The Making of Orthodox Byzantium, 600–1025

NEW STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General Editor: Maurice Keen

Roger Collins, *Early Medieval Spain:
Unity in Diversity, 400–1000 (Second Edition)*

Alan Forey, *The Military Orders
from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries*

Michael Haren, *Medieval Thought:
The Western Intellectual Tradition from Antiquity
to the Thirteenth Century (Second Edition)*

Edward James, *The Origins of France:
From Clovis to the Capetians, 500–1000*

Angus McKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages:
From Frontier to Empire, 1000–1500*

David Potter, *A History of France, 1460–1560
The Emergence of a Nation State*

Michael Richter, *Medieval Ireland:
The Enduring Tradition*

Mark Whittow, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium,
600–1025*

Forthcoming:

Jeremy Johns, *Early Medieval Sicily:
Continuity and Change from the Vandals to
Frederick II, 450–1250*

The Making of Orthodox Byzantium, 600–1025

MARK WHITTOW

macmillan
international
HIGHER EDUCATION

RED GLOBE
PRESS

© Mark Whittow 1996

Maps © Sue Barnes 1996, under exclusive licence
to Springer Nature Limited 2019

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No portion of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, Saffron House, 6–10 Kirby Street, London EC1N 8TS.

Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published 1996 by
RED GLOBE PRESS

Red Globe Press in the UK is an imprint of Springer Nature Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of 4 Crinan Street, London, N1 9XW.

Red Globe Press® is a registered trademark in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978–0–333–49601–5 ISBN 978–1–349–24765–3 (eBook)

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Contents

<i>List of Maps</i>	vii
<i>Transliteration and References</i>	viii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	ix
<i>Chronological List</i>	xiv
<i>Preface</i>	xxv
1. SOURCES FOR EARLY MEDIEVAL BYZANTIUM	1
2. THE STRATEGIC GEOGRAPHY OF THE NEAR EAST	15
The Balkans	15
The Steppes	19
Anatolia and Iran	25
The Agricultural Plains	30
The Desert	32
Conclusion: a Strategic Geography	36
3. THE ROMAN WORLD IN 600	38
The Strategic Outlook	38
The Social and Economic Base	53
4. THE FALL OF THE OLD ORDER	69
The Last Roman–Persian War	69
The Islamic Conquests	82
The End of the Ancient Economy, c.650–750	89
5. HOW THE ROMAN EMPIRE SURVIVED	96
From Rome to Byzantium	96
How the Empire Survived: the City of Constantine and Theodosios	98
Taxation	104
The Imperial Court	106
The Army and Navy	113
The Church	126
6. THE SHOCK OF DEFEAT	134
The Byzantine World View	134
Icons and Iconoclasm	139
Iconoclasm and the Making of Orthodox Byzantium	159

7. THE BYZANTINE RESPONSE: ON TO THE DEFENSIVE	165
Adapting the Late Roman Military Tradition	165
Byzantine Defensive Strategy, <i>c.</i> 750– <i>c.</i> 950	175
The Size of the Byzantine Army	181
8. THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND ITS NON-MUSLIM NEIGHBOURS, <i>c.</i> 600– <i>c.</i> 950	194
Transcaucasia	195
The Khazars	220
The Rus	241
The Balkans	262
The Western Provinces	298
9. THE AGE OF RECONQUEST, 863–976	310
The Byzantine Offensive in the East	310
The Decline of the Abbāsid Caliphate	327
The Costs of Success: Byzantium, 863–976	335
10. THE REIGN OF BASIL II, 976–1025	358
The Byzantine World in 976	358
The Great Civil Wars, 976–89	361
The Triumph of Constantinople, 990–1025	374
<i>Notes</i>	391
<i>Bibliography</i>	424
<i>Index</i>	446

List of Maps

I	The Balkans – physical geography	16
II	The steppe world, from the Inner Asian frontiers of China to the Hungarian plain	20
III	Anatolia, Iran and the Fertile Crescent	26
IV	The Roman empire in 600	39
V	Roman–Persian frontier in the late sixth and early seventh centuries	70
VI	Anatolia – cities, rivers and relief	92
VII	Constantinople in the early Middle Ages	100
VIII	Imperial territory and the themes, <i>c.</i> 700	114
IX	Imperial territory and the themes, <i>c.</i> 917	166
X	The Transcaucasus	196
XI	Eastern Europe in the early tenth century	224
XII	Bulgaria and the Balkans	264
XIIIa	Italy in the sixth and seventh centuries	300
XIIIb	Italy in <i>c.</i> 980	301
XIV	The Eastern Offensive, <i>c.</i> 860– <i>c.</i> 1025	312

Transliteration and References

Greek names and place names are transliterated with *ks* and *os*, save where a Latinate or Anglicised version is so familiar that it would be pedantic to use anything else: therefore *Nikephoros*, *Herakleios*, *Kaisareia*, but *Nicaea*, *Thessalonica*, *Cappadocia*. *Ankara* appears rather than *Ankyra* on an analogous principle. Modern place names in Turkey follow current Turkish useage; Arabic names and place names follow a simplified version of that in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition (Leiden, 1960–). In particular the Arabic *qāf* is transliterated as *k* rather than *q* and *djīm* as *dj* rather than *j* or *ġ*. Hence *Kālikāla* rather than *Qāliqāla*, and *Djabala* rather than *Jabala* or *Ġabala*. The ‘*ain*’ has generally been omitted, but a diacritical line (˘) indicating a long vowel seems useful as a guide to pronunciation.

The endnotes give specific references to texts, and to secondary literature of immediate relevance. Primary and secondary works that underpin a chapter in a more general way are found in the chapter bibliographies at the back of the book, together with a guide to further reading.

List of Abbreviations

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> (Brussels, 1643–)
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
ACO	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , ed. E. Schwartz, 5 vols in 32 parts (Berlin and Leipzig, 1922–)
BAR, Int. Ser.	British Archaeological Reports, International Series
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBTT	Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
Byz	<i>Byzantion</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
<i>Chron. 1234</i>	<i>Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens</i> , 2 vols (CSCO CIX, CCCLIV, Scriptores Syri LVI, CLIV, Louvain, 1937–74)
<i>Chronikon Paschale</i>	<i>Chronikon Paschale</i> , ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1832); tr. M. Whitby and M. Whitby, <i>Chronikon Paschale 284–628 AD</i> (Translated Texts for Historians VII, Liverpool, 1989)
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientaliū
DAI	Constantine Porphyrogenitus, <i>De Administrando Imperio</i> , ed. Gy. Moravcsik, tr. R. J. H. Jenkins (CFHB I, Washington, D.C., 1967)
<i>De Cer.</i>	Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, <i>De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae libri duo</i> , ed. J. J. Reiske (Bonn, 1829–30).
<i>De Cer.</i> , ed. Vogt	Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, <i>Le Livre des Cérémonies</i> , 2 vols, ed. A. Vogt (Paris, 1935–40)

- De re militari* *Three Byzantine Military Treatises*, ed. and tr. G. T. Dennis (CFHB xxv, Washington, D.C., 1985), pp. 246–335
- DOP* *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
- EI/2* *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition (Leiden, 1960–)
- Genesios Josephus Genesius, *Iosephi Genesii regum libri quattuor*, ed. A. Lesmueller-Werner and H. Thurn (CFHB xiv, Berlin, 1978)
- GM cont. Georgius Monarchus, *Vitae imperatorum recentiorum*, in Theophanes Continuatus, ed. I. Bekker (CSHB, Bonn, 1838), pp. 763–924
- HUS* *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*
- JGR* *Jus Graecoromanum*, ed. J. Zepos and P. Zepos, 8 vols (Athens, 1931)
- JÖB* *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
- Laurent/Canard J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886*, rev. M. Canard (Lisbon, 1980)
- Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils* P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de saint Démétrius*, 2 vols (Paris, 1979–81)
- Leo Gram. Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (CSHB, Bonn, 1842)
- Liber pontificalis* *Le Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols (Paris, 1886–92); 1 vol., additions, corrections and indices, ed. C. Vogel (Paris, 1957)
- Liber pontificalis*
tr. Davis I *The Book of the Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis)*, tr. R. Davis (Translated Texts for Historians v, Liverpool, 1989)

- Liber pontificalis*
tr. Davis II *The Lives of the Eighth Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)*, tr. R. Davis (Translated Texts for Historians XIII, 1992)
- Mansi *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. Mansi, 31 vols (Florence and Vienna, 1759–98)
- MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historiae
MGH SRLI Monumenta Germaniae Historiae: *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et italicorum saec. VI–IX* (Hannover, 1878)
- Michel le Syrien J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 4 vols (Paris, 1899–1924)
- Nik. Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople, *Short History*, ed. and trans. C. Mango (CFHB, XIII, Washington, D.C., 1990)
- ODB *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan *et al.*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1991)
- Oikonomidès, *Les listes* N. Oikonomidès, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des ix^e et x^e siècles* (Paris, 1972)
- PG *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols (Paris, 1857–66)
- PLRE, I–III *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols, ed. A. H. M. Jones and J. Martindale (Cambridge, 1971–92)
- PO
Praecepta Militaria *Patrologia Orientalis*
‘Strategika imperatoria Nikifora’, ed. J. A. Kulakovskij, *Mémoires de l’Académie Impériale des sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, 8th series, hist. phil. class, VIII. 9 (1908), pp. 1–58
- Procopius, *Wars* Procopius, *Wars*, ed. and tr. H. B. Dewing, 5 vols (Cambridge, Mass., 1914–28)

Pseudo-Sym.	Symeon Magister, <i>Annales</i> in Theophanes Continuatus, ed. I. Bekker (CSHB, Bonn, 1838), pp. 601–760
PVL	<i>Povest' vremennykh let</i> , tr. S. H. Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass., 1953)
REArm	<i>Revue des études arméniennes</i> , New Series
REB	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
Sebeos, tr. Macler	Sebeos, <i>Histoire de Héraclius</i> , tr. F. Macler (Paris, 1904)
Sebeos, tr. Bedrosian	<i>Sebeos' History</i> , tr. R. Bedrosian (Sources of the Armenian Tradition, New York, 1985)
'Skirmishing Warfare'	<i>Three Byzantine Military Treatises</i> , ed. and tr. G. T. Dennis (CFHB XXV, Washington, D.C., 1985), pp. 144–39
Skylitzes	Ioannes Skylitzes, <i>Synopsis historiarum</i> , ed. H. Thurn (CFHB V, Berlin, 1973)
Stephen of Taron i	Étienne Açogh'ig de Daron, <i>Histoire universelle</i> , tr. E. Dulaurier (Paris, 1883)
Stephen of Taron ii	Étienne Asolik de Tarôn, <i>Histoire universelle</i> tr. F. Macler (Paris, 1917)
al-Tabarī	<i>The History of al-Tabarī</i> , ed. I. Abbas <i>et al.</i> , 38 vols (SUNY Series in Near Eastern Studies, Albany, New York, 1985–). [References are given to the volume and page of the Arabic text, ed. M. J. De Goeje, 15 vols (Leiden, 1879–1901) which is quoted in the SUNY English translation.]
Theo.	Theophanes, <i>Chronographia</i> , ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1883). [All references are to the text in vol. I.]

Theo. Cont.	<i>Chronographia</i> , in Theophanes Continuatus, ed. I. Bekker (CSHB, Bonn, 1838), pp. 3–481
TIB	Tabula imperii Byzantini
TM	<i>Travaux et Mémoires</i>
Vasiliev, <i>Byzance et les Arabes</i>	A. A. Vasiliev, <i>Byzance et les Arabes</i> I, <i>La dynastie d'Amorium (820–867)</i> , French edn, H. Grégoire, M. Canard (Brussels, 1935); II, <i>La dynastie Macédonienne (867–959)</i> , part 1: <i>Les relations politiques de Byzance et des Arabes à l'époque de la dynastie Macédonienne (première période 867–959)</i> , French edn, M. Canard (Brussels, 1968); part 2: <i>Extraits des sources Arabes</i> , French edn, H. Grégoire, M. Canard (Brussels, 1950)
'Vaticanus Gr. 163'	A. Markopoulos, 'Le témoignage du Vaticanus Gr. 163 pour la période entre 945–963', <i>Symmeikta</i> III (1979), pp. 83–119 (text, pp. 91–100)
<i>West-Syrian Chronicles</i>	A. Palmer, <i>The Seventh Century in West-Syrian Chronicles</i> (Translated Texts for Historians XV, Liverpool, 1993)
ZRVI	<i>Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta</i>

Chronological List

Note: Given the evidence available, dates for the Islamic conquest of Syria, Iraq and Egypt can only be probable, but the error is not more than a few years.

Date	EMPERORS/<i>Patriarchs</i> (from 595)	Events
527–65 541–2	JUSTINIAN I	Appearance of bubonic plague in Mediterranean.
565–78 568	JUSTIN II	Lombard invasion of Italy.
578–82 580–3	TIBERIOS I	Break up of Ghassānid confederation.
582–602 591	MAURICE	Peace with Persia.
595–606 602	<i>Kyriakos</i>	Mutiny of army in Balkans; murder of Maurice.
602–10 603	PHOKAS	Persian war begins.
607–10	<i>Thomas I</i>	
610–41	HERAKLEIOS	
610–38 614	<i>Sergios I</i>	Jerusalem falls to Persians.
616		Persian invasion of Egypt.
624		Beginning of Herakleios' Transcaucasian campaigns; final loss of southern Spain.
626		Avar–Persian siege of Constantinople.
628		<i>Chronikon Paschale</i> stops;

630		fall of Khusro II. Herakleios restores 'True Cross' to Jerusalem.
632		Traditional date for death of the prophet Muhammad.
634-8		Arab conquest of Iraq; fall of Ctesiphon.
636		Battle of Yarmūk; Arab conquest of Syria.
638		Herakleios issues <i>Ekthesis</i> promulgating Monotheletism.
638-41	<i>Pyrrhos (first patriarchate)</i>	
641	CONSTANTINE III and HERAKLONAS	
641	HERAKLONAS	
641-68	CONSTANS II	
641-53	<i>Paul II</i>	
642		Arab conquest of Egypt.
653-4		Arabs reach Bosphoros opposite Constantinople.
654	<i>Pyrrhos (second patriarchate)</i>	
654-66	<i>Peter</i>	
656-61		First Muslim civil war; establishment of Ummayyad caliphate.
663		Constans II's expedition to the west.
667-9	<i>Thomas II</i>	
668-85	CONSTANTINE IV	
669-75	<i>John V</i>	
c. 670		Khazars establish domination of Ukrainian and Volga steppes.
674-8		Arab blockade of Constantinople.
675-7	<i>Constantine I</i>	
677-9	<i>Theodore I (first patriarchate)</i>	

679–86	<i>George I</i>	
680–1		Council of Constantinople IV (Sixth Oecumenical Council).
683–92		Second Muslim civil war.
685–95	JUSTINIAN II (FIRST REIGN)	
686–7	<i>Theodore I (second patriarchate)</i>	
688–94	<i>Paul III</i>	
691–2		Quinisext Council (Council ‘in Trullo’).
694–706	<i>Kallinikos I</i>	
695–8	LEONTIOS	
698		Fall of Carthage.
698–705	TIBERIOS II	
705–11	JUSTINIAN II (SECOND REIGN)	
705–6		Bulgar qaghan Tervel in Constantinople.
706–12	<i>Kyros</i>	
711–13	PHILIPPIKOS	
712–15	<i>John VI</i>	
713–15	ANASTASIOS II	
716–18		Arab siege of Constantinople.
715–17	THEODOSIOS III	
715–30	<i>Germanos I</i>	
717–41	LEO III	
726		Volcanic eruption of Thera.
727		Arab siege of Nicaea; Italian tax revolt.
730–54	<i>Anastasios</i>	
730		Iconoclasm official dogma; Khazars raid as far as Mosul.
737		Arab invasion of Khazaria; qaghan submits.
740		Byzantine victory over Arabs at Akroinos.
741–75	CONSTANTINE V	

741–3		Revolt of Artabasdos.
744–7		Third Muslim civil war.
749–50		Overthrow of Ummayyad caliphate; establishment of Abbāsid caliphate.
751		Lombards conquer Ravenna.
753		Pope Stephen crosses Alps to appeal to Peppin III, king of the Franks, for military support; Iconoclast Council of Hieria.
754–66	<i>Constantine II</i>	
759–75		Constantine V's Bulgar campaigns.
766–80	<i>Niketas I</i>	
774		Charlemagne conquers Lombard kingdom in Italy.
775		Battle of Bagrevand; Arabs crush Armenian revolt.
775–80	LEO IV	
780–4	<i>Paul I</i>	
780–97	CONSTANTINE VI (IRENE, REGENT 780–90)	
782		Major Arab invasion of Asia Minor reaches Bosphoros.
784–806	<i>Tarasios</i>	
787		Council of Nicaea II; first restoration of icons.
796		Frankish armies destroy Avar qaghanate.
797–802	IRENE	
800		Charlemagne crowned emperor in Rome.
802–11	NIKEPHOROS I	
c.802–14		Krum, Bulgar qaghan.
806–15	<i>Nikephoros I</i>	

806–7		Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd leads major raids into Asia Minor.
809–33		Abbāsid civil war.
811		Nikephoros I's Bulgar campaign.
811	STAURAKIOS	
811–13	MICHAEL I	
812		Byzantine recognition of western imperial title.
813–20	LEO V	
813		Theophanes' <i>Chronographia</i> stops.
815–21	<i>Theodotos I Kassiteras</i>	
815		Council of Constantinople; iconoclasm restored as official dogma.
816		Peace with Bulgars.
819–37		Revolt of Babek in Azerbaidjan.
820–9	MICHAEL II	
821–37?	<i>Antony I Kassymatas</i>	
c. 826		Arab invasions of Crete and Sicily.
829–42	THEOPHILOS	
c.835–9		Magyars driven into western Ukrainian steppes.
837?–43	<i>John VII Grammatikos</i>	
838		Sack of Amorion.
839		Byzantine embassy plus Rus envoys to Louis the Pious at Ingelheim.
842–67	MICHAEL III (THEODORA, REGENT, 842–56)	
843–7	<i>Methodios</i>	
843		Restoration of Orthodoxy.
846		Arabs sack St Peter's, Rome.

- 847–58 *Ignatios (first patriarchate)*
851–5 Bugha the elder crushes Armenian revolt.
- 858–67 *Photios (first patriarchate)*
860 First Rus attack on Constantinople.
861–70 Turkish assassination of caliph al-Mutawakkil followed by nine-year ‘anarchy’.
- 862 Ašot I Bagratuni appointed prince of princes by caliph.
- 863 Destruction of raiding army of Melitene; Cyril and Methodios sent to Moravia.
- 864–5 Conversion of Bulgaria.
866 Caesar Bardas murdered by Basil.
- 867–86 BASIL I
867–77 *Ignatios (second patriarchate)*
869–83 Zandj revolt in Iraq.
869–70 Council of Constantinople
- 871 Emperor Louis II captures Bari from Arabs.
- 876 Byzantines occupy Bari.
877–86 *Photios (second patriarchate)*
878 Byzantine capture of Tephrike; Arab capture of Syracuse.
- 879–80 Council of Constantinople.
- 884 Ašot I crowned king of Armenia by caliph.
- 885 Moravian mission expelled and takes refuge in Bulgaria.

- 885–6 Byzantine expeditionary force under Nikephoros Phokas the elder campaigns in Southern Italy.
- 886–912 LEO VI
- 886–93 *Stephen I*
- 891 Creation of theme of Longobardia.
- 893–901 *Antony II Kauleas*
- 893–927 Symeon, emperor of the Romans and Bulgars. Magyars invade Bulgaria; Pečenegs drive Magyars on to Hungarian plain.
- 894–6
- 901–7 *Nicholas I Mystikos (first patriarchate)*
- 902 Fall of Taormina in Sicily to Arabs.
- 904 Arab sack of Thessalonica.
- 907–12 *Euthymios*
- 909 Fātimid caliphate established in Ifrīkiya (North Africa).
- 911 Byzantine failure to reconquer Crete.
- 912–25 *Nicholas I Mystikos (second patriarchate)*
- 912–13 ALEXANDER
- 913 Murder of Smbat Bagratuni, king of Armenia by the emir Yūsuf.
- 913–59 CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENITOS
- 913–14 REGENCY COUNCIL
- 914–19 ZOE, REGENT
- 915 Byzantine intervention in Armenia; allied Byzantine and Italian forces destroy Arab base at Garigliano (Southern Italy).

- 917 Battle of Achelous:
Bulgars defeat Byzantine
invasion force.
- 919 Romanos Lekapenos
occupies imperial
palace; Leo Phokas'
coup fails.
- 920 Tome of Union
- 920–44 ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS
- 921–2 Ibn Fadlan accompanies
Abbāsīd embassy to the
Volga Bulgars.
- 923 Shī'ite Karmatī begin
raiding Iraq.
- 925–7 *Stephen II*
- 927 Peace with Bulgars;
Karmatī siege of
Baghdad.
- 927–31 *Tryphon*
- 933–56 *Theophylact*
- 934 Capture of Melitene
(modern Malatya).
- 941 Rus attack
Constantinople.
- 942 Hamdānids fail to
establish control of
Baghdad.
- 944 Mandyliion of Edessa
arrives in
Constantinople; Sayf
al-Dawla occupies
Aleppo.
- 944–5 STEPHEN and CONSTANTINE LEKAPENOS
- 945–59 CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENITOS
(active reign)
- 946 Būyid occupation of
Baghdad.
- 948 Logothete's chronicle
stops.
- 949 Failed expedition to

- reconquer Crete;
Liudprand of Cremona's
first embassy to
Constantinople.
- 955 Bardas Phokas replaced
as domestic of the
scholai by his son,
Nikephoros Phokas.
- 956–70 *Polyeuktos*
- 959–63 ROMANOS II PORPHYROGENITOS
- 960 Leo Phokas given
triumph in
Constantinople.
- 961 Theophanes Continuatus
stops.
- 962 Nikephoros Phokas sacks
Aleppo.
- 963–1025 BASIL II and CONSTANTINE VIII
PORPHYROGENITOI
- 963–9 NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS
- 964 Failed attempt to
reconquer Sicily.
- 965 Surrender of Tarsos;
sack of the Khazar
capital, Atil, by Rus.
- 967 Death of Sayf al-Dawla;
annexation of Taron;
Svyatoslav and Rus
invade Bulgaria.
- 968–9 Liudprand of Cremona's
second embassy to
Constantinople.
- 968–70 Otto I invades southern
Italy.
- 969 Byzantines capture
Antioch and establish
Aleppo as a tributary
state; Fātimid conquest
of Egypt.
- 969–76 JOHN I TZIMISKES

970–3	<i>Basil I Skamandrenos</i>	
971		Svyatoslav surrenders to the emperor at Silistra on the Danube; Bulgaria annexed.
972		Otto II marries Theophano.
973–8	<i>Anthony III Stoudites</i>	
975		John Tzimiskes' campaign in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine.
976–1025	BASIL II (active reign)	
976–9		Revolt of Bardas Skleros.
978–80	<i>Vacancy</i>	
980–92	<i>Nicholas II Chrysoberges</i>	
981–2		Būyid embassy in Constantinople; Otto II's invasion of Southern Italy defeated by Arabs in Calabria.
986		Basil defeated in Bulgaria.
987–9		Revolt of Bardas Phokas.
992–6	<i>Vacancy</i>	
995		Basil relieves Fātimid siege of Aleppo; arrest of Eustathios Maleīnos.
996–8	<i>Sisinnios II</i>	
997		Battle of Sperchios (Greece); Nikephoros Ouranos defeats Bulgars.
998–1001	<i>Vacancy</i>	
1000		Byzantine occupation of lands of David of Tao (Western Transcaucasus).
1001–19	<i>Sergios II</i>	
1001		Basil agrees ten-year truce with Fātimids.
1009		Caliph al-Hākim orders destruction of church of

- Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.
- 1009–18 Revolt of Meles in Southern Italy.
- 1014 Battle of Kleidon: Basil defeats Bulgars; death of Samuel, emperor of the Bulgars.
- 1018 Bulgar submission.
- 1019–25 *Eustathios*
- 1022 Former kingdom of Vaspurakan (Armenia) becomes Byzantine province; Phokas revolt in Cappadocia; John-Smbat Bagratuni pledges to leave the kingdom of Ani (Armenia) to the empire on his death; Emperor Henry II's invasion of Southern Italy fails.
- 1025–8 CONSTANTINE VIII
- 1025 Expedition to reconquer Sicily, planned before Basil's death, defeated.

Preface

THE NEED for a new introduction and survey of Byzantine history between 600 and 1025 hardly requires to be justified, but two points may strike the reader as unexpected.

Firstly, I have set the Byzantine world in a very broad perspective. The geographical introduction ranges from Iran to Italy, and a large portion of the book deals with the empire's neighbours in the Transcaucasus, the steppes and the Balkans. I have done so partly because I do not believe that events inside the empire can be understood without a basic appreciation of this wider world, and partly because there is very little else published in English that fills this gap.

Secondly, this book is not a 'textbook synthesis', but a personal interpretation that some may regard as controversial. Although I hope that the reader will find here a clear and reliable coverage of events, institutions, and social, economic and cultural change, historical research thrives at all levels when there is something to argue about, and if some of the interpretations in this book are greeted by specialists – and even more by their students – with a chorus of disagreement then it will have served one of its purposes.

Among the chief pleasures of writing a book is thanking people. I owe an enormous debt to James Howard-Johnston and Cyril Mango, for their help, advice and encouragement. Sue Barnes prepared the maps for publication; I am very grateful for her skill and care. My thanks to Hugh Barnes, Robert Beddard, Jeremy Catto, Clive Foss, John France, Simon Franklin, Peter Heather, Stephen Humphreys, Jeremy Johns, Christopher Lightfoot, Michael Maas, Alison McQuitty, Mark Nesbitt, Alan Walmsley and Bryan Ward-Perkins, who have all generously given information, listened as ideas took shape, and saved me from some of my errors. I am also happy to acknowledge the kindness and support I have received from the Provost and Fellows of Oriel College, Oxford, and the early encouragement in things Byzantine given by Michael Maclagan – with whom I shall always associate the pleasures of drinking madeira. The book, however, is dedicated to my wife, Helen, and to her father, Dugald Malcolm, without either of whom it would not have been written.

Wapping

MARK WHITTOV