and they were to be paraded naked in the forum' Ke, cf MS; cf 'they were punished dreadfully by the emperor' Th.

**on a litter** (436.11-12): Th adds 'and the crier yelled out, "As bishops, you are not to abuse your holy dress"', cf MS.

19. Bo 436.17-437.2; Th 216.17-22 (AD535/6), JE 225.26-226.2 (AD538/9), GM 626.15-19, PsD 850 (AD538/9), MS 9.21 (193).

**wrath of God** (436.17): JE adds 'Not only was this city, like others, demolished by the earthquakes, but there occurred an event of portentous horror'.

**split open** (436.18): JE adds 'in the middle of the city', cf MS.

**swallowed up** (436.19): JE adds 'into a terrible, grim chasm. As it is written, it descended alive into the underworld', cf MS.

**They were beneath the ground...survivors** (436.20): 'Those who had fallen into the terrible, grim trench, buried deep in the earth, all together called upon the survivors from the ground in a most piteous tone for many days. The latter, though their hearts were wrung by the wails rising from the uttermost depths, were able to bring them no help' JE, cf Th, MS.

**The emperor** (436.21): 'When this news was brought to the emperor, he' JE.

**and equally...reconstruction** (437.1-2): 'But when not even one person could be helped or saved in any way, he gave gold to the surviving inhabitants, who had escaped the cruel and bitter anger aroused by our sins and were safe, for the restoration of the rest of the city' JE; see Brooks, 1892, 295. One may add that the Syriac of JE may well be more emotional than the original Malalas.

20. The emperor renewed the laws decreed by previous emperors and made new laws which he sent to each city: that a governor should not build a house or buy property while he held office, unless a relative of his was involved; the purpose of this was to prevent owners from being coerced or anyone else forced to make a bequest to him because of his official position. Likewise in the case of natural children: that they should inherit according to the law of the emperor Anastasios. As regards an heir: that he should be permitted to reject the inheritance whenever he wished and he should not be restricted by a time limit. As regards witnesses: that private citizens should be forced to give evidence even against their will.

The emperor revoked the Gothic wood-and-oil tax, relieving tax-payers of this burden.

21. During his reign two Hunnish generals invaded Scythia and Moesia with an army, Badouarios and Justin being *magistri militum* of the Romans there. They went out against the Huns and, when a battle took place, Justin was killed in the fighting. (438) Constantiolus, the son of Florentius, took his place as *magister militum per Moesiam*. The Huns went plundering as far as Thrace. The *magister militum* Constantiolus went out against them, with Godilas and the *magister militum per Illyricum* Askoum the Hun, whom the emperor Justinian had sponsored in holy baptism. The Huns were surrounded in the fighting and many of them fell, all their booty passing out of their hands. The Romans were victorious and even killed the two kings. On their way back they were met by other Huns. When they joined battle, the Roman generals, being weakened from their exercise, turned and ran. The Huns came in pursuit and lassoed the Roman exarchs as they fled. Godilas drew his sword, cut the lasso and made off. Constantiolus was pulled from his horse to the ground and Askoum was captured. After taking the two prisoners they handed back Constantiolus, for whom they received 10,000 *nomismata* from the Roman emperor, and he returned to Constantinople. They kept Askoum the Hun and returned to their own territory with many other prisoners. The region of Thrace was then at peace.

20. Bo 437.3-18; Th 177.17-21 (AD528/9), CP 619.8-10 (AD529), Ke 646.2-4, MS 9.21 (193). Cf Bo 448.6-10, para 38 (apart from CP the later witnesses combine Malalas' two entries).

made new laws which he sent to each city (437.4-5): 'made a *monobiblos* entitled "The New Constitutions". In this he stipulated' Th, cf Ke, MS. build a house or buy property (437.6): 'buy land or build a house or inherit alien property except from somebody related to him' Th.

21. Bo 437.19-438.20; Th 217.26-218.17 (AD538/9), Ke 651.17-23. Hunnish (437.19): 'Bulgarian' Th, Ke here and elsewhere; see Beševliev, 1980, 340-5.

generals (437.19): 'kings' Th.

army (437.20): Th adds 'of Bulgarians and a *droungos*'.

Badouarios and Justin...there (437.21): 'when Justin was *magister militum per Moesiam* and Badouarios in Scythia' Th.

Askoum (438.4 etc): written as 'Akoum' Th, Ke.

way back (438.8): Th adds 'joyfully', cf Ke.

10,000 *nomismata* (438.16): cf 'a thousand *nomismata*' Th.

22. In that year Probus the patrician, a relative of the emperor Anastasios, incurred anger for having slandered the emperor Justinian. A *silentium et conventus* was held to produce a written record, (439) and when all the proceedings had been read out to the emperor after Probus' conviction at a full meeting of the senate, the emperor took the proceedings and tore them up, saying to Probus, "I forgive you for the offence you committed against me. Pray then that God too may forgive you". The emperor was applauded by the senate.

23. In that year a man called Eulalios, a *comes domesticorum*, went from riches to poverty in the following manner: a fire broke out where he was living and he escaped naked with his three children. He owed a great many debts and, when on the point of death, made a will in favour of the emperor, saying in his will: "The most pious Justinian is to provide for my daughters at a daily rate of 15 *folles*. When they are full-grown and are entering into marriage they are to receive a dowry of ten *litrai* of gold each. My creditors are to be discharged by my heir". Upon this Eulalios died. The will was reported to the emperor by the *curator*. He ordered him to take up the inheritance. He went to the house where Eulalios had lived and, after making an inventory of his property, his wealth was found to amount to 564 *nomismata*. Returning, (440) he reported to the emperor the valuation of the property and the legacies bequeathed by him. On hearing this the emperor instructed the *curator* Makedonios to take up the inheritance. When the *curator* objected to the emperor that the value of the estate was not sufficient for the terms of the will, the emperor gave his command, saying, "Why are you preventing me from taking up the inheritance when I wish to do a pious act? Go, discharge all his creditors and the legacies devised by him. As for his three daughters, I order that they be brought to the Augusta Theodora to be looked after in the imperial apartments, and I order that there be given to them as a dowry 20 *litrai* of gold each and all the property that their father left to them".

24. At that time the pious Theodora added the following to her other good works. Those known as brothel-keepers used to go about in every district on the look-out for poor men who had daughters and giving them, it is said, their oath and a few *nomismata*, they used to take the girls as though under a contract; they used to make them into public prostitutes, dressing them up as their wretched lot required and, receiving from them the miserable price of their bodies, they forced them into prostitution. She ordered that all such brothel-keepers should be arrested as a matter of urgency. When they had been brought in with the girls, (441) she ordered each of them to declare on oath what they had paid the girls' parents. They said they had given them five *nomismata* each. When they had all given information on oath, the pious empress returned the money and freed the girls from the yoke of their wretched slavery, ordering that henceforward there should be no brothel-keepers. She presented the girls with a set of clothes and

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22. Bo 438.21-439.7.

23. Bo 439.8-440.13; Ke 637.3-9.

24. Bo 440.14-441.7.

as though under a contract (440.18): a difficult phrase, cf Justinian, *Novel* 14.

all such brothel-keepers (440.22; Bury, 1897, 229): 'all' om Bo.



dismissed them with one *nomisma* each.

25. At the end of this indiction the Augusta Theodora set out for the place known as Pythion with patricians and *cubicularii*, accompanied by 4,000 people. After giving generously to the churches in each place she returned to Constantinople.

26. In that year news was brought to the emperor Justinian of a battle between the Persians and the Romans following a Persian invasion of Mesopotamia by an army of 30,000 men under Xerxes, the son of the emperor Koades. His elder son Perozes was fighting in Lazica and Persarmenia with a large force, and at that time their father Koades did not enter Roman territory. Against Meran and Xerxes there set out the *ex-dux* of Damascus, Koutzis the son of Vitalianus, an excellent soldier, and Sebastianus with the Isaurian contingent, and Proclianus the *dux* of Phoenice and the *comes* Basileios. Belisarios and Tapharas the phylarch were also with them. Tapharas (442) was thrown to the ground and killed when his horse stumbled, and Proclianus likewise. Sebastianus and Basileios were taken prisoners, Koutzis was captured after being wounded, but Belisarios escaped by taking flight. When these events were reported to the emperor Justinian, he was extremely distressed. Some generals also fell on the Persian side with many of their forces, and the Persians returned to their own country.

The emperor sent senators from Constantinople to defend the cities of the East with their forces, the patrician Plato to Amida, the patrician Theodoros to Edessa, Alexander the son of Hierios to Beroia, and other senators to Souron and Constantia to defend the cities. At that time the patrician Pompeios was sent with a large force, which included Illyrians, Scythians, Isaurians and Thracians. Hostilities were suspended by agreement between the Romans and the Persians because of the onset of severe winter conditions.

27. It was at that time that Antioch suffered its sixth calamity from the wrath of God. The earthquake that occurred lasted for one hour and was accompanied by a terrible roaring sound, so the buildings that

25. Bo 441.8-12; Th 186.8-13 (AD532/3).

Augusta (441.9): 'most pious Augusta' Th.

set out...4,000 people (441.9-10): 'journeyed to the hot springs of Pythia to take the waters. She was accompanied by the patrician Menas the prefect, the patrician Helias the *comes largitionum*, and other patricians and the *cubicularii* and satraps, 4,000 in number' Th.

churches (441.11): Th adds 'poorhouses and monasteries'.

26. Bo 441.13-442.17.

Constantia (442.12): written as 'Constantina' Ba.

27. Bo 442.18-443.7; Th 177.22-33 (AD528/9), Ke 646.5-21, GM 643.3-10, JE 226.3-227.3 (AD539/40), PsD 851 (AD539/40), MS 9.21 (193-5), 9.29 (243). at that time (442.18): In this year on 29th November at the 3rd hour on a Thursday in the 7th indiction' (ie AD528) Th, JE, Ke; for varying dates of sources, see Stein, 1949, 420, note 2.

wrath of God (442.18): Th, JE, Ke add 'two years after the first shock'.

earthquake (442.19): 'strong earthquake' Th, JE, Ke, GM.

terrible roaring sound (442.20): Th, GM add 'from heaven'; cf JE, MS which add 'like the sound of a roaring bull'.

so the buildings...churches (442.21-22): 'and the trembling ground was shaken by that most dreadful sound, so that the buildings which had

had been reconstructed after the former shocks collapsed, as did the walls and some of the churches. (443) When the other cities heard what had happened, they all held processions of prayer in mourning. Parts of the area around the city suffered also. Up to 5,000 lives were lost in this earthquake. The surviving citizens fled to the other cities, but a number of them lived in the mountains. The patriarch Euphraimios reported all these events to the emperor, and when the people at Byzantion heard what had happened, they held processions of prayer for a considerable number of days.

been reconstructed after their destruction all fell to the ground - the walls and gates of the city, and above all the great church and the other churches and martyrs' shrines, and the other houses which the previous earthquake had spared all collapsed, with few exceptions' JE, cf Th; Th adds 'All the magnificence with which the city had been invested through acts of generosity by the emperor and through the buildings erected by the citizens at their own expense was all destroyed'.

Parts of the...suffered also (443.2): 'the surrounding villages, which had earlier been rebuilt, were all destroyed for a distance of 10 miles. But the 6th earthquake did no damage to Seleukeia or Daphne, cities situated at a distance of 20 miles from Antioch in different directions, which in the 5th disaster had been destroyed and overwhelmed, not by fire but only by the earthquake. They too had struck terror into onlookers' JE.

up to 5,000 (443.3): '4870' Th, GM, cf '4770' MS.

in this earthquake (443.3): JE adds 'apart from the injured, of whom some had broken limbs, others had suffered a variety of injuries. But God's mercy and grace were made manifest in the fact that he did not permit the city again to catch fire and be burned as in the last disaster'.

The surviving citizens (443.4): 'The majority of the surviving citizens' JE.

fled (443.4; Bury, 1897, 226): om Bo.

the other cities (443.4): JE adds 'leaving Antioch abandoned and in ruins', cf MS.

in the mountains (443.4): 'on the mountain facing the city, and made themselves huts out of blankets, clothing and rugs, in which to spend the bleak winter. For after the collapse and destruction of Antioch, the earthquake was followed by a harsh winter, and snow fell to a depth of three cubits. Those who had remained in the city itself spent their time in lamentations and great grief. They went on processions of prayer carrying olive branches, barefoot in the snow, and when they had processed in a snow storm out of the city into the open plain as far as the first milestone, they threw themselves headlong into the snow, chanting the "Kyrie eleison". They were a sad and terrible sight as they froze in the snow, very pale, crying out in great bodily and mental pain, and they lay there, grim-faced, weeping, suffering, disfigured by the extreme winter cold. But while they were praying, it was revealed in a vision to a pious Christian that he should tell all the Antiochene citizens who had survived to write on the lintels of the doors of the houses and shops which had remained intact, "Christ is with you ('us' Th, GM): stand". Therefore all the surviving inhabitants wrote this on

28. In that year Laodikeia suffered its first calamity through earthquake. Half the city was brought down by the shock, including the Jewish synagogues, and 7,500 people perished in the shock, a large number of Hebrews and a few Christians. The churches of the city remained intact, being preserved by God. The emperor bestowed two *centenaria* upon the people of Laodikeia to excavate their city.

29. In that year Antioch was renamed Theoupolis by order of the emperor. Also a written oracle was discovered at Antioch, which read as follows, "And you, unhappy city, shall not be called the city of Antiochos". Likewise it was found in the papers of those who record the acclamations in the city, that they had provided an omen when they had chanted for the city's name to be changed. This too was reported to the emperor (444) Justinian, and he granted sacred munificence to the people of Antioch, Laodikeia and Seleukeia, so that their taxes were remitted for three years. He bestowed 200 *litrai* on these cities and the title of *illustris* on their land-owners.

30. In that year the Manichean belief appeared in Persian territory, and the Persian emperor was angry when he learned of it, as were equally the chief *magoi* of the Persians. These Manicheans had even created a bishop, named Indarazar. The Persian emperor held a

the buildings which had not collapsed, and so, with this assurance, they entered them' JE, cf Th, GM, MS; see Brooks, 1892, 295-6.

28. Bo 443.8-15; JE 227.4-13, PsD 852(AD540/1), MS 9.21(195), 9.29(243). In that year (443.8): JE adds 'on 2nd January at the 8th hour in the year 852 (AD540/1)'.

earthquake (443.8): JE adds 'the city was completely destroyed from the Antioch gate to the Jewish quarter, and the land moved seawards. But the part to the left of the East of the church of the Blessed Mother of God did not collapse'.

in the shock (443.11): JE adds 'those who were counted, at least'.

a large number of Hebrews and a few Christians (443.11-12): JE adds 'were found alive but very seriously injured, 274 Hebrews and 40 Christians'.

preserved by God (443.13): JE adds 'and no fire raged at this destruction'.

excavate their city (443.14): JE adds 'and so the city was restored and its walls rebuilt'.

29. Bo 443.16-444.4; Th 178.5-7 (AD528/9), cf Eccl Hist 110.8-9.

by order of the emperor (443.17) Ba first hand, cf Th: 'by order of St Symeon the Miracle-Worker' Ba second hand; see Bury, 1897, 229 and Chrysos, 1966, 147-52. 'The emperors ordained that the city be named Theoupolis' Eccl Hist, but cf Book 17 para 22.

30. Bo 444.5-19; Th 169.27-170.24 (AD523/4), PsD 842 (AD530/1), MS 9.21 (190-1).

In that year the Manichean belief...Indarazar (444.5-9): 'Kavades, the son of Perozes, the emperor of the Persians, in a single day destroyed thousands upon thousands of Manicheans, along with their bishop, Indazaros, and including those Persian senators who were of their persuasion. For his third son, named Phthasouarsan, whom his daughter Sambike had borne to him, had been brought up by the Manicheans, and won over to their views. They declared to him, "Your father has grown old and if he happens to die, the chief *magoi* will make

*silentium* and, having detained all the Manicheans with their bishop, he gave orders to the armed force that was in attendance and they put to the sword all the Manicheans, their bishop and his clergy. They were all slaughtered before the eyes of the emperor and the Christian bishop. Their property was confiscated, and the emperor gave their churches to the Christians. He also sent out sacred rescripts throughout the state governed by him, that any Manichean who was discovered should be burnt to death, and he had all their books burnt. This was related by the Persian carrier, who was baptized and renamed Timotheos.

31. In that year the Roman emperor renamed the fortress known as Anasarthon Theodorias after the Augusta, having granted it the status of a city. Likewise he renamed the fortress at Sousa Justinianoupolis.

32. (445) In that year Alamoundaros, the Persian Saracen, came with a force of Persians and Saracens and plundered First Syria as far as the borders of Antioch, even burning some places within its territory. On hearing these events, the Roman exarchs went out against them. Once the Saracens became aware of this, they took all their booty and escaped across the outer *limes*.

33. At that time the aqueduct of Alexandria the Great was

one of your brothers emperor so that their own teaching should prevail. We are able, however, by our prayers to persuade your father to abdicate from the kingdom and to assign it to you, so that you may strengthen the teaching of the Manicheans everywhere". He agreed to do this if he became emperor. Having been informed of it' Th.

The Persian emperor held a *silentium* (444.10): 'Kavades ordered a *conventus* to be held' Th; Th adds 'for the alleged purpose of making his son Phthasouarsan emperor'.

having detained all the Manicheans (444.10): 'He ordered all the Manicheans to be present at the *conventus*' Th, cf MS.

with their bishop (444.10): Th adds 'their women and children, and likewise the chief *magos* Glonazes and the *magoi* and also the bishop of the Christians Boazanes, who was loved by Kavades for being an excellent physician. Having summoned the Manicheans he said, "I rejoice at your teaching and, while I am still alive, I want to give my empire to my son Phthasouarsan, who shares your beliefs. But set yourselves apart to receive him". Encouraged by this they stood apart with confidence', cf MS.

before the eyes of the emperor (444.13): 'before the eyes of the chief *magos*' Th.

31. Bo 444.20-23.

32. Bo 445.1-7; Th 178.7-15 (AD528/9).

In that year (445.1): 'On 21st March of the 7th indiction' Th.

Alamoundaros, the Persian Saracen (445.1): 'Alamoundaros, son of Zekike, kinglet of the Saracens' Th.

the borders of Antioch (445.3): Th adds 'at a place called Litargon and the estates of Skapathai. He killed many people'.

its territory (445.4): 'the territory outside Chalkedon and the Sermian estate and the Kynegian country' Th.

booty (445.6): Th adds 'and prisoners'.

outer (445.6): 'inner' Th; see Rubin, 1960, 492-3, note 820.

33. Bo 445.8-9.

reconstructed by the emperor Justinian.

34. When the emperor heard what the Saracens had done, he sent a considerable force of infantry, known as the Lykokranitai, from Phrygia and they set out for the Saracen and Persian territory. At that time Belisarios was appointed exarch of the Romans by the emperor, for the patrician Hypatios, the previous *magister militum*, had been dismissed, and Belisarios was entrusted with the armed forces and the *duces* for the war against the Persians.

In that year the Scythian Hermogenes, the *ex-magister* and a learned man, was sent to Persian territory.

AD529

35. In the month of June of the 7th indiction a riot broke out among the local people when the Samaritans fought with the Christians and Jews, and many parts of Scythopolis were set on fire by the Samaritans. On hearing of this the emperor was angry with the governor Bassus, and so he relieved him of his office and had him beheaded in that district. When the Samaritans (446) learnt of the emperor's anger against them, they rebelled and crowned a bandit chief, a Samaritan named Julian, and they burnt estates and churches and killed many Christians. On entering Neapolis Julian watched chariot races with a large number of Samaritans, and the first event was won by a certain

34. Bo 445.10-19; Th 178.15-22 (AD528/9).

When (445.10): 'In the month of April of the 7th indiction' Th.

the patrician Hypatios (445.15): Th adds 'the son of Sekoundinos'.

In that year (445.17): 'On 12th May' Th.

Hermogenes, the *ex-magister* (445.17): 'Hermogenes the *magister*' Th.

was sent (445.17): 'arrived in Antioch' Th.

to Persian territory (445.18): 'sent as an envoy by the emperor Justinian to discuss peace with the emperor of the Persians' Th.

35. Bo 445.19-447.21; De insid 44 (171.6-34), CP 619.14-620.2 (AD529), Th 178.22-27 (AD528/9), Ke 646.22-647.3, Eccl Hist 110.12-15, JN 93.4-9, MS 9.21 (191).

named Julian (446.2): De insid adds 'son of the man known as Sabaron'; cf JN which adds 'And he seduced many of his people by his lying statement when he declared, "God hath sent me to re-establish the Samaritan kingdom"; just as Jeroboam the son of Nebat who, reigning after the wise Solomon the son of David, seduced the people of Israel and made them serve idols'.

and they burnt estates and churches and killed many Christians (446.3): 'The Samaritans attacked the Christians there and massacred many of them in this way. There was a custom which was common in the land of Palestine and in the whole of the East that on the Sabbath, after the reading of the gospel, the children of the Christians would leave the church and go and play near the synagogues of the Samaritans, and throw stones at their houses. It was the custom of the Samaritans on this day to withdraw and keep to themselves. On that occasion they could not bear to give way to the Christians, and so when the children came out after the holy gospel and went to the Samaritan synagogues and started throwing stones, the Samaritans came out against the children with swords and killed many of them. Many children fled to the holy altar of St Basil's, which is there, and some of the Samaritans pursued and slew them under the altar' De insid.

Nikeas, a Christian charioteer. There were other charioteers at Neapolis, both Samaritans and Jews, whom the charioteer Nikeas defeated. When he approached the rebel to be honoured as was his due, he asked him what his religion was. When he learnt that he was a Christian, he took the fact that the very first victory had gone to the Christians as an ill omen against himself, which in fact it proved to be, and so he immediately sent and had the charioteer beheaded in the hippodrome. He also ill-treated the bishop of the city. When the governors of Palestine and the *dux* Theodoros, the snub-nosed, learnt of this, they immediately reported the daring rebel to the emperor Justinian. The *dux* set out against Julian with a large force, taking with him the phylarch of Palestine. On learning of this Julian, the Samaritan rebel, fled from Neapolis. The *dux* pursued him with his force, and they joined battle. The *dux* cut down a large number of the Samaritans and captured the Samaritan Julian, whom God (447) delivered into his hands. He beheaded Julian and sent his head with the diadem to the emperor Justinian. When the emperor learnt about the rebellion of the Samaritans and the ill-fated Julian, the information from the governors arrived at Constantinople at the same time as the rebel leader's head. 20,000 of the Samaritans fell in the battle. Some of them fled to the mountain known as Garizim, and others to Trachon, to what is known as the Iron Mountain. The Saracen phylarch of the Romans took 20,000 boys and girls as booty from the Samaritans; he took these as prisoners and sold them in Persian and Indian territory.

When the emperor learnt that the Samaritans had burnt many estates in Palestine at the start of their rebellion, he was angry with the *dux* of Palestine for not having proceeded against them and scattered them as soon as he heard that they were gathering, before their attack on the estates and the city. He relieved the *dux* of his office with ignominy and ordered him to be kept under strict guard. Eirenaios the Antiochene was sent as *dux* in his place. He set out against the Samaritans who still remained in the mountains and killed many of them, exacting a harsh vengeance.

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**When the governors...the phylarch of Palestine (446.13-17):** this passage is hard to reconcile with its equivalent in De insid, 'When Justinian learnt of this, he sent the ex-prefect Eirenaios, son of Pentadia, giving him authority to write to the regional governors. Having led these out with a military force, he also brought Theodotos, surnamed Magalas, the *dux* of Palestine, with a large body of men, and many others, to take up arms against the Samaritans': it seems however to belong at this point, despite the double role it implies for Eirenaios, son of Pentadia (see 447.19 below).

**head with the diadem (447.2):** De insid adds 'and the rest of his royal dress'.

**Garizim (447.7):** written as 'Arparizin' Ba.

**was sent as *dux* (447.19):** 'was sent as *magister militum*' CP.

**harsh vengeance (447.21):** CP adds 'Some of them in terror were converted under compulsion to Christianity, and they were received and baptized. To this day they play a double game: at moments when their governors are harsh they wear a false mask and treacherously and maliciously proclaim themselves Christians, while when their governors are slack and avaricious the Samaritans act as haters of Christians - as

36. In the month of July the emperor of the Persians, Koades, received (448) the *magister* Hermogenes, who had been sent on an embassy of friendship with gifts marking the proclamation of the emperor Justinian.

37. At that time it happened that Amaseia in Pontus suffered through the wrath of God, as did parts of its surrounding area. The emperor gave generously to the city.

38. In that year the re-codification of the ancient laws took place. When he had composed his own laws the emperor sent them out to all the cities, in order that people involved in legal proceedings should not suffer hardship or loss and matters should be brought to a speedy conclusion. When he had compiled these as a single volume he sent it to Athens and Beirut.

39. The emperor divided off from Antioch in First Syria the cities of Laodikeia, Gabala and Paltos, and from Apameia in Second Syria the city of Balaneai, creating a province which he named Theodorias and gave metropolitan status to Laodikeia. But he did not free the bishop of Laodikeia from his subordination to the patriarch of the city of the Antiochenes.

40. In that year Myra, the metropolis of Lykia, suffered through the wrath of God, and the emperor gave generously to the survivors and the city for building purposes.

41. In that year a riot occurred in the theatre at Antioch the Great, and news of the riot was reported to the emperor. He was angry and from that time he prohibited (449) the performance of theatrical shows in the city of the Antiochenes.

42. In that year there was a great persecution of Hellenes. Many

if they know nothing of Christianity - persuading their governors by bribery to favour the Samaritans'; for this whole revolt, see Winkler, 1965, 447.

36. Bo 447.22-448.2; Th 178.27-29 (AD528/9).

In the month of July (448.2): Th adds 'of the 7th indiction'; on Th's rewriting of this passage, see Winkler, 1965, 447.

marking the proclamation of the emperor Justinian (448.2): 'concerning peace' Th.

37. Bo 448.3-5.

38. Bo 448.6-10; CP 619.8-10 (AD529), 633.19-634.2 (AD534), Ke 646.2-4, MS 9.21 (193). Cf Bo 437.3-18, para 20.

In that year...Athens and Beirut (448.6-10): cf CP (AD529) 'In this year the *Codex Justinianus* was completed. By imperial command it was to become valid on 16th March (16th day before the Kalends of April) of the current 7th indiction'.

39. Bo 448.11-16.

to Laodikeia (448.14): 'to it' Ba (leaving unclear to which name the pronoun refers). Cf George of Cyprus, *Descriptio orbis Romani* (ed Gelzer, 1890) 45, 886-90.

40. Bo 448.17-19.

41. Bo 448.20-449.2.

42. Bo 449.3-11; Th 180.11-21 (AD529/30), Ke 647.3-7, PsD 852 (AD540/1), MS 9.24 (207).

In that year (449.3): Th adds 'of the 8th indiction'.

of Hellenes (449.3): Th, Ke add 'and of every heresy'.

had their property confiscated. Some of them died: Makedonios, Asklepiodotos, Phokas, the son of Krateros, and Thomas the *quaestor*. This caused great fear. The emperor decreed that those who held Hellenic beliefs should not hold any state office, whilst those who belonged to the other heresies were to disappear from the Roman state, after they had been given a period of three months to embrace the orthodox faith. This sacred decree was displayed in all provincial cities.

43. At that time Priscus, ex-consul and former imperial secretary, incurred anger. His property was confiscated and he was made a deacon and sent to Kyzikos.

44. At that time the *magister* Hermogenes returned from Persia, after he had presented the gifts, and reported the reply from Koades the Persian emperor to Justinian the Roman emperor. He brought a letter that read as follows:

"Koades, Emperor of Emperors, of the rising sun, to Flavius Justinian Caesar, of the setting moon. We have found it written in our ancient records that we are brothers of one another, and (450) that if one of us should stand in need of men or money, the other should provide them. From that time till the present we have remained constant in this. Whenever nations have risen against us, against some we have been compelled to fight, whilst others we have persuaded by gifts of money to submit to us, so it is clear that everything in our treasury has been spent. We informed the emperors Anastasios and Justin about this, but we achieved nothing. Thus we have been compelled to mobilize for war, and having become neighbours of Roman territory we have been compelled to destroy the peoples in between on the pretext of their disobedience, even though they had

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Some of them died: Makedonios, Asklepiodotos (449.4): 'The ex-*referendarius* Makedonios was denounced and also the ex-prefect Asklepiodotos who, in fear, took poison and died. Pegasios of Helioupolis was tried by the courts along with his children' Th.

Phokas, the son of Krateros, and Thomas the *quaestor* (449.5): 'Among others Phokas the patrician, son of Krateros and Thomas the *quaestor* were arrested' Th; see Bury, 1923, 367, note 3.

Hellenic beliefs (449.7): Th, Ke add 'and heretics'.

state office (449.7): Th, Ke add 'but only orthodox Christians'.

43. Bo 449.12-14; De insid 45 (171.35-172.6), Th 186.15-17 (AD533/4).

ex-consul (449.12): cf 'consul' Th.

former imperial secretary (449.13): De insid adds 'who was *comes excubitorum*'.

incurred anger (449.12): De insid adds 'for having insulted and slandered the empress Theodora', cf Th.

and sent to Kyzikos (449.14): 'Justinian banished him to Kyzikos, where he was to be put in prison. After being imprisoned he dug his way out and escaped from there to Artake, which he used as a sanctuary. Soon afterwards he was ordered to live at Nikaia as a cleric' De insid, cf Th.

44. Bo 449.15-450.15.



done nothing wrong. But, as pious Christians, spare lives and bodies and give us some of your gold. If you do not do this, prepare yourselves for war. For this you have a whole year's notice, so that we should not be thought to have stolen our victory or to have won the war by trickery".

45. In that year the emperor Justinian bestowed his toga with its imperial jewels upon the Antiochenes; it was displayed in the church known as that of Kassianos.

AD529 46. During the consulship of Decius, Moundos, who by descent belonged to the Gepids and was a king's son, went over to the Romans. After the death of his father he attached himself to Thraustila, his uncle, and lived in Sirmium. (451) When the king of Rome, Valemeriacus, known also as Theoderic, learnt this, he sent messages and won Moundos over. Moundos was persuaded and went to Valemeriacus Theoderic, together with his men, and stayed with him fighting in support of him. Moundos left Rome and when he reached the river Danube, he sent ambassadors to the emperor Justinian, requesting that he might become a subject of his empire. Justinian accepted Moundos and his men; he made him *magister militum per Illyricum* and sent him out in this capacity. On arriving in the land of Illyricum he was attacked by the Huns with a large army of various barbarians. He set out and attacked them, and destroyed them all. He sent off booty acquired from them, together with one of their kings. Peace was established in Thrace, and thus fear restrained the barbarian peoples.

47. During the consulship of Decius, the emperor issued a decree and sent it to Athens ordering that no-one should teach philosophy nor interpret the laws; nor should gaming be allowed in any city, for some gamblers who had been discovered in Byzantion had been indulging themselves in dreadful blasphemies. Their hands were cut off and they were paraded around on camels.

45. Bo 450.16-18.

46. Bo 450.19-451.15; Th 218.31-219.14 (AD539/40), Ke 652.3-12.

king's son (450.20): 'son of Giesmos' Th, Ke; Ke adds 'king of Sirmium'.  
his uncle (450.21): 'his maternal uncle' Th.

Moundos left Rome and when he reached (451.4-5): 'After the death of Theoderic, journeying to' Th.

subject of his empire (451.7): Th adds 'and he came to Constantinople'.

Justinian accepted Moundos and his men (451.7-8): 'The emperor bestowed many gifts on him and his sons' Th.

Huns (451.11): 'Bulgarians' Th, Ke.

and one of their kings (451.13): 'and from among the captives he sent their leader and others to Constantinople where they were paraded in the hippodrome' Th.

Peace (451.14): 'Deep peace' Th, Ke.

in Thrace (451.14): Th adds 'for the Huns no longer dared to cross the Danube (cf Ke). The emperor sent the Bulgar prisoners to Armenia and Lazica, and had them enrolled in the *numeri*'.

47. Bo 451.16-21; Vat Gr 163 26v, lines 25-27.

the laws (451.18): 'astrology' Vat ie αστρονομίαν for νόμιμα of Bo.

they were paraded around (451.21): reading περιεβωμίσθησαν for περιεβωμίσθησαν cf Lampe, sv περιβωμίσθη.

48. (452) In that year an annual income of 4000 *nomismata* was bestowed by the pious emperor upon the hospice in Antioch.

49. In that year the precious relics of the holy martyr Marinus were found in First Syria outside the place known as Gindaroupolis. The visiting priest of the area had very often seen in a vision the place where the saint lay. He had iron nails through all his body from the head down and was stretched out on a board and nailed to it, and he had been placed in a rock that was hollowed out to form a tomb for him. His body was removed and carried away and laid to rest outside the city of the Antiochenes at St Julian's.

50. In that year during the consulship of Lampadius and Orestes, AD530 Hermogenes and the *magister militum* Rufinus were sent as ambassadors of the Romans into Persian territory. When they had reached Dara, which had been renamed Anastasioupolis, they sent a message to Koades, the emperor of the Persians, who put off receiving them. While they were staying at Dara together with the *magister militum* Belisarios, the other exarchs and the army, they encamped outside the city and awaited the response from the Persian emperor. Meram, the chief Persian exarch, and the son of the Persian emperor, with other Persian exarchs were based at Nisibis. When they discovered that the Romans were encamped outside Dara, (453) the Persians divided their forces into three commands and attacked with 70,000 men.

Realizing this, the Roman exarchs came out against the Persians and attacked them. In the battle that followed the Persian and Roman armies fought at close quarters; the Romans cut the Persians completely to pieces and also captured a Persian standard. Meram fled with a few men, including the emperor's son, and escaped to Nisibis. In this conflict a Persian exarch named Sagos was slain; the *dux* Sounikas, a Roman exarch, had challenged him to single combat. Here, with the dead strewn over the ground, could be seen a victory over Persian folly.

Hearing of this Koades, the emperor of the Persians, instructed the patrician Rufinus, with the *comes* Alexander, to enter his territory on their embassy.

48. Bo 452.1-3.

49. Bo 452.4-12; MS 9.24 (206-7).

50. Bo 452.13-453.14; Th 180.21-181.11 (AD529/30).

during the consulship...Rufinus (452.13-15): 'in the month of March of the 8th indiction in Antioch Hermogenes, the *magister* and ex-consul, and Rufinus, the ex-*magister militum* (see PLRE II 955) and patrician' Th. sent a message to Koades, the emperor of the Persians (452.17): Th adds 'to receive them'.

at Nisibis (452.24): Th adds 'with a large Persian force, in the month of June of the 8th indiction'.

Roman exarchs (453.3): Th adds 'with the *magister*, beginning a skilful campaign'.

In the battle that followed (453.4): 'In a great battle and terrible clash' Th.

Nisibis (453.7): Th adds 'so the Romans won a great victory'.

Rufinus (453.13): Th adds 'alone'.

on their embassy (453.14): Th adds 'in the month of August and, after much discussion, they established the terms of peace and departed peacefully'.

51. In that year a travelling showman from the region of Italy made his appearance. He had with him a tawny-coloured dog which, upon instructions from his master, would perform various remarkable tricks. His master would stand in the market-place and when a crowd had collected to watch he used to take rings from the bystanders - without the dog seeing - and would put them on the ground, covering them with earth. Then he would order the dog to pick up and return their rings to each of them. The dog would hunt around and then, with his mouth, would give his ring back to each person as he recognized it. The dog would also give back a large number of coins from different emperors according to the emperors' names. (454) When a crowd of men and women were standing round, he would, when asked, point out pregnant women, brothel-keepers, adulterers, misers and the magnanimous. He always picked them out correctly, and so many people said that he had the spirit of Pytho.

52. During this reign there appeared a tremendous great star in the western region, sending a white beam upwards; its surface emitted flashes of lightning. Some people called it the Firebrand. It continued shining for 20 days, and there were droughts and murders during riots in every city and many other events full of ill omen.

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51. Bo 453.15-454.4; Th 224.15-27 (AD543/4), Th d (de Boor II, 370-1), Ke 657.4-14, GM 643.20-644.12, LG 323.9-19(130.1-12).

travelling (453.16; κωμοδρομῶν Chil); κομοδρομῶν Ba; see Bury, 1897, 230. showman (453.16): Th, Ke add 'named Andreas'.

tawny-coloured dog (453.16): Th, Ke, GM add 'blind'; Th d adds 'not large in size, with its ears and tail cut off'.

rings (453.20): 'gold, silver and iron rings' Th, Ke; GM adds 'and bronze'; Th d adds 'and coins of various emperors'.

hunt around (453.22): Th d adds 'and remove the rings from the ground'.

large number (453.24): 'mixed up' Th, Ke.

The dog would also give back...different emperors (453.23-4): 'and everybody was amazed. Then again he would say to the dog, "Give me the coin of the emperor Leo". The dog would hunt around, take the coin in his mouth and give it to him. And he would say, "Give me Zeno's coin", and the dog would bring it, and likewise for each emperor he told him he would give him the coin with the emperor's inscription' Th d.

picked them out correctly (454.3): Th d adds 'and all pregnant women whom the dog prophesied would have male or female children gave birth accordingly. Thus everybody was astounded'.

spirit of Pytho (454.5): Th d adds 'for its eyes were transformed'.

52. Bo 454.5-10; Th 181.14-18 (AD530/1), GM 643.10-14, JE 227.17-24.

During this reign (454.5): 'In September of this year in the 9th indiction' Th, cf 'In this year in the evening' JE.

star (454.5): Th, GM, cf JE, add 'a comet'.

in the western region (454.6): JE adds 'like a spear of fire'.

Firebrand (454.7): JE adds 'all who saw it were struck with terror'.

and there were droughts (454.9): 'Afterwards many who were waiting for what would happen after that portent saw many wars, the spread of fear, hunger, drought' JE.

murders during riots (454.9): 'universal riots and murders' Th, GM.

ill omen (454.10): cf JE which adds 'We are unable to describe these evils and record them as they were reported on every side'.

53. At the end of the month of September the Roman ambassadors who had been sent to Persian territory returned, having made a treaty. The emperor Justinian, on learning that he had won peace for the Romans, was filled with joy. When he received the letter accompanying the treaty and read it, he found that it was as follows:

"Our ambassadors who had been sent to your Clemency have now returned and have announced to us the good intention of your paternal disposition. We have rendered thanks for all things to the Lord God in that an event befitting his goodness has taken place and that peace has been made with the help of God to the benefit of the two states and the credit of us both. It is clear that great glory and credit is due in all the earth before God and men for the fact that peace has been established between the two worlds (455) under the reign of your Clemency and of us who truly love you. The enemies of both our states will be destroyed when with God's help this peace is established. Our ambassadors then will arrive with all speed, for they must complete what is necessary to secure the peace. We pray indeed that your paternal disposition be preserved for many years".

54. Rufinus was sent once more by the Romans, whence a second letter was despatched to Persian territory; he found the Persian emperor had withdrawn from the peace agreement they had made between them. For news had come that the Samaritans in Roman territory, incurring the anger of the emperor Justinian, as was described above, had fled and gone over to Koades, the Persian emperor, from their own territory of Palestine, and had promised to fight for him. They numbered 50,000. They promised to hand over to the Persian emperor their own land, all Palestine and the Holy Places, a city which possessed donations from various emperors, both a large sum of gold and an untold quantity of precious stones. When the Persian emperor heard this and had been convinced by their statements, he withdrew from the agreement to make the treaty. He made his excuse the question of the gold-bearing area that had been discovered formerly in the time of the emperor Anastasios and was under Roman jurisdiction; these mountains had formerly been part of the Persian state. The gold-bearing mountains lie on the border between Roman Armenia (456) and Persarmenia, as the experts say. These mountains produce much gold, for when rain and storms occur the soil of these mountains is washed away and pours out flakes of gold. Previously certain people leased these mountains from the Romans and Persians for 200 *litrai* of gold, but from the time the

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53. Bo 454.11-455.6; Th 181.18-22 (AD530/1).

September (454.11): cf 'November' Th.

Roman ambassadors (454.11): 'the patrician Rufinus from his embassy' Th. and the credit of us both (454.20; Ba, see Bury, 1897, 230): om Bo.

many years (455.5): This letter is much more likely to be Justinian's than Koades'; see Sotiriadis, 1888, 119-20.

54. Bo 455.7-456.18; Th 178.29-179.14 (AD528/9).

gold-bearing (455.21, 23; Ba, see Bury, 1897, 230): 'gold-flowing' Bo.

200 *litrai* (456.5): cf 'about a talent' Th.

mountains were taken over by the most sacred Anastasios only the Romans were in receipt of the revenue that had been decreed. This was what upset negotiations over the treaty.

The Romans learnt of the Samaritan betrayal when certain of their men of substance were captured on their return from Persian territory, and were recognized after their journey to Koades, the emperor of the Persians, and after their agreement with him to betray their land as was mentioned above. There were five Samaritans who were recognized. On being captured, these were taken before the *magister militum per Orientem* and were examined in his presence. They confessed to the treachery which they were planning. The report on them was read to the emperor Justinian.

55. In that year there were widespread earthquakes and much time was spent in prayer in each city.

56. At this time an ambassador was sent by the Persian emperor to the Roman emperor and, having handed over the letter he was carrying, he was sent away bearing gifts.

When the Roman emperor heard from the patrician Rufinus (457) about the transgression of the emperor of the Persians, Koades, he composed and despatched sacred commands to the emperor of the Axoumitai. When this Indian emperor had joined battle with the emperor of the Homerite Indians, he defeated him completely, capturing his empire and his whole territory. In his place he made Anganes, from his own family, emperor of the Homerite Indians, so that the empire of the Amerite Indians should also be subject to him. The Roman ambassador set sail for Alexandria and reached the Indian territory by way of the Nile and the Indian Sea. When he came into the presence of the Indian emperor, the emperor of the Indians was overcome with great delight, because he had for many years wanted to secure the friendship of the emperor of the Romans. In the ambassador's account of the occasion when he was received by the Indian emperor, he described the form of the Indian imperial ceremonial: the emperor was naked, wearing from his belt to his loins gold-threaded linen clothing, and over his shoulders and stomach a tunic decorated with pearls, and bracelets in groups of five and gold bangles on his arms. Around his head was wound a gold-threaded linen turban with four cords on either side and a gold collar around his neck. He stood on top of four elephants which had a yoke and four discs, and upon them something like a tall carriage covered with gold leaf, just as the chariots of the provincial governors are covered (458) in silver. The emperor of the Indians stood on high holding a small

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On being captured (456.14): Th adds 'at Ammadios'.

*magister militum per Orientem* (456.15): Th adds 'Belisarios'.

55. Bo 456.19-20.

56. Bo 456.21-459.3; Th 244.14-245.13 (AD571/2).

despatched sacred commands to the emperor of the Axoumitai (457.2): 'sent Julian the *magistrianus* with an imperial letter to Arethas, the emperor of the Ethiopians' Th; Th inserts the name 'Arethas' twice more later. 'Julian' is likely to be an accurate name, while 'Arethas' is probably wrong, resulting from the late position in which Th places this passage; see Kavar, 1960, 63-4.

ambassador's account (457.13): 'Julian's account after his return' Th.  
four elephants (457.21): 'four upright elephants' Th.

gilt shield and two spears, also gilt, in his hands. His whole senate stood likewise at arms, with flute-players providing music.

When the Roman ambassador was brought in he knelt and made obeisance, and the Indian emperor ordered me (*sic*) to arise and approach him. When he received the letter from the Roman emperor he kissed the seal, and when he received the gifts the emperor sent him he was amazed. Opening the letter and reading it, through an interpreter, he discovered that its contents were that he should arm himself against Koades, the emperor of the Persians, and destroy the territory bordering on his own, and in future no longer engage in commerce with him but carry on trade through the country of the Amerite Indians he had subjugated, by way of the Nile to Alexandria in Egypt. Immediately Elesboas the emperor of the Indians, in the sight of the Roman ambassador, declared war on the Persians. He sent out ahead the Indian Saracens he had under him and attacked Persian territory on behalf of the Romans, advising the emperor of the Persians that he should expect the emperor of the Indians to wage war against him and to plunder all the land ruled by him. With everything thus under way the Indian emperor (459) embraced the head of the Roman ambassador, gave him the kiss of peace and dismissed him with much ceremony, for he sent a letter and gifts to the Roman emperor through an Indian ambassador.

57. In that year a plea was sent from Hilderic, king of the Africans, that his cousin had rebelled against him and the Moors had made war on the Africans. They had captured much of his territory, including the city known locally as Tripolis, Leptoma, Sabatha and Byzakin, and taken prisoners over an area of a ten days' march. Hilderic, the king of the Africans, began a campaign against them with a large army, together with the general named Gelimer, who joined battle with the Moors and completely overwhelmed them. And when he had united in friendship with them, he took them into alliance and after rebelling he entered Carthage in opposition to Hilderic, captured him and imprisoned him in a house with his wife and children and killed the senators. Gelimer sent gifts to the emperor Justinian through his ambassador. When the Roman emperor was informed he was angry with them because of the king of the Africans, for he had learnt about the rebellion against Hilderic; and he dismissed them with much abuse. He sent a *magistrianus* to Rome (460) to king Athalaric, grandson of Valemeriacus, telling him not to receive ambassadors sent to him by Gelimer, and not to acknowledge his title of king because he was a rebel. When he had received the letter sent by the emperor, he complied with it and did not receive ambassadors from Gelimer the African.

58. In that year the emperor, wanting to fight against the Persians both on land and on sea, sent out an army to keep the Roman state free from disturbance.

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seal (458.9) 'seal which bore the emperor's portrait bust'. Th.  
 destroy the territory (458.13): 'destroy Persian territory' Th.  
 Roman ambassador (459.1): 'Julian' Th.

57. Bo 459.4-460.6.

Hilderic (459.4, 10; corr Chil): 'Theuderich' Ba.

Valemeriacus (460.1; corr Dind): 'Alemeriacus' Ba.

58. Bo 460.7-9.

59. In that year a petition was sent to the patriarch Ephraimios from those remaining in captivity under the Saracen Alamoundaros, to the effect that their imprisonment had been accompanied by harsh punishment; for he beheaded some of them, fearing they might act treacherously. Some had fallen at his feet, begging him to give them a few days' grace to send a petition to the Roman state for money to be sent for their ransom. When Alamoundaros heard this, he agreed gladly, it was said. He gave them a limit of 60 days after Taizanes the Saracen chieftain had interceded on their behalf. When the petition was sent out, it was read in Antioch and everyone tearfully contributed according to his means to what are known as offertory boxes in each church. First among them the patriarch, moved to pity, (461) with his clergy and the civic magistrates contributed of their own volition. And when the petition sent by the captives was read, the whole population asked for a public meeting to be summoned. When the public meeting was summoned and a carpet stretched out, each threw what he could afford on the carpet. When all the money was gathered up and sent, the captives were ransomed.

60. In that year the *magister* Hermogenes was sent into the eastern regions because of the Persian war, for the Roman emperor had learnt that a Persian general named Exarath, with a Persian force and in possession of a royal standard, had set out against Roman territory. Alamoundaros, the Saracen prince, with a great armed force, appeared at Kallinikon, a city in Osrhoene, having come by way of Kirkesion. When the *magister militum* Belisarios learnt this, he came to support the *duces* with 8,000 men; among them was the phylarch Arethas with 5,000 men. The Persians advanced with their Saracens and encamped at night near the fortress of Gabboula beside which flowed a small river. After they had dug a ditch there they scattered iron caltrops over a great distance around the ditch, (462) leaving one entrance for themselves. Coming behind them with 4,000 men, the *dux* Sounikas found some of the Persians and Saracens plundering the villages round about, and hunted them down. He killed a few of them and captured some others whom he interrogated and learnt about their plans.

The Roman *magister* came to Hierapolis and learnt that the Persians had encamped on Roman territory. He went off to Belisarios who was near the Persians at the city of Barbalissos, together with Stephanos and Apskal, the exarchs and the *dux* Simmas, with 4,000 men. Belisarios was angry with Sounikas because he had attacked the Persian army on his own initiative. When the *magister* arrived he reconciled them, urging them to advance on the Persians. The Persians and their Saracens were intercepted at the village known as Beselathon and at Batnai and at the cities round about. The Persians made wooden engines, breached and destroyed the walls of Gabboula and, when they entered it, they killed everyone they found and also took captives. They captured other places as well in sudden raids.

When the Antiochenes heard what had happened, they fled (463) to the coast of Syria. The Roman generals sent messages to one another to be ready to fight with them, for it had been made clear on the Persian side that they would join battle. They collected all their booty and

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59. Bo 460.10-461.7.

60. Bo 461.8-465.16.

Barbalissos (462.11; corr Dind): 'Barbaisissos' Ba.

withdrew by night. When Belisarios and the Roman exarchs learnt this, they pursued and overtook them. The Persians turned and stopped and, drawing themselves up, they encamped on the *limes* across the Euphrates and made plans. Likewise the Roman exarchs drew up their army and took a position opposite the Persians. They were arranged with the Euphrates at their back, while Belisarios ordered that boats be stationed along the river banks. Arethas was encamped on the southern section with Dorotheos and Mamantios, the Isaurian exarchs, while Sounikas and Simmas, with their army, were on the north. It was on 19th April, on Holy Saturday, at Easter, that the battle took place. The Persians attacked Sounikas and Simmas and, as the Romans resisted, the Persians as a trick turned their backs and retreated to their own men. When the Persians had come together they realized that the Romans had the Euphrates at their back, so they attacked with their Saracens and joined battle; many fell on both sides. Among those who fell on the Persian side were Andrazes the tribune and Naaman, son of Alamoundaros; on the side of the Roman Saracens the *dux* named Abros was captured, while Stephanakios was wounded and fell. In the general mêlée (464) Apskal charged into the middle of the Persians and was killed there when his horse trampled on a corpse. When the Phrygians saw their exarch fall and his standard captured by the Persians, they turned in flight and the Roman Saracens fled with them, but others continued with Arethas fighting. Some supposed that a number of the Saracens fled because of the treachery of the phylarchs. When the Isaurians who were stationed nearby saw the Saracens fleeing, they threw themselves into the Euphrates thinking they could get across. When Belisarios saw what was happening, he took his standard with him and got into a boat; he crossed the Euphrates and came to Kallinikon. His army followed him. Some used boats, others tried to swim with their horses, and they filled the river with corpses. Sounikas and Simmas continued fighting the Persians and these two exarchs, persevering with their surviving army, dismounted and valiantly fought a battle on foot. By skilful deployment they destroyed many of the Persians. They did not allow them to pursue the fugitives but intercepted three of their exarchs. They killed two of them and captured alive one named Amerdach, a warlike man whose right arm had been cut off at the elbow by Sounikas. (465) They continued fighting with their army.

When evening fell the Roman exarchs and their army came to the city of Kallinikon, after the Persians had been pursued for two miles. At sunrise the next day they left the city of Kallinikon, crossed the Euphrates with their army and the citizens and despoiled the Persian corpses. When the *magister* (Hermogenes) learnt all that had happened in the battle, he informed the Roman emperor. Having read the letter, the emperor Justinian ordered by letter the *magister militum praesentalis* Sittas, resident in Armenia, to journey to the East to give military help. Sittas also captured Persian lands. He came to Samosata by traversing the Armenian mountains. Constantiolus was also ordered to go to the East to find out the truth about the battle. After reaching Antioch he set out in the direction of the Roman exarchs, to learn the complete truth.

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**Mamantios** (463.12; corr Dind): 'Mama' Ba, first hand; see Bury, 1897, 230.



61. At that time Julian the praetorian prefect was dismissed from office and John the Cappadocian was appointed in his place.

The Romans learned that Persian exarchs with a Persian force and Saracens had moved against Osrhoene, and had encircled the fort known as Abgersaton, which had been built by Abgaros, the toparch of the city of Osrhoene. It had an old brick wall. The garrison inside (466) killed 1,000 of the Persians by shooting down with their arrows; and when they ran out of arrows they used slings and killed many of them. As a result the Persians were hard-pressed, and by use of a variety of engines they dug through the brick wall of the fortress and started to make their way in. But those on the wall became aware of the breach that had been made by the barbarians and came down from the wall; they began to cut down with their swords the Persians who were entering. The Persians realized this and, while the Roman soldiers were occupied at the breach, they took ladders and made their way up to the wall at night. They forced their way in, captured the fortress and killed everyone, except for a few who were able to escape and brought news of what had happened. The Persians set out from there and returned to Persian territory.

When Constantiolus learned of the events from the *magister* and the rest of the exarchs, he set out for Byzantion and reported the events to the emperor. When he had heard a report on the battle from Constantiolos, he relieved Belisarios of his command and appointed Moundos to the position of *magister militum per Orientem*.

In the month of June, while the Roman *magistri militum* were making preparations against the Persians, Alamoundaros, the prince of the Saracens, wrote to the Romans for a deacon called Sergius to be sent to him so that he could convey peace terms through him to the Roman emperor. Sergius was sent back to the Roman emperor with the letter (467) sent by Alamoundaros. The emperor, having read the letter, did not stop his campaign against the Persians. He sent Rufinus as an ambassador to Persia with a letter for the king recommending that he accept friendship; "for it is honourable and glorious to make the two states to live in peace. If you do not do this, I shall seize the Persian land for myself".

At the same time Sergius the deacon was sent to king Alamoundaros with imperial gifts.

In that year gifts were sent from the emperor of the Romans to the emperor of the Persians. Likewise the Augusta sent gifts to the Persian empress, who was his sister. When Rufinus and Strategios reached the city of Edessa they sent a message to Koades, the emperor of the Persians. He put off receiving them, since he had sent a force secretly against the Romans.

62. In that year there was a fire in Antioch. Somebody lit candles in the theatre, and when the wax dripped on to the timbers, they caught fire. A crowd rushed up and the fire was put out.

63. In that year Demosthenes was sent to the East, conveying a considerable sum of money to prepare granaries in each city because of the war with Persia. When he reached Antioch he then went on to Osrhoene.

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61. Bo 465.17-467.14.

62. Bo 467.15-18.

63. Bo 467.19-22.

64. (468) Rescripts were sent to the cities, saying that those who did not take communion in the holy churches should be sent into exile, for they were excusing themselves by citing the Council of Chalkedon, that is, the Council of the 630 Bishops. A riot broke out in Antioch, and the mob burst into the bishop's residence, throwing stones and chanting insults. Those who were in the patriarchate came out, together with the *comes Orientis*, and resisted them with missiles and stones and killed many of the rioters. These events were reported to the emperor, and he ordered many to be punished.

65. In that year a report was sent from Hermogenes concerning a battle which had taken place between Romans and Persians. The Persian generals had made a raid with a force of 6,000 men, to capture Martyropolis, for they had camped in the area of Amida by the river known as Nymphios. The Romans made a stand against the Persians but could not drive them back. When a second battle took place, the Romans, using the tactic of flight, appeared to be in retreat. The Persians made a charge and, thinking their opponents were in flight, broke their own ranks. The Romans turned and cut down 2000 of the Persians, taking some of their exarchs as prisoners and capturing some standards from them. When the rest escaped and expected to cross the river Nymphios, they perished in its currents as they were pursued. The Romans returned victorious (469) to Martyropolis. The Roman *dux* went out with the landowners and stripped the Persian corpses, having put their exarchs under guard.

66. In that year Dorotheos, the *magister militum per Armeniam*, also set out against the Persians with a Roman force. He won a victory, and killed Persarmenians and Persians, whom he treated cruelly. He also captured many Persian fortresses. One of those he captured was a strong fortress on top of a mountain, approached by a single narrow pathway, by which the inhabitants came down to draw their water from the river which flowed past. The Persian traders used to store up there all the goods they carried with them for their business, since the place was safe. When news of this was brought to Dorotheos, he encircled the fortress and put a guard on the path to it. The Persians inside were starved out and surrendered, persuaded by sworn promises. When a report was sent by Dorotheos to the emperor Justinian about what had been found in the fortress, he sent out Narses the *cubicularius* to take over what was stored there. When Narses arrived, they handed everything over to him.

The Persian exarchs reported the events to their emperor. A large Persian army was sent out, and came close (470) to Martyropolis, for they had received a message from their emperor not to return to Persia until they had recaptured that fortress. They appeared before the place and besieged it, making attacks. They undermined the wall and made scaling-ladders, setting them up against the wall. Later they constructed a tall wooden tower but won no advantage, for among those besieged there was a clever man who worked out counter-strategies to

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64. Bo 468.1-9.

65. Bo 468.10-469.3.

and expected (468.22; see Bury, 1897, 230): om Bo.  
victorious (469.1; see Bury, 1897, 230): om Bo.

66. Bo 469.4-470.18.

oppose the Persian schemes. He made a taller tower inside the walls and, with the Persians fighting from the tower outside and the Romans fighting back from the tower inside, the Romans used a machine to drop a column which smashed everything to the ground and killed many Persians at the same time. When the rest of the Persians saw what had happened, since they were suffering losses and had also heard that Sittas, the Roman *magister militum*, was approaching to help those in the fortress, they withdrew, frightened that they would be surrounded. When the emperor Justinian heard this, he instructed his ambassadors not to enter Persia until he sent them a second letter, and so they remained on Roman territory with the gifts.

67. The emperor sent to all the cities laws for litigants, dealing with the expenses involved in obtaining judgements. Likewise with regard to the payment of *sportulae*, he decreed that no one was to dare to take more than the amount prescribed by him. (471) In the city of the Antiochenes these were written in Greek letters on the notice-boards. At the same time the theatre of the city received financial support.

68. On 8th September Koades, the emperor of the Persians, hearing of the losses sustained by the Persians at the hands of the Romans, suffered a sudden paralysis on the right side of his body. He summoned his second son Chosroes and proclaimed him as emperor, placing a crown on his head. After an illness of five days, Koades, the emperor of the Persians, died at the age of 82 years and three months. He had reigned for 43 years and two months.

When Chosroes was proclaimed emperor of the Persians, he sent a message to the Roman ambassadors by a Persian *magistrionus* that they should enter Persian territory and make a peace treaty between Romans and Persians. The Roman ambassadors refused to enter Persia without imperial command, explaining, "We do not dare to come to visit you". When the emperor of the Persians learned of this, he wrote a letter and sent it to the emperor Justinian, asking that permission be given to the Roman ambassadors to enter Persia and to make a treaty. The emperor of the Persians wrote a friendly letter and sent it by the *magister* Hermogenes. When the Roman emperor received this message, he wrote in reply, "We do not give permission for our ambassadors (472) to come to you, nor do we recognize you as emperor of the Persians".

69. In that year the emperor of the Persians told the Manicheans who were subject to his state that they could practise their religion as they wished. The Persian *magoi*, distressed by this event, plotted with the senators and decided to depose him from the throne and to put his brother in his place. When the emperor of the Persians heard of this, he beheaded his brother and executed the senators and the *magoi*. He wrote a letter to the Roman emperor containing a proposal for a three months' truce. The Roman emperor wrote back to the *magister* to accept the three months' truce and to exchange hostages with the Persians. He ordered Strategius and Rufinus, his ambassadors, to return to Byzantion.

70. In that year Sabir Huns passed through the Caspian Gates and

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67. Bo 470.19-471.3.

68. Bo 471.4-472.2.

69. Bo 472.3-14.

70. Bo 472.15-473.4.

appeared in Roman territory, plundering as far as the land of the Armenians. Then they spread out and reached as far as Euphratesia, Second Cilicia and Kyrrhestike. On learning of this, the Roman emperor summoned the patrician Rufinus and ordered him to set out for the eastern territories and find out whether they had come against the Romans at the prompting of the Persian king. Rufinus set out and, after communicating with the Persian emperor, found that the Huns had not invaded with the Persian emperor's authority. He wrote to Dorotheos, the *magister militum per Armeniam*, (473) to take up arms against the Huns. The Huns heard of this and, taking all their booty, they returned by way of the places through which they had come. The *magister militum* Dorotheos pursued them and took a good deal of booty from them.

71. In that year of the 10th indiction, a pretext for rioting AD531/2 occurred in Byzantion caused by some avenging demons when Eudaimon was city prefect and was holding in custody trouble makers from both factions. When he had examined various persons, he found seven of them guilty of murder and sentenced four of them to be beheaded and three to be impaled. After they had been paraded through the whole city and had crossed to the other side, some of them were hanged. But two of them, one a Blue and the other a Green, fell as the scaffold broke. The people who were standing round saw what had happened and acclaimed the emperor. When the monks near St Konon's had heard this and came out, they found two of those who had been hanged lying on the ground still alive. Taking them down by the sea and putting them in a boat, they sent them to St Laurence's to a place of sanctuary. On learning of this, the city prefect sent a military force and kept guard over them where they were.

(474) Three days later the chariot-races known as those of the Ides were held. They are known as the Ides because the Roman emperor entertains at banquets in his palace all those who are being promoted in the service, bestowing on each the office of *primicerius*. While the

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71. Bo 473.5-477.3; CP 620.3-4, 620.13-629.6 (AD532), Th 181.24-31 (AD531/2), 184.3-186.2 (AD531/2), De insid 46 (172.7-30), Eccl Hist 112.19-27.

In that year of the 10th indiction (473.5): Th gives 2 texts before beginning at this point on the Nika riot: a) a brief summary of the riot (= Eccl Hist 112.9-27) translated as Appendix I below and b) the "Acclamations at Kalopodios", translated in Bury, 1923, 71-4 and Cameron, 1976, 319-22. On the textual confusion of Th at this point, particularly in relation to b) and its apparent presence in CP, see Maas, 1912; 46-51 and Cameron, 1976, 318-29, who show that this acclamation is out of context in the preliminaries to the Nika riot. Another summary of the riot (= De insid 46) is translated as Appendix II below.

as the scaffold broke (473.13): Th adds 'They were hanged again, and again fell'.

acclaimed the emperor (473.14-15): 'chanted, "Get them to the church"' Th; see Bury, 1897a, who derives both phrases from the original Malalas.

to a place of sanctuary (473.19): 'because there was a custom that nobody should be removed from the church till he had suffered sufficiently' Th. (Th's language is obscure here. He may mean 'until bail was granted'.)

AD532

chariot-racing was being held on 13th January, both factions began to call upon the emperor to show mercy. They continued chanting until the 22nd race and they were not granted an answer. Then the devil prompted the evil counsels in them and they chanted to one another, "Long live the merciful Blues and Greens!" After the races the crowds went off united, having given themselves a watch-word with the word, "Conquer" (*Nika*), so as not to be infiltrated by soldiers or *excubitores*. And so they charged on. Towards evening they went to the city prefect's praetorium, demanding an answer about the fugitives at St Laurence. Not receiving an answer, they set fire to the praetorium. This fire destroyed the praetorium, the Chalke Gate of the palace as far as the Scholae, the Great Church and the public colonnade. The people continued to charge on their disorderly way. At daybreak the emperor ordered the races to be held and after the customary flag had been hoisted the faction members now set fire to the tiers of the hippodrome. Part of the public colonnade as far as the Zeuxippon (475) was burnt. Moundos, Constantiolus and Basilides went out with a force at the emperor's command, intending to silence the rioting mob which by then was chanting against John, nicknamed the Cappadocian, the *quaestor* Tribonian and the city prefect Eudaimon. The senators who had been sent

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the fugitives at St Laurence (474.15-16): Th adds 'asking the prefect to remove the soldiers on guard there'.

This fire destroyed the praetorium...public colonnade (474.17-19): cf Th 'The porticoes from the arch of the Forum to the Chalke were burned, and also the shops of the silversmiths and the whole palace of Lausus were destroyed by fire. They killed unsparingly the soldiers who attacked them. Then they broke into houses and began to loot their contents'; see Bury, 1897a, 117, who suggests that Th is here showing mistaken independence of judgement in arranging the lists of burned buildings in a way which seemed to him more logical. It is unlikely that Ba either can be trusted for this list, which probably reflects more than one catalogue of burnt buildings; see Gleye, 1896, 444, who points out that Ba, CP and Th give the burning of St Sophia at three different stages of the riot. CP should be trusted most since it is the most detailed account, free, apparently, from errors caused by abbreviation. However since CP is in lacuna here, we do not know what was burnt at this point apart from the praetorium - except that the Chalke and St Sophia probably survived one or two more days (see below).

the Zeuxippon was burnt (474.23-475.1): CP adds, after the lacuna, '(The emperor sent to see what they were chanting) "at random. But when a serious emergency arises, then you do what you have decided"'. The emperor said to them, "Go out and discover why they are rioting"; see Sotiriadis, 1888, 112-13; Bury, 1897a, 98, note 3 and 99; Maas, 1912, 46-8; Cameron, 1976, 324-5. The first words, bracketed above, are part of a later attempt to fill the lacuna in CP.

Moundos...emperor's command (475.1-2): 'The patrician Basilides (see Maas, 1912, 48, note 3), who was deputising for the *magister* Hermogenes in Constantinople, and Constantiolus went out of the palace. Halting the rioting mob outside the palace and silencing them, they addressed them, asking, "What do you want and why are you rioting?"' CP.

John, nicknamed the Cappadocian (475.4): 'the praetorian prefect, John the Cappadocian' CP.

out heard this chanting from them and reported it to the emperor. Immediately John, Tribonian and Eudaimon were dismissed. Belisarios went out with a troop of Goths; there was fighting and many of the faction members were cut down. The mob was incensed and started fires

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Tribonian (475.4): cf 'Rufinus' CP; see Baldwin, 1981, 304 and note 27.

Immediately John...dismissed (475.7-8): 'He immediately dismissed the praetorian prefect John and appointed the patrician Phokas, the son of Krateros, praetorian prefect in his place. He dismissed Tribonian ('Rufinus' CP) the *quaestor* and appointed in his place as *quaestor* the patrician Basilides who, as mentioned above, was deputising for the *magister*. He dismissed the city prefect Eudaimon and appointed as city prefect in his place Tryphon, the brother of Theodoros the former city prefect. But the people continued rioting outside the palace' CP.

faction members were cut down (475.9-10): CP adds 'till evening'.

started fires...indiscriminately (475.10-11): 'they then set fire to the bronze-roofed entrance to the palace, and it was burnt, together with the portico of the *scholarii*, *protectores* and *candidati*, which collapsed. Likewise the Senate was burnt, by the area known as the Augusteion, and the Great Church with its tremendous, wonderful columns was completely destroyed on all four sides. From there the crowd went down, rioting once more, to the harbour of Julian (Th adds, 'I mean, that of Sophia') to the residence of Probus. They demanded weapons from him and chanted, "Probus for emperor of the Roman world" (cf 'Another emperor for the city' Th). They set fire to the house of the patrician Probus. When a small part had been burnt, the fire died down and was extinguished ('the house was burnt down' Th).

On Friday 16th of that month the people went to the praetorium of the prefects and started a fire there. Only the roofs of the two imperial houses of the praetorium were burnt - where the *scrinia* are kept - for a north wind sprang up and blew the flames away from the praetorium (for the second burning of the praetorium and for punctuation here, see Bury, 1897a, 116-7). The baths in the quarter of Alexander were burnt, as was part of the hospice in the quarter of Euboulos, and St Eirene, which had been built by Illus the Isaurian, who rebelled against the emperor Zeno. The great hospice of Sampson was burnt down and its sick occupants perished (at this point St Sophia was burnt, according to Th; see Bury, 1897a, 103. Th also adds here, or perhaps later, though it precedes in his narrative the indiscriminate murders mentioned below, 'The emperor in his terror wanted to load his monies into a boat and withdraw to Herakleia in Thrace, leaving the palace to be guarded by the *magister militum* Moundos with his son and 3000 men, Constantiolus and the *cubicularii*'; see Bury, 1897a, 104).

On Saturday, that is the 17th of the month Audynaios, the soldiers who had come from the Hebdomon and Rhegion and Athyras, and from Calabria, clashed with the people, since the crowd were committing murders indiscriminately, dragging their victims and throwing them into the sea like riff-raff; they were likewise killing women (Th 'a large number of women'). Many faction-members died. When the mob saw that they were being attacked, they went to the Oktagon, which is between the basilica of the Furriers and the public portico of the Rhegia. When the soldiers realised that they could not get in, they threw firebrands down

in other places and began killing indiscriminately.

On the 18th of the same month the emperor went up to the hippodrome carrying the Holy Gospels. On learning of this the crowds came in too and he made a proclamation to them on oath. Many of the people chanted for him as emperor, but others rioted, chanting for Hypatios. The people took Hypatios and led him off to the place known as the Forum of Constantine. Setting him on high on the steps and bringing regalia and a golden collar out from the palace, they put these on his head. Then they took him and led him off to the hippodrome, intending to take him up into the imperial *kathisma*, for

on them, and set fire to the Oktagon. As a result of this fire the area around St Theodoros in the quarter of Sphorakios was burnt, except for the *skeuophylakion* of the holy house ('*skeuophylakion*' looks like a gloss of mss 'oven', φούριος, or 'prison', φούριον = φρούριον, which gives no satisfactory sense). The entire portico of the silversmiths, the house of Symmachus the ex-consul *ordinarius* and St Aquilina as far as the vault of the other portico at the Forum of Constantine were burnt down. The people fled from there and set fire to the Libyrnos by the Magnaura. But a large crowd gathered and it was quickly put out.' CP, cf Th.

On the 18th (475.11): 'On Sunday, that is, the 18th' CP.

the emperor went up to the hippodrome (475.12): CP adds 'into the *kathisma* early in the morning'.

the crowds came in too (475.13): CP adds 'and the whole hippodrome was filled by the crowd'.

he made a proclamation to them on oath (475.14): 'the emperor took an oath before them, saying, "By this power I forgive you this wrong-doing, and I order that none of you be arrested. But be at peace, for the fault lies not with you but with me. For my sins made me refuse what you asked of me in the hippodrome"' CP.

chanted for him as emperor (475.15): 'chanted, "Augustus Justinian, *tu vincas*"' CP.

but others rioted, chanting for Hypatios (475.15-16): 'but others chanted, "You are breaking your oath, you donkey!" The emperor fell silent and left the hippodrome. He immediately dismissed those in the palace and said to the senators, "Go, and each of you guard his house". As they left, the people met Hypatios the patrician and Pompeius the patrician, and chanted, "Hypatios Augustus, *tu vincas*"' CP.

The people took Hypatios (475.16): 'The people took the patrician Hypatios, wearing a white cloak' CP.

on the steps (475.18): CP adds 'of the column of the statue of the emperor Constantine'.

bringing regalia...they put these on his head (475.18-19): 'bringing out from the palace known as the Placillianai the imperial insignia which were stored there. They put them on Hypatios' head and a golden collar around his neck. (De insid also refers to raising him on a shield). When this became known to the emperor, the palace was sealed off' CP.

Then they took him...*kathisma* (475.20-21): 'The crowds of people took Hypatios and Pompeius the patrician and Julian the former praetorian prefect, and brought Hypatios to the hippodrome, to the imperial *kathisma*.' CP.

the crowd was eager to throw imperial robes for him out from the palace. Hypatios had learnt that the emperor had left and, seating himself in the *kathisma*, he boldly came out in rebellion.

(476) When Moundos, Constantiolus, Belisarios, other senators and an armed force had come up through the *kathisma* from behind, Narses, the *cubicularius* and *spatharios*, slipped out without being noticed and beguiled some of the Blue faction by distributing money. Some of the mob started a disturbance and chanted for Justinian as emperor for the city. The mob was divided and set upon one another. The *magistri*

**imperial robes** (475.22): 'imperial purple and a diadem' CP.

**from the palace** (475.22): CP adds 'and crown him emperor. All the people who were in the hippodrome shouted to him, "Augustus Hypatios, *tu vincas*".'

**Hypatios had learnt that the emperor had left** (475.22-23): 'Hypatios, foreseeing that the people were fickle and that the emperor would regain control, secretly sent the *candidatus* Ephraim, in whom he had confidence, to announce to the emperor Justinian, "See, I have assembled all your enemies in the hippodrome; give your orders and carry them out". Ephraim went to the palace and wanted to enter and deliver the message to the emperor, but he was met by Thomas, an *a secretis*, who was the emperor's doctor and was greatly favoured by him. Thomas said to the *candidatus*, "Where are you going? There is nobody inside, for the emperor has left here". Ephraim returned and said to Hypatios, "Lord, it seems that God wants you to rule, for Justinian has fled and there is nobody in the palace"' CP.

**seating himself...rebellion** (475.23-24): 'On hearing this, Hypatios decided with greater boldness to sit in the imperial *kathisma* in the hippodrome, and to listen to the acclamations chanted to him by the people, and the insulting phrases they uttered against the emperor Justinian and the Augusta Theodora. Two hundred and fifty ('200' Th) young Greens came from Konstantianai ('Flakianai' Th where 'Flacillianai' perhaps should be read), wearing breastplates. These young men came fully armed, reckoning that they could force open the palace and install Hypatios inside' CP, cf Th.

**When Moundos...the *kathisma* from behind** (476.1-2): 'The most sacred emperor Justinian, hearing of the reckless actions of the people and of Hypatios and Pompeius (reading *παρά* for *περί* with CP, ms P), immediately came up by the stairway known as the Kochlias to what are called the Poulpita, behind the *kathisma* of the hippodrome, to the *triclinium* with the bronze doors, which were locked. With the emperor were Moundos, Constantiolus, Basilides, Belisarios and some other senators. He also had the armed troops of the palace together with his own *spatharii* and *cubicularii*' CP, cf Th.

**Narses** (476.3): 'When this had happened, Narses' CP.

**without being noticed and** (476.3): CP adds 'by his own actions and those of his men'.

**started a disturbance...for the city** (476.5-6): 'separated off and began to chant, "Augustus Justinian, *tu vincas*;" Lord, save the emperor Justinian and the Augusta Theodora". The whole crowd in the hippodrome roared. Some of the rabble-rousers from the Green faction rushed against them and began to throw stones at them' CP, cf Th.

**set upon one another** (476.6-7): CP adds (cf Th) 'Those inside the palace



*militum* entered the hippodrome with a force and began to cut down the crowds from both entrances, some with arrows, others with swords. Belisarios went off unnoticed, seized hold of Hypatios and Pompeius and brought them to the emperor Justinian. They fell down at the emperor's feet, saying in their defence, "Lord, it was a great effort for us to assemble the enemies of your majesty in the hippodrome". The emperor answered them, "You have done well. But if they were obeying your authority, why did you not do this before the whole city was burnt?" At an order from the emperor the *spatharii* arrested Hypatios and Pompeius and put them in prison. Those slaughtered in the hippodrome amounted to 35,000, more or less. On the next day Hypatios and Pompeius were put to death and their bodies were thrown into the sea. The emperor announced his victory and the rebels' destruction

negotiated and took the military force that existed there, and beguiled some of the *excubitores* and *scholarii*, for these too had defected to the people'.

**The *magistri militum*...both entrances** (476.7-8): 'Coming out with their own men they charged into the hippodrome, Narses through the doors, the son of Moundos through the curved end, others through the single door of the imperial box into the arena, still others through the quarter of Antiochos and what is known as the Dead Gate. They began to cut down the people at random' CP, cf Th.

**some with arrows, some with swords** (476.9): CP adds (cf Th) 'with the result that none of the citizens or foreigners ('Blues or Greens' Th) found in the hippodrome survived. Amongst these Antipatros, the *vindex* of Antioch-Theoupolis, was slain'.

**Belisarios went off...Hypatios and Pompeius** (476.10-11): 'Immediately those under Belisarios, the *magister militum*, opened the doors leading to the imperial *kathisma* and charged in with the *spatharii*. Arresting Hypatios, together with Pompeius the patrician, his cousin' CP, cf Th.

**They fell down** (476.12): 'When they were brought in, they fell down' CP.

**At an order...put them in prison** (476.17-19): 'He instructed his eunuchs and *spatharii* and the *barbatus* Eulalios and the *candidati*, "Take them and lock them up". They took them down into the palace and locked up Hypatios and Pompeius alone' CP.

**35,000, more or less** (476.20): '35,000 citizens and foreigners, as those who made the estimates say. No faction-member was to be seen anywhere, and there was peace till the evening' CP, cf Th.

**On the next day** (476.21): CP adds 'which was Monday 19th Audynaiois'.

**Hypatios and Pompeius** (476.21): Th adds 'his brother', CP adds 'the patricians'.

**were put to death** (476.21): De insid adds 'one as having worn imperial regalia and revolted, the other as his accomplice'.

**thrown into the sea** (476.22): CP adds (cf Th and De insid) 'Hypatios' body was washed up on the shore, and the emperor ordered it to be buried in the middle of the other executed criminals, and a stone to be placed over the body, on which was inscribed, "Here lies the emperor of Louppa". Some days later the emperor ordered Hypatios' family to take his body and bury it. They took it and buried it in the martyrrium of St Maura. Pompeius' body never reappeared. All their possessions were confiscated. The rest of the patricians found with them fled, some to

to all the cities (477) and he undertook to rebuild the places that had been burnt. He built a granary and reservoirs near the palace so as to have supplies in times of crisis.

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monasteries, others to churches, and their homes were sealed, together with a further 18 patricians, *illustres* and consulars, whose property was confiscated and who were exiled as supporters of Hypatios. There was widespread fear of the emperor. When the emperor learnt later of the reply given by Thomas, the *a secretis*, to the *candidatus* Ephraim, he beheaded Thomas and exiled Ephraim to Alexandria the Great.

On Tuesday 20th Audynaiois all Constantinople was quiet and nobody dared to appear in public, but only the shops which supplied food and drink to the needy were open. Business was suspended and Constantinople had no commercial activity for several days'.

**The emperor announced...had been burnt** (476.22-477.1): 'The emperor Justinian immediately announced his victory to all the cities of his empire, as well as the destruction of the rebels who had risen up against him, undertaking to rebuild splendidly, better than before, the Great Church, the palace and all the public buildings of the city which had been burned down' CP.

**He built a granary...times of crisis** (477.2-3): 'Inside the palace he built bakeries and granaries to store grain and likewise a cistern for water because of crises arising from riots. He ordered the city prefect to punish those of the Blue faction who had joined with the Greens and the other factions against him' CP. Th, De insid add 'No chariot-races were held for a considerable period'; see Sotiriadis, 1888, 109-11.

**Appendix I.** Th 181.24-31 (= Eccl Hist 112.19-27), 'In this year, the 5th of Justinian's reign, in January of the 10th indiction, occurred what is known as the Nika revolt. The members of the factions crowned as emperor Hypatios, the relative of the emperor Anastasios. A large part of the city was burned, including the Great Church, St Eirene, the Hospice of Sampson, the Augusteion, the portico of the Basilica and the Chalke of the palace. There was great panic and many of those found in the hippodrome with Hypatios perished; the number reported is 35,000'.

**Appendix II.** De insid 46(172.7-30), 'In the 2nd year of Justinian's reign the faction of the Greens-and-Blues rose up against him and caused great disorder and destruction at Constantinople. These faction members burnt the places that they took over, from the palace to the Forum and the Arca, to right and left, including all the adjacent houses, the praetorium of the city prefect and the Oktagon. Then after that the people shouted, "*Tu vincas, Hypatios Augustus*". They brought Hypatios, the *magister militum*, from his house, made him wear imperial dress and raised him on the shield. The whole hippodrome was filled with the people, as they wanted to watch an emperor being crowned. Whilst the hippodrome was still packed with the crowd, the emperor ordered his soldiery to be let loose with some of the commanders. Mounds entered from the imperial box above the gate and attacked the people in the hippodrome while Belisarios entered from below the box, and they put to the sword about 30,000. Justinian arrested both Hypatios and Pompeius and executed them, one for having worn imperial regalia and revolting, the other for being his accomplice. Also, he banished 18 *illustres* and senators, confiscating their property, for having joined the usurpation of Hypatios. Thus peace was restored in the city. He appointed Tryphon

72. In that year Rufinus set out for Persian territory with sacred memoranda to make a peace treaty with the Persians.

73. In that year an Indian ambassador was sent with gifts to Constantinople.

74. In that year John the Cappadocian became praetorian prefect.

75. In that year there occurred a great shower of stars from dusk to dawn, so that everyone was astounded and said, "We have never known anything like this to happen".

76. In that year Hermogenes and Rufinus returned from Persia, bringing with them a peace treaty between the two states of Rome and Persia...of the two states for the duration of both their lives. The region of Pharangion was to be restored to the Persians with all the prisoners, while the forts that had been captured by the Persians were restored to the Romans, with those captured in them. The two rulers agreed and said explicitly in the treaty that they were brothers according to the ancient custom and that if one of them needed military assistance in money or men, they should provide it without dispute.

(478) After these proceedings both armies, the Roman and the Persian, withdrew. The war had lasted 31 years from the time that Koades, the emperor of the Persians, had advanced as aggressor into Roman territory, as was mentioned above during the reign of Anastasios, and the capture of Amida, mentioned above, and the restoration of that city of Amida to the Romans, and the local wars with raiding Saracens.

77. In that year an earthquake occurred in Byzantion late in the evening, so that the whole city gathered in the place known as the Forum of Constantine, assembling for prayers, petitions and vigils.

78. In those days the emperor Justinian sent to each city sacred

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as city prefect and punished many of the faction members, and the chariot-races were not held for a long time'.

72. Bo 477.4-6.

73. Bo 477.7-8.

74. Bo 477.8-9.

75. Bo 477.10-12; Th 186.3-5 (AD531/2), GM 643.14-16.

and said (477.11): Th adds "'The stars are falling and', cf GM.

76. Bo 477.13-478.7.

...of the two states (477.15-16): despite Festugière, 1979, 236-7, a lacuna seems more likely than the simple repetition of 'of the two states'.

77. Bo 478.8-11; CP 629.10-20 (AD532).

In that year an earthquake...petitions and vigils (478.8-11): 'In this year, in the month of Dios, November according to the Romans, in the 12th indiction, there was a severe earthquake that caused no damage in Constantinople, late in the evening, so that the entire city gathered in the Forum of Constantine in a procession of prayer and said, "God is holy, holy and strong, holy and immortal, who was crucified for us, have mercy on us". They spent the whole night in vigil and prayer. When day dawned, all the people who were processing in prayer shouted out, "Victory to the *tyche* of the Christians. You who were crucified, save us and the city. Augustus Justinian, *tu vincas*. Remove and burn the decree formulated by the bishops at the Council of Chalkedon"' CP.

78. Bo 478.12-15; CP 630.1-633.16 (AD533); Justinian, C.1.1.6. See M. Amelotti and Zingale, 1977, 31-5.

decrees containing the following provisions: Edict concerning the orthodox faith and against impious heretics. It was displayed in the churches in each city.

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In those days...in each city (478.12-15): 'On the 20th of the month Dios, of the 12th indiction, the emperor Justinian issued at Constantinople his sacred edict, which he sent to the city of Rome, to Jerusalem, to the great Theopolis of the Antiochenes in Syria, to the great city of the Alexandrians in Egypt, to Thessalonike the city of the prefecture of Illyricum and to Ephesos the city of Asia. The contents were as follows:

The emperor Caesar Justinian, Pious, Victorious, Triumphator, Maximus, ever-revered, Augustus, to our citizens - We are desirous in all things to worship the Saviour and Lord of all, Jesus Christ, our True God, and to imitate his condescension as far as the human mind is able to comprehend it. Finding some people infected by the sickness and madness of Nestorios and Eutyches, the enemies of God and of the most holy catholic and apostolic church, and refusing to name the holy and glorious ever-virgin Mary as Theotokos rightly and in truth, we have been eager that they should be instructed in the correct faith. Incurable as they are and concealing their error they go around, as we have learnt, disturbing and scandalizing the souls of the simple and speaking in opposition to the teachings of the holy catholic and apostolic church. Therefore we have thought it necessary to refute the falsehoods of the heretics and to make plain to all the doctrine of God's holy and apostolic church and the teaching of her most holy priests, whom we follow in making clear what pertains to the hope that is in us, not making innovations in the faith - heaven forbid - but demonstrating the madness of those who favour the teaching of the impious heretics, as we have already done in the preamble to our reign and made obvious to all.

We believe in one God, the father omnipotent, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the son of God, and in the Holy Spirit, worshipping one essence in three *hypostaseis*, one godhead, one power, the consubstantial Trinity. In the last days we confess Jesus Christ, the only-begotten son of God, son of the True God, begotten of the Father before all ages, co-eval with the Father, from whom and through whom all things have their being, who descended from heaven and was incarnate by the Holy Spirit of the holy, glorious and ever-virgin Theotokos Mary and, being made man, endured the cross for us under Pontius Pilate, and was buried and rose again on the third day; and we know his miracles and the suffering which he endured willingly in the flesh were of one and the same Christ. For we know that God the Word and Christ are not separate; the one and the same is consubstantial with us in humanity; and we accept and confess the unity in *hypostasis*. For the Trinity remained a Trinity even when one part of the Trinity, the Word of God, became flesh. For the Holy Trinity does not allow of the addition of a fourth person. Since this is so we anathematize every heresy, especially Nestorios the man-worshipper and those who have agreed or now agree with him, who divide our one Lord Jesus Christ, the son of God, and our God and who do not confess rightly and in truth the holy, glorious ever-virgin, Mary to be Theotokos, that is, Mother of God, but who say there are two sons, one being God the Word from the Father and the other

79. Not long afterwards a tremendous earthquake occurred in Antioch the Great but it caused no damage.

AD533 80. In that year the emperor distributed largesse for his third consulship and recalled the patricians Olybrios and Probus, then in exile, granting them all their property.

AD533/4 81. In the 12th indiction the king of Africa (479) was taken prisoner, with his wife, by Belisarios and they were brought to Constantinople. They were brought in as captives with the spoils while the chariot-races were being held.

82. In that year the statue of Julian the Apostate, which had been placed in the middle of the Julian Harbour, fell down. They set up a cross in place of the statue.

After AD535 83. After Belisarios' consulship a council was held at Constantinople by the bishop of Rome, Agapetos. He deposed Anthemios, the patriarch of Constantinople.

born from the ever-virgin Theotokos Mary and deny that he was begotten by grace and connection and relationship to God the Word and God himself; and who do not confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the son of God and our God who was incarnate and made man and crucified, is one with the consubstantial Trinity. For he alone it is who is worshipped and glorified together with the Father and the Holy Spirit.

We anathematize also Eutyches, who is out of his mind, and those who have agreed or now agree with him, who introduce delusions and who deny the true incarnation by the holy, ever-virgin Theotokos Mary of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that is, our salvation, and who do not confess that he is consubstantial with the Father in divinity. Likewise we anathematize Apollinarios the destroyer of souls and those who have agreed or now agree with him, who say that our Lord Jesus Christ the son of God and our God is man only; and those who introduce confusion and turbulence to the incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God, and all who have agreed or do agree with them.

All the bishops received a copy of this in their cities and displayed it in the churches' CP.

79. Bo 478.16-17.

80. Bo 478.18-21.

81. Bo 478.22-479.3.

82. Bo 479.4-6.

83. Bo 479.7-12; Th 217.1-12 (AD536/7), Eccl Hist 112.29-31.

**After Belisarios' consulship...patriarch of Constantinople (479.1-12):**

'In this year Epiphanius, bishop of Constantinople, died on 5th June of the 15th indiction, having been bishop for 16 years and 3 months. Anthimos, a heretic, bishop of Trebizond was translated to Constantinople. In this year Agapetos, bishop of Rome, came to Constantinople and called a synod against the impious Severus and Julian of Halikarnassos and the other Theopaschites. Among these was Anthimos the bishop of Constantinople, who for being of one mind with them was deposed and driven out of the capital after ten months as bishop. Menas, presbyter and steward of the Sampson hospice, was ordained in his stead by Agapetos, the pope of Rome. Agapetos, bishop of Rome, died while he was in Byzantium. In his place Silverius was ordained, who lived for one year' Th; cf Eccl Hist, whose briefer account, while

In that year the bishop of Rome died in Byzantion. Menas, ex-warden of the hospice of Sampson, became patriarch in Constantinople.

84. In the consulship of John the Cappadocian the Arians' churches were confiscated. AD538

85. In that year the Chalke Gate of the palace at Constantinople was finished, being decorated with various kinds of marble and with mosaic work. The *horologion* near the Augusteion and the Basilica was moved.

In that year the office of the *praefectus vigilum* was abolished and a *praetor* was appointed in his place.

In that year a *quaestor* was appointed.

86. In this consulship the dedication of the Great Church took place.

87. In the month of June of the 3rd indiction Antioch the Great (480) was captured by Chosroes, emperor of the Persians. Germanus was sent with his son Justin to carry on the war, after being appointed *magister militum*. Achieving nothing, he stayed in Antioch buying silver for two or three *nomismata a litra* from the Antiochenes. The emperor of the Persians entered Apameia and other cities of the East. AD540

88. In that year Belisarios was sent to Rome. He attacked and captured Rome, Sicily and the surrounding cities held by Witigis, king of the Goths. He attacked and captured Witigis with his wife and son, and brought them to Byzantion.

A short time later the emperor sent Narses, the *cubicularius*, with a large force to Rome against the Goths.

89. In the month of August John, nicknamed the Cappadocian, was dismissed, after twice discharging the office of prefect. His property

chronologically fantastic, may more accurately preserve the sequence of events than Th.

84. Bo 479.13-14.

85. Bo 479.15-20; Th 216.23-25 (AD535/6), GM 627.3-7.

The *horologion*...was moved (479.17-18): 'He also made the *horologion* at the Milion' Th; around this point (just before the *horologion* entry in Th and in connection with the dedication of St Sophia in GM) Th, cf GM, adds 'In that year Justinian directed that the hymn "The only-begotten Son and Word of God" ('of the *troparion* beginning, "The only-begotten Son and Word of God"' GM) be sung in churches'.

86. Bo 479.21-22; Th 217.16-22 (AD537/8), Eccl Hist 112.35-113.3.

In this consulship...took place (479.21-22): 'In this year, on 27th December of the 1st indiction, the first dedication of the Great Church took place. The procession set out from St Anastasia, with Menas the patriarch sitting in the imperial carriage and the emperor joining in the procession with the people. From the day when the most holy Great Church was burned until the day of its dedication was 5 years, 11 months and 10 days' Th, cf Eccl Hist.

87. Bo 479.23-480.7; Th 218.18-20 (AD538/9).

88. Bo 480.8-15; Th 205.24-28. Cf Bo 484.22-485.3, para 110.

large force to Rome (480.14): 'a fleet to Rome to maintain control of those parts' Th.

89. Bo 480.16-481.2; De insid 47 (172.31-173.12).

John (480.16): De insid adds 'the praetorian prefect'.

office of prefect (480.17): De insid adds 'having enjoyed great power'.

was confiscated and he was sent to Kyzikos, being ordained a deacon at Artake. There he formed a conspiracy with some landowners and they killed Eusebios, the bishop of the city of Kyzikos. On learning this, the emperor was angry with John and sent and examined him there over the murder which had occurred. At the emperor's command (481) he was exiled from there to Antinoe. Some time later he was recalled, and died in Byzantion.

AD541/2 90. In the 5th indiction the following incident took place. A woman living near what is known as the Golden Gate went into ecstasy one night and spoke a lot of nonsense, so that the people of Constantinople came running up and went off in a procession of prayer to St Diomedes-in-Jerusalem. They brought the woman out of her house and took her to the church of St Diomedes, for she was saying that in three days' time the sea would rise and take everybody. Everybody went in processions of prayer and chanted, "Lord, have mercy", for reports were circulating that many cities had been swallowed up. It was then that men died of a plague in Egypt, including Alexandria. The emperor sent Narses, the *cubicularius*, and others in fast ships to learn what had happened. When Narses' servants had gone off on his instructions to St Diomedes' and learnt from the crowd gathered there what was being said by the woman, they came and reported to Narses what had happened in the church, and also that they had heard from the woman who was in ecstasy that in three days' time the sea would rise and submerge everybody. On hearing what was said by her, the crowds went away in alarm.

91. (482) In that year Longinus was appointed city prefect. He paved the central hall of the Basilican cistern. He also built the colonnades of the Basilica magnificently.

92. The Lord God saw that man's transgressions had multiplied and

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confiscated (480.17): De insid adds 'on the grounds that he had acted with the patrician Antonia (*sic*), wife of Belisarios, in plotting against the emperor Justinian'.

to Kyzikos (480.18): De insid adds 'to live there'.

was angry with John and sent (480.21): De insid adds 'certain men of patrician and consular rank, Florus, the ex-consul Paul the Galatian, the patrician Phokas and the ex-prefect Thomas'.

At the emperor's command (480.22): 'Since he was found to blame for the murder' De insid.

Some time...Byzantion (481.2): 'John lived at Antinoe for a number of years until the death of Theodora, when he was recalled but remained a private person, not being appointed to office' De insid.

90. Bo 481.3-21; Th 224.29-33 (AD544/5), GM 628.14-17, Ke 657.15-19.

many cities had been swallowed up (481.11): Perhaps the following passage in Th, cf GM, probably from the original Malalas, came at this point, 'In this year the sea advanced on Thrace by four ('three' GM) miles and covered it in the territories of Odyssos and Dionysopolis and also Aphrodision. Many were drowned in the waters. By God's command the sea then retreated to its own place'.

91. Bo 482.1-3.

central hall (482.2): perhaps 'central courtyard'; see Guillard, 1969a, 3-10.

92. Bo 482.4-11; Th 222.22-23 (AD541/2), JE 227.25-240.30, PsD 855 (AD544/5) MS 9.28 (235-8), GM 641.1-17.

he caused the overthrow of man on the earth, leading to his destruction in all cities and lands. The plague lasted a while, so that there were not enough people to bury the dead. Some carried out the corpses from their own houses on wooden litters and even so they could not manage. Some of the corpses remained unburied for days. Some people did not attend their own relatives' funerals. God's compassion lasted at Byzantion for two months.

93. In the month of September of the 7th indiction an earthquake AD543 occurred in Kyzikos, and half of the city collapsed.

94. In that year an equestrian statue of the emperor Justinian was set up near the palace in what is known as the Augousteion. This statue had been of the emperor Arcadius, having previously stood on a pedestal in the Forum Tauri.

95. In that year a shortage of wine occurred.

96. In the month of November an error occurred over the Sunday before Lent. The emperor ordered that meat should be sold for another week. All the butchers killed and set out meat for sale, (483) but no one ate it; but the Holy Passion of Christ our God was

**The Lord God...two months** (482.4-11): JE preserves a long and somewhat rhetorical description of the plague and its effects in Palestine and Constantinople; it includes some incidents that are also mentioned in Ba, as well as in GM, but at no point does the wording in either JE or GM come convincingly close to Ba.

93. Bo 482.12-13; JE 227.14-16, PsD 855 (AD544/5), MS 9.31 (262), Th 224.11-13 (AD543/4), Gr Chron 9.

**In the month of September** (482.12): 'on Sunday 6th September' Th.

**in Kyzikos** (482.12): JE adds 'most of its wall was brought down or shattered, while the part which had not fallen was left leaning at an angle as if it were about to fall'; Th adds 'a great earthquake occurred throughout the world'.

94. Bo 482.14-17; Th 224.13-15 (AD543/4).

**In that year...Forum Tauri** (482.14-17): 'In that year the great bronze column called Augusteus near the palace was completed and the equestrian statue of the emperor Justinian was put on top' Th.

95. Bo 482.18; Th 225.4-5 (AD545/6), Ke 657.20-21.

**shortage of wine** (482.18): 'shortage of corn and wine, and much bad weather. There was a great earthquake at Byzantion' Th, cf Ke.

96. Bo 482.19-483.2; Th 225.5-10 (AD545/6), GM 644.13-18, Ke 657.21-658.2, PsD 857 (AD545/6), MS 9.33 (271).

**the Sunday before Lent** (482.19): 'Holy Easter and the people held the Sunday before Lent on 4th February' Th, cf GM; cf 'the beginning of Lent. Some had begun to fast two weeks previously, others a week after. In the imperial city the emperor and the nobles, who had returned a week after the fast had begun, decided that the fast should not start until the following week. The emperor ordered the butchers to sell meat but they did not wish to slaughter the sheep and cattle and, apart from a few gluttons, the people considered this meat carrion. Some threw chalk and dust over it and spoilt it to prevent it being sold. The emperor compelled the butchers to slaughter more beasts and paid them out of the public treasury' MS.

**ate** (483.1): 'bought or ate' Th, GM.

**Holy** (483.1; see Bury, 1897, 230): om Bo.



celebrated as the emperor had wanted.

AD547 97. In the month of February of the 10th indiction the bishop of Rome, Vigilius, arrived in Constantinople.

In that year Rome was captured by the Goths.

98. In that year Menas, the patriarch of Constantinople, was deposed by the pope of Rome on certain charges under canon law.

99. In that indiction, while the City's Anniversary was being celebrated in Byzantion and Thomas was city prefect, a riot occurred between both factions. The emperor saw what had happened and gave orders to the *excubitores*, who set upon the mob. Some were suffocated as they fled and others were slaughtered.

100. In that indiction Menas, the archbishop of Constantinople, was

wanted (483.2): Th adds 'and the people continued fasting for an extra week', cf GM.

97. Bo 483.3-5; Th 225.12-13 (AD546/7).

In the month of February...the Goths (483.3-5): cf Th which reverses these sentences.

98. Bo 483.6-8; Th 225.13-28 (AD546/7).

In that year...canon law (483.6-8): Th collects several references to the pope's quarrels in Constantinople into one passage (see Stein, 1949, 641, note 2 and 652, note 1) which seems to be an inefficient summary of entries in the original Malalas, corresponding to paras 98, 100 and 111, while para 107 is directly reflected in Th 227.2-4. Ba does not read as a consistent narrative and both Ba and Th are difficult to reconcile with facts known from other sources; it is best to regard both as poor summaries, on different principles, of a longer original Malalas, parts of which can also be glimpsed in TF (see para 111). Th's passage is translated as a whole here (and will be referred to in paras 100 and 111): 'Pope Vigilius arrived in Constantinople and after being received with great honour by the emperor, he promised to unite the catholic church and to anathematize the Three Chapters. He was so greatly honoured by the emperor that he became puffed up and excommunicated Menas, bishop of Constantinople, for four months by way of penance. Menas replied by imposing the same penance on Vigilius. The emperor, angry with Vigilius because of the penance and the delay in fulfilling his promises about uniting the church, despatched men to arrest him. Vigilius, fearing the emperor's wrath, sought refuge in the sanctuary of Sergius the martyr in the monastery of Hormisdas. As he was being dragged from there, he clung on to the columns supporting the altar and brought them down, for he was a large, heavy man. The emperor repented and received pope Vigilius, who in turn, at the request of the Augusta Theodora, received Menas, the patriarch of Constantinople, on 29th June, the day of the Holy Apostles'.

99. Bo 483.9-13; Th 225.29-226.2 (AD546/7).

In that indiction...celebrated (483.9): 'In the same year on 11th May, on the Saturday of Holy Pentecost, while the City's Birthday chariot-races were taking place' Th.

*excubitores* (483.11): '*excubitores* and armed soldiers' Th.

slaughtered (483.13): Th adds 'and there was a heavy death toll'.

100. Bo 483.14-16; cf Th 225.25-28.

installed in his see. He went off to the monastery of the Holy Apostles in Periteichisma.

101. In that year, while a *comes* nicknamed Dipundiaristes was *praetor*, those who had been implicated in the murder of the bishop of Kyzikos, Andreas and John nicknamed Dandax, were tried in public. After the trial the two had their right hands cut off.

102. In that year continual earthquakes occurred.

103. In the month of June in that indiction there occurred the most AD547 tremendous thunder (484) and lightning, so that people were injured by the lightning even in their sleep. During these terrors part of the column on Xerolophos was stripped off.

104. On the 28th of this month of the 10th indiction the Augusta Theodora died.

105. In the month of July, after fighting had occurred between both factions, a fire broke out in the building known as the House of Pardos. Many places were burnt and many murders were committed.

106. In the 13th indiction an Indian ambassador was sent to AD549/50 Constantinople with an elephant.

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In that indiction...Periteichisma (483.14-16): 'Vigilius, at the request of the Augusta Theodora, received Menas, the patriarch of Constantinople, on 29th June, the day of the Holy Apostles' Th (as in para 98). Ba is unsatisfactory (see Festugière, 1979, 237,) and can only be translated as in the text (see Janin, 1953, 55). In-view of the passage in Th from a similar stage in the story, however, the reference to the Holy Apostles could merely reflect a date, with the sense of the rest of Ba's sentence irrecoverable.

101. Bo 483.17-20.

102. Bo 483.21; Th 226.4-7 (AD547/8), Ke 658.8.

continual earthquakes occurred (483.21): Th adds 'and heavy rain and likewise a great earthquake in the month of February, when everyone despaired and became very frightened, and held processions of supplication and begged God to be saved from the impending dangers'.

103. Bo 483.22-484.3; Th 226.11-15(AD548/9), Ke 658.10-11, GM 641.17-19. people (484.1): 'many people' Th, Ke.

During these terrors...stripped off (484.2-3): 'On St John's day the thunder and lightning was so terrible that part of the column of the Xerolophos was sliced off, as was the column's carved capital' Th.

104. Bo 484.4-5; Th 226.8-9 (AD547/8), Eccl Hist 113.8-9, Ke 658.9.

10th (484.4): '11th' Th, Eccl Hist.

died (484.4): 'died in piety' Th, Ke.

105. Bo 484.6-8; TF IV. 22-23, Th 226.15-22 (AD548/9), Ke 658.11-17.

were burnt (484.8): Th adds 'that is, from the bronze *tetrapylon* as far as the district known as Eleusia'.

were committed (484.8): Th adds 'During the procession at the Hebdomon, the *vestitores* lost the crown of the emperor'; TF, beginning at this point (see Patzig, 1891/2, 6) adds 'our lord Justinian; it was found eight months later by the *praetor*, the *comes* known as Diapoundaristes; one pearl and all the remaining jewels were safely recovered', cf Th.

106. Bo 484.9-10; TF IV.23, Th 226.33-227.2 (AD549/50), Ke 658.18-19.

In the 13th indiction...elephant (484.9-10): 'In the month of October, in the 13th indiction, while the chariot races were being held, an elephant and an Indian ambassador entered the hippodrome' TF, cf Th, Ke.

107. In that year there was erased from the holy diptychs the name of Menas, the archbishop, and the name of Vigilus, the pope of Rome.

AD550 108. In the month of April a faction riot occurred in the hippodrome when no races were being held. There were many deaths on both sides.

109. On 28th June in that indiction there occurred the dedication of the Holy Apostles and the deposition of the precious relics of Andrew, Luke and Timothy in Constantinople. The bishop Menas rode with the holy remains, seated in an imperial carriage.

110. In that year Narses, the *cubicularius*, was sent (485) to Rome to fight against the Goths, because after Belisarios had taken Rome it was retaken by the Goths.

111. On 26th June in that indiction the bishop of Rome, Vigilus, was received by the emperor. He had incurred the emperor's anger and

107. Bo 484.11-13; TF IV.23, Th 227.2-6 (AD549/50), Ke 658.19-20.

In that year (484.11): 'In the month of January, in the 13th indiction' TF, cf Th.

the pope of Rome (484.13): 'the archbishop of Rome was pronounced first' TF, cf Th. TF adds 'In the month of March, in the 13th indiction, the elephant escaped from its stable at night and killed and maimed many people', cf Th, Ke.

108. Bo 484.14-16; TF IV.24, Th 227.6-10 (AD549/50), Ke 658.20-22.

In the month of April (484.14): 'On 16th April in the 13th indiction' TF, cf Th.

a faction riot (484.14): 'a clash between the Greens and Blues at dusk' TF, cf Th.

both sides (484.15): TF adds (sentence obscured by lacuna) 'and some (received) painful wounds from the partisans'. TF continues 'But the partisans got into the workshops and made off with whatever they could find. John surnamed Kokkorobios was city prefect at the time', cf Th, Ke; see Maricq, 1950, 410, note 1. TF continues 'In the battle a young man was killed, Pamphemos from the neighbourhood known as Dagistheos' (reading τῶν Δαγισθέου ὀνόματι for τῶνδ' Ἁγιοθέου ὀνομάτων).

109. Bo 484.17-21; TF IV.24-5, Th 227.10-15 (AD549/50), Eccl Hist 113.10-14, Ke 658.22-659.3, MS 9.33(269-70).

28th June (484.17): 'Tuesday 28th June' TF, Th.

indiction (484.17): TF adds 'in the 9th year after the consulship of Basilios'.

Timothy (484.19): TF adds 'in the house of the Holy Apostles'.

imperial carriage (484.21): TF adds 'holding the three caskets with the holy relics on his knees', cf Th; TF continues 'and another imperial carriage was led without a driver (reading ἀδέσποτον see Sophocles, *ad loc.*, from Eccl Hist ἀδέσποτου in place of ὃ δὴ τοῦτον) in front of the holy relics and the archbishop Menas', cf Eccl Hist.

110. Bo 484.22-485.3; TF IV.26, Th 227.17-20 (AD550/1), Ke 659.4-6. Cf Bo 480.8-15, para 88.

In that year (484.22): 'In the month of April in the 13th ('14th' Th) indiction' TF, Th.

against the Goths (485.1): TF adds 'who were holding Rome', cf Th.

Belisarios (485.2): TF adds two illegible words.

111. Bo 485.4-7; TF IV.26-27, Th 225.21-25 (AD546/7).

had taken sanctuary at St Sergius' in the district known as Hormisdas.

112. In the 14th indiction a severe and tremendous earthquake occurred throughout the land of Palestine, in Arabia and in the land of Mesopotamia, Antiochia, Phoenice Maritima and Phoenice Libanensis. In this terror the following cities suffered: Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Tripolis, Byblos, Botrys and parts of other cities. Large numbers of people were trapped in them. In the city of Botrys part of the mountain called Lithoprosopon, which is close to the sea, was broken off and fell into the sea. It made a harbour, so that very large ships were able to anchor in the harbour formed by the ruptured mountain. This city had not had a harbour in the past. The emperor sent money to all the provinces and restored parts of these cities. At the time of the earthquake the sea retreated out to the deep for a mile and many ships were destroyed. At God's command the sea was restored again to its original bed. AD550/1

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by the emperor...Hormisdas (485.5-7): 'by our pious lord, because he had broken off relations with him and taken refuge in St Sergius in the district called Hormisdas' TF, cf Th. TF continues 'Our pious lord sent the *praetor*, the *comes* known as Diapoundaristes, and a serious disturbance occurred. Pope Vigilius went to the holy sanctuary, and the *comes* grasped him by the beard to remove him from there. The bishop held on to the column of the holy altar and the holy altar fell to the ground. Later the pope went to the city of Chalkedon...pope Vigilius...by (?) our most pious lord', cf Th in para 97. 112.Bo 485.8-23; TF IV.27-28, Th 227.21-228.4 (AD550/1), Ke 659.6-15, GM 642.2-7, JE 241.17-31, PsD 868 (AD556/7), 870 (AD558/9), MS 9.29 (247).

In the 14th indiction (485.8): 'In this year in the reign of our most pious lord, on the 6th day of the month of July, in the 14th indiction' TF.

throughout the land of Palestine, in Arabia (485.9): 'in the whole area of the East - I mean, in Arabia, the whole of Palestine' TF.

Phoenice Maritima...in them (485.10-14): 'Many cities collapsed in the area of Phoenice Maritima - that is, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Tripolis, Byblos, Botrys and other cities, and certain (reading  $\varphi\alpha\nu\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$  for  $\varphi\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\ \rho\acute{\alpha}$ ) of their surrounding areas also fell. Large numbers of men and animals were swallowed up in these cities' TF.

to anchor in the harbour (485.17): at this point TF IV ends.

and restored parts of the cities (485.19-20): 'for restoring what had fallen in these cities' Th.

At the time of the earthquake...original bed (485.20-23): JE gives the following narrative which, despite its emotional overtones, presumably reflects the original Malalas, 'The sea also along the whole Phoenician coast retreated and went back nearly two miles. But we have decided to report for posterity a terrible disaster and a great and remarkable portent which happened in the city of Beirut in Phoenicia during the earthquake which destroyed the cities. For in the terrible confusion, when the sea at God's will had retreated and withdrawn from Beirut and the other coastal cities of Phoenicia for a distance of nearly two miles, the dreadful depths of the sea became visible. Suddenly, wonderful, varied and amazing sights could be seen - sunken ships full of different cargoes, and other things too when the waters had retreated

AD551

113. (486) In the month of September of the 15th indiction there occurred the dedication of St Eirene which is across the Golden Horn in Justinianai. The holy relics left the Great Church with the

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from the land. Some ships which were moored in the harbours settled on the sea-bottom since at God's command they had been left high and dry as the water flowed away. Therefore men, moved by that disaster and led to grief and penitence by the brutal spectacle of wrath, would have felt contempt not only for the impious world but also for their own lives, had their hearts not been hardened like Pharaoh's - not by God as was written about him but by the devil. For the inhabitants of the cities and towns on the coast immediately rushed into the sea on a bold and determined impulse, to steal with wicked avarice the huge overturned treasures which were at the bottom of the sea - an impulse which cost them their lives. Therefore when many thousands of people, rushing into the depths of the sea on a deadly impulse, had begun to take the treasures and remove them quickly and others, seeing them laden with deadly wealth, had rushed up with great enthusiasm so as not to be deprived of the hidden treasures which had suddenly been revealed by the earthquake, when some of them had rushed down to the bottom others were hastening above, others were trying their utmost in the middle, and all were rushing around in confusion, then a tremendous surge of the sea, rushing up unobserved to return to its original depth, overwhelmed and consumed in the depths of its eddying waters all those wretched people who had rushed to find wealth from the bottom of the sea and, like Pharaoh, they went down to the depths and were drowned, as it is written, like stones, and God rolled the waters of the sea over them, as the flood burst forth and flowed back to its former abundance. Those who had lingered on the edge of the shore in these places, and were now hurrying to go down, those who were closest to the land, fled to the shore when they saw the deep sea rushing back to its former position. But after they had escaped, as if from hunters, a violent earthquake took place which overturned houses in the cities, especially Beirut. The houses as they fell crushed those who had escaped from the sea, and so nobody survived. For with the sea rising up against them from behind and the earthquake bringing down the city in front of them because of their evil greed, they were caught between two disasters. This happened to them in accordance with the priestly saying, "though saved from the sea Justice would not let them live". Therefore those who had sought wealth were delivered up to total destruction and lost their lives, and their bodies were found floating on the waves like rubbish. Then in the rubble of the destroyed city, at God's command, fire broke out and for almost two months the flames burned and flared up among the ruins, till even the stones were burnt and turned to lime. Then the Lord sent down rain from heaven for three days and nights, and so the fire burning in the city of Beirut was put out. Any who had been saved from the sea's return and the collapse of the city, lay in the city wounded and injured and consumed by thirst, since the city's aqueduct had been destroyed. When this report was received the emperor Justinian sent gold through several noblemen, who removed and carried out innumerable human bodies and restored the city to some extent', cf MS.

113. Bo 486.1-7; Th 228.6-13 (AD551/2), Eccl Hist 113.15-19.  
in Justinianai (486.2): 'at Sykai' Th, Eccl Hist.

two patriarchs, I mean Menas, the patriarch of Constantinople, and Apollinarios, the pope of Alexandria. They both sat in the imperial carriage, holding the precious relics on their knees.

114. In that year the harbour near the palace of the Secundianai was emptied and dredged.

115. In the month of August of the 15th indiction Menas, the archbishop of Constantinople, died. While his body lay in the holy sanctuary of the Great Church, Eutychios, the *apokrisiarios* of Amaseia, became patriarch.

116. In that month there came from Rome news of victory from Narses, the *cubicularius* and exarch of the Romans. He had fought a battle with Totila, king of the Goths, and had completely defeated him and killed him. His bloodstained clothes were sent to Constantinople.

117. In the month of March of the 1st indiction there occurred a debasement of the coinage. There was a riot and uproar among the poor and it was reported to the emperor. He ordered that the standard of the coinage should continue according to the old practice. AD553

118. In the month of August of the 2nd indiction there (487) AD554 occurred a tremendous earthquake and many houses, baths and churches suffered and also parts of the walls at Byzantion. During this shock

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knees (486.6): Th adds 'They went as far as Perama, then crossed over and the emperor met them. They then inaugurated the church of the holy martyr Eirene'.

114. Bo 486.8-9; Th 228.13-14 (AD551/2).

near the palace of the Secundianai (486.9): cf 'of the Hebdomon' Th.

115. Bo 486.10-13; Th 228.14-18 (AD551/2), Eccl Hist 113.19-23.

While his body...patriarch (486.11-13): 'Eutychios, the *apokrisiarios* of Amaseia, a monk and presbyter of the monastery at Amaseia, replaced him on the same day, while Menas' body was still lying in the sanctuary' Th, Eccl Hist.

116. Bo 486.14-18; Th 228.18-24 (AD551/2), Ke 659.15-17.

completely defeated him (486.16-17): Th adds 'and captured Rome', cf Ke.

His bloodstained clothes...Constantinople (486.17-18): 'He sent back to Constantinople his bloodstained garments and jewelled cap. These were thrown at the emperor's feet during the *secretum*' Th.

117. Bo 486.19-22.

118. Bo 486.23-487.9; Th 222.25-30 (AD541/2) (=Th a), 229.5-10 (AD553/4)

(=Th b), 229.29-230.3 (AD554/5) (=Th c), Gr Chron 8, Eccl Hist 113.

25-30, GM 642.8-11, Schreiner I 10, JE 241.1-16, PsD 862 (AD550/1),

MS 9.29 (245-6). Th b certainly reflects Ba here; Th a has strong

similarities to Ba in the list of destroyed buildings and the fallen

spear and to Th b in the same list and in reference to the Golden Gate;

Stein, 1949, 828 suggests that the doublet may derive from Malalas; we,

however, have consolidated all the references into one.

In the month of August of the 2nd indiction (486.23): 'On 15th August of

the 2nd indiction, in the middle of the night, as Sunday was dawning'

Th b, cf JE; cf 'On 16th August of the 5th indiction' Th a, Eccl Hist.

tremendous earthquake (487.1): Th a, GM, Schreiner, Gr Chron, Eccl Hist add 'at Constantinople'.

parts of the walls at Byzantion (487.2): 'the wall, especially the part near the Golden Gate' Th a, Th b, JE, Schreiner, Gr Chron, Eccl Hist.

the spear, which the statue in the Forum of Constantine was holding, fell and drove itself into the ground to a depth of three cubits. Many were trapped in the rubble. During this shock other cities suffered, amongst them Nikomedeia, part of which collapsed. Days later people were brought up alive out of the rubble at Nikomedeia. This earthquake lasted 40 days.

AD556

119. In the month of July of the 4th indiction the Samaritans and Jews at Caesarea in Palestine rioted. After uniting together like faction members they attacked the Christians of the city and killed many of them. They attacked and plundered the churches. When the governor of the city went out to help the Christians, the Samaritans attacked and killed him in the praetorium and looted all his possessions. The wife of the governor Stephanos went to Constantinople and approached the emperor. On hearing what had been done by the Samaritans, he was incensed and ordered Amantios, the governor of the East at that time, to investigate the events, including the murder of Stephanos. After receiving imperial messages and going off to Caesarea, Amantios searched for and found those who had committed the murders. He hanged some, (488) beheaded others or cut off their right hands, and

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**three cubits** (487.4-5): Th a, Schreiner, Gr Chron, Eccl Hist add 'the right hand of the statue of the Xerolophos also fell'.

**Many were trapped in the rubble** (487.5): cf 'Many died, and there was great fear' Th a, Schreiner, Gr Chron, Eccl Hist.

**Nikomedeia, part of which collapsed** (487.6-7) cf Th b: 'Nikomedeia, metropolis of Bithynia, which was completely overthrown and destroyed.

**people...Nikomedeia** (487.7-8): JE adds 'some of these came out untouched, others with injuries'.

**40 days** (487.9): JE adds 'during which the pity of merciful God intervened to summon mankind to the amendment of their lives'; Th b continues, cf JE, 'For a while men were overcome by contrition, went on litanies and frequented churches, but after God's mercy had returned, they lapsed again into worse habits'; JE continues, cf Th b, 'The commemoration of the earthquakes takes place in the great, very wide Campus, seven miles from Constantinople. On the very days on which they occurred, each year, almost the whole city goes out there and carries out many religious ceremonies ('performs a litany' Th b)'. Less certainly Th c also is derived from Malalas, 'In this year, on 11th July of the 3rd indiction, at the commemoration of St Euphemia and the Definition, there was a great earthquake. On the 19th of the same month there was terrible thunder and lightning and a violent south-west wind, as a result of which the cross that stood inside the Rhesion gate fell down'.

119. Bo 487.10-488.3; De insid 48 (173.13-29), Th 230.5-15 (AD555/6), PsD 863 (AD551/2), MS 9.31 (262).

**4th indiction** (487.10) Th: on false dates implied by other witnesses, see Stein, 1949, 374, note 2.

**faction members** (487.12): 'a Green-Blue faction' Th, De insid.

**the churches** (487.14): 'the churches of the Orthodox' De insid.

**the governor of the city** (487.14): 'Stephanos, the pro-consul, surnamed Syros' De insid, cf 'Stephanos the city prefect' Th.

**governor of the East at that time** (487.21): '*magister militum per Orientem* at that time, connected with Zemarchos' De insid.

confiscated others' property. There was great fear in the city of Caesarea and the eastern regions.

120. In the month of December in that indiction people died of the plague in various cities.

121. In the month of May of that indiction there occurred a shortage of bread in Constantinople and people were hard pressed for a time. They chanted against the emperor during the City's Anniversary when a Persian ambassador was watching the races with the emperor. The emperor was angry and gave orders to Mousonios, who was city prefect. Some of the prominent members of the Blue faction were arrested and punished. This shortage of bread lasted for three months. A few days later there occurred tremendous thunder and lightning in various cities with the result that many people were injured.

122. In the month of November of the 5th indiction fire appeared in the sky shaped like a spear, extending from the eastern regions to the western. AD556

123. In the month of April in that indiction occurred a tremendous earthquake that caused no damage. AD557

124. In the month of December of the 6th indiction another most tremendous earthquake occurred at midnight. The two walls of Constantinople suffered, both the old one which had been put up by AD557

120. Bo 488.4-5; Th 230.15-17 (AD555/6).  
cities (488.5): Th adds 'especially children'.

121. Bo 488.6-14; Th 230.17-27 (AD555/6).

against the emperor (488.8): Th adds "'Lord, provisions for the city". They cursed the city prefect'; see Rochow, 1983, 470 for Th's additions to this paragraph.

Persian ambassador (488.9): 'Persian ambassadors' Th.

punished (488.11): Th adds 'for they had vexed the emperor because the faction members had shouted against him in the presence of the Persian ambassador'.

The shortage...three months (488.12-13): 'There was plenty of wine and salted meat and everything else, but a shortage of corn and barley' Th.

A few days later (488.13): 'On Thursday 13th July' Th.

injured (488.14): Th adds 'There was heavy rain, so that after the long drought the land was sated'.

122. Bo 488.15-17; Th 230.30-231.1 (AD556/7), GM 642.11-12, PsD 885 (AD573/4).

In the month of November (488.15): Before this Th adds, possibly not from Malalas, 'In this year on 6th November, on the Commemoration of the Dust, there died Timothy, the exarch of the monasteries and abbot of the monastery of Dalmatos. Anthimos, an anchorite of the same monastery, replaced him' Th.

eastern regions (488.16): 'north' Th, GM.

123. Bo 488.18-19; Th 231.1-2 (AD556/7).

In the month...indiction (488.18): 'On Monday 16th April' Th.

124. Bo 488.20-489.10; Th 231.13-232.6 (AD567/8), Eccl Hist 113.31-114.9, GM 642.12-22, PsD 879 (AD567/8).

In the month...indiction (488.20): 'In this year, on Friday 19th October of the 6th indiction, there was a great earthquake just as Saturday was dawning. On 14th December' Th, cf Eccl Hist.



Constantine and (489) the one built by Theodosius, and parts of churches collapsed, especially those on the far side of Hebdomon. The column which was in the Secundianai was brought down, together with its statue. A very large part of the Rhegion collapsed. Many people were killed in the falling buildings. Days later some of those who had been trapped in the rubble were rescued alive. In this shock many places in outlying cities also collapsed. This tremendous threat lasted for ten days. For a time people were conscience-stricken and continued to offer prayers and supplications in the church. The emperor Justinian did not wear a diadem for 30 days.

125. In that year an outlandish tribe of Huns, known as the Avars, came to Constantinople.

126. In those days the bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia died in Byzantium. Theokritos became bishop in his place.

AD558

127. In the month of February of the 6th indiction deaths occurred in Constantinople from bubonic plague. During this terror the guilds all made silver biers. This tremendous threat from God lasted for six

**Hebdomon (489.2):** Th, cf Eccl Hist, adds 'and St Samuel, the Holy Mother of God at Petalas and St Vikentios (Eccl Hist adds 'in the Campus') and many church altars and *kibouria* from the Golden Gate as far as the Rhesion. There was no place or suburban estate which did not suffer damage from the terrible threat of the earthquake. Rhegion suffered so badly that it was unrecognizable (= 489.3-4). The churches of Saints Stratonikos and Kallinikos, both in Rhegion, collapsed to the ground'.

**The column...statue (489.3):** cf Th, PsD, 'The porphyry column, which stood in front of the palace of Jucundianai, with the statue on top of it, collapsed and was driven eight feet into the ground'; Th adds 'The statue of the emperor Arcadius, which stood to the left of the arch of the Forum Tauri, also fell'.

**Days later (489.5):** 'even two or three days after' Th.

**cities also collapsed (489.6):** Th adds 'No man on earth in that generation could remember so great and terrible an earthquake'.

**This tremendous threat...days (489.7-8):** 'The earth continued to shake night and day through God's benevolence for ten days' Th, cf GM, PsD.

**the church (489.9):** Th adds 'But after experiencing God's benevolence they lapsed again into worse habits'.

**30 days (489.10):** '40 days' Th and adds 'and even on holy Christmas Day ('and at the Theophany' adds Eccl Hist) processed to church without it. As a result he stopped the customary Banquet of the Nineteen Couches ('of the Twelve Days' GM) and gave the expense set aside for this to the poor'; cf Eccl Hist, GM.

125. Bo 489.11-12; Th 232.6-14 (AD557/8), Eccl Hist 114.10-13.

**Constantinople (489.11):** Th adds 'Everyone thronged to gaze at them as they had never before seen such a people. They wore their hair very long at the back, tied with ribbons and plaited. The rest of their clothing was like that of the other Huns. They had come as fugitives from their own country to Scythia and Moesia and sent envoys to Justinian, asking to be admitted'; cf Eccl Hist.

126. Bo 489.13-14.

127. Bo 489.15-18; Th 232.13-16 (AD557/8), GM 642.22-643.3.

**bubonic plague...silver biers (489.16-17):** 'bubonic plague, particularly

months.

128. In that year the dome of the Great Church was being restored, for it had cracked in several places (490) because of the shocks that had occurred through God's benevolence. As the Isaurians were working, suddenly the eastern part of the supporting dome fell and crushed the *kibourion*, together with the holy altar. The remaining part that had stayed in place was also brought down, as was the vault itself. The dome was rebuilt 20 feet higher.

129. In the month of March of the 7th indiction the Huns and the Slavs made an attack on Thrace. They killed many in battle and took some captives, including the *magister militum* Sergius, the son of Bacchus, and Edermas, *major domo* of Kalopodios, making them prisoners. They found parts of the wall of Constantinople had collapsed and, entering there, they raided as far as St Stratonikos. *Everyone fled with their possessions into the city. On being informed of this, the emperor conscripted many and sent them to the Long Wall. They engaged the enemy there and many Romans, especially scholarii, were killed. Then the emperor ordered that the silver kibouria and silver altar tables that were outside the city be removed while the scholae, the protectores, the numeri and the whole senate guarded all the gates*

AD559

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among the young, so that the living were too few to bury the dead' Th. six months (489.18): 'from February to July' Th.

128. Bo 489.19-490.5; Th 232.27-233.3 (AD558/9), Eccl Hist 114.14-22, Gr Chron 11.

In that year (489.19): 'In this year, on Tuesday 7th May, at the fifth hour' Th, cf Eccl Hist.

supporting dome (490.2): Th, Eccl Hist, cf Gr Chron, add 'of the holy sanctuary'; see Mango, 1966, 364-65.

The remaining part...higher (490.3-5): 'The engineers were blamed because, to avoid expense, they had not secured the suspension from beneath but had bored through the piers that supported the dome, for which reason these had not held. Realizing this, the most pious emperor erected new piers to hold the dome, which was built in such a way that it was raised twenty feet higher than the first building' Th, cf Eccl Hist.

129. Bo 490.6-12 up to italics, thereafter Th 233.11-234.12 (AD558/9); Th 233.4-11 (for passage with Bo base text), Ke 677.20-678.14, cf MS 9.33 (269). We have filled the lacuna in Ba to para 133 from Theophanes, who at this point has been using Malalas as his main source. We do not presume that Theophanes gives more than a rough approximation of Malalas' wording and so have marked the change with italics.

the Huns and the Slavs (490.6-7): Th adds 'in great numbers'.

Bacchus (490.8): 'the elder Bacchus' Th (perhaps 'the presbyter Bacchus').

*major domo* (490.9): cf 'general' Th, Ke; see PLRE III, sv Edermas.

Kalopodios (490.9): Th adds 'the most glorious *cubicularius* and *praepositus*'.

the wall of Constantinople (490.10): 'the Anastasian wall' Th, Ke.

had collapsed (490.11): Th adds 'from the earthquakes'.

as far as St Stratonikos (490.12): 'as far as Drypia, Nymphai and the village of Chiton' Th; at this point Ba breaks off.

of the Theodosian wall. When the emperor saw that the barbarians were staying put, he ordered the patrician Belisarios to march out against them with some other members of the senate. Belisarios took every horse, including those of the emperor, of the hippodrome, of religious establishments and from every ordinary man who had a horse. He armed his troops and led them out to the village of Chiton. He made an entrenched camp and began to capture some of the enemy and kill them. Next he ordered trees to be cut and dragged behind the army. The wind blew up a cloud of dust, which drifted over the barbarians. They, thinking that an enormous force was there, fled and went to the district of St Stratonikos at Dekaton. When they learned from scouts that a great garrison force was at the walls of Constantinople, they went to the region of Tzouroulon, Arkadioupolis and St Alexander of Zoupara and remained encamped there until holy Easter. After the feast of Easter, the emperor went out to Selymbria and everyone from the city went with him to rebuild the Long Wall where the barbarians had entered. The emperor remained there until August. Likewise the barbarians wandered about outside the city until August. Then the emperor ordered double-prowed ships to be built to go to the Danube and oppose the barbarians as they crossed and make war on them. When the barbarians discovered this, they asked through an envoy to be allowed to cross the Danube safely. The emperor sent Justin, his nephew, the curopalates, to conduct them.

130. In this year the emperor began to build the bridge over the river Sangarios. After diverting the river into another bed, he built five imposing arches and so made the river crossable, where previously there had only been a wooden bridge.

131. In this year, on Thursday, 9th September of the 9th indiction, a rumour arose in Constantinople that the emperor had died. For he had returned from Thrace but did not receive anyone. So the people suddenly seized the bread from the bread shops and bakeries, and at about the third hour no bread could be found in the whole city. There was also a downpour of rain that day. The shops were closed and the common talk at the palace was that the emperor had not granted an audience to any senator because he had a headache. For this reason it was believed that he had died. About the ninth hour the senate called a meeting and sent the prefect to have lights lit throughout the city to show that the emperor was well. In this way (235) the city was calmed after the disturbance. After the emperor had recovered, the ex-prefect Eugenios accused George, the curator of the palace of Marina, and Aitherios, curator of the palace of Antiochos, of having intended to make Theodore, son of Peter the magister, emperor, with whom Gerontios, the city prefect, was in accord. When the matter had been investigated and disproved, Eugenios came under displeasure, and his house was confiscated. He sought refuge in the church and was saved.

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130. Th 234.15-18 (AD559/60); LG 323.20-22 (130.13-15), Ke 678.15-18, Sk 100.18-19.

*Sangarios* (234.16): Ke adds 'that called the five-fold bridge'.

*Wooden bridge* (234.18): Ke, LG, cf Sk, add (perhaps from another source) 'He also built the church of the all holy Mother of God at the Spring'.

131. Th 234.20-235.15 (AD560/1); Ke 678.19-679.4.

In December there was a large fire in Julian's harbour, and many houses were burned as well as churches from the edge of the harbour as far as the quarter of Probus. There was also a big plague at Anazarbos and elsewhere in Cilicia and in Antioch the Great, as well as earthquakes. The orthodox and the supporters of Severus clashed with one another and there were many murders. The emperor dispatched Zemarchos, the comes Orientis, who checked the trouble makers, many of whom were punished by exile, confiscation of property and mutilation.

132. On Wednesday, 12th October of this year, in the 10th indiction, late in the evening, there was a big fire in the quarter of Kaisarios as far as Omphakera, as it is called. All the shops and portals as far as the Forum Tauri were burned. In November, during the races, before the emperor's arrival a riot among the partisans broke out. The Greens attacked the Blues. When the emperor heard, he went up to the kathisma, looked at the fighting and ordered Marinos, the comes excubitorum, with the curator of the estate of Kaisarios (236) to go down and separate the factions. They went off but were unable to disperse them. Many from both factions were killed and many others wounded. The Blues then invaded the Greens' seats, chanting, "Fire this! Fire that! No Green is to be seen here". In return the Greens chanted "Come, come, everybody, everybody!" They went to the Mese, to the residential quarters of the Blues and stoned those they encountered, chanting, "Fire, fire! No Blue is to be seen here". They invaded the residential quarters as Sunday was dawning and stole property. The emperor ordered the Greens to be arrested, and they were punished with many tortures. The Blues sought refuge in the church of the Mother of God at Blachernai. The Greens who stole out sought refuge in St Euphemia at Chalkedon. The prefect ejected them and punished them. Their wives and mothers began to shout in the churches at the emperor that he grant indulgences to the Greens. They were driven off with sticks and the emperor was not reconciled to them (the Greens) until Christmas.

In February, the emperor ordered that of the men of the seven scholae, those who were stationed at Nikomedeia, Kios, Prousa, Kyzikos, Kotyaion and Dorylaion leave and take up quarters in Thrace, i.e. in Herakleia and the surrounding cities.

In March, the scholae rose up against their comes because of some payments they used to receive which had been abolished; so they attacked him. Theodore Kondocheres, the son of Peter the magister, chanced to be there and by a threatening speech managed to appease them.

In the same year Obaisipolis was captured by the Huns. The emperor sent out his nephew Marcellus, the magister militum, with a large force to rescue both this city and Persis.

In April Anastasioupolis in Thrace was also captured (237) by the same Huns.

*edge of the harbour* (235.8-10): cf 'from the Sophiai' Ke.

132. Th 235.26-237.1 (AD561/2); cf Ke 679.5-10.

*Obaisipolis* (236.25): probably corrupt; cf de Boor who suggests 'the city of Novae'. Perhaps 'Odysso polis' (Odessa)?

*Persis* (236.27): probably corrupt; cf de Boor, who suggests 'its surroundings' (reading περιουκίδα for Περσιδα ).

133. ...the orthodox faith.

134. In the month of May Zemarchos, the ex-prefect and *curator dominicae domus Placidiae*, was dismissed. Theodoros, nicknamed the Nikomedian, was appointed in his place.

135. In that month the City's Anniversary was not celebrated in the customary way, but was held on the 13th of that month. After the close of the races, as the Greens were leaving and were coming down the colonnade of Moschianos' with an armed guard, suddenly these Greens were insulted by some people from the place known as the House of Appion. The Blue faction attacked the Greens and fighting occurred in various places. The Blues crossed over from Sykai and began to light fires and (491) to burn the warehouses along the shore. If anyone tried to put the fires out, he was shot with arrows by members of the Blue faction. They had various exchanges with the workmen there.

Those caught up in the struggle burnt the building known as the House of Andreas which was in the Neorion. Likewise they fought on the Mese. Then they set fire to the House known as that of Barsymias (he at that time was completing his term as prefect). The colonnade opposite was burnt as far as the bronze *Tetrapylon*. The fighting lasted for two days. When the *comes excubitorum* Marinus and Justin, the *gloriosissimus curopalates*, went out with a large military force, they were able with difficulty to restrain both factions.

In that year, when Gerontios was city prefect, many fires occurred in various parts of Constantinople. Members of both factions were arrested, and many were punished, while some were even beheaded. Their detention lasted for 70 days.

136. In the month of June in that indiction Hellenes were arrested and paraded around. Their books were burnt in the *kynegion*, together with pictures and statues of their loathsome gods.

In that month the synodical letter of the pope in Rome was brought.

In that month a faction fight took place in Kyzikos, (492) so that many members of both factions fell. During this fighting some of the buildings there were also destroyed.

137. In the month of August of the 10th indiction there occurred the dedication of the church of the Holy Martyr Theodora, near the

AD562

133. Bo 490.12.

the orthodox faith (490.12): the last words of a passage, the rest of which falls within the lacuna; it is impossible to suggest what its subject was.

134. Bo 490.13-15; Th 237.1-4 (AD561/2).

In the month of May (490.13): 'On 3rd May' Th.

*Placidiae* (490.14): Th adds 'was accused of making many terrible statements against the emperor by George, *curator* of the palace of Marina, and by John the ex-consul, both relatives of the empress Theodora and'; see Stein, 1949, 799 and Rochow, 1983, 471.

135. Bo 490.16-491.17.

136. Bo 491.18-492.2; MS 9.33 (271).

Their books...gods (491.19-20): Details of the arrest of pagan priests in MS may derive from Malalas, but there is little similarity of wording; for the dating of this and neighbouring events, see Stein, 1949, 799-800.

137. Bo 492.3-6.

bridge. At the emperor's command the money dealers put on a display with lavish illuminations.

138. In the month of October of the 11th indiction a faction struggle was caused by the Blues in Byzantion. Fighting took place between them in the place nicknamed Pittakia; swords were drawn and Klerikos, the son of John the *commentariensis*, nicknamed Gylos, lost a hand while fighting. AD562

139. In the month of November a severe drought occurred in Constantinople so that many fights occurred at the cisterns. North winds blew frequently. From the beginning of the month of August the south wind had not blown and the third convoy of ships did not arrive, so that the patriarch Eutychios ordered processions of prayers to Jerusalem.

140. In that month news of victory came from the patrician Narses at Rome, to the effect that he had captured some strong cities of the Goths, that is, Verona and Brescia. He sent the keys of these cities with the spoils.

141. (493) In the month of November of the 11th indiction certain persons devised a plot against the emperor Justinian, to kill him as he was sitting in the palace. Those who had devised the plot for the evening attack were Ablabios, son of Meltiades, Markellos the money dealer and Sergius, the nephew of the *curator* Aitherios. Their plan was the following, that as the emperor was sitting in the *triclinium* in the evening they should go in and murder him. They had stationed their own men in various places so that they could create a disturbance when the AD562

138. Bo 492.7-10; Th 237.6-7 (AD562/3), Ke 679.11-12.  
while fighting (492.10): Th adds 'and the emperor punished a great many'.

139. Bo 492.11-16; Th 237.7-12 (AD562/3), cf Ke 679.12-13.  
drought occurred (492.11): Th adds 'and water became scarce'.  
Jerusalem (492.16): Th adds 'that is, to St Diomedes'.

140. Bo 492.17-20; Th 237.13-15 (AD562/3), Ke 679.13-15.  
some (492.18): 'two' Th.

Verona and Brescia (492.19): written as 'Veroia and Vrinkas' Ba, Th, Ke.  
141. Bo 493.1-495.5; Th 237.15-238.18 (AD562/3), De insid 49 (173.30-175.18).

In the month of November (493.1): 'In the same month (November), on Saturday 25th, in the evening' Th, cf 'On Saturday at the second lamp' De insid; see Rochow, 1983, 471.

Ablabios, son of Meltiades (493.14): 'Ablabios, from the household of Meltiades, the *melistes*' De insid, cf 'Ablabios, the *ex-melistes*' Th; see Cameron, 1978, 91-2 and note 19.

Markellos, the money dealer (493.7): De insid adds 'from Cilicia who had his workshop near St Eirene the Old and the New, who was from the household of Aitherios the *curator*'; Patzig, 1890/1, 16 suggests that this may be an insertion by De insid, without convincing reasons.

in the *triclinium* (493.8): Th, De insid add 'before the formal dismissal'; see Patzig, 1890/1, 16 and Rochow, 1983, 471.

in various places (493.8): 'at the Arma, the office of the *silentarius*, the Indoi and the Archangelos' De insid, cf Th; see Patzig, 1890/1, 16 and Rochow, 1983, 471.

plot had been carried out. Ablabios had taken money from Markellos, about 50 *litrai* of gold, to join in the attempt. However, through God's good grace, one of those who had devised the plot, Ablabios, son of Meltiades, confided the plan to Eusebios, the *comes foederatorum*, and John, son of Dometiolos; he said, "In the evening we intend to attack the pious emperor while he is seated in the *triclinium*". When the plot had been revealed, Markellos the money dealer was found, on the evening on which he was going to carry out what the plotters had planned, entering the palace carrying a dagger. Likewise Ablabios, who had disclosed the plot, was found with a sword. The plot had been discovered in advance; Markellos was arrested and, having failed in his aim, he drew the dagger which he was wearing and inflicted three wounds on himself, and so died. Sergius, the nephew of Aitherios, (494) sought sanctuary in Our Lady Mother of God at Blachernai. Expelled from the precincts on the grounds that he had conspired against the emperor, he was questioned. He made a deposition that Isakios the money dealer, from the household of the patrician Belisarios, also knew about the plot, as did Vitus the money dealer and Paulus, Belisarios' *suboptio*. Both were arrested and turned over to Prokopios, the city prefect. Constantine, the *questar*, Julian, the chief secretary, and Zenodoros, the *a secretis*, who took down their answers, sat with Prokopios and

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from Markellos (493.10): De insid and Th add 'the money dealer'.  
 attempt (493.11): De insid adds 'and at all costs to kill the emperor, together with Markellos and Eusebios'.  
 Eusebios (493.13): Th adds 'the ex-consul and', cf 'proconsul and' De insid; see PLRE III, sv Eusebios.  
 John, son of Dometiolos (493.14): 'John the logothete, from the household of Domentziolos' De insid; Th; see Cameron, 1978, 92.  
 When the plot (493.16): 'When the plan had been made and the plot' De insid.  
 Markellos was arrested (493.20-21): 'Markellos the money dealer was arrested in the *triclinium*' De insid, cf Th.  
 having failed in his aim (493.21): De insid, cf Th, adds 'while under arrest'.  
 he drew the dagger which he was wearing and inflicted (493.21-22) Th: cf 'he committed suicide, inflicting' De insid.  
 and so died (493.22) Th: cf De insid, which adds 'cutting his own throat'.  
 the nephew of Aitherios (493.23): De insid, cf Th, adds 'succeeded in escaping and'.  
 from the household of the patrician Belisarios (494.3): cf 'and Belisarios the most glorious patrician' Th; see Rochow, 1983, 471.  
 about the plot (494.4): De insid adds 'as Markellos had borrowed gold from him' (perhaps added by De insid; see Patzig, 1890/1, 16).  
 as did (494.4): 'and' De insid, Th.  
*suboptio* (494.5): '*optio*' De insid, cf '*curator*' Th; see Cameron, 1978, 92, note 21. De insid and Th add 'were implicated too'; see Patzig, 1890/1, 16.  
 arrested (494.6) Th: cf De insid, which adds 'and tortured'.  
 the city prefect (494.6) Th: cf De insid 'who then held the office of city prefect'.

joined in the examination. They denounced Belisarios the patrician and so he incurred the emperor's anger. Certain others of those who had been named by them fled. On 5th December the emperor had a *silentium et conventus* and ordered all office-holders to attend, including the patriarch Eutychios and certain others from the *scholae*. Receiving them in the *triclinium*, he ordered the men's depositions to be read out and the details of the plot to be revealed to all, I mean the depositions of Sergius, the nephew of Aitherios, Eusebios the money dealer, the *suboptio* Paulus and Vitus. Their depositions were read out and as a result the patrician Belisarios incurred anger. The emperor sent and removed all Belisarios' men; Belisarios did not resist in any way. The *quaestor* Constantine and the secretary Julian were suspected, (495) it is said, of having acted in the interest of Aitherios, on the grounds that Aitherios himself knew about the plot. Six days later those who had devised the plot were again questioned by the *comes excubitorum* Marinos and the *magister militum* Constantianus, and Belisarios remained under imperial anger.

142. In that month an edict was published by the emperor in various churches about the Separatists (*Diakrinomenoi*): After the union one must not speak of a single nature but acknowledge two.

143. In that indiction occurred the dedication of the most holy Great Church for the second time. Thirty feet had been added to the dome compared with the original decision, and they had also added two arches, the northern one and the southern one. On the completion of the roof reconstruction, as Eutychios the patriarch held the Holy Gospels and the crowd stood around, a psalm was sung, "Lift up your gates, you rulers, and be lifted up, you everlasting gates, and the King of Glory shall come in, etc" (*Psalms* 23.7).

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named by them (494.11) De insid, Th: 'named' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 227.

the men's depositions (494.19) Th: cf 'the depositions of all those arrested because of the plot' De insid.

and Vitus (494.18): De insid adds 'the money dealer'.

were read out (494.18): De insid adds, cf Th, 'Belisarios was implicated'.

in any way (494.21): 'but sent them all to the emperor' De insid.

and the *magister militum* (495.5): 'and the patrician and *magister militum*' De insid.

under imperial anger (495.5): De insid adds, cf Th, 'staying at his house, neither suffering confiscation nor exile but remaining in his house'; see Patzig, 1890/1, 16.

142. Bo 495.6-8; cf CP 635.9-684.15 (AD552).

In that month (495.6): This entry appears to be misplaced by Malalas; CP gives the correct context in the Fifth Oecumenical Council held in Constantinople in 553, as well as providing a full text; it is, however, unlikely that so huge a document was derived from Malalas, especially in view of this misdating.

143. Bo 495.9-16; CP 687.12-15 (AD563), Th 238.18-24(AD562/3), Eccl Hist 114.26-31.

In that indiction (495.9): Th, CP, Eccl Hist add 'on 24th December'.

Thirty feet...Glory shall come in etc" (495.11-16): 'The all-night vigil before the dedication took place at St Plato's. Eutychios, the



AD563

144. In the month of January of the 11th indiction, when the chariot-races were being held, the charioteer Julianikos was dragged along in the hippodrome and died.

145. In that month parts of Africa were captured by the Moors. Koutzines, the exarch of this tribe, was used to receiving a quantity of gold from the Romans through each successive governor, since he was the ruler of the tribe of Moors. (496) When John, nicknamed Rogathinos, came out and gave him nothing, breaking the former custom, and on the contrary, had him assassinated, Koutzines' sons revolted, to avenge their father's blood. Attacking districts in Africa, they captured some places, killing and plundering. The emperor Justinian sent his nephew Markianos, *the magister militum, to the assistance of Africa with an army to pacify the Moors. They went over to him and Africa gained peace.*

146. In April Prokopios was dismissed from the city prefecture and replaced by Andreas, the ex-logothete. As he came out of the palace through the Chalke, seated in his carriage on his way to the praetorium, the Greens met him at the palace of Lausos. They began to insult him and throw stones at him. This led to a big disturbance of the two factions in the Mese. They broke into the prisons and fighting went on from the tenth hour. The emperor sent out his nephew Justin, the curopalates, who chased them away. But they clashed again about the twelfth hour, and they were arrested and paraded publicly for many days. Those who had fought with swords had their thumbs cut off.

147. On 19th July the patrician Belisarios was received and given back all his honours. Peter the magister arrived from Persia after securing a peace treaty for 17 years as regards Lazica and the eastern regions.

In the same month envoys arrived in Constantinople from Askel, king of the Hermichiones, who dwell inland of the barbarian nation near the Ocean.

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patriarch of Constantinople, set out from there with the litany, accompanied by the emperor. Eutychios ('St Eutychios' Eccl Hist) sat in the carriage ('golden carriage' Eccl Hist) wearing apostolic dress and holding the holy Gospels, while everyone sang the psalm, "Lift up your gates, you rulers" Th, cf Eccl Hist. This appears to be another independent summary of a rather larger original.

144. Bo 495.17-18.

145. Bo 495.19-496.7 up to italics, thereafter Th 239.4-6 (AD562/3). Ba breaks off at this point. If the chronicle was completed in the remaining pages of the folio, only two pages or 70 lines have been lost. As with the lacuna between paras 129 and 133, we have attempted to indicate Malalas' subject-matter for the remainder of the chronicle by using Theophanes, but we do not presume that this gives more than a rough approximation. The two remaining excerpts from De Insid (paras 150 and 151) will, however, be genuine Malalas.

by the Moors (495.20): Th adds 'who had risen in revolt in Africa in the following manner'.

successive governor (495.21): Th adds 'of Africa'.

146.Th 239.6-17 (AD562/3).

147.Th 239.17-25 (AD562/3).

In August there was a shortage of water, so that the public baths were closed and murders occurred at the fountains.

148. In this year, in October of the 12th indiction, the emperor Justinian, in fulfilment of a vow, visited Myriangeloi, otherwise known as Germia, a city in Galatia.

In November, Arethas the patrician and phylarch of the Saracens, came to Byzantion, since he was obliged to report to the emperor which of his sons, after his death, would obtain his phylarchy, and to discuss the activities of Ambros, son of Alamoundaros, in his territory.

In December a great fire broke out, and the hospice of Sampson was completely gutted, as too were the buildings in front of the quarter of Rufus and also the central hall, near the Great Church (the one called Garsonostasion) and the two monasteries near St Eirene, along with its central hall and part of its narthex.

149. In March of this year, in the 13th indiction, Belisarios the patrician died in Byzantion, and his property accrued to the imperial house of Marina.

On 12th April of the same 13th indiction, Eutychios, patriarch of Constantinople was deposed and banished to Amaseia by Justinian. He was replaced by John, the ex-scholasticus, an apokrisiarios of Antioch the Great and presbyter of the same church.

150. In the reign of Justinian there was paraded a member of the Green faction, who was due to be castrated for raping a girl. The girl was the daughter of Akakios, the imperial *curator*. While he was being paraded, just as he was being taken through the quarter of Pittakia, members of the Blue faction attacked and seized him and took him into the Great Church. There was much disturbance over him and turmoil in the church. The emperor exercised clemency, announcing his instructions to the people through a *silentarius*. He paraded the members of the Blue faction for two days.

151. While Zemarchos was city prefect a disturbance in the quarter of Mazentiolos occurred in this way. When the prefect Zemarchos sent some of the *commentarienses* to arrest a young man named Kaisarios, the inhabitants of the quarter of Mazentiolos resisted them, and they mutilated many soldiers as well as the *commentarienses* themselves. The fighting lasted for two days, and the emperor Justinian sent even more soldiers and *excubitores*. Many of the *excubitores* and soldiers were killed, and also many of the Green faction died. They continued fighting as far as the Forum, the *Tetrapylon* and the praetorium of the city prefect. The Blue faction did not engage with the Greens, but the fighting was between them and the *excubitores* and soldiers. A clash took place in the Strategion on the same day. The ex-prefect Zemarchos, after twice discharging the office of prefect, was replaced, and in his

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148. Th 240.11-22 (AD563/4), Ke 679.19-23.

149. Th 240.24-30 (AD564/5), Ke 680.1-4.

150. De Insid 50 (175.19-28). The position of this para cannot be placed more precisely than somewhere between paras 141 (De Insid 49) and 151 (De Insid 51), but probably occurs at some point after the end of Ba (para 145).

151. De Insid 51 (175.29-176.19).

Zemarchos (175.29): written as 'Zimarchos' De Insid.

place Julian, the *ex-magister scriniorum*, became prefect. He treated the faction members, especially the Greens, harshly over a period of ten months, burning, impaling, castrating and dismembering them, for he realized that they were murderers and boldly carried out highway assaults, robberies, brigandage and piracy. He continued to keep them in order, as was necessary. So it was through the city prefect Julian that the city was restored to its former state, and everyone went about freely and without fear and were reconciled.

152. *In the same year, the emperor Justinian, after raising the doctrine of corruptibility and incorruptibility and issuing an edict to all places that was contrary to piety, with God acting in time, died on 14th November of the following 14th indiction, having reigned 38 years, 7 months and 13 days. His successor was his nephew Justin,*

Julian the *ex-magister scriniorum*...ten months (176.9-11): Zemarchos' predecessor as prefect, Addaios, was still in office at the end of January 565 (see Stein, 1949, 779 note 4), so unless Zemarchos' second prefecture was very brief indeed, Julian will have replaced him after the death of Belisarios in March. Julian was still prefect in 566. Malalas' practice would be to place this passage at the time when Julian replaced Zemarchos rather than after the lapse of 'a period of ten months'. We have accordingly placed it between the death of Belisarios and the death of Justinian. The passage proves that the chronicle went beyond the point where Ba breaks off and continued down to at least 565.

were reconciled (176.17): De Insid continues 'The end of the history of John surnamed Malelas (*sic*) concerning conspiracy'. These are the excerptor's words, not Malalas', and indicate not that the chronicle ended at this point but that this is the last item from the chronicle to be excerpted for De Insid. On the pertinence of this for the end of the chronicle see on para 152.

152.Th 240.31-241.5 (AD564/5); Eccl Hist 111.15-19, Ke 680.4-8. Cf Bo 425.2 (para 1).

38 years, 7 months and 13 days (241.3-4): Malalas' use of these same figures at the beginning of Book 18 (Bo 425.2) is the clearest evidence we have that the chronicle extended at least to the death of Justinian. Whether the Chronicle continued further has been the subject of inconclusive scholarly speculation for a long time and our group also has not been able to reach unanimity. The evidence of De insid seems to support an end at AD 565. De insid closes the excerpts on insurrections in Malalas (see para 151) at a point just before the death of Justinian. Up to that point the selection of relevant material has been fairly complete (though not absolutely so; note, eg, the absence of the conspiracy reflected in Th 234.20-235.7 in para 131 above). It would be surprising if De insid had before him and chose to omit a passage in Malalas on the revolt of Aitherios and Audios now briefly recorded by Th in the second year of Justin's reign (Th 242.9-11). It would follow that Th, who for the reigns of Justin I and Justinian used Malalas as his main source, had already found it necessary to turn to another source for his material. But we cannot exclude the possibility that De Insid's text of Malalas was itself incomplete. The argument in support of a later ending relies mainly on two factors: the apparent inclusion

*the curopalates.*

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of nine years of Justin II's 13-year reign in LM and the presence of material reminiscent of Malalas in Th's account of Justin II. LM's main resemblance to Malalas is in its account of the birth of Christ and the calculation of the *annus mundi*, which may well be based on Malalas, Book 10. Thereafter the work consists only of the figures for the length of successive imperial reigns, which correspond with those in Malalas but need not be drawn directly from him. Mommsen, 1897, 488 believed that LM demonstrates that the Chronicle ended in the ninth year of Justin's reign (ie AD 574). It is, however, also possible that LM's reference to an unspecified Justin ruling for nine years is simply a misplaced doublet of Justin I, with the omission of '22 days'. (cf Bo 410.6). Th's 'chronicle material' from Justin II and beyond certainly has a flavour and style reminiscent of Malalas (eg Th 243.4-14, 243.31-244.5, 244.7-12, 246.11-27, 246.31-247.3 (= ninth year of Justin II), 246.5-8, 249.21-250.5, 250.8-13, 251.16-19 etc). Stylistically and thematically all this could well be derived from Malalas but such an assumption is difficult in view of Malalas' claim, in the prologue to Book 1, to have used oral sources from the reign of Zeno. This 'chronicle material' is interspersed with and increasingly replaced by matter drawn from an unidentified Alexandrian source (eg Th 241.6-15, 241.26-242.7, 242.13-19) and Theophylakt Simokatta (Th 244.12-13, 245.13-26, 246.28-29, 247.3-17, 248.14-249.11, 250.13-23 etc). It is of course impossible to argue that the point at which Th was able to turn to the earliest event in Theophylakt's *History* (at Th 244.12, in the seventh year of Justin's reign) marks the end of Malalas. Nor is there anything in Th's text to reflect a change in chronicle source in the ninth year of Justin. In view of this it would be rash to argue that Th's chronicle source after AD 565 was necessarily Malalas.

The problem is complex, and involves several larger questions: the authorship of Book 18, the editions in which the chronicle may have circulated and the possibility that the extant witnesses may contain a continuation of the original Malalas by one chronicler or more. Apart from the summary account given in the Introduction (p xxiii), a full discussion of this issue will be found in the forthcoming *Studies* volume.

# Indices

References are to the page numbers of Bo (the Bonn edition), which are printed in bold thus (192) in the translation.

'app' after a page number means that the name or term is to be found in the sub-text to that page of Bo. 'Book 18 App.I' and 'Book 18 App.II' refer to material given in the sub-text to Book 18, para 71. Entries like '295 iv' refer to the lacuna in Book 12, at Bo 295, where material in the sub-text is given in numbered sections in para 25. '490a' and '496a' refer to material supplied from Th and De insid to fill the lacunas that occur on Bo 490 and 496.

## Glossary of technical terms

This glossary aims at providing, for those unfamiliar with the period covered by the chronicle and the era in which it was written, a brief explanation of the phrases which have been left untranslated, or translated into a Latin form. (The information has been largely drawn from Bury, 1923 and Jones, 1964.) Most of these are technical terms for army and court ranks or offices which have no meaningful English equivalent. Also included are some frequently recurring words which might have unexpected connotations (eg 'emperor', 'calamity', 'wrath of God'). Not included, however, are transliterated words which are either kept in the translation to explain a pun (eg 'icon', 'tarsos' on p. 37) or are explained by the context (eg 'perseai', also on p. 37).

*advocati fisci* senior advocates in the bar attached to a magistrate's court; 295 iii.

*alytarch* principal official in charge of the celebration of the Olympic festival in Antioch; 286, 289, 310-2, 417.

*amphithales* ceremonial participant in the Antiochene Olympic festival; 287.

*Anniversary*, festival of anniversary of the official inauguration of Constantinople on 11th May 330; 322 (cf City's anniversary; 483, 488, 490).

*annonae foederaticae* annual sum paid to a federate state for troops supplied by them; 321 app.

*antiforum* area opposite the forum in Antioch; 397.

*apokrisiarios* the representative of a particular church and its bishop; 486.

*archiatros* medical officer for a community; 370.

*a secretis* private secretary; 475 app, 476 app, 494.

*Augusta* title of the wife of the reigning emperor; see Name Index for

individual empresses.

*augustalios* prefect of Egypt; 224, 280, 401, 434.

**Augustus** title of reigning emperor; see Name Index for individual emperors.

*barbatus* bearded, i.e. not a eunuch (eunuchs were not eligible for certain posts); 476 app.

*barzamanatai* Persian officers; 271.

**basilica** a large hall with columns (but Malalas also uses the same Greek word to refer to a covered colonnade; see Downey, 1937, 194-211); 216, 287, 318-9, 321, 338-9, 360, 397-8, 422.

*bouleuterion* chamber where the city council met; 205, 211, 234-5.

**Caesar** title given to a junior emperor; 306, 325-6, 337, 379, 381-2.

**calamity** a natural disaster, usually an earthquake but also fire or flood; 237-8, 243, 265, 267-9, 275, 289, 299, 323, 363, 369, 385, 406, 418-20, 442-3.

*candidatus* member of the imperial guard (with a white uniform); 295 app, 327, 475 app, 476 app.

*centenaria* hundred pounds weight (of gold); 267, 279, 406, 417, 421 app, 422, 424, 443.

*chrysargyron* tax levied every four or five years on commercial transactions, payable in gold; 398.

**codicils** imperial letter confirming an appointment; 384.

*comes, comites* title of holder of a civil or imperial office, literally 'companion'; the nearest equivalent is perhaps 'councillor'; 182, 185, 326, 330, 336, 350, 370-1, 373, 388 app, 390, 396, 410, 422, 429-30, 441, 453, 483, 484 app, 485 app.

--*domesticorum* commander of a unit of soldiers attached to the imperial household; 333, 352, 439.

--*excubitorum* commander of the imperial bodyguard; 410, 449 app, 490a, 491, 495.

--*foederatorum* commander of units of mainly barbarian soldiers; 364, 493.

--*largitionum* official responsible for mints and payments to state employees; 400, 441 app.

--of the Straits of the Pontic sea official stationed at the northern end of the Bosphorus to examine cargoes passing to the Black Sea; 432.

--*Orientis* governor of the diocese (administrative district) of Oriens; office abolished 535; 319, 389, 392-3, 396-8, 417, 423-5, 468, 490a.

*ex-comes Orientis* former governor of Oriens; 416.

*comitatus* the emperor's household, and thus the central administration; 'second *comitatus*' an alternative administrative centre; 319.

*commentarienses* assistants in a government department, 389 app, 493, 496a.

*ex-commercarius* former tax-collector; 396.

**Conch** an apse with a vaulted roof; 287.

**consuls** chief magistrates, elected in the Republic but later nominated by the emperor; 182, 187-8, 191, 208-10, 214, 216, 218, 227, 268, 364, 376, 378, 383, 386, 411-2.

*ex-consul* former consul, honorary consul; 227, 383, 400, 416, 449, 452 app, 481 app.

*ex-consul ordinarius* former consul, one who took up office on 1st January and so gave his name to the year 411 app, 475 app.

*pro-consul* official with the powers of a consul; 487 app.

**consulars** with the rank of a consul; 360, 430, 476 app.

- consular governors** governors with the rank of consul; 183, 244, 338.
- consular largesse** donations made during celebrations on taking up the office of consul; 426.
- consulship** office of consul (referred to by Malalas primarily for dating purposes); 214, 217, 224, 226, 230-2, 236, 241, 243, 246, 250, 256-60, 277, 291, 306, 318-9, 326, 334, 343, 346, 351, 363, 369, 373, 376, 378-9, 386, 392, 395, 410, 419, 422, 425, 428, 450-2, 478-9.
- conventus** meeting of the senate; 102, 184, 371, 444 app.
- silentium et conventus** meeting of the senate and emperor's advisory council together; 438.
- council of Antioch**; 233, 287, 295.
- of the Church 323, 346, 365, 367, 411-2, 479.
- cubicularius, cubicularii** eunuch attendant(s) of the sacred bedchamber of the emperor and empress; 95, 246, 290, 326, 332, 343, 354, 361, 368, 387 app, 408, 410, 441, 469, 476, 480-1, 484, 486.
- curator (divinae domus)** official in charge of the estates owned by the emperor; 439-40, 490a, 493, 496a.
- curator dominicae domus Placidiae** official in charge of the estates owned by Placidia; 490.
- curopalates (gloriosissimus)** rank created by Justinian to denote the heir apparent 412 app, 490a, 491, 496a.
- cuspos** wooden fetters; 50.
- delegator** official assisting in the supplying and transport of troops; 319.
- dictator** magistrate in the Roman Republic with supreme powers, used by Malalas only of Julius Caesar; 214-6, 287.
- diptychs** hinged writing tablet; 138, 155-6, 266.
- official ecclesiastical record on such a tablet; 411, 484.
- domesticus** personal assistant to a state officer; 410.
- droungos** a body of infantry consisting of from 1000 to 3000 men; 437 app.
- dux, duces** commander of one of the regional armies (e.g. of Phoenice, Euphratesia); 299, 308, 382, 426, 429-30, 434-5, 441, 445-7, 453, 461-3, 469.
- ex-dux** former *dux*; 373, 441.
- emmalos** epithet of unknown meaning, applied to a dancer; 386.
- emperor** every ruler, whether Agamemnon of Justinian, is considered to be an 'emperor'; see also 'king', 'toparch'.
- ex-** e.g. ex-bishop, ex-*commercarius*, etc; see relevant entry.
- exarch, exarchs** commander; 101, 109, 112, 121, 159, 314, 329, 337, 373, 393-4, 432, 438, 445, 452-3, 462-6, 468-9, 486, 495.
- excubitores** imperial body guard; 372, 387app, 394, 410, 474, 476 app, 483, 496a.
- faction** supporters of one of the chariot teams racing in the hippodrome; see also Blues, Greens in the Name Index; 175-6, 244, 257, 263, 282, 295, 298, 304, 351-2, 368, 379, 386, 393, 395-7, 416, 422, 425, 473-4, 476, 484, 487-8, 490-1.
- ex-factionarius** former senior charioteer; 395.
- fiscus** imperial treasury; 295 app.
- foederati** troops supplied by a federate state; 371 app.
- folles, folles** small coin(s); 400, 412, 439.
- forum** public square, market place; see Antioch, Constantinople in the Name Index.
- Hellenes, Hellenic** pagan; 55, 63-4, 252, 258, 277, 317, 327, 344, 355,

- 361, 369, 412, 414, 449, 491; for references to the geographical area, see Hellas, Hellenes in the Name Index.
- Hexastoon** hall with six rows of columns; see Laodikeia in the Name Index.
- hippodrome** race course, track for chariot races; 173, 175, 178, 225, 292, 294, 296, 307, 314, 320-22, 339-40, 347, 361, 394, 408-9, 412, 417, 474-6, 484, 495; see also Constantinople, Antioch in the Name Index.
- horologion** device (sun dial?) for telling the time; 338, 479.
- hospice** charitable institution, usually for the care of the sick and frequently large and well-endowed; 318, 423, 452.
- wardens of hospices 430.
- ex-warden of the hospice 411.
- ex-warden of the hospice of Sampson 479.
- hypostasis, hypostaseis** state of being (term used in theological debate over the 'essence' of God) 478 app.
- illustris, illustres** grade in the senatorial order 416, 444, 476 app; cf illustrious 234, most illustrious 375-6, 399, 407.
- Imperator** supreme commander, used as an element in imperial titles (especially of Octavian) 197, 225, 273, 428.
- indiction** a 15-year cycle, originally introduced for taxation purposes; 338, 343, 367, 376, 379, 391, 396, 401, 410, 424-5, 428, 445, 473, 478-9, 481, 483-92, 495.
- kathisma** the emperor's viewing stand (box) in the hippodrome; 320, 322, 340, 351-2, 387 app, 394, 408, 473, 476, 490a.
- kibourion** canopy over the altar; 490, 490a.
- king** ruler over a small, subordinate state; 161, 184-5, 209-10, 365, 372-3, 375, 383-5, 414-5, 427, 431-2, 438, 450-1, 459-60, 478, 480; cf queen 430-1.
- kynegion** wild beast shows, hunting exhibitions; 268, 285.
- kynegia** place where such shows are held; 292, 294, 339, 491.
- land owner** members of the curial class, serving on the city council; 205, 244, 248-9, 264-6, 284-5, 289-90, 360, 369, 444, 469, 480.
- lestodioktes** bandit-hunter, an unpopular and brutal local police-chief; 382.
- limes** frontier; 30, 139, 143, 206, 231, 295 app, 296-7, 302, 308, 426, 463.
- inner *limes* 434.
- outer *limes* 445.
- Indian *limes* 308.
- limitanei** troops stationed on the eastern frontier; 308, 426.
- litra, litrai** a measure of weight, a pound; 95, 378, 439-40, 444, 456, 480, 493.
- logothetes** member of financial department; 400.
- magister** (i.e. *magister officiorum*) master of offices, minister in charge of miscellaneous administrative duties in the imperial household and especially foreign affairs; 329, 355-7, 386, 388, 399, 448-9, 452 app, 461-2, 465-6, 471-2, 475 app.
- ex-*magister* former *magister officiorum* 393, 445.
- magister militum, magistri militum** commander(s) of an army; 329, 333, 345, 349, 360, 368, 373, 375-6, 379, 382, 389, 393 app, 403-4, 417, 422, 427-8, 437-8, 445, 452, 461, 470, 473, 475 app, 476, 480, 490, 495.
- ex-*magister militum* former commander; 452 app.
- magister militum per Armeniam** commander of the army in Armenia; 429, 469, 472.



- per Illyricum* commander of the army in Illyricum; 438, 451.  
 --*per Moesiam* commander of the army in Moesia; 437 app, 438.  
 --*per Orientem* commander of the army in Oriens (the East); 360, 364, 369, 388, 398, 411, 423, 429-30, 456, 466, 487 app.  
 --*per Thracias* commander of the army in Thrace; 388 app, 402.  
*magister (magistri) militum praesentalis (praesentales)* commander of the army that accompanied the emperor 375, 378-9, 381, 383, 386, 398, 411-2, 429, 465.  
 senior *magister militum praesentalis* 378, 398.  
*magister scriniorum* official responsible for conduct of imperial secretarial business; 496a.  
*magistriani* member of the staff of the *magister officiorum*; 374, 456 app, 459, 471.  
*magos, magoi* Persian priest(s); 38, 63, 151, 229-31, 252-5, 444, 473.  
*martyrium* shrine or chapel dedicated to a martyr; 327, 363, 369, 396, 417.  
*melistes* musician (and not a money-dealer) 498.  
*metropolis, metropoleis* capital city of a province; 9, 77, 176, 216, 223, 259, 261-2, 274, 279, 289, 294, 299, 313, 318, 323, 345, 347, 359, 363, 365, 382, 385, 398, 448.  
*miliaresia* small coins; 432.  
*milites castransiani* soldiers serving on the frontier; 430.  
*mime, mimes* actor(s) in a theatrical performance; 285, 314.  
 second *mime* 314.  
*modion* (also *pentamodion, tetramodion, trimodion, dimodion*) pipes of graduated size, used to regulate the flow of waater; 278.  
*monetarii* those who worked in the mint; 301.  
 money-dealers or bankers, or silver-merchants; 395, 492-4.  
*monomacheion* ampitheatre, gladiatorial school; 217, 263, 339, 346.  
*Museion* building dedicated to the Muses; see Antioch in the Name Index.  
*mysteria* 1. pagan cult; 14, 24, 29, 35, 38, 41-2, 45, 54-5, 284.  
 2. Christian religion; 239, 303, 365, 414, 421, 434.  
*mystic* magic, supernatural; *mystic knowledge* 16, 21, 81, 86, 118, 219, 229, 232, 390; *mystical practises* 42, 55; *mystic wisdom* 43; *mystic prayers* 61; *mystic name* 291; *mystic trumpet* 69; *mystic powers* 119.  
*nomisma, nomismata* coin(s), the *solidus* (gold unit of currency); 353, 356, 438-41, 452-3, 480.  
*numerus, numeri* regiment, contingent of troops; 179, 271, 295 app, 329-30, 332, 349, 383, 426-7, 429-30, 432, 451 app, 490a.  
 --*Arcadiaci* 349.  
 --*Primoarmeniaci* 332.  
 --*Lancearii and Mattiarii* 329.  
*Nymphaion* a building, often an ornamental fountain, dedicated to the Nymphs; see Antioch in the Name Index.  
*odeon* small roofed theatre; see Antioch in the Name Index.  
*oikonomoi* stewards, administrators, heads of monastic houses; 430.  
*orgiophantes* priest, a cult title; 225.  
*pandoura* three-stringed lute; 179.  
*pankration* wrestling contest; 288, 310-1.  
*paramonarios* ecclesiastical administrator; 377, 434.  
*patriarch* senior bishop, especially the bishop of Constantinople; 246, 252, 256, 258-9, 269, 377, 379-81, 400, 411, 415, 417, 423-4, 442, 448, 460, 479, 483, 486, 492, 494-5.  
*patrician, patricians* title bestowed by the emperor as a mark of

personal distinction; 335, 340, 353, 356, 361, 364, 366, 369, 371-3, 375-6, 384-8, 392-3, 396, 398, 401, 407, 411, 413, 422-3, 438, 441-2, 445, 454 app, 472, 478, 492, 494.

**philosopher, philosophers** a person of some education; 13-14, 24 app, 32, 34, 40, 61, 76, 85, 97, 109, 152, 161, 169, 188, 210, 250-1, 262, 265, 267, 281, 288, 295 app, 312, 343, 353-4, 354, 356, 359, 361, 369-70, 403-6, 409.

**ex-philosopher** 252.

**philosophy** not only Hellenic philosophy but the art of living a chaste and moderate life; 14, 17-8, 30, 85, 153, 288, 354, 451.

**phylarch, phylarchs** commander of allied troops, especially Arab (Saracen); 434-5, 441, 446-7, 461, 464.

**praefectus vigilum** chief of police, subject to the city prefect; 396-7, 479.

**ex-praefectus vigilum** 436.

**praepositus (sacri cubiculi)** superintendent or chamberlain (of the sacred bedchamber); 339-40, 361, 408, 410.

**ex-praepositus** 361.

**praetor** (of the demes) chief of police, office created to replace that of the *praefectus vigilum*; 479, 483.

**praetorian prefect(s)** leading civilian minister, with wide powers; 319, 323, 329, 337-8, 345-6, 361, 370, 381, 390, 392, 411, 465, 475 app, 477.

--of the east 319, 398.

--of Illyricum 355.

**praetorium** minister's office; 319, 338, 392, 397, 417, 474, 475 app, 487.

**prefect** minister, officer, governor, used by Malalas for both military and civilian offices; 243, 254, 256, 362, 363, 480.

--ex-prefect 287, 403, 405, 407, 446 app, 449 app, 481 app, 490.

--city prefect governor, chief administrator of the city, usually Constantinople; 323, 361, 394-5, 407-8, 416, 436, 473-5, 482, 488, 491, 494.

**primicerius** head of a government department; 474.

**processus** imperial progress or journey; 282, 320, 324-5, 343, 348, 366, 372, 377, 405.

**protectores** section of the imperial bodyguard; 475 app, 490a.

**quaestor** chief legal minister; 369, 449, 475, 475 app, 479, 494.

**referendarius** judicial official, an intermediary between the emperor and judges; 328.

**ex-referendarius** 422 app, 449 app.

**rescripts** responses by the emperor to questions or petitions, with the force of law; 310, 344, 348, 374, 388-9, 401, 422, 430, 444, 449, 456, 458-9, 468.

**rods of the consuls** symbols of office; 384.

**satrap, satrapy** Persian administrative official or area; 198, 336, 429 app.

**Schola, Scholae** imperial guard; 295 app, 490a, 494.

**scholarius, scholarii** member(s) of the imperial guard; 295 app, 387, 475 app, 476 app, 490a.

**scrinia** offices, departments; 475 app.

**scriniarii** keepers of records, clerks; 430.

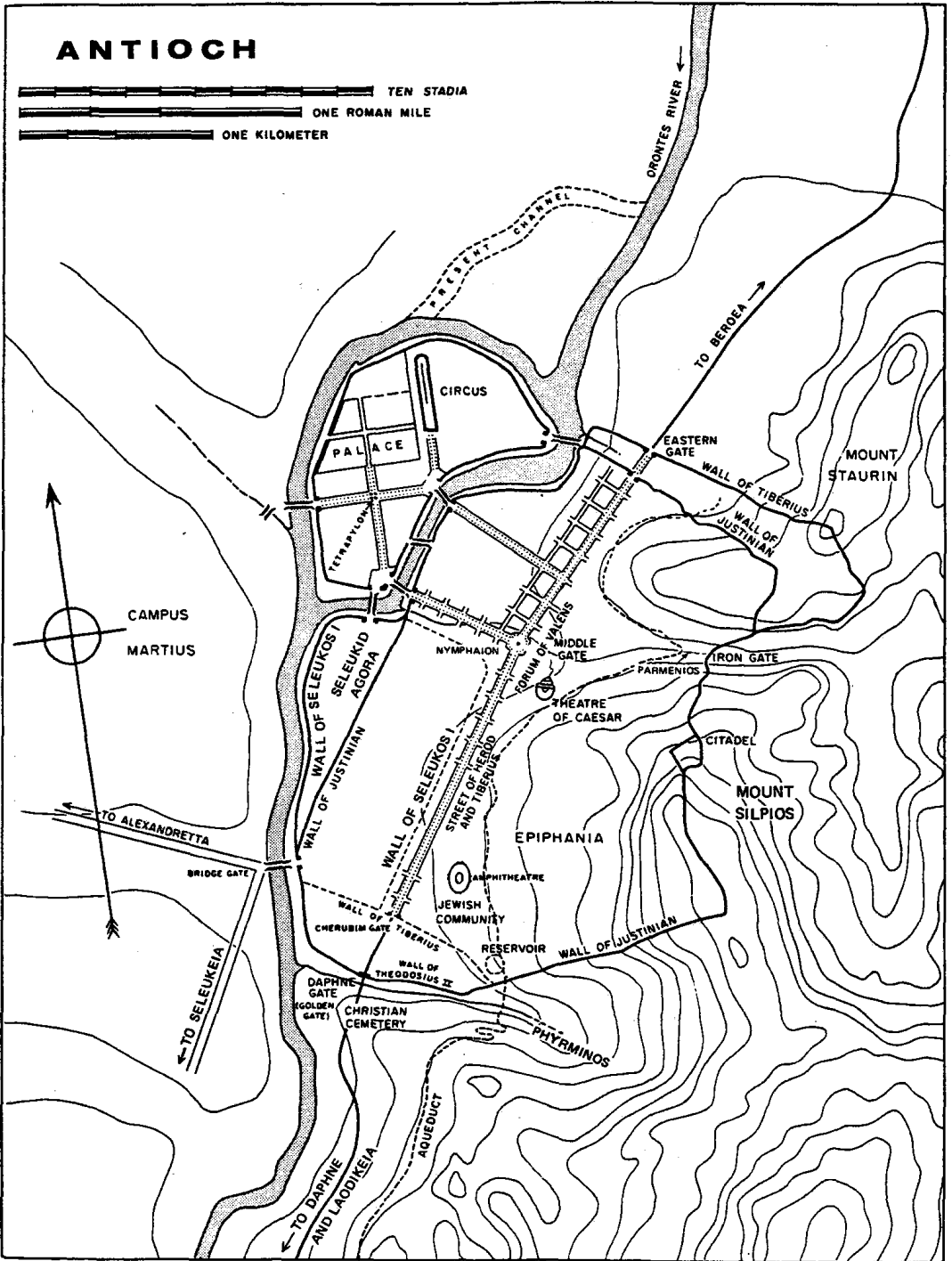
**secretum** council chamber; 486 app.

**senate** a legislative body, perfunctory in the imperial period but still having considerable prestige; 52, 88, 133, 166, 179, 181-4, 186, 209-10,

- 214-6, 218-9, 224, 243, 263, 266-7, 281, 291-2, 330, 337, 340, 342, 344, 357, 367, 370-1, 375, 379, 383, 439, 457.
- senator(s)** member(s) of the senate, or deemed eligible for membership; 44-6, 62, 82, 87, 93, 133, 135, 164, 166, 181, 184-6, 205, 215, 217, 224, 226, 243, 245, 248, 267, 278, 281, 291-2, 295 app, 311, 327, 334-6, 339, 348, 350, 358, 360, 366-7, 371, 373, 386, 388, 411, 434, 442, 459, 475-6.
- senaton** meeting place for the senate (of Antioch); 339.
- sigma-shaped** curved, like a lunate 's' (sigma); 302.
- silentarius** usher in the *silentium*, an imperial administrative official; 420, 434, 496a.
- ex-silentarius* 390, 392.
- silentium** imperial advisory council; 444.
- silentium et conventus* see *conventus*.
- skévophylakion** sacristy 475 app.
- skypfos** meaning unclear, literally 'cup', possibly 'skull' or 'shield'; 35, 37.
- spatharii** bodyguard; 246, 332, 343, 387 app, 476.
- spatharius** member of a bodyguard; 359, 389, 476.
- sportulae** fees, bribe; 470.
- stades** measure of distance (about 200 metres) 202.
- stratopedarch** military commander; 97.
- suboptio** a junior officer, assistant; 494.
- talents** monetary unit; 113, 210, 248.
- talisman(s)** charm, usually a statue, to ward off ill-luck; 233, 264-6, 318.
- tavla** board game; 103.
- tetrapylon, tetrapyla** triumphal arch(es), structure(s) with four doors; 223, 233, 328, 363, 397, 491.
- tetrarchy** the territory of a subordinate ruler; 222-44.
- tetrastoon** hall with four rows of columns; see Constantinople in the Name Index.
- toparch(s)** governor of a toparchy, region; 93-4, 97-8, 144, 168, 192, 206, 208-9, 221-4, 227, 229, 231, 235-7, 466.
- tractator** treasury official; 400.
- tribune** military officer; 247, 432, 435, 463.
- ex-tribune* 367.
- triclinium** dining room, hall in the Great Palace; 475 app, 493-4.
- Trinymphon** building dedicated to the Nymphs; see Antioch in the Name Index.
- Trisagion** Thrice Holy (theopaschite addition to the liturgy); 407.
- triumph** procession to celebrate a victory; 157, 183, 220-4, 260-1, 300, 311.
- triumphator** one who celebrates a triumph (part of Octavian's title); 225.
- triumvir(s)** three men appointed to an office (here Antony, Octavian and Lepidus to restore the Roman Republic); 214, 218, 221.
- troparion** chant in church service; 479 app.
- tyche** personified Fortune of a city, usually represented by a female statue; 31, 36, 139, 184, 201, 203, 216, 267, 276, 320, 322, 405, 478 app.
- vestitores** keepers of the imperial wardrobe; 484 app.
- vicarius** deputy, here the second-in-command of a regiment; 332.
- vindex, vindices** treasury official; 400, 476 app.

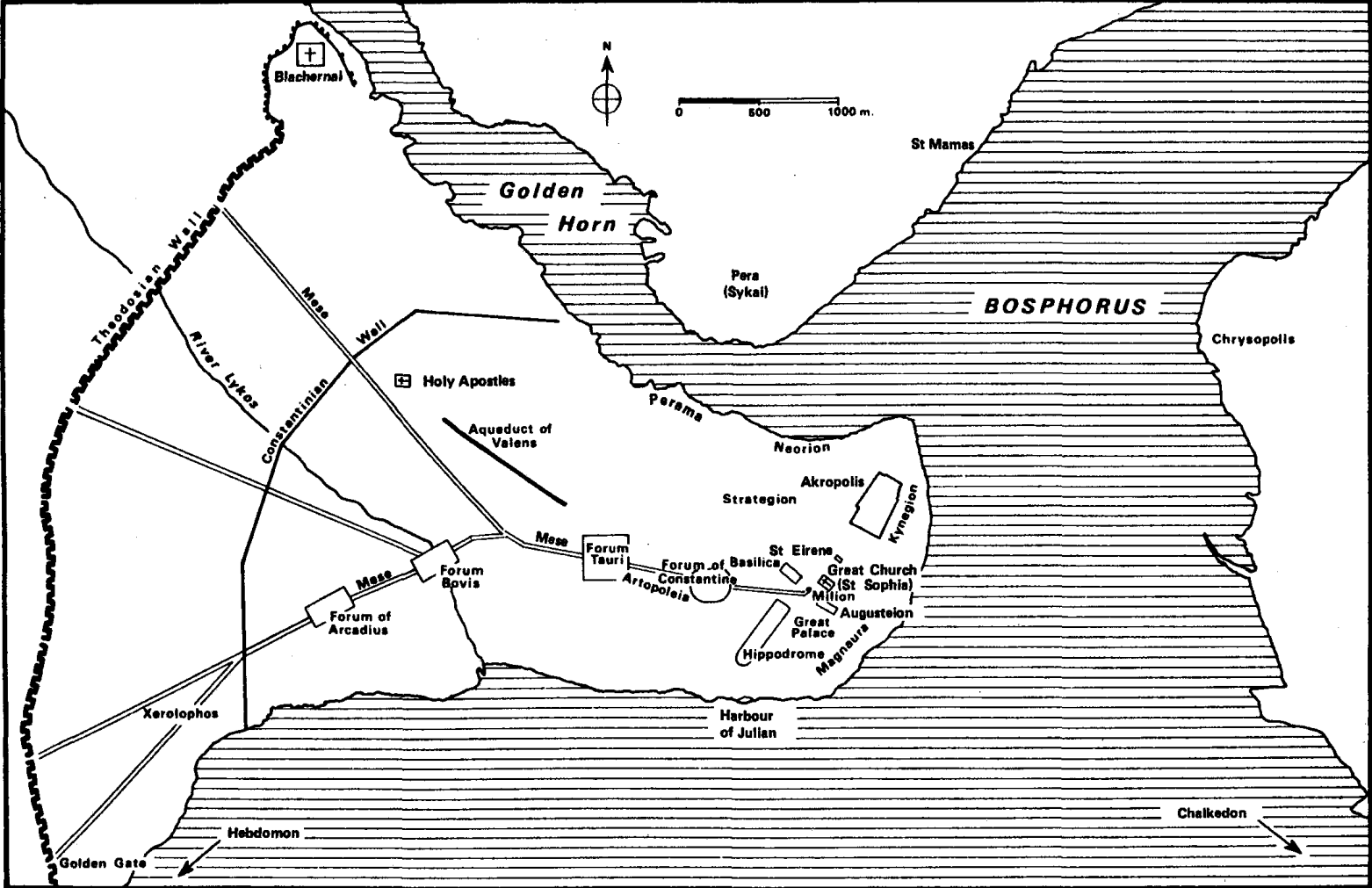
**wonder-worker** maker of charms and theurgic manifestations; 55, 86, 109, 200, 204-5, 233, 250, 265.

**wrath of God** a natural disaster (earthquake, fire, flood); 190, 207, 229, 243, 246, 249-50, 259, 261, 267, 275-6, 278-9, 282, 289, 299, 313, 323, 343, 359, 363, 367, 369, 378, 385, 406, 417-20, 423, 436, 442, 447-8.



Antioch (redrawn, with permission, from G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria*, Princeton, 1961).

Constantinople: sketch map to illustrate some identifiable sites referred to by Malalas.





The Eastern Roman Empire: approximate provincial boundaries in the early sixth century.