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## JUSTINIAN'S CORRECT DATE IN FIRST MILLENNIUM CHRONOLOGY

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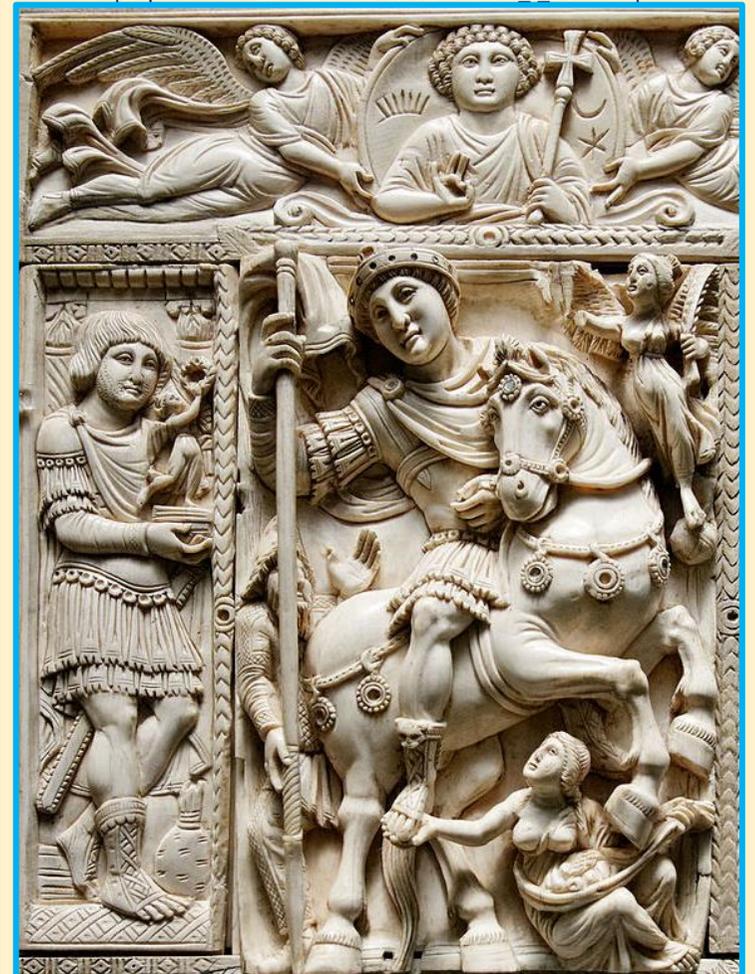
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**Barberini ivory interpreted as Justinian (527-565 CE) but also as Anastasius (491-518 CE).**  
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# I 700 YEARS WITHOUT ROMAN JURISTS IN THE FIRST MILLENNIUM CE?

| Anachronisms and puzzles in the development of the laws of Justinian (527-565 CE; wrote 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. Latin) <small>G. Heinsohn (with T. Heinsohn); 05- 2019</small> |  |
|---|--|
| <b>CODEX</b><br>(Laws)  | There is <b>no</b> preserved copy of the <b>first edition</b> of Justinian's Codex of <b>529 CE</b> . Only one fragment has been found (Paris Oxy. XV 1814).   |
|   | There is <b>no</b> preserved copy of the <b>updated second edition</b> [ <i>Codex Repetitae Praelectionis</i> ] of <b>534 CE</b> .   |
|   | <b>Novellae</b> were issued since 535 CE using <b>2<sup>nd</sup> c. Koine Greek</b> . Collections appear in the 550s CE (Iulianus) and 570s CE.  |
|   | There is <b>no final edition</b> of the Codex by Justinian's successors (with regnal years from 565 to 641 CE).  |
|   | The <b>Littera</b> -sheets (see below) contain only the <i>Digestae</i> . The Laws were put together from many manuscripts. Fragments in the "Veronese Palimpsest" were dated to the 6 <sup>th</sup> but also to the 9 <sup>th</sup> c. CE. The reconstruction from the 12 <sup>th</sup> to the 19 <sup>th</sup> c. has obscured the original sequence of emperors whose laws were included in Krüger's definitive version of 1867 ff., i.e. more than 1,300 conventional years after their issue.   |
| <b>DIGESTAE</b><br>(==extracts of texts by Roman jurists) also called <b>PANDECTAE</b><br>(=all-containing)   | There is <b>no preserved original</b> of the <i>Digestae</i> that is said to have been assembled <b>530 to 533 CE (time of a Khosrow in Persia.)</b>   |
|   | There is <b>no final edition</b> of the <i>Digestae</i> by Justinian or any successor.   |
|   | There is <b>only one manuscript copy</b> of the <i>Digestae</i> ( <b>907 Littera sheets</b> ). It is dated vaguely between 537 and 557 CE but also to the 6th/7th century CE. The later date reflects the prevailing opinion that the 907 sheets were written <b>after Justinian</b> . The sheets were first ( <b>1155 CE</b> ) known as the <b>Littera Pisana</b> . Since <b>1406 CE</b> (booty after victory of Florence against Pisa), it is called <i>Littera Florentina</i> or <i>Codex Florentinus (Digestorum)</i> . Most medieval versions of the <i>Digestae</i> differ substantially from the <i>Littera</i> ..  |
|   | <b>Between the 6th and 12th centuries</b> , when the 907 leaves appeared in Pisa ("1155" CE), <b>nothing was reported about them for some 600 years</b> . Claims that the <i>Littera</i> originated only after 900 CE would, therefore, be irrefutable. The earliest marginal glosses on the <i>Littera</i> are attributed to Langobards, and dated to the 9th or 10th century CE  |
| <b>PARADOXES</b><br><br>and<br><br><b>ANA-CHRONISMS</b>   | The <b>very latest jurists</b> of the <i>Digestae</i> are Modestin (*185-??? CE) and Domitius Ulpian (assassinated 223 CE or 228 CE). They belonged to the Severan Dynasty ( <b>193-235 CE; time of a Khosrow in Persia</b> ). Ulpian (35-40 % of <i>Digestae</i> ) died in the time of Alexander Severus (222-235) who had built Rome's last aqueduct. His predecessor Elagabalus (218-222 CE) was the last emperor to reside on Rome's Palatine.   |
|   | Due to Ulpian's lifetime (up to 223 or 228 CE), any additions to Justinian's original of the <i>Digestae</i> must have been written up to the time of Alexander Severus (222-235 CE). That would bring <b>Justinian historically before the end of Alexander Severus, i.e. before 235 CE</b> .   |
|   | Not a single jurist from the 300 years between the Severian early 3rd century and Justinian's 6 <sup>th</sup> century textbook date is included in the <i>Digestae</i> . Moreover, no post-550s jurist put his hand to the <i>Digestae</i> . <b>It is a mystery why Justinian's Greek subjects had to wait 370 years only to receive a version of the laws in Koine Greek of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. out of use since 700 years</b> . It remains an enigma why -- from Celsus (67-130) to Modestin (*ca. 185), and Ulpian (+223/228) -- only <b>Western Roman jurists</b> appear in the <i>Digestae</i> that were put together in the East <b>There are, from the Severans to the end of the Early Middle Ages, some 700 years without comments by Roman jurists</b> . |
|   | That a law of <b>529/534 CE</b> is written in <b>2<sup>nd</sup> c. Latin</b> (with <b>900s CE</b> translation into <b>2<sup>nd</sup> c. Greek</b> ) has commentators only up to the <b>220s CE</b> , looks bizarre only as long as the stratigraphic simultaneity of Imperial Antiquity, Late Antiquity, and the Early Middle Ages is denied.  |
| <b>High Middle Ages</b> ( <b>10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> c.</b> )   | Irnerius of Bologna (also Guarnerius, Wernerius; currently dated <b>1050-1130 CE</b> ) wrote the first new glosses after the Longobard ones of about 900 CE.   |

The known Roman culture of legal commentators began in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, and ended during the time of the Severan emperors (193-235 [contemporaries of a Persian ruler called **Khosrow**]). The most important – Ulpian –, died in the time of Alexander Severus (222-235 CE). These commentators were included in the *Digestae* of Justinian (527-565 [contemporary of a Persian ruler called **Khosrow**]). After the mid-3rd century, the subtleties of classical law came to be disregarded and finally forgotten in the west. Up to the 1140s CE, “no one in Western Europe could properly be described as a professional lawyer or a professional canonist in anything like the modern sense of the term ‘professional’. A hundred years later, trained lawyers seemed to have taken over the Western Church and clergyman at every level” (Brundage 1994, 185 f.).

But what about Alypius (4<sup>th</sup> c.; studied in Rome), Avitus, Castorius (5<sup>th</sup> c.; Rome), Floridus (4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> c.; Rome), Gaianus (4<sup>th</sup> c.; Rome), Ionus Apollonius (5<sup>th</sup> c.; Rome), Marinianus (4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> c.; active in Rome), Marcus Staberius Felix Primillanus Gaianus (4<sup>th</sup> c.; Rome), and Titianus (4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> c.; active in Rome)? There is no doubt they all existed. Most of them are known for their tombstones found in Rome. Their dating to Late Antiquity, however, brings them into a time when Rome did not build apartments, latrines, streets or aqueducts (in detail Heinsohn 2018b). It is therefore a Rome that only exists on the patient pages of our textbooks. Late Antiquity Rome (4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c.) simply has no settlement layers. Therefore these lesser lawyers must also have belonged to Imperial Antiquity (1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c.).

The latest jurists included in the *Digestae/Pandectae*, were the insignificant Modestin (\*185 CE) and, as the most important of all (35-40 percent of citations), Domitius Ulpian, who was assassinated in 223 or 228 CE. Justinian however, is dated to the 6th century CE after which the *Digestae* mysteriously disappeared until the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE. Of the law collection, an abbreviated Greek version, the *Basilika*, was published under Leo VI. (886-912 CE). For reasons unexplained so far, he used 700 years earlier Koine Greek. Laws issued from the outset in Greek (*Novellae* from 535 CE) are also written in Koine Greek of the 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century CE.

The only tangible version of the *Digestae* (a post-Justinian update), the 907 pages of the *Littera Pisana*, *Littera Florentina* or *Codex Florentinus (Digestorum)*, appeared in Pisa in 1155 CE. Thus, there are more than 900 years between the last commentator (Ulpian)

and the first physical copy of the *Digestae*. The sources of the Laws are still much more uncertain, because only fragments exist which, from the Middle Ages to the 19th century, were sorted into the chronological order we know today.

Justinian expressly promised the Romans that he would always keep their laws and comments up to date. Therefore, it is difficult to understand why the last commentator died 340 years before Justinian: “There remains the fact that between the writing of the classical works, mostly **before about AD 230**, and the compilation of the *Digestae* in the AD 530s three centuries intervened” (Crook 1967, 14; bold GH).

| Surrealism in the chronology of Justinian’s laws  |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| The most recent commentators of the <i>Digestae</i> were active during <b>IMPERIAL ANTIQUITY</b> [time of 2 <sup>nd</sup> /3 <sup>rd</sup> c. Latin and Greek].   | Justinian’s collection of laws and comments was put together in <b>LATE ANTIQUITY</b> [using 2 <sup>nd</sup> /3 <sup>rd</sup> c. Latin and Greek].  | Tangible evidence of Justinian’s work is missing from the 530s to c. 900 CE in the <b>EARLY MIDDLE AGES</b> [using 2 <sup>nd</sup> /3 <sup>rd</sup> c. Greek].  |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Publius Iuventius Celsus (67-130 CE)</li> <li>-Gaius (active between 130 and 180CE)</li> <li style="text-align: center;"><b>-SEVERAN EMPERORS</b></li> <li style="text-align: center;"><b>face Khosrow in Persia.</b></li> <li>-Aemilius Papinianus (141-212 CE)</li> <li>-Iulius Paulus (2<sup>nd</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE)</li> <li>-Herennius Modestinus (born ca. 185 CE)</li> <li>-Domitius Ulpian (murdered 223 or <b>228 CE</b>)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-<b>529 CE</b> first, <b>534 CE</b> second edition of the laws. <i>Digestae</i> date from <b>530-533 CE.</b></li> <li style="text-align: center;"><b>-JUSTINIAN</b></li> <li style="text-align: center;"><b>faces Khosrow in Persia.</b></li> <li>He promised to keep his work always up to date but “<b>texts dating mostly before about AD 230</b>” (Johnston 1999, 22)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Abridged Greek version of laws (<i>Basilika</i>) appeared under Leo VI. (886-912 CE)</li> <li style="text-align: center;"><b>-No comments known between Domitius Ulpian (+228 CE) and Irnerius of Bologna (ca. 1050-1130).</b></li> </ul> |

Justinian’s *Digestae* are dated to **Late Antiquity** (6th century). Yet, the most important legal commentators quoted in the *Digestae* belonged to the time of the Severan emperors of **Imperial Antiquity** (2nd/3rd century). Justinian himself wrote the Latin of the 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century of these commentators. His Greek subjects got a readable version – strangely still using Koine Greek of the 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. – only in the **Early Middle Ages** (*Basilika*; 9th/10th century). All these oddities give the impression as if the three epochs existed side by side at the same time. Yet, such a statement would sound bizarre or worse.

Is there any historical evidence linking Justinian to the Severan emperors, whose commentators dominate the *Digestae*? The Severans were active to conquer Adiabene between 195 and 216 CE. In that period, a certain Narses became master over this territory. Adiabene

was wrested from Parthian Persia, where a Khosrow was claimant of the throne. Under Justinian a Narses was likewise active and a Khosrow was his opponent in Persia. But already under Anastasius (491-518) Adiabene was taken from the Persians. That was nearly half a century before Justinian (527-565). Can they both have existed at the same time? It is still controversial which events belonged to Anastasius and which to Justinian.

There is almost nothing known about the 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. Narses of the Severans. The Khosrow of the same period would be completely unknown if he hadn't left coins. But even these coins are doubtful. They could also belong to a Khosrow (89-128 CE) of the time of the Roman emperors from Domitian (81-96 CE) to Hadrian (117-138 CE).



If the coins of the Severan Khosrow belong to the Khosrow of the 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> century, the question arises whether the sources about the Severan Khosrow were used up for the Khosrow of Justinian. The emperor would then have taken over not only the jurists, but also the Persian opponents of the Severans. If the Khosrow of the Severans is none other than the Khosrow of Justinian his coins should differ from those of the 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. Khosrow.

The complications do not end here because the Severan Khosrow resembling Justinian's Khosrow (531-579 CE) also resembled the Khosrow (591-628 CE) in the time of Mauricius (582-602 CE), Focas (602-610 CE), and Heraclius (610-641 CE). Instead of

considering the simultaneity of the Khosrows and the Caesars, modern researchers have separated the available coins. The gold dinars with the name Khosrow were assigned to the alleged second ruler of this name. So the Khosrow (531-579) of Justinian's time has to get by without gold dinars. Should it turn out, however, that the emperors dated after Justinian chronologically overlap with him – there are no urban settlement layers anywhere from 565 to 641 CE –, there would be just one Khosrow. He would not only have the silver coins, but the gold coins as well.



What do the archaeological sites attributed to Justinian have to say about a chronological shortening within Late Antiquity as well as a much more radical shortening of the entire first millennium CE? Can their stratigraphy confirm the claim of simultaneity of the Severan Khosrow with Justinian's Khosrow (and the decades up Heraclius) or do they refute it? Could Justinian's laws at the same time also have belonged to the 9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> c. CE when the Greeks got to know it, and the first marginal glosses (by Langobards) are attested for? Can Imperial Antiquity, Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages be facets of a single period that has been transformed into a chronological continuum? To answer this question we must (1) check Justinian's dating **within** Late Antiquity, and (2) show that Late Antiquity is located stratigraphically directly, i.e. without intervening centuries, below the layers of the High Middle Ages of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. We start with the first task.

## II JUSTINIAN'S CORRECT DATE *WITHIN* THE CHRONOLOGY OF LATE ANTIQUITY

Gothic wars of Late Antiquity (450s-640s CE) look repetitive. Do they represent just one war that was described from the point of view of different commanders? Were overlaps turned into a sequence. Yet, that war also resembled the (1) Roman wars against Goths of the 240s-260s CE (with Trebonianus), the (2) Roman wars against Goth-like Quadi and Hun-like Iazyges (with Baca) in the 170s-190s CE (followed by a Khosrow), and (3) the wars against Goth-like Varingians and Hungarians (9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> c.). (Data from: CAH XII-XIV; Pohl 2018; Wolfram 2001.)

|                         |   |  |                                     |   |                            |  |                             |                                |                             |
|-------------------------|---|--|-------------------------------------|---|----------------------------|--|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Imperator Caesar (date) | FLAVIUS IULIUS VALERIUS MAIORIANUS AUGUSTUS (457-461) | FLAVIUS ANASTASIUS AUGUSTUS (491-518) ZENON (474-491)  | FLAVIUS IUSTINUS AUGUSTUS (518-527) | FLAVIUS IUSTINIANUS AUGUSTUS (527-565), with Tribonianus  | FLAVIUS IUSTINUS (565-578) | FLAVIUS TIBERIUS CONSTANTINUS AUGUSTUS (578-582) | FLAVIUS MAURICIUS (582-602) | FLAVIUS FOCAS (602-610)        | FLAVIUS HERACLIUS (610-641) |
| Victories               |   | PRO-GOTHIC   |                                     | GOTHICUS  | GOTHICUS                   | GOTHICUS   | GOTHICUS                    | GOTHICUS                       | GOTHICUS                    |
| Special title           |   |  |                                     | PETRUS SABBATIUS  | FIDELIS IN CHRISTO         | FIDELIS IN CHRISTO                               | FIDELIS IN CHRISTO          | FIDELIS IN CHRISTO             | FIDELIS IN CHRISTO          |
| Gothic leaders          | -Adovacrius (TulDILA period)<br><br>-ROME renovated   | -Odoaker + son THELA (made Caesar by Anastasius; leaves no coins);<br>-ROME contested<br>-Byzantium circus revolt. |                                     | -BaDUILA/To-TILA (issued Anastasius and Justinian coins).<br>-ROME contested<br>-Byzantium circus revolt. |                            |  | Enters Italy                | Erects massive column in ROME. |                             |
| Leaders                 | Beuca (Iayzg)   |  |                                     | Narses  |                            |  | Narses                      |                                | Narses                      |
| Epidemic                | PLAGUE  |  |                                     | PLAGUE  |                            |  | PLAGUE                      | Gregory stops plague in Rome   | PLAGUE                      |
| Persia                  |   |  |                                     | Khosrow "I"   | Khosrow "I"                | Khosrow "I"                                      | Khosrow "II"                | Khosrow "II"                   | Khosrow "II"                |
| Steppe enemies          | Huns  |  |                                     | Avars threaten Byzantium  |                            |  | Avars threaten Byzantium    |                                | Avars threaten Byzantium    |
| Pope                    |   |  |                                     | Pelagius I  |                            |  | Pelagius II                 |                                |                             |
| Religion                | Monophysite controversy                               | Monophysite controversy  | Monophysite controv.                | Monophysite controversy   | Monophysite controversy    |  | Monophysite controversy     | Monophysite controversy        | Monophysite controversy     |
| Scholar/General         | PRISCOS describes AVARS before their time.            |  |                                     |   |                            |  |                             |                                | PRISCIUS fights AVARS.      |
| Extras                  |   | -Law collection by Theoderic   |                                     | -Hagia Sophia<br>-Law collection  |                            |  |                             |                                | Heinsohn April 2019         |

Chronological overlaps that indicate simultaneity do not exist only within Late Antiquity (e.g. between Anastasius and Justinian or between Justinian and Heraclius etc.). They range from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE. The coin finds of Raqqa, for example, which stratigraphically belongs to the Early Middle Ages (8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century), also contain imperial Roman coins from Imperial Antiquity (1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century) and Late Antiquity (4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century).

| Coins of Roman Emperors found in 8 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> c. CE strata of Raqqa that disappeared under sand in the 930s CE (Heidemann 2008). |  |  |  |                                       |                                |                            |   |  |   |   |
|---|--|--|--|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|---|--|---|---|
| <i>Antoninus Pius</i> (138–161)   | <i>Septimius Severus</i> (193–211)                             | <i>Caracalla</i> (198–217)                                 | <i>Gordian III</i> (238–244)                           | <i>Constantine I or son</i> (4thc.)   | <i>Constantine I</i> (317–337) | <i>Constans</i> (337–350)  | <i>Constantius II</i> (337–361)<br>-Nummus (3 items; 355-362) | <i>Constantius II or Constans</i> (341–346)  | <i>Honorius</i> (393–423)                       | <i>Theodosius I, Valentinianus II, Honorius or Arcadius</i> (388–408) |
| <i>Arcadius</i> (395–408)   | <i>Theodosius II.</i> (402–450); predecessor of <i>MARCIAN</i> | -Nummus (2nd half 4 <sup>th</sup> c.)<br>-Nummus (402–408) | <i>Arcadius, Honorius, or Theodosius II.</i> (395–408) | <i>Justinus I.</i> (518–527; 3 items) | <i>Justinus I or JUSTINIAN</i> | <i>JUSTINIAN</i> (527–565) | <i>Justinus II.</i> (565–578; 2 items)                        | <i>Mauricius Tiberius</i> (582–602; 2 items) | <i>Heraklius</i> (610–641); 4 items, 5th/6th c. |   |

| 11 Coins found in 8 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> c. CE strata of Raqqa that disappeared under sand in the 930s CE (Hoard “Bi82-26/34-10“; Heidemann 2008) [E] = Roman emperor; [C] = Caliph). |  |   |   |  |                                      |   |  |  |
|--|--|---|---|--|--------------------------------------|---|--|--|
| <i>MARCIAN</i> [E] (450–457)<br>[Marcus-Aurelius period: 170s==870s stratigraphically]   | <i>Ḥusrū II. Anūšīrwān</i> [C] (591–628) | <i>al-Manšūr</i> [C] (754–775; 2 items) | <i>al-Mahdī Muḥammad</i> (775–785)<br>[C] | <i>Abbasid dirham</i> (750-900; 2 items) | <i>Hārūn ar-Rashīd</i> [C] (786–809) | <i>Yazīd ibn Hātim ibn al-Muhallabī</i> [C] (771–787) | <i>Ibrāhīm ibn Aḡlab</i> [C] (800–811) | <i>‘Umar ibn Ḥaḡṣ al-Muhallabī</i> , [C] (768–771) |

Archaeologists are particularly confident of correctly dating finds from 1<sup>st</sup> millennium excavation sites when they find coins associated with them. A coin-dated layer is considered to be of utmost scientific precision. But how do scholars know the dates of the coins? From coin catalogues! How do the authors of these catalogues know how to date the coins? Not according to archaeological strata, but from the lists of Roman emperors. But how are the emperors dated and then sorted into these lists? Nobody knows for sure. One may know well established sequences of imperial dynasties (Julio-Claudians, Flavians, Antonines, Severans etc.), that can also be confirmed stratigraphically. But nobody knows a stratigraphy in which the coins of the West Roman and East Roman emperors of the one thousand years of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium are found in superimposed layers. Since the excavators – seduced by the seemingly

hundred percent certainty of the coin dates – trust these more than their own stratigraphic findings, they conclude from coins of – for example – the “2<sup>nd</sup>” as well as the “5<sup>th</sup>” century in one and the same settlement layer that their houses were inhabited not only in the “2<sup>nd</sup>”, but also still in the “5<sup>th</sup>” century, although nothing has changed in the buildings and not even repairs are detectable for the 300 years in between.

The fact that coins from the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries indicate simultaneity does not occur to them even if the coins are found in the same

| <b>Coins in the leather purse of Childeric (457/58–481 CE) indicate the simultaneity of Roman emperors artificially dispersed over two epochs - Imperial Antiquity and Late Antiquity.</b>  |            |             |           |                                |                |                      |                  |           |
|---|------------|-------------|-----------|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------------|------------------|-----------|
| [D. Quast, ed., <i>Das Grab des fränkischen Königs Childerich in Tournai und die Anastasis Childerici</i> von Jean-Jacques Chifflet aus dem Jahr 1655. <i>Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums</i> , vol. 129, Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2015, pp. 178 f.] |            |             |           |                                |                |                      |                  |           |
| <b>Coins of Imperial Antiquity</b>  |            |             |           | <b>Coins of Late Antiquity</b> |                |                      |                  |           |
| Kaiser  | RIC        | Chronologie | Anzahl    | Kaiser                         | Münzstätte     | RIC X                | Chronologie      | Anzahl    |
| Republik  | unbestimmt |             | 1         | Theodosius II.                 | Konstantinopel | 232-237. 257-260     | 431-434          | 1         |
| Nero  | RIC I      | 50-68       | 1         | Theodosius II.                 | Konstantinopel | 282-293              | 441-443          | 1         |
| Trajan  | RIC II     | 98-117      | 2         | Valentinian III.               | Ravenna        | 2035-2036            | 435              | 1         |
| Hadrian   | RIC II     | 117-138     | 5         | Valentinian III.               | Konstantinopel | 505-506              | 452              | 1         |
| Antoninus Pius  | RIC III    | 138-161     | 9         | Marcian                        | Konstantinopel | 507-511              | 451-456          | 8         |
| Faustina I.   | RIC III    | 138-161     | 3         | Leo I.                         | Thessaloniki   | 620-627              | 457              | 1         |
| Marc Aurel  | RIC III    | 140-180     | 7         | Leo I.                         | Konstantinopel | 605. 630             | 462-471          | 57        |
| Faustina II.  | RIC III    | 147-180     | 3         | Julius Nepos                   | Ravenna        | 3212-3213            | 474-477          | 1         |
| Lucius Verus  | RIC III    | 161-169     | 6         | Basiliscus                     | Konstantinopel | 1001-1007            | 475-476          | 1         |
| Commodus  | RIC III    | 172-192     | 2         | Basiliscus & Marcus            | Konstantinopel | 1010-1012. 1019-1024 | 476              | 2         |
| Julia Domna   | RIC IV     | 193-217     | 1         | Zeno                           | Konstantinopel | 911                  | 474-475, 476-491 | 14        |
| Caracalla   | RIC IV     | 196-217     | 1         | Zeno & Leo                     | Konstantinopel | 906                  | 476-477          | 1         |
| Constantius II.   | RIC VIII   | 351-355     | 1         |                                |                |                      |                  |           |
| <b>Anzahl</b>   |            |             | <b>42</b> | <b>Anzahl</b>                  |                |                      |                  | <b>89</b> |

Purse of, e.g., Childeric (457/458-481 CE). If, as in Raqqa, coins from Imperial Antiquity up to the Early Middle Ages are found in the same stratum, simultaneity is not considered. But amazement is being felt. Often the heirloom theory is then offered as an explanation. Since, as in Raqqa, settlement strata of about 1 to 700 CE are missing, it remains unexplainable where the parents of the recipients of these supposedly ancient pieces could have lived during those 700 years. The experts may then concede inexplicability or an enigma, but still not contemplate simultaneity.

Back to checking Justinian's place in textbook chronology **within** Late Antiquity. It is believed to have begun in the year 284 CE. We trust this date to be the start of Diocletian's reign (284-305). Imperial Antiquity ends in the Third Century Crisis (235-284 CE). Imperial Antiquity, thus, had some 235 years at the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium (i.e. 1-235 CE). Late Antiquity, beginning in 284 CE, is said to have come to a catastrophic end in the Sixth Century Crisis. But is that true? The death of the last emperor, Heraclius, is dated 641 CE. That is why there is still no consensus among experts as to when Late Antiquity ended. In textbook chronology it has 357 years (284 to 641 CE). The Early Middle Ages are dated between 700 and the Tenth Century Collapse circa 930 CE. Thus

|  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| Cataclysmic end of Imperial Antiquity in the 230s CE | Cataclysmic end of Late Antiquity in the ???s CE | Catalysmic end of the Early Middle Ages in the 930s CE |
|--|--|--|

they lasted about as long as Imperial Antiquity. But are there really archaeological layers for the 120 additional years required for Late Antiquity? For the “private” cities of Anastasius (Dyrrachium) and Justinian (Justiniana Prima) this is by no means the case.

Both rulers are connected to events in Rome. There, however, no apartments, kitchens, latrines, water pipes or roads were built between the 230s CE and the 930s CE (Heinsohn 2018b). From a stratigraphic point of view, therefore, all events placed in Rome that are textbook dated between the 230s and the 930s CE must be followed by a question mark. Personalities and deeds from this period must be accommodated in such a way that they can be linked to the unquestionable period in which Rome was alive and building. All narratives and persons which are now distributed over 930 years must be accommodated within just 230 to 240 years.

The author has tried to show in *The Stratigraphy of Rome* (Heinsohn 2018b) that Rome's 230-240 years with settlement layers **stratigraphically** must be placed between 700 and 930 CE because the massive remains textbook-dated 1 to 230s CE are directly tangent with the primitive new buildings of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. This means that these remains lie about 1320 to 1090 years before 2020 CE. Following stratigraphy, all earlier dates have to come about 700 years closer to the present, too. Thus, the last century of Late Latène (100 to 1 BCE), moves to around 600 to 700 CE.

For the personalities and events now assigned to Late Antiquity, a total of 230 to 240 years must suffice, too. In mainstream chronology, that translates into a time span from 284 CE to around 520 CE. Events that are currently dated between 520 CE and 640 CE must therefore find a place before the 520s CE. The Focas Column (“608” CE), e.g., can only have been erected in Rome at a time when apartments, streets, latrines etc. were built. Yet, such activities had stopped in the 230s CE.

Stratigraphically, the period of Late Antiquity (from 284 to 520 CE instead of 284 to 641 CE) belongs to the time period of around 700 to 930s CE (equalling 1-230s CE of our textbook chronology). The table below (columns on the right) indicates that the Gothic

**Repetitions of events from the history of the Goths between the 4th and 6th centuries CE.** (Data from CAH XII-XIV; Pohl 2018; Wolfram 2001).

**The identity of THELA and ToTILA=BaDUILA indicates, in the time of Anastasius, the partial contemporaneity of Anastasius (makes THELA Caesar and has coins in his name by TILA=DUILA) and Justinian (at war with TILA=DUILA)**

| Major Gothic events of the late 4 <sup>th</sup> century CE   |   | Major Gothic events of the late 5 <sup>th</sup> century CE  |   | Gothic wars of the 470s-490s CE (with THELA) are repeated in the 530s-550s CE (with ToTILA).              |  |
|--|---|---|---|---|--|
| FLAVIUS THEODOSIUS I leaves no medals, only coins. Frontal view coins (Christian reverse; right) are attributed to Theodosius “II” but belong to Theodosius “I” (==Theodericus). Profile views belong to the law collector (Theo. “II”). |  | FLAVIUS THEODERICUS leaves no portrait coins, only one medal (right). Like ToTILA, he uses coins of Anastasius. Theodosius “II” coins with Christian reverse are Theoderic’s strangely missing coins. |  | Although THELA is elevated to Caesar by Anastasius, he leaves no coins with the portrait of that emperor. | BaDUILA/ToTILA leaves coins with the portrait of Emperor Anastasius (deceased decades before him). |
| <b>THEODOSIUS I</b> visits Rome only once.   |   | <b>THEODERIC</b> visits Rome only once.   |   | No coins at all by <b>THELA</b> .   | Coins by To <b>TILA</b> .  |
| <b>THEODOSIUS I</b> builds his second palace in Ravenna.   |   | <b>THEODERIC’s</b> second palace is the one built by THEODOSIUS in Ravenna.   |   | <b>490 CE: THELA</b> and Odoaker lose near Verona.  | <b>552 CE: ToTILA</b> faces Belisar near Verona.   |
| <b>THEODOSIUS I</b> builds his first palace in Macedonia’s metropolis Stobi.   |   | <b>THEODERIC’s</b> first palace is the one built by THEODOSIUS in Macedonia’s Stobi.  |   | <b>470s CE: THELA</b> and Odoaker rule Rome.  | 547 CE: To <b>TILA</b> takes Rome.   |
| <b>THEODOSIUS I</b> is <i>magister militum</i> and Duke of Moesia.   |   | <b>THEODERIC</b> is <i>magister militum</i> and Commander of Moesia.  |   | <b>490 CE: THELA</b> is made Caesar by Anastasius.  | <b>540s CE: ToTILA</b> issues Anastasius coins..   |
| <b>THEODOSIUS I</b> becomes master of Ravenna after legendary <i>Raben-Schlacht</i> (Battle of Ravenna).   |   | <b>THEODERIC</b> becomes master of Ravenna after <i>Raben-Schlacht</i> (Battle of Ravenna).   |   | <b>481 CE: THELA</b> and Odoaker take Dalmatia.   | <b>535 CE: ToTILA</b> takes Dalmatia.  |
| <b>THEODOSIUS I</b> employs Goths in war against other Goths. ALARIC (“I”) helps Theodosius.   |   | <b>THEODERIC</b> employs Goths in war against other Goths. ALARIC (“II”) helps Theodericus.   |   | <b>477 CE. THELA</b> and Odoaker take Sicily.   | <b>550 CE: ToTILA</b> takes Sicily.  |
| <b>THEODOSIUS I</b> is the first to settle Goths in the the Roman Empire.  |   | <b>THEODERIC</b> is the first to settle Goths in Italy, the heart of the Roman Empire.  |   | <b>460s CE: Adovacrius/Odoaker</b> (time of Tul <b>DILA</b> ) is at war in Gaul.                          | <b>548 CE: Gaul’s bishop Aurelian</b> begs To <b>TILA</b> to spare Catholics.                      |

wars of the 530s to 550s CE are a double of the Gothic wars of the 470s to 490s CE. This can also be confirmed by the similar borders within which the Gothic wars of the 470s and of the 530s were fought in Sicily, Italy and Dalmatia. Moreover, nobody has found material remains of two different wars in the same area at intervals of about 60 years.

Assumed dimensions of the **Gothic empire of THELA** and his father, Odoacer, in the **470s-490s CE** (time of Anastasius who elevated THELA to the rank of Caesar). The empire fell to Byzantium in alliance with **Theoderic**, a Gothic foe of THELA and Odoacer. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Odoacer]

Assumed dimension of the **Gothic Empire of ToTILA/BaDUILA** (father's name is not known) in the **530s to 550s CE** (Justinian's time). The empire fell to Byzantium allied with Gothic foes (whose leaders are not known) of ToTILA. [http://paulbuddehistory.com/europe/barbarians-rule/]. **PERIOD OF LAW COLLECTION AND HAGIA SOPHIA.**



THELA was, in 490 CE, elevated to the rank of Caesar by Anastasius (491-518 CE) (Wolfram 2001, 282]. Yet, this Gothic prince did not leave any coins issued in the name of Anastasius. BaDUILA, however, left many such coins, though his reign began half a century after Anastasius's. He was the same as ToTILA (516/541-552) as reported by Jordanes: “*Baduila qui etiam ToTILA dicebatur* [Grierson/Blackburn 1991, 26]

ToTILA/BaDUILA supposedly also left coins in the name of Justinian (527-565 CE; see next page). ToTILA's Justinian coins, however, are so rare or controversial that some experts no longer mention them: “Baduila, who initially minted in the name of Anastasius instead of Justinian I, later struck coins in his own name. The legend of Anastasius I is also used by Teia” (Baldi 2019). The fact that Teia (+552 CE) was the successor of ToTILA in the war against Justinian (+565 CE) and also issued coins in the name of Anastasius (+518 CE) but not of Justinian also indicates the simultaneity of the two Byzantine rulers. In short, the author claims, THELA is identical with ToTILA/BaDUILA. Therefore, he is no longer without coins, but gets the pieces issued by ToTILA/BaDUILA. In turn, ToTILA/BaDUILA finally gets a father. It is Odoaker, THELA's father.

The identification of THELA with ToTILA/BaDUILA means that Anastasius (a Monophysite) and Justinian (a Trinitarian) overlap chronologically. If coins issued by ToTILA/BaDUILA in the name of Justinian can ever be proven to be uncontroversial (see illustration next page) they may indicate that the Gothic prince was forced to change loyalties between both rulers. After one of his defeats he may have issued coins in Justinian's name, waiting for the opportunity to resume the fight. Yet, such coins were declared untraceable already by researchers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see Friedlaender/Pinder 1843, 64).

The chronological overlapping of Anastasius and Justinian must now be synchronized with the time-span when Rome was still building apartments, latrines and streets, i.e. up to the 230s CE of Imperial Antiquity in textbook chronology. Such a period with events resembling the late 5<sup>th</sup> of Anastasius as well as the near midst 6<sup>th</sup> century of Justinian did exist in Rome at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century of textbook chronology (stratigraphically, in this author's view, at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century).

But let us begin with Dyrrachium (Durrës/Albania). It was the hometown of Emperor Anastasius, for whom ToTILA issued coins. ToTILA is the alter ego of THELA, whom Anastasius promoted to Caesar, but whose coins are missing. Dyrrachium, a Roman city since 30 BC, experienced “some major catastrophe” (Hoti et al.2008, 394) with traces of fire. It could be dated by a “denarius of the late second to early third centuries” (Hoti et al.2008, 386). We recall that Rome, too, suffered a major conflagration in the late 2<sup>nd</sup>

**ToTILA (516/541-552) as King of Italy** (as imagined by C. B. Ruthart from Danzig [1630-1703]; photo J. Sidorczak-Heinsohn). There are no coins from THELA (Odoaker's son), whom Anastasius (491-518 CE) promoted to Caesar. From ToTILA/BaDUILA (father unknown), however, there are many coins in the name of Anastasius, although he lived at the time of Justinian (527-565 CE). ToTILA coins in the name of Justinian have been claimed but not shown. But after his *Rex* coins in the name of Anastasius ToTILA later issued his own coins in the outfit of a Caesar, as one would expect from THELA. The identity of THELA and ToTILA provides one indication for the simultaneity of Anastasius and Justinian.



**Coin of ToTILA/BaDUILA in the name of Anastasius (491-518 CE)**

[[https://www.icollector.com/Roman-Emp-The-Ostrogoths-Baduila-Quarter-siliqua-491-518-AR-0-75g\\_i9776881](https://www.icollector.com/Roman-Emp-The-Ostrogoths-Baduila-Quarter-siliqua-491-518-AR-0-75g_i9776881)]



**Assumed coin of ToTILA/BaDUILA in the name of Justinian (527-565 CE; controversial)**

[<https://www.flickr.com/photos/antiquitiesproject/27058344816>]



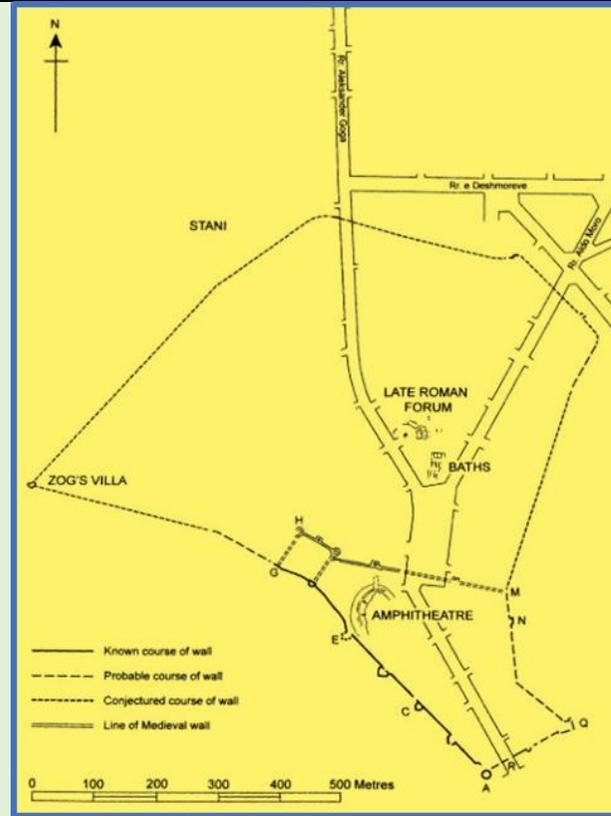
century in which, i.a., the state archive (*tabularium*) was burnt (192 CE; Cassius Dio [155-235], Epitome of LXXIII: 240). However, Dyrrachium (like Rome) was not destroyed, but only badly damaged. Rome's ultimate destruction happened in the 230s CE (represented in the photo below by the mud layer [*fango*] dated [correctly] to the 9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> c.).

**ROME'S CONFLAGRATION IN THE 3<sup>rd</sup> C. AD: STRATIGRAPHY OF TRAJAN-FORUM (ROME).** The floor of Imperial Antiquity (**PIANO ANTICO 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD**) is immediately covered by a level of dark **FANGO** (dark mud/earth) that is vaguely dated to the **9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> c. AD**. In the very heart of Rome there are no remains for the periods of Late Antiquity (late 3<sup>rd</sup> to 6/7<sup>th</sup> c. AD) as well as the Early Middle Ages (8<sup>th</sup> to early 10<sup>th</sup> c. AD). [Bernacchio, N, Meneghini, R., *I Fori dopo I Fori: La vita quotidiana nell'area dei Fori Imperiali, dopo l'Antichità*; Roma: Gangemi, 2017, fig. 8.]



Over a levelling layer at Dyrrachium, Anastasius had a circular forum erected, which probably carried a mighty column in its center, the foundation of which reaches down to a depth of 3.5 m under the new forum floor. It was this so-called Late Antiquity stage of development of Dyrrachium that was devastated by the much bigger final catastrophe. It must have occurred soon after or around the death of Anastasius in 518 CE (textbook date). His forum's "marble paving" was covered with "a layer of dark soil c. 1.00 m high" upon which many burials were found (Hoti et al. 2008, 379;

**Location of circular forum in Dyrrachium (attributed to Anastasius (491-518 CE)).** [<https://www.uamd.edu.al/new/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/A.Hoti-14.pdf>]



**Modern view of partially reconstructed circular forum of Dyrrachium with the base for, probably, a massive column (reaching 3.50 m below the surface).**

[[http://www.libertas.pl/20090926075-Forum\\_rzymskie\\_\(V-VI\\_w.\)\\_Durres\\_\(Albania\).jpg](http://www.libertas.pl/20090926075-Forum_rzymskie_(V-VI_w.)_Durres_(Albania).jpg)]



see also 382). We recall that in Rome the floor of the Forum was also covered with dark earth (*fango*; p.15 above). This cover is dated to the 9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century (Bernacchio/Meneghini 2017, fig. 8). Yet, between the end of Imperial Antiquity, i.e. the beginning of the Third Century Crisis (ca. 230s CE), and the 10<sup>th</sup> c. *fango* no dwellings, latrines or streets were built in Rome (Heinsohn 2018b).

Dyrrachium lacks urban structures between the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the construction of the circular forum around before 518 CE. The excavators therefore believe in a "period of abandonment" (Hoti et al. 2008, 394) until the time of Anastasius (491-518 CE). Since they vaguely explain the pre-Forum destruction by an earthquake of 364 CE (i.e. not by the 190s calamity hitting Rome), they reduce the blank time-span of more than 300 years (up to ca. 500 CE) to just one and a half centuries.

| <b>DYRRACHIUM (Durrës/Albania; stratigraphy see Hoti et al. 2008).</b>                                       |  |   |   |                                       |
|--|--|---|---|---------------------------------------|
| <b>City of ANASTASIUS (491-518 CE). Textbook chronology <i>versus</i> the stratigraphy-based chronology.</b> |  |   |   |                                       |
| <b>Textbook chronology</b>   | <b>Events in textbook chronology</b>   | <b>Dating according to contemporaneity of Imperial and Late Antiquity</b> | <b>Events in stratigraphy-based chronology</b>  | <b>Stratigraphy-based chronology</b>  |
| 10 <sup>th</sup> /11 <sup>th</sup> c.  | Slow recovery  | Rome restarts on dark earth/ <i>fango</i> of 10 <sup>th</sup> c. CE       | Slow recovery   | 10 <sup>th</sup> /11 <sup>th</sup> c. |
| 530/50s-10 <sup>th</sup> c.  | Dark Age of 380 to 400 years.  | 9th/10th c. CE in Rome.   | No dark age of 380-400 years.   | 930s CE.                              |
| Mid 6 <sup>th</sup> c.   | <b>FINAL DESTRUCTION WITH DARK EARTH COVER.</b>  | <b>DARK EARTH ("FANGO") .</b>   | <b>FINAL DESTRUCTION (DARK EARTH COVER).</b>  | <b>930s CE</b>                        |
| 500–542 CE   | Construction/use of Round Forum with Christian traces.<br>(Time of Justinian's laws)   | 190s to 230s CE<br>(Severan dynasty and Justinian's jurists in Rome.)     | Construction of round forum under Anastasius on late 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. ruins (time of Justinian's law collection). | 890s to 930s CE                       |
| 346-500 CE   | Abandonment of c. 150 years  | 192 CE  | No abandonment of 150years.   | 890sCE                                |
| 346 CE   | Severe damage vaguely dated to an earthquake of 346 CE.  | 192 CE: Rome's state archive [ <i>tabularium</i> ] goes up in fire.       | Antonine Fires of 190s CE.  | 890s CE                               |
| Late 2 <sup>nd</sup> /early third c. CE  | Urban remains under destructions vaguely dated to 346 CE. No urban structures for 150 years (late 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. to 346 CE). | Late 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. CE  | Urban remains (160s-192CE) of period of Marcus Aelius and Commodus. No missing urban layers of 150 years.           | 860s to 890s CE                       |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BCE to 1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> c. CE   | Urban remains of Late Hellenism and early Roman city (since 30 BCE).   | Late 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BCE to 1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> c. CE     | Urban remains of Late Hellenism and early Roman city.   | 650s to 860s CE                       |

We have a similar stratigraphy in Alexandria, Egypt. It is, however, dated quite differently from Dyrrachium. Nevertheless, from the 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, there is the same sequence: Late Hellenism, Imperial Antiquity, heavy damage, classical Roman rebuilding (called Late Antiquity), and the final destruction of Roman civilization. Though Late Antiquity should last to 641 CE (death of Heraclius), “much to the excavators’ surprise, most of the identified [pottery] examples were of earlier than expected date and did not reach beyond the late 5<sup>th</sup>– early 6<sup>th</sup> century AD horizon” (Majcherek 2015, 43 f.), i.e. to the end of Anastasius (491-518 CE). Some 120 years of Late Antiquity – the period (527-641 CE) from Justinian to Heraclius – could not be identified. Those are the fictitious years within Late Antiquity. And yet the emperors of this period have existed. Thus, they have to be accommodated in the decades before the 520s CE. In Rome these decades have their equivalent in the 190s-230s CE (stratigraphically 890s-930s CE).

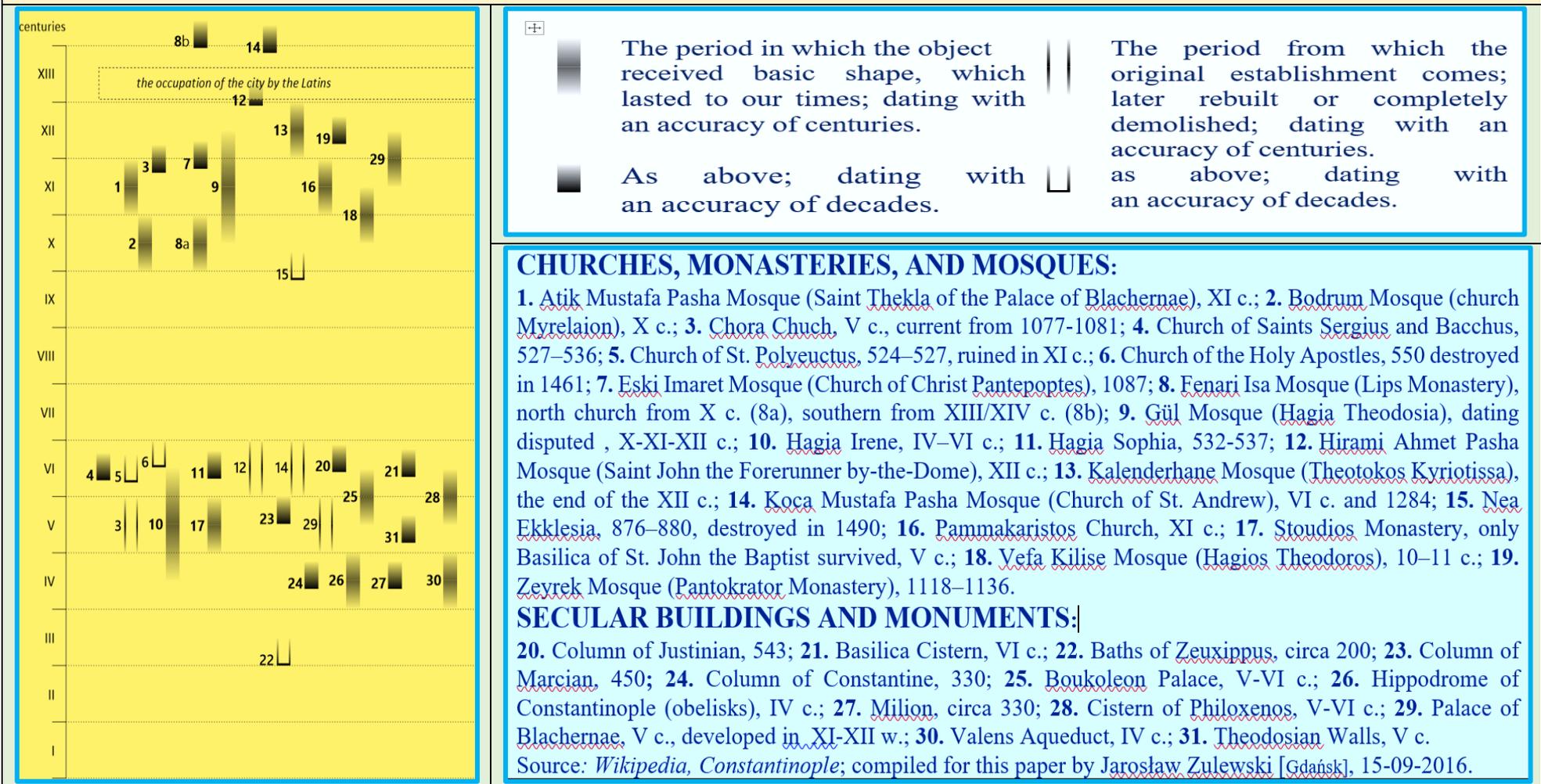
| <b>ALEXANDRIA. SITE OF KOM EL DIKKA</b> (Majcherek 2007; 2015)<br><b>Textbook chronology versus the stratigraphy-based chronology</b> |   |   |  |                                       |
|---|---|---|--|---------------------------------------|
| <b>Textbook chronology</b>  | <b>Events in textbook chronology</b>  | <b>Dating according to contemporaneity of Imperial and Late Antiquity</b>       | <b>Events in stratigraphy-based chronology</b>   | <b>Stratigraphy-based chronology</b>  |
| 800-1200 CE   | No houses from 800-1200 CE, only graves; used as dump since 1200.   | Rome restarts upon dark earth/fango of 9 <sup>th</sup> /10 <sup>th</sup> c. CE. | Slow recovery; monasticism; knights in castles.  | 10 <sup>th</sup> /11 <sup>th</sup> c. |
| 796 CE.   | <b>EARTHQUAKE DESTROYED THE CITY.</b>   | <b>“FANGO” (DARK EARTH) UPON ROME’S FORUM.</b>                                  | <b>FINAL DESTRUCTION WITH DARK EARTH COVER.</b>  | <b>930s CE</b>                        |
| 4 <sup>th</sup> -7 <sup>th</sup> c. but ends “late 5 <sup>th</sup> -early 6 <sup>th</sup> ” (2015)                                    | Construction of bath, lecture halls + theatre in 2 <sup>nd</sup> /3 <sup>d</sup> c. style. No new houses built from ca. 400-796 CE. | 190s to 230s CE<br>Severan dynasty with Justinian’s jurists.                    | Construction after 1 <sup>st</sup> c. villas were destroyed in the late late 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. ruins. | 890s to 930s CE                       |
| 280s-380s (maximum)   | Abandoned up to 100 years: “even a century later ... in ruins” (2007).  | 192 CE  | No abandonment.  | 890sCE                                |
| Late 3 <sup>rd</sup> c. CE  | Severe destruction dated by textbook chronology of Aurelian (270-275) and Diocletian (285-305).                                     | 192 CE: Rome’s state archive (tabularium) goes up in flames.                    | Antonine Fires of 190s.  | 890s CE                               |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> to late 3 <sup>rd</sup> c.  | No new urban structures but “1 <sup>st</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> century” glass (2015).  | Late 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. CE  | Urban remains (160s-192 CE) of period of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.                                 | 860s to 890s CE                       |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> /1 <sup>st</sup> c. BCE to 1 <sup>st</sup> c. CE  | Urban remains of Late Hellenism and early Roman villas.   | Late 1 <sup>st</sup> c. BCE to 1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> c. CE           | Urban remains of Late Hellenism and early Roman city.  | 650s to 860s CE                       |

Like Rome and Alexandria, Dyrrachium has between 1 and 930 CE only about 230 years in which urban structures were built. If one takes out the blank periods from both cities, there is a parallel development with a significant catastrophe some 40 years before the ultimate cataclysm. Stratigraphically, this last period of ancient civilization falls between c. 890 and the 930 CE. From 890 (190s=ca. 490s) Rome, now without archive and with a population decrease from a maximum of one to a minimum of half a million inhabitants, was no longer able to rule. Therefore, everywhere, not only in the West, but also in the East, local rulers had to take over power in order to preserve civilization and simultaneously integrate or defeat the invading barbarians. At the same time, new collections of laws (Theodericus, Justinian, Germanic lawmakers etc.) had to be created in order to get the administration going again. The jurists of the Severan emperors dominated this work because the new law collections were created during their time.

| <b>ROME and BYZANTIUM: Plague, Narses, Khosrow and confrontations with Persia [“Migration Period”]</b>   |  |  |   |
|--|--|--|---|
| <b>190s CE</b> of<br>Septimius Severus (193-211 CE)  | <b>530s ff. CE</b> of<br>Justinian (527-565 CE).<br>His 530s ff. wars against ToTILA equal<br>Byzantium’s 470s ff. wars against<br>THELA+Odoaker in ANASTASIUS’s time<br>(indicating contemporaneity) ( <b>Iazyges + Beuca</b> ).  | <b>590s CE</b> of<br>Maurikios with Rome<br>column in 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. style<br>(582-602 CE)   | <b>620s CE</b> of<br>Heraclius<br>(610-641 CE)  |
| <b>Dwellings</b> , latrines, water pipes,<br>kitchens and roads are built in <b>ROME</b><br>up to the 230s CE.   | <b>No dwellings</b> , latrines, water pipes, baths, brothels, kitchens or roads are<br>built in <b>ROME</b> from the 230s to 930s CE.  |  |   |
| Under the impact of a <b>PLAGUE</b><br>(of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus),<br><b>NARSES</b> conquers Adiabene from<br>Parthian <b>Persia</b> ( <b>Khosrow</b> ). Marcus<br>Aurelius (161-180) succumbs to the<br>plague, Commodus (177-192) is spared.<br>Rome’s state archive ( <i>tabularium</i> ) is<br>burnt in 192 CE. | Under the impact of a <b>PLAGUE</b> epidemic,<br><b>NARSES</b> fights against <b>Persia</b> and his king<br><b>Khosrow</b> ("I"). One of the popes is called<br>Pelagius ("I").<br>Justinian survives a plague. He tries to<br>recreate Roman laws by drawing on<br>sources outside of Rome. | Under the impact of a <b>PLAGUE</b><br>epidemic, <b>NARSES</b> fights against<br><b>Persia</b> and his king <b>Khosrow</b><br>("II"). One of the popes is called<br>Pelagius ("II").<br>Pope Gregory survives the plague in<br>Rome, calls Hadrian’s mausoleum<br>after archangel Michael. | Under the impact of a <b>PLAGUE</b> epidemic,<br><b>NARSES</b> fights against<br><b>Persia</b> and his king<br><b>Khosrow</b> ("II"). |
| <b>Goth-like Quadi</b> (allied with <b>Iazyges</b><br><b>under Baca</b> ) march on Rome, are<br>settled around Ravenna.  | Goths march on Rome, control Ravenna but<br>are wiped out. Yet, they fight up to Heraclius<br>(+641), and are back in Early Middle Ages.   | Goths are defeated by Mauricius<br><i>Gothicus</i> . Their whereabouts,<br>however, are not known.   | Goths are defeated by<br>Heraclius <i>Gothicus</i> . Their<br>future is unknown.  |

Byzantium is not different from Rome, Dyrrachium or any other city of the Empire. Even for religious or secular monuments, there are examples only in one of the three periods of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium. Imperial Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages are missing, while

### Missing secular and religious buildings of Imperial Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages in Constantinople/Byzantium



Late Antiquity is as rich – and built in the same style and technology – as Rome in Imperial Antiquity (1-230s CE). But Byzantium seems to be hanging in mid-air. Such an impression is rendered obsolete if one looks stratigraphically and not chronologically. Then

Late Antiquity passes directly into the High Middle Ages of the 10th/11th century. The last **pre-Christian** century of Byzantium (textbook dated 100-1 BCE) covers the period from about 600 to 700 CE.

Byzantium's Column of Justinian (no. 20 in the table above) was contemporary with the Column of Anastasius on the circular forum in Dyrrachium. Both were contemporary with Rome's Severan emperors (193-235 CE) that succeeded the Antonine Fires with plague and protests against Commodus. All these rulers formed subgroups of the many Augusti and *Caesares* that kept the enormous space functional on which 45 states exist today (without Liechtenstein, Monaco, and the Vatican). Severans **and** Justinian repaired the Limes in Britain and Tripolitania. Both called their Persian opponents Parthians (ref. E. Ernst), and employed a certain Narses etc. (see p. 24 below). We are dealing with less than half a century between the 190s catastrophe and the ultimate cataclysm of the 230s CE.

One must keep in mind that the conflagrations and Persian wars during the Severan period in Rome ran stratigraphically parallel with similar events in the Eastern part of the Empire, which according to textbook chronology, however, is dated about 300 years later. Around 500 CE, "the cities of the Greek East were hit by a series of severe blows; earthquakes [Brandes, 1989, 176-181], Persian invasions [Foss 1990], and, perhaps most serious of all successive waves of bubonic plague [Conrad 1987; Durliat 1989] / The effect was like the crisis of the third century" (Liebeschuetz 1992, 3f. / 34).

The experts see the similarities between the 200s CE and 500s CE quite clearly, but consider them, due to their anti-stratigraphic perspective, to be a stunning repetition of history:

"Chapter 5, 2-6 of the *Gallieni Duo* [*Historia Augusta*] describes catastrophes and their mental consequences: Earthquakes, a darkness lasting several days, terrible thunder, fissures in the earth from which salt water emerged, epidemics and warlike incursions by barbarians. [...] Despite its brevity and density, this instructive section reminds us of the much more detailed descriptions of catastrophes of the **6th century A.D.** [...] A similar picture of a crisis, with the uncertainty of population groups settling close to the border and the associated changes, is already indicated for the **3rd century** with the aforementioned *Historia-Augusta* section" (Brandt 2006, 14; bold GH).<sup>1</sup>

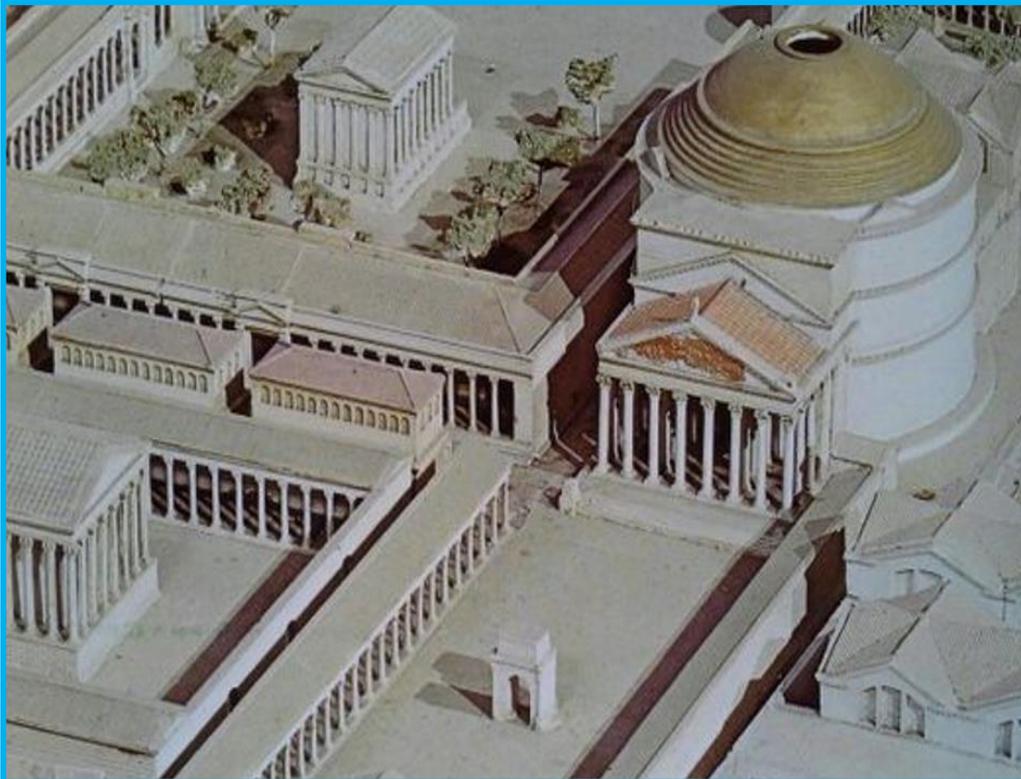
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<sup>1</sup> "Im Kapitel 5, 2-6 der *Gallieni Duo* [*Historia Augusta*] werden Katastrophen und ihre mentalen Folgen beschrieben: Erdbeben, eine mehrtägige Finsternis, fürchterlicher Donner, Erdspalten, aus denen Salzwasser gekommen sei, Seuchen und kriegerische Einfälle von Barbaren. [...] Dieser instructive Abschnitt erinnert trotz seiner Kürze und Dichte etwa an die viel ausführlicheren Katastrophenschilderungen des 6. Jahrhunderts n.Chr. [...] Ein] ähnliches Krisenbild, mit der Verunsicherung weiter, vor allem in Grenznähe siedelnder Bevölkerungskreise und den damit einhergehenden Veränderungen, deutet sich mit dem genannten *Historia-Augusta*-Abschnitt auch bereits für das 3. Jahrhundert an

The experts also know that Constantinople repeats. in the 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> century of Late Antiquity, Rome's urbanity of 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> century from Imperial Antiquity, which in Constantinople is enigmatically without urban strata, although Cassius Dio (Epitome of LXXV: 10 f.)

**Reconstruction of a section of **ROME****  
**(no residential quarters, latrines etc. built in Late Antiquity**  
**and Early Middle Ages) in the early **2<sup>nd</sup> century****

[<https://pl.pinterest.com/pin/313844667759854163/?lp=true>]



**Reconstruction of a section of **CONSTANTINOPLE****  
**(no residential quarters, latrines etc. built in**  
**Imperial Antiquity and Early Middle Ages) in the**  
**early **5<sup>th</sup> century****

[<http://www.twcenter.net/forums/showthread.php?652821-AMAZING!-Reconstructions-of-CONSTANTINOPLE>]



praised it exactly for this time as the second city of the entire empire (at least 200 ha in the centre Herrin 2013, 27[]). Yet, the anti-stratigraphic fidelity to textbook chronology prevents them from adding one to one. They sense and even see the simultaneity, but they cannot recognize it. Privately they may concede that living languages cannot remain unchanged for 700 years. Publicly, however, they insist that between 200 and 900 CE such a miracle has happened at least three times: in Hebrew, Greek and Latin.

### RECONSTRUCTION OF A SECTION OF DOWNTOWN ROME (2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> C. CE)

[<https://jeanclaudegolvin.com/rome/>]



### RECONSTRUCTION OF A SECTION OF BYZANTIUM/CONSTANTINOPLE (5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> C. CE)

[<https://www.realmofhistory.com/2017/05/16/constantinople-reconstructed-4th-13th-century/>]



The barely half century between the turbulences of the 190s and the fall of Roman civilization in the 230s has been, due to the division of only one period into three sequential periods, misunderstood by historians as a multi-century Migration Period that is dominated

by never ending final defeats of the Goths who are nevertheless very much alive again in the 9th century (Wolfram 2001, 33, 90). The following overview brings the events that have now been scattered over centuries together again in the few decades of stratigraphy-based history.

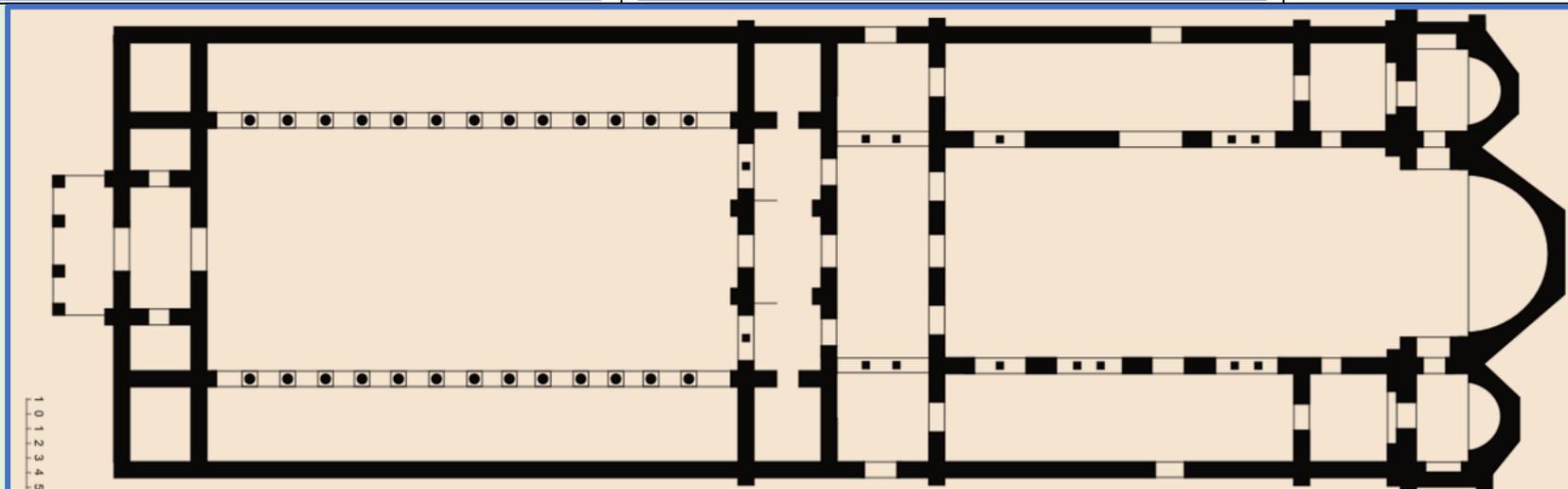
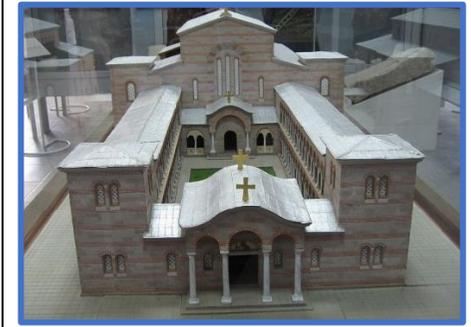
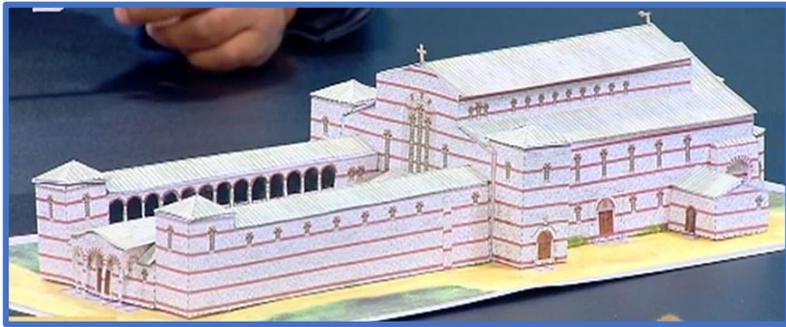
| <b>PERIOD OF FORTY PLUS YEARS THAT STRATIGRAPHICALLY END IN THE TENTH CENTURY COLLAPSE (930s CE with dark earth and burials upon Anastasius' Dyrrachium, with the destruction of unfinished Justiniana Prima, and with the <i>fango</i> covering Rome's Forum). It has to accommodate not only the final decades of Imperial Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages but also the narratives of <i>Late Antiquity</i> that are overstretched from the 470s to the 640s CE. [Horizontal lines indicate contemporaneity.]</b> |   |   |                                   |  |
|---|---|---|-----------------------------------|--|
| <b>SEVERAN EMPERORS<br/>(193-235 CE)</b>  | <b>GOTHIC WARS<br/>(470s ff. CE)</b>    | <b>JUSTINIAN<br/>(527-565 CE)</b>   | <b>HERACLIUS<br/>(610-641 CE)</b> | <b>9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> c. CE</b>                  |
| Conspiracies against Commodus.  |   | Nika Revolt against Justinian.  |                                   |  |
| Plague, fire in Rome.   | Plagues, famine                         | Plague, fire in Byzantium   | Plague                            |  |
| Severan jurists of Justinian's <i>Digestae</i> . 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. Latin.  |   | Severan jurists of Justinian's <i>Digestae</i> . 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. Latin.                                    |                                   | Justinian's laws made available in 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. Greek. |
| Reclaim of Roman Britain.   |   | Repairs of Britain Limes: "Iustinianus p(rae)p(ositus) Vindicianus magister turr[e]m castrum fecit a so(lo)." |                                   |  |
| Repairs and extensions of Limes Tripolitanus.   |   | Repairs and extensions of Limes Tripolitanus.   |                                   |  |
| Narses  |   | Narses  | Nerses                            |  |
|   | THELA elevated to Caesar by Anastasius. | ToTILA (and Teia) with Anastasius but no Justinian coins.   |                                   |  |
| Khosrow of Parthians (term also used by Justinian for Sassanids [Browning 1981, 95]). Persian wars.   |   | Khosrow "I" of Sassanids, called Parthians by Justinian. Persian wars.  | Khosrow "II"; Persian wars.       |  |
| Hun-like Iazyges invade Italy from the Balkans.   |   | Avars threaten Byzantium.   | Avars threaten Byzantium.         |  |
| Goth-like Quadi suffer defeat, are settled around Ravenna.  | Goths suffer defeat, settle in Ravenna. | Goths suffer defeat.  | Goths suffer defeat.              | Goths are fully back in the Eastern Empire.                  |

### III DATING JUSTINIAN'S BASILICAS

Dating Justinian to the late 9<sup>th</sup> or early 10<sup>th</sup> century does certainly sound provocative. But there is a church in Justinian's triple apse style which, stratigraphically as well as according to textbook chronology, was definitely built in the late 9th century and perished in the early 10th century as catastrophically as Dyrrachium or Alexandria. It is the main basilica of Pliska in today's Bulgaria. No less

#### Basilica of 9<sup>th</sup> century (890s CE ff.) Pliska (Bulgaria; 30 m wide, 51 m long with narthex [with atrium 102 m])

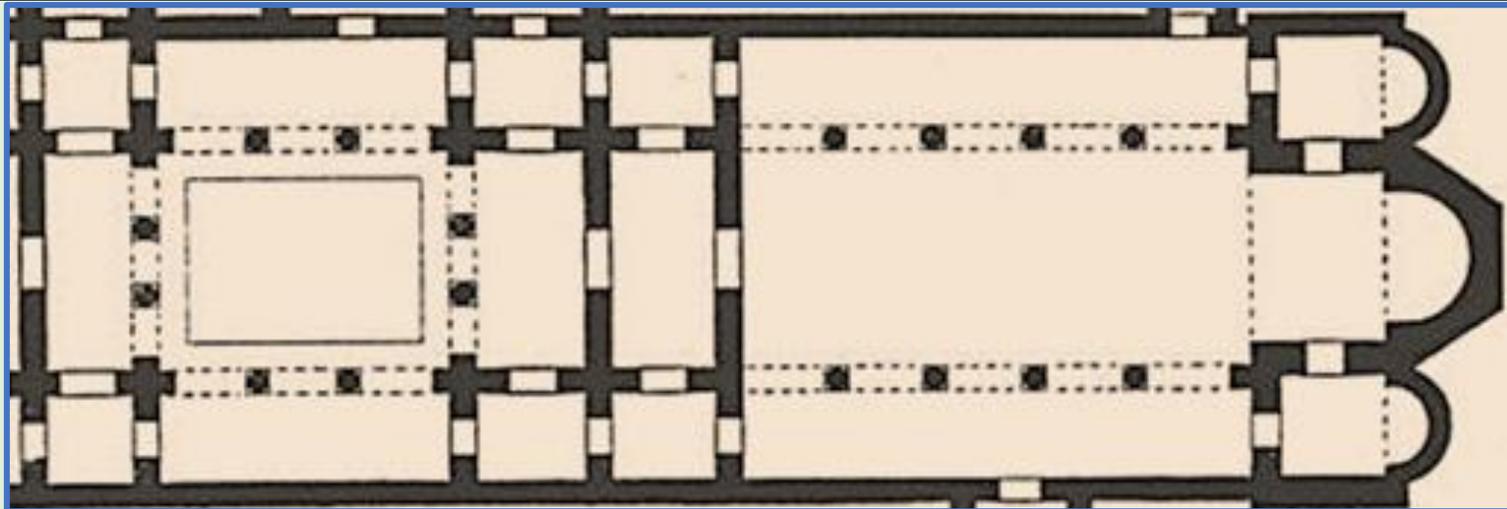
[<http://archaeologyinbulgaria.com/2015/05/09/bulgarias-cabinet-provides-major-funding-for-excavations-restoration-of-5-sites-in-early-medieval-capital-pliska/great-basilica-pliska-3/>;  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l01J-acOtkM.>; [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great\\_Basilica,\\_Pliska#/media/File:Great\\_Basilica\\_of\\_Pliska.png](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Basilica,_Pliska#/media/File:Great_Basilica_of_Pliska.png); retrieved 05-04-2019 ]



catastrophic than Pliska perished Justiniana Prima, Justinian's own city. There, however, the Roman architecture is said to have been extinguished about 300 years earlier. Justiniana Prima was a revolutionary city. It was thoroughly classical in concept and outline, but instead of a temple on the Acropolis it had a bishop's palace and a triple apse Christian basilica, which is considered a model for Pliska. If one compares Justiniana Prima and Pliska stratigraphically, both cities have urban material for only one of the three major

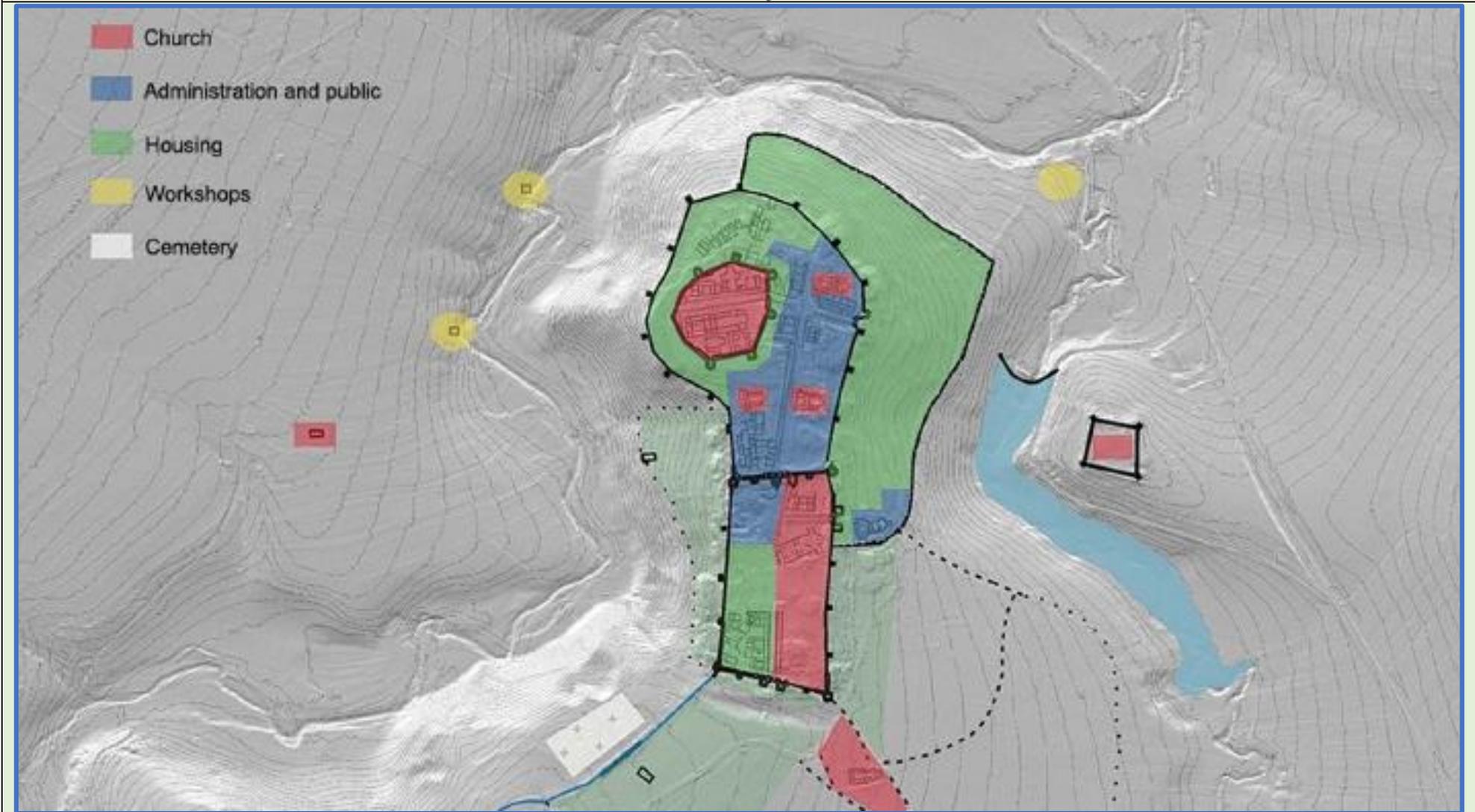
**Acropolis Basilica (prototype for Pliska) of 6<sup>th</sup> century (550s CE) in Justinian's newly built city Justiniana Prima (Caricin Grad; Serbia; 22 metres wide, 37 m long [64 m with atrium].)**

[Justiniana Prima Promo Video: <https://vimeo.com/45248663>; <http://www.panacomp.net/empress-town-iustiniana-prima-archaeological-site>  
[http://macedonia.kroraina.com/en/rheb/rheb\\_3\\_2.htm](http://macedonia.kroraina.com/en/rheb/rheb_3_2.htm)]

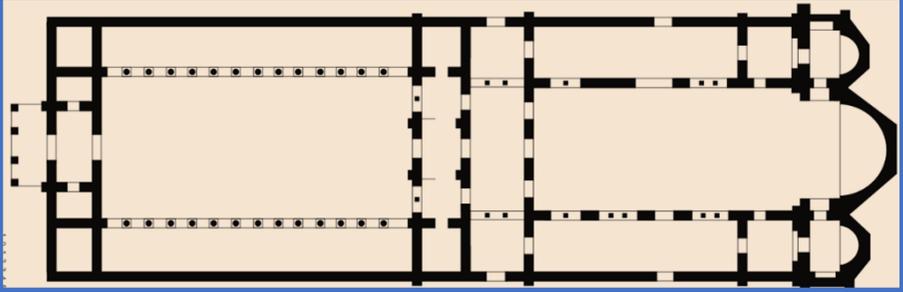
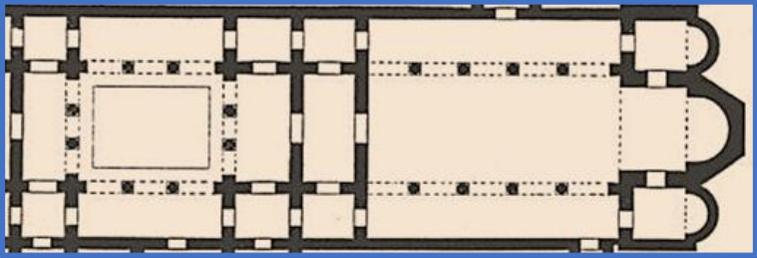


## JUSTINIANA PRIMA'S REVOLUTIONARY CONCEPT OF A THOROUGHLY CHRISTIAN ACROPOLIS

[[https://www.academia.edu/28132330/Cari%C4%8Din\\_Grad\\_Justiniana\\_Prima\\_A\\_New-iscovered\\_City\\_for\\_a\\_New\\_Society\\_Proceedings\\_of\\_the\\_23rd\\_International\\_Congress\\_of\\_Byzantine\\_Studies\\_Belgrade\\_22\\_27\\_August\\_2016\\_Plenary\\_papers\\_ed.\\_S.\\_Marjanovi%C4%87-Du%C5%A1ani%C4%87\\_Belgrade\\_2016\\_107-126](https://www.academia.edu/28132330/Cari%C4%8Din_Grad_Justiniana_Prima_A_New-iscovered_City_for_a_New_Society_Proceedings_of_the_23rd_International_Congress_of_Byzantine_Studies_Belgrade_22_27_August_2016_Plenary_papers_ed._S._Marjanovi%C4%87-Du%C5%A1ani%C4%87_Belgrade_2016_107-126)]



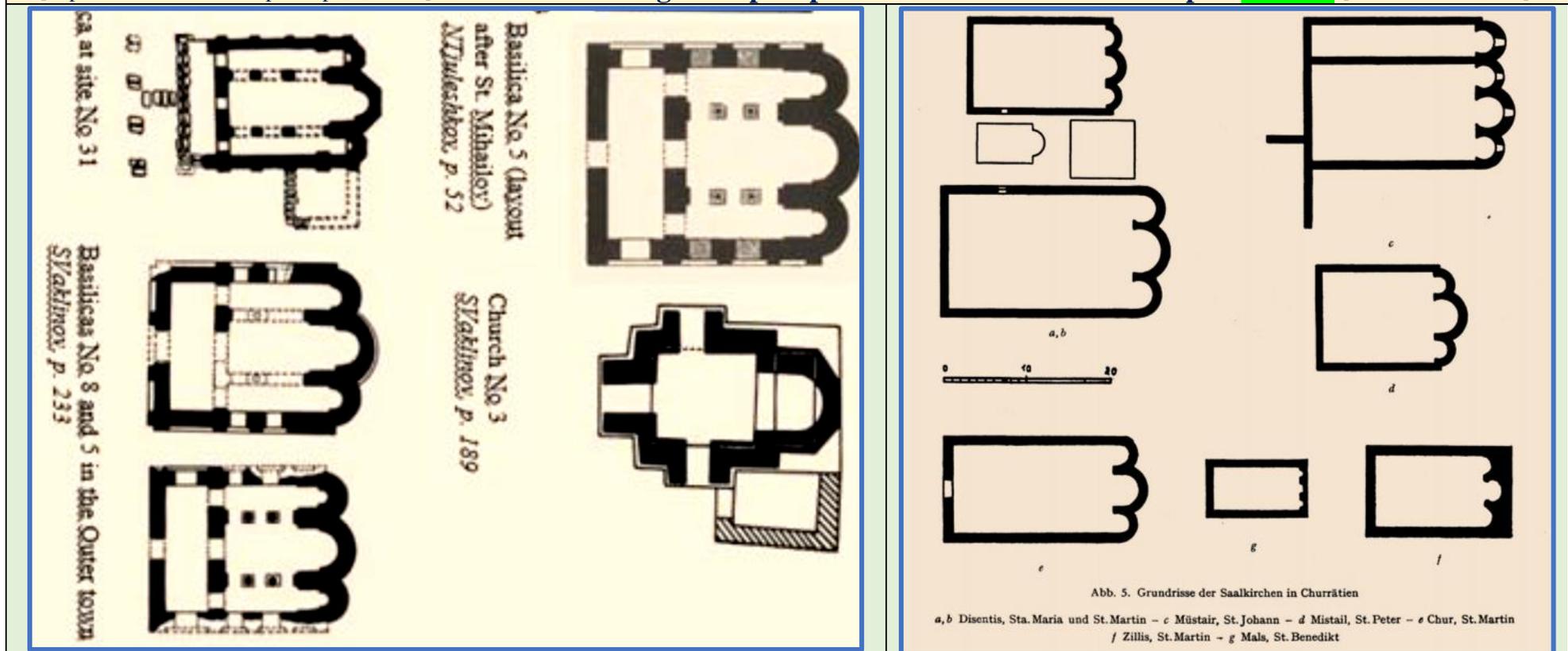
periods of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium. Imperial Antiquity and Late Antiquity are missing in Pliska. Justiniana Prima is without Imperial Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. If one blocks out the empty periods, both cities belong to the same stratigraphic horizon directly below the High Middle Ages of the 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century, although Pliska was begun earlier than Justiniana Prima whose construction was only started after the conflagration of 532 CE that hit Byzantium during the Nika Revolt (see below).

| STRATIGRAPHIC PARALLELITY OF THE BASILICAS OF JUSTINIANA PRIMA (CARICIN GRAD) AND PLISKA |   |   |
|--|---|---|
|  | JUSTINIANA PRIMA (550s CE)  | PLISKA (890s CE)  |
| HIGH MIDDLE AGES (10 <sup>th</sup> /11 <sup>th</sup> c.)                                 | The city had <b>not been completed before its destruction</b> after which a previously highly developed territory <b>regressed into a primitive subsistence economy</b> (textbook dated 600 CE) | <b>“A dark grey (most probably erosion) layer“</b> had strangled Pliska in the 10 <sup>th</sup> century CE (Henning 2007, 219). |
| EARLY MIDDLE AGES (ending in the 930s CE)  | <b>No settlement layers</b> in Justiniana Prima. No construction of apartments, latrines, streets, bakeries etc.  |    |
| LATE ANTIQUITY (ending in the 6th century CE)  |    | <b>No settlement layers</b> in Pliska. No construction of apartments, latrines, streets, bakeries etc.                          |
| IMPERIAL ANTIQUITY (ending in the 3rd century CE)  | <b>No settlement layers</b> in Justiniana Prima. No construction of apartments, latrines, streets, bakeries etc.  | <b>No settlement layers</b> in Pliska. No construction of apartments, latrines, streets, bakeries etc.                          |

After a major natural conflagration the Bulgarian inhabitants of Pliska converted to Christianity, and occupied themselves, *i.a.*, with building triple apse churches. That ecclesiastical architecture ran more or less parallel with the Carolingian triple apse churches in today's Switzerland (up to 926 CE). In Milan, Sant'Ambrogio had a triple apse in its 9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> c. state. In Poreč /Parentium the triple apse of the 6th century is indistinguishable from the one of the 9th c. CE. But why did it take many centuries since Justinian for the new style to spread? One of the mysteries in the history of church building is the emergence of the triple apse is its 300 year head start in the east of the Empire whereas the West had to wait until the late phase of the Early Middle Ages. Stratigraphy, however, shows the contemporaneity of both periods in the 9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. right before the High Middle Ages triggered by the Tenth

**LEFT: Groundplans of selected triple apse churches from Pliska's outer city (9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> c. CE).**

[[http://www.kroraia.com/pliska/pl\\_3\\_2.html](http://www.kroraia.com/pliska/pl_3_2.html)]. **RIGHT: Carolingian triple apse churches in Switzerland up to 926 CE** [Juraschek 2019, 138].



Century Collapse. Although Imperial Antiquity is archaeologically missing in Justiniana Prima as well as in Pliska, the Bulgarian excavators have recognized that their 9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century city could easily been built some 700 years earlier. Technologically, it would fit into the 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century, too: “Besides the already mentioned antique columns and capitals, Pliska contains other, more ancient materials. Most common amongst them are the bricks. A small part of them are Roman, from the **II-III c.**, sealed by the seals of the state or private persons” (Rashev/Dimitrov 1999, chapter III; bold GH).

It is well known that the Carolingians of the 9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century also used Roman building technologies and decors of the 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century. In Paderborn, for example, they even employed the 700-year-old technique for the pigments and forms of their wall inscriptions.

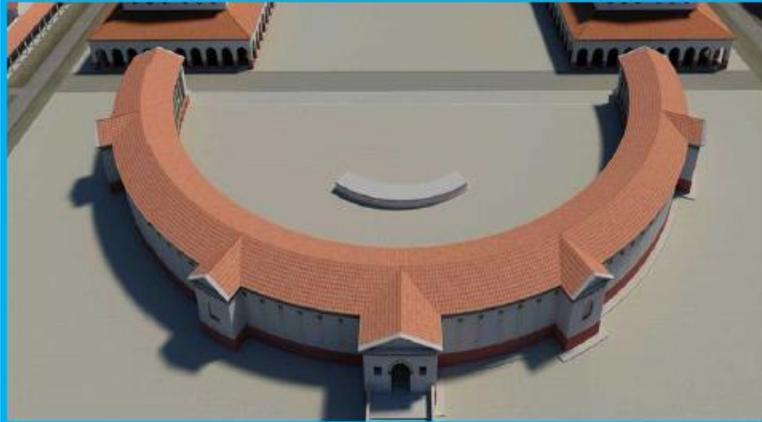
Early Medieval wall inscriptions in Carolingian Paderborn in the 700 year old style of Imperial Antiquity. Only the text on the right is readable: **DRACO**. [Photos in Paderborn's *LWL-Museum in der Kaiserpfalz* by G. Heinsohn]



Much better known, of course, are the audience halls (*aula*) and exedra buildings of the Carolingians in Aachen or Ingelheim, both of which are – down to the colour pigments – indistinguishable from 700 years earlier Roman buildings (see in detail Heinsohn 2018b).

Charlemagne's 9<sup>th</sup> century CE architecture (right) in style, materials, and technology of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE (left).

Colonia Agrippina (Cologne): Roman exedra palace (2<sup>nd</sup> c.)  
[\[http://colonia3d.de/colonia3d-home/#\]](http://colonia3d.de/colonia3d-home/#)



Ingelheim: Carolingian exedra palace (9<sup>th</sup> c.)  
[\[https://pl.pinterest.com/pin/467318898815748579/?!p=true\]](https://pl.pinterest.com/pin/467318898815748579/?!p=true)



Colonia Agrippina (Cologne): Side wing (audience hall?) of so-called Praetor's palace (2<sup>nd</sup> c.)  
[\[https://www.triphobo.com/places/cologne-germany/praetorium\]](https://www.triphobo.com/places/cologne-germany/praetorium)



Aachen: Carolingian Aula (audience hall; 9<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 [Author's photo by permission of Centre Charlemagne.]



If the stratigraphic simultaneity of Imperial Antiquity, Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages is not considered or rejected out of hand, the researchers are left with the choice between a miracle and a puzzle. The excavators of Pliska settled for the latter:

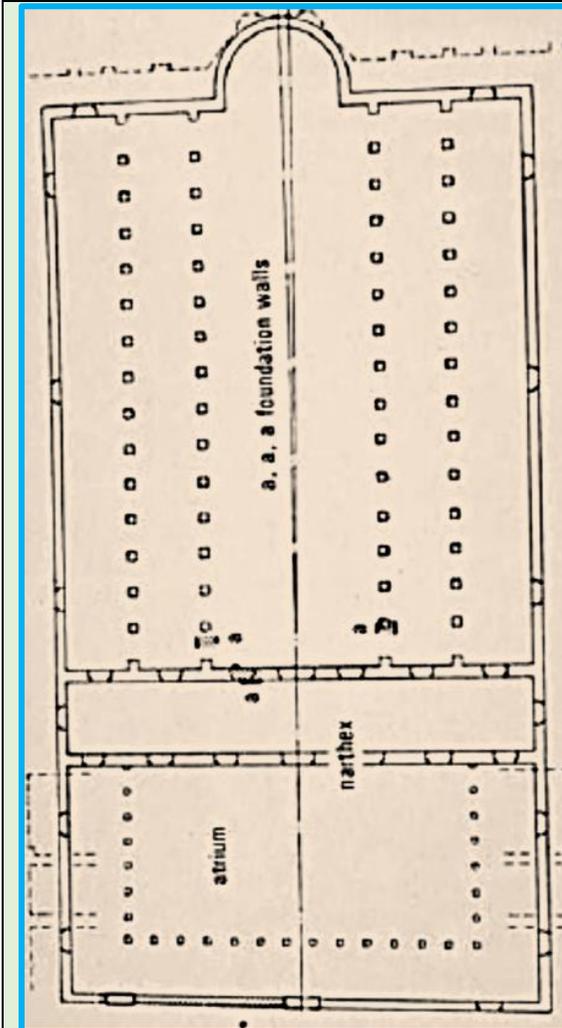
“The thesis about the antique origin of the monumental buildings in Pliska is not based on the antique materials found there alone. Its most impressive monuments are ‘antique’ in appearance. / It seems indeed unbelievable that at the beginning of the IX c. the culture of one recently founded pagan state could produce such constructions, served by running water which had to be brought from several kilometers away. It seems more natural to assume that they belong to an earlier epoch. But the archaeological evidence does not allow this and it is exactly what makes Pliska a real puzzle“ (Rashev/Dimitrov 1999, ch. IV; see in detail Heinsohn 2015).

But if the three major periods of the first millennium merely represent different facets of just one, then the profound reform before its final demise falls into the time of the Severan emperors (193-235), whose jurists are the most up-to-date commentators in Justinian's *Digestae*. Before Justinian's new collection of laws, something grave, the Nika Revolt, took place in Byzantium, forcing reconstruction and new buildings. Whenever these massive works are dated, their initiators are not in dispute: “The renovation of cities began for certain already during the reign of Anastasius I and ended in the reign of Justinian I” (Ivanišević 2016, 107).

We have already seen that both rulers, stratigraphically parallel with the Severans, overlap chronologically. Keeping this in mind we can take a closer look at Byzantium / Constantinople. The antecedent structure of Justinian's Hagia Sophia became a victim of fire (textbook dated to January 532CE). It was accompanied by riots against Justinian. Nearly half of the city burnt down. Tens of thousands of people were killed. Romanos Melodos (6th c. CE) described the events in the cosmic frame of a natural disaster with earthquakes, floods, fires and drought (Meier 2003, 82 f.; see also Brandes 1997). This is reminiscent of the Antonine Fires at the time of conspiracies against Commodus followed by the Severan emperors that employed jurists of Justinian: “Before the death of Commodus [192] / a fire / entered the palace and consumed very extensive portions of it, so that nearly all the State records were destroyed. / The evil would not be confined to the City, but would extend over the entire civilized world under its sway. For the conflagration could not be extinguished by human power. / Only when it had destroyed everything on which it had laid hold did it spend its force and die out” (Cassius Dio [155-235], Epitome of LXXIII: 240).

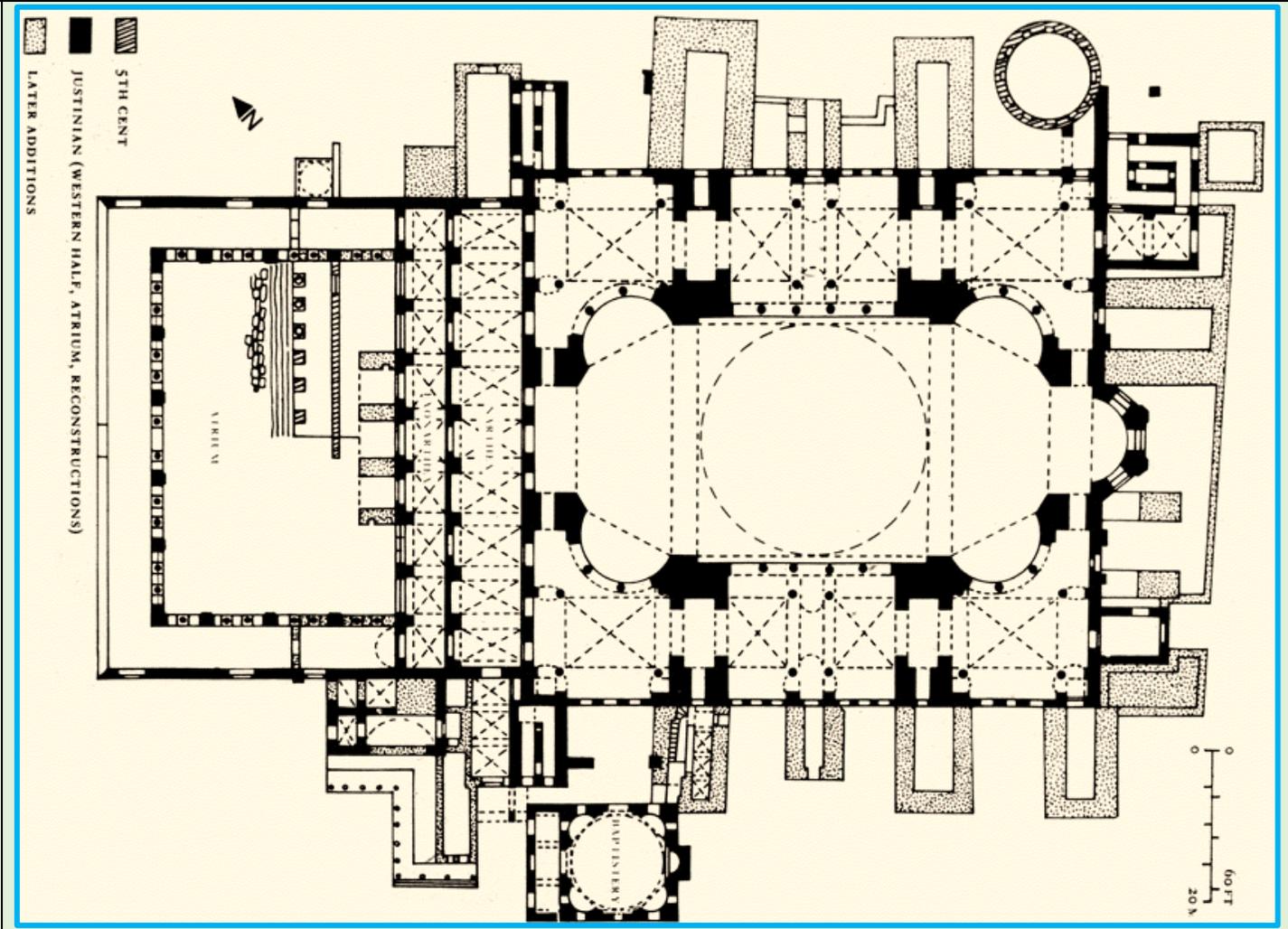
Byzantium's burnt church, soon to be replaced by Justinian's Hagia Sophia (see next three pages), was still a classical basilica with only one apse. The new building looked completely different. It had three apses in one of the half domes which, however, was not yet oriented to the east but to the southeast. Hagia Irene (also begun in 532 in style similar to Hagia Sophia) had only one apse. The same applies to Hagios Polyuktos (by Anicia Juliana 462-528), larger (52 x 52 m) than Irene and possibly a model for Hagia Sophia..

**Assumed groundplan of 2<sup>nd</sup> Hagia Sophia burnt in 532 CE** (Mainstone 1997). Another reconstruction has only three naves. The atrium measured 47,60 x 35,50 m. The exact dimensions of the basilica are controversial.



**Groundplan of 3<sup>rd</sup> Hagia Sophia (532-537 CE) by Justinian (527-565: war with ToTILA).**

The church (without atrium) is 82 m long and 73 m wide. The pressure of the main dome – remade of light materials in 562 – was masterly balanced by half domes with conches connected to each other by massive columns of the lateral naves, arcades and cross vaults. In spite of this nearly perfect protection **something extreme must have rendered it insufficient. Byzantines (+ Ottomans) had to stabilize the complex with TWENTY EXTERNAL BUTTRESS WALLS AND FOUR COUNTERWEIGHT TOWERS** against collapse [HSM 2019].



**TEXTBOOK DATES OF DESTRUCTIONS OF HAGIA SOPHIA (conventionally built 532-537/562 CE under Justinian [527-565])**

| 532 CE   | 532-37 CE   | 553 CE                          | 557 CE                          | 562 CE   | 564 CE           | 740CE                         | 859 CE                | 869 CE  | 989 CE  |
|--|---|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|---|---|
| <b>Fire</b> destroys 2 <sup>nd</sup> Hagia Sophia (basilica, 1 apse; <b>left</b> ) | Justinian's (3 <sup>rd</sup> ) Hagia Sophia ( <b>center</b> ) is completed. | <b>Earthquake</b> damages domes | <b>Earthquake</b> damages domes | Crash-proof main dome was completed ( <b>right</b> ) | Atrium collapses | Earthquake (Leo III; 685-741) | <b>Fire</b> (Michael) | <b>Earthquake</b> collapses half dome (Basil I) | <b>Earthquake</b> damages half dome- (Basil II) |





Hagia Sophia of Justinian's Byzantium experienced the same terminal disaster of Roman civilization that wiped out his as yet unfinished Justiniana Prima. Stratigraphically, it was the same catastrophe that wiped out Pliska, correctly dated to the end of the

| BYZANTIUM IN LATE ANTIQUITY<br>4 <sup>th</sup> to 6 <sup>th</sup> /7 <sup>th</sup> century CE  |   |                           |                           |                                      |                   | BYZANTIUM IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES<br>7 <sup>th</sup> /8 <sup>th</sup> to 10 <sup>th</sup> century CE  |                |  |   |
|--|---|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|--|----------------|--|---|
| Apartments, latrines, aqueducts, streets, kitchens, churches etc. were built. They surprise because they use the style of Imperial Antiquity, whose 1 <sup>st</sup> -3 <sup>rd</sup> centuries - like the 7 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> c. Early Middle Ages - left no buildings in Byzantium. The events concerning HAGIA SOPHIA, which are dated to the archaeologically empty Early Middle Ages, are fictitious. The sources are duplicates of Late Antiquity events.   |   |                           |                           |                                      |                   | No apartments, latrines, aqueducts, streets, kitchens, churches etc. were built. Since there are no building layers between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, 6 <sup>th</sup> c. Late Antiquity transitions directly into the High Middle Ages (10 <sup>th</sup> c. CE).   |                |  |   |
| 532 CE   | 532-37 CE   | 553 CE                    | 557 CE                    | 562 CE                               | 564 CE            | 740CE  | 859 CE         | 869 CE                                   | 989 CE                                  |
| Fire destroys 2 <sup>nd</sup> Hagia Sophia (basilica, 1 apse).   | Justinian's (3 <sup>rd</sup> ) Hagia Sophia is completed. | Earthquake damages domes. | Earthquake damages domes. | Crash-proof main dome was completed. | Atrium collapses. | Earthquake (Leo III; 685-741)  | Fire (Michael) | Earthquake collapses half dome (Basil I) | Earthquake damages half dome (Basil II) |
| <p>“It is equally important to realize that the decorative vocabulary of public architecture in Constantinople about 400 shows <b>remarkably conservative features</b>, and that it too appears to be rooted in a century-old tradition indigenous to Asia Minor. / Byzantium - the small town from which grew Constantinople - had been one of these Greek Aegean settlements; and in its architecture, its imperial successor would naturally draw on <b>concepts and techniques long customary</b> in its sister cities along the eastern shore of the Aegean. The building techniques employed in Constantinople in the <b>late fourth century</b>+ have their prototype as early as the <b>second and third centuries</b> in Ephesus, Aspendos, Nicaea (Iznik), Salonica" (Krautheimer 1986, 73 / 106).</p> |   |                           |                           |                                      |                   | <p>“The absence of buildings and archaeology throughout Europe [...] is matched in the Arab and Byzantine worlds – two regions never conquered by the Barbarians and therefore two regions which should not have a ‚Dark Age‘. Yet, a dark age there most assuredly is. [...] In the Byzantine lands archaeologists discovered an unbroken line of development from the foundation of Constantinople through the fifth and sixth centuries. But then, about forty years after the death of Justinian the Great, from the first quarter of the seventh century, there is a <b>total and absolute break. Hardly a church, or artifact of any kind has been recovered from the next three centuries.</b> Cities were abandoned and urban life came to an end. There is no sign of revival until the middle of the tenth century“ (O’Neill 2009, 230f.).</p> |                |  |   |
| <p><b>The identity of THELA (from the time of Theoderic and Anastasius) with ToTILA=BaDUILA (from the time of Justinian) shortens all textbook dates for Hagia Sophia by some 60 years within Late Antiquity. Stratigraphically, Late Antiquity ends in the Tenth Century Collapse. The main dome of Hagia Sophia's (built on a hill) survives the catastrophe. Yet damage to the shell requires 20 buttress walls and 4 counterweight towers against collapse. They were built since the later tenth c. CE.</b></p>   |   |                           |                           |                                      |                   |  |                |  |   |

Early Middle Ages. Even in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the ruins of Byzantium's mud covered circus had not yet been excavated. Not even a shred of the famous collection of Justinian's laws could be recovered from the ruins of Byzantium.

For Justiniana Prima, the archaeological absence of the early medieval period is indisputable. It took much longer to admit this void for Byzantium as well (see p. 36 above; box on the right): "There is a total and absolute break. Hardly a church, or artifact of any kind has been recovered from the next [8th-10th] three centuries" (O'Neill 2009, 231).

**Left: Center of Roman Byzantium in Late Antiquity (6th c. CE). Hagia Sophia is visible in the background.**

[<https://www.travelmoodz.com/en/travel-professional/gokhan-topuz/information>]

**Right: Center of Ottoman Constantinople around 1550 CE. Hagia Sophia is not shown.**

[Onofrio Panvinio [1530-1568]: *De Ludis Circensibus* [1600)]



The events dated to the period of Early Middle Ages in the Byzantium overview (p. 36 above) are therefore fictitious. However, this does not mean that the sources are fictitious, too. They are merely misdated. The strength of the stratigraphic approach lies in the fact that not history, but only time is erased. Historiography, on the other hand, is getting much richer. Sources that have been artificially torn apart and scattered over 930 years are brought together again. The approximately 230 archaeologically really existing years between 1 and the 930s CE can thus be described more accurately than ever before.

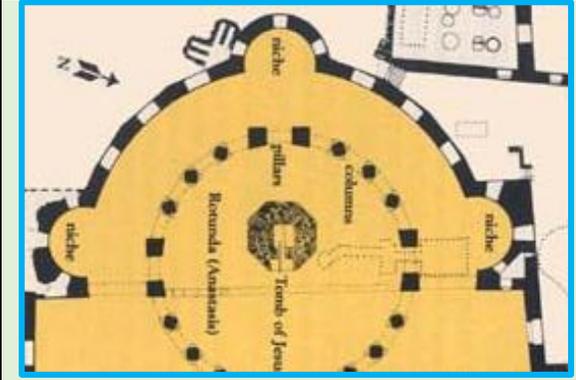
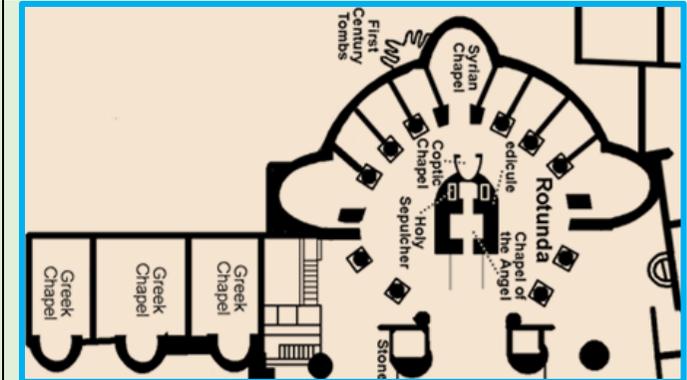
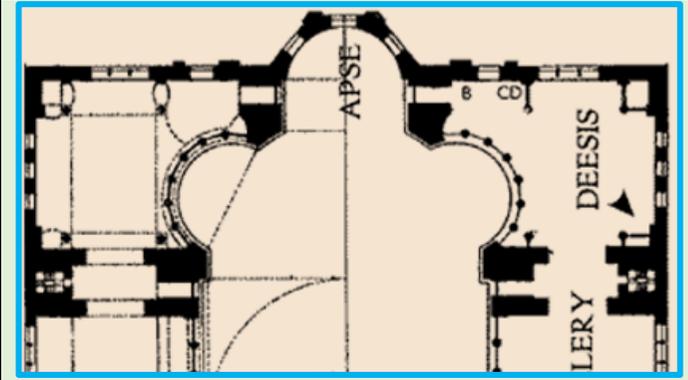
It has long been seen that Byzantium's Late Antiquity architecture from the 5<sup>th</sup> century is indistinguishable from Imperial Antiquity architecture of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. In Pliska, the architecture of the Early Middle Ages is indistinguishable from Imperial Antiquity architecture. This has to be the case when all three sequential periods in reality provide material for only one period, which perished in the 930s and had to give way to the primitivism of the High Middle Ages.

Just as in Rome the Pantheon survived the cataclysm, so in Byzantium Hagia Sophia persisted, too. It had been conceived to be extremely stable after catastrophe during the Nika Revolt. The main dome was rebuilt in a particularly sturdy form (textbook-dated 562 CE) after an collapse induced by an earthquake. Nevertheless, the magnificent building did not turn into a bunker like the Pantheon, which still manages without external supports today. Therefore, since the 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century, twenty external buttress walls and four counterweight towers had to be erected to protect Hagia Sophia against collapse (HSM 2019).

#### IV THE TRIPLE APSE IN THE CHURCH CANON OF FIRST MILLENNIUM CHRISTIANITY

Justinian extended the canon of Christian Roman basilicas by triple apse churches. It has already been assumed, but erroneously dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century, that such buildings are to be understood as monuments of Trinitarianism (Kilde 2008). It could very well have been that way. However, it remains to be clarified why this architectural decision fell into the time of the catastrophe associated with the Nika Revolt, which stratigraphically corresponds to the time of the Antonine Fires with the conspiracies against Commodus.

It is possible that the three apses of the south-eastern half-dome and the two of its counterpart were merely installed to further shield the bold construction of Hagia Sophia against disasters of the kind that had destroyed its single apse precursor. The altogether five apses of Hagia Sophia thus fulfil the function of buttress walls. But perhaps this stabilization was theologically underpinned by the three niches at the Jesus Mausoleum (Anastasis) in Jerusalem. It belongs textbook chronologically to the 4<sup>th</sup> century, which corresponds to the 1<sup>st</sup> century of Imperial Antiquity (confirmed by the 1<sup>st</sup> c. tombs attached to the central niche). Stratigraphically, in this author's view, it belongs to the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE.

| Possible theological inspiration of the statically prescribed triple apse at Hagia Sophia by Jerusalem's Jesus Mausoleum   |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| <b>Jerusalem's Jesus Mausoleum in the "4<sup>th</sup> c. CE with three niches</b><br><a href="https://www.baslibrary.org/biblical-archaeology-review/12/3/1">[https://www.baslibrary.org/biblical-archaeology-review/12/3/1]</a> | <b>Jerusalem's Jesus Mausoleum today</b><br><a href="http://www.generationword.com/jerusalem101-photos/holy-sepulcher/">[http://www.generationword.com/jerusalem101-photos/holy-sepulcher/]</a> | <b>Hagia Sophia's south-eastern half-dome with three apses ( "532" - "537" CE)</b>   |
|    |    |  |

The conflagrations at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century (Imperial Antiquity) and the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Late Antiquity) respectively were interpreted in many quarters as heavenly punishments (see, e.g., Brandes 1997; Meier 2003, 82 ff.). From previous religious nonchalance there was a return to a strict piety. Survivors thanked their hitherto neglected deities and now wanted to serve them all the more faithfully. This inevitably led to confrontations between different denominations, which for the same reasons also became more dogmatic.

Justinian's newly hardened Trinitarianism competed with the anti-trinitarian Arianism of the Gothic enemy, but also with the monophysite orientation of the Arabs in Israel and Syria. Stratigraphically, this author has identified the latter with the early Islam of the Umayyads (Heinsohn 2018a). Some parallels between 1<sup>st</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> c. Arabs indicating the simultaneity of Imperial Antiquity, Late Antiquity, and Early Middle Ages are shown in the stratigraphic overview below. Arabs did not imitate ancient civilization 700 years delayed, but were always on a par with it.

| <b>STRATIGRAPHY OF GHASSANID MONOPHYSITISM AND UMAYYAD MONOTHEISM</b>   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| <b>“The history of the Arabs before Islam remains exasperatingly obscure” (Hoberman 1983).</b>  |  |   |
| <b>“[It] is easy to see the Ghassanids as forerunners of the Umayyad strategies for political and territorial control: these ‘Bedouin politics’ and the related clientelar policy of subsidies and alliances were actually of capital importance for the Umayyads” (Arce 2012, 69).</b>   |  |   |
| <b>Late Hellenism/Imperial Antiquity</b>  | <b>Late Antiquity</b>  | <b>Early Middle Ages</b>  |
| <b>NABATAEANS (1<sup>st</sup> cent. )</b>   | <b>GHASSANIDS (3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> -6<sup>th</sup> cent.)</b>  | <b>UMAYYADS (7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> cent. ff.)</b>   |
| <b>STRATIGRAPHY:</b> 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. CE Nabataeans built directly upon <b>LATE HELLENISM</b>  |  | <b>STRATIGRAPHY:</b> Early Medieval Bet Yerah palace was built directly upon <b>LATE HELLENISM</b> .  |
| <b>ARCHITECTURE:</b> “Qasr [ <i>castrum</i> ] Hallabat has provided / the physical transformation and the changes of use of a <b>Roman fort</b> from the 2nd-3rd century, enlarged in Tetrarchic period, and later transformed into a monastery and palatine structure by the <b>Ghassanids</b> , before being refurbished in <b>Umayyad</b> period“ (Arce 2012, 55). | <b>ARCHITECTURE:</b> Very few desert Qasrs. The central element of the Ghassanid-Umayyad symbiosis “is the all-pervasive <b>Ghassanid</b> presence is the structure of the <b>Umayyad</b> state which might be termed the Ghassanid heritage. This is the right context for understanding of the Ghassanid-Umayyad architectural relationship” (Shahid 2002, 378). | <b>ARCHITECTURE:</b> Impressive Umayyad desert <b>Qasrs</b> consist of a square palace similar to, a bath house, water reservoir or dam; they often include <b>Roman and Ghassanid</b> elements.<br><br><b>Roman aqueducts in full use again.</b> |
| <b>RELIGION:</b> Conversion to <b>Christianity</b> . Coins mysteriously end in 2 <sup>nd</sup> c. CE.   | <b>RELIGION:</b> Converted to <b>MONOPHYSITIC Christianity</b> . <b>No coins</b> .   | <b>RELIGION:</b> <b>MONOTHEISM</b> . Christian symbols shown on <b>many coins</b> and columns.  |
| <b>Late and post-Hellenistic art.</b>   | <b>Mysteriously little art known!</b>  | <b>Late and post-Hellenistic art in full swing again.</b>   |

Stratigraphically, Umayyads first gained influence in Jerusalem after the Antonine Fires that devastated Rome and the conflagrations of the Nika Revolt that severely damaged Byzantium. Jerusalem's Jews, after all, had been exterminated or expelled by the Romans in the wars between 66 and 136 CE. The Umayyads were religiously opposed, but politically not antagonistic to Byzantium. A direct confrontation between Justinian's triple apse architecture and the strictly monotheistic Umayyads, seen as an Arab variety of some Judeo-Arianism, occurred in Jerusalem as the juxtaposition of the NEA-Basilica and the Dome of the Rock:

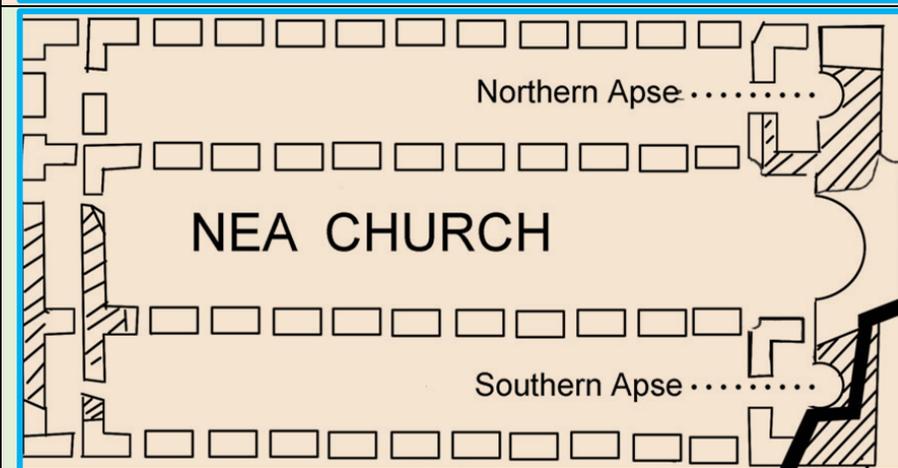
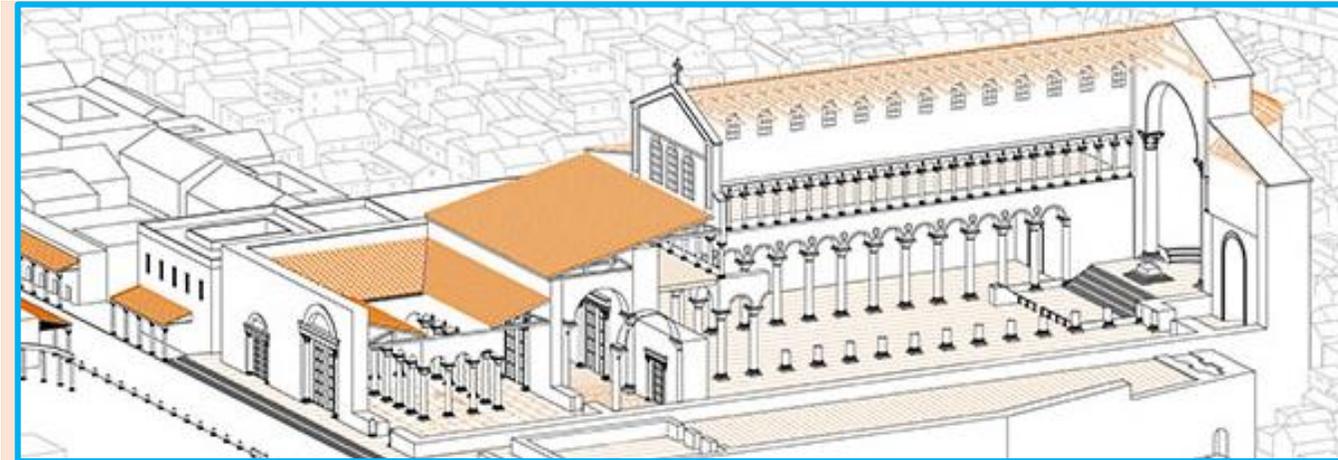
“In Jerusalem he dedicated to the Mother of God a shrine with which no other can be compared. This is called by the natives the "New Church. / Emperor Justinian gave orders that it be built on the highest of the hills, specifying what the length and breadth of the building should be, as well as the other details. / The church is partly based upon living rock, and partly carried in the air by a great extension artificially added to the hill. / He was also assisted by his pious faith. / There is a wonderful gateway (propylaea) and an arch (apsis). / There are two semi-circles (hemikykla) which stand facing each other (Prokopius [500-565], *Buildings* V/6).

Jerusalem's NEA may have been the first Christian church in the classical basilica outline with three parallel apses (textbook date "543" CE; Imperial Antiquity date after 200 CE; stratigraphic date after 900 CE). The Umayyad Dome of the Rock may have been built as a monotheistic statement in opposition to the Trinitarian NEA. The Dome bears the inscription: "There is no god but God. He is One. He has no associate." Jerusalem experienced, after the horrors of the crisis in the 190s=490s=890s, an architectural, but not military, controversy about the appropriate religious path into the future.

This author, therefore, dates the Dome of the Rock just a few years after NEA. One must not forget that outside Jerusalem Umayyad structures were built right on top of Late-Hellenistic structures of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE/CE (e.g., Bet Yerah/Israel; Heinsohn 2018b). There was no ideological anti-Judaism of Umayyads and Early Abbasids. That came later, after the Arab civilization suffered the Tenth Century Collapse (Heinsohn 2017). Some Umayyad leaders even came from Jewish families (Ward 2001). In contrast, trinitarian rulers like Justinian and Heraclius took aggressive action against Jewish monotheism right away (in detail Fieldman 1993).

**LEFT: Idea for the reconstruction of Jerusalem's NEA CHURCH (completed 543 CE). RIGHT: Plan of NEA CHURCH transposed upon the Osmanic walls (1537-41) under which the southernmost apsis protrudes on Jerusalem's Old Cty.**

[<https://www.biblicalarchaeology.org/daily/biblical-sites-places/jerusalem/who-built-the-nea-church-and-the-cardo-in-jerusalem/> [retrieved 06-04-2019];  
<https://www.biblicalarchaeology.org/daily/biblical-sites-places/jerusalem/found-after-1400-years-the-magnificent-nea/> [retrieved 06-04-2019];



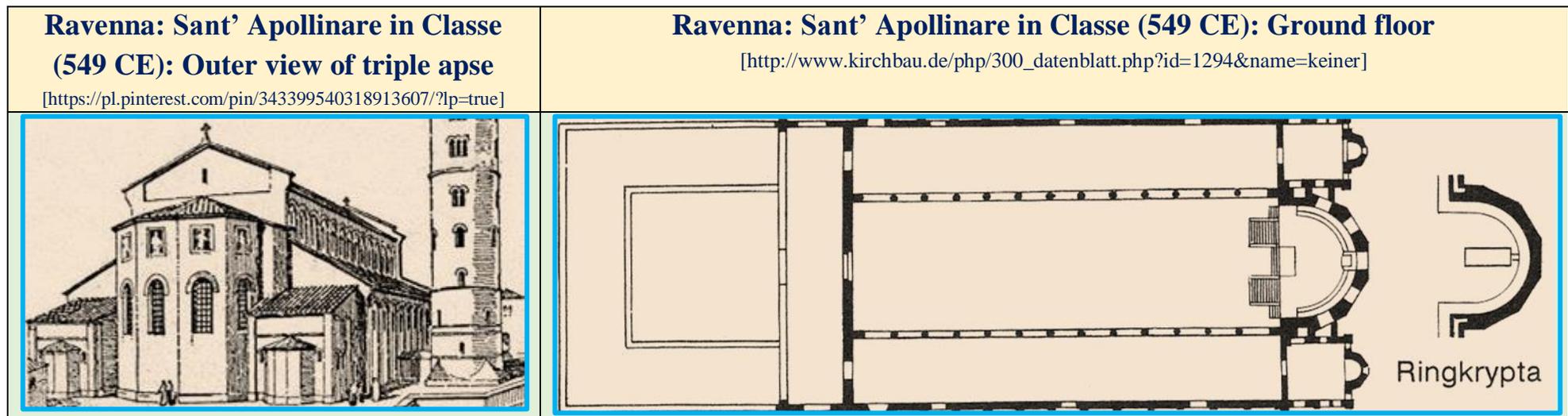
**LEFT: Groundplan of NEA CHURCH (without courtyards). The course of the Osmanic wall (bold black) is built upon the basilica's southernmost apse. The entire complex, including the courtyards (one or two?), was 116 m long and 57 m wide.**  
 [http://www.generationword.com/jerusalem101/64-nea-church.html; retrieved 06-04-2019].

**The dispute whether Hadrian (138-161) built Jerusalem's Cardo or Justinian (527-565) added its southern part 400 years later, results from the anti-stratigraphic dating of the latter. He built just some 40 years after Hadrian, i.e. in the 200s CE that stratigraphically equal ca. the 900s CE.**

The development in and around Jerusalem is difficult to fathom for historians because they do not follow stratigraphy but a chronology whose intricacies they hardly check. Experts do not understand, e.g., why Umayyads used coins of Heraclius (i.e. before

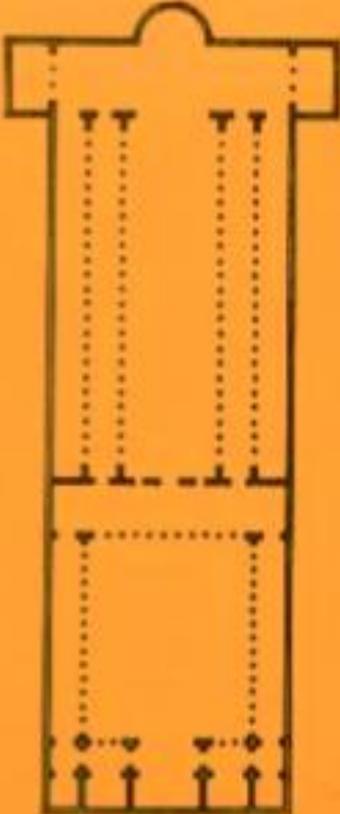
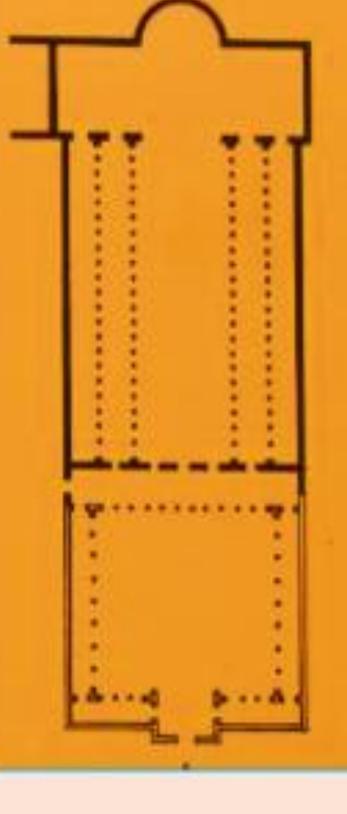
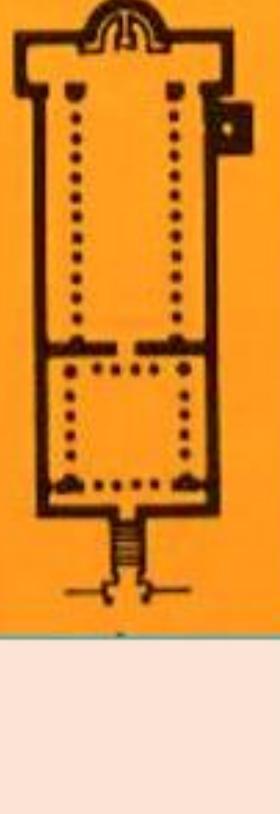
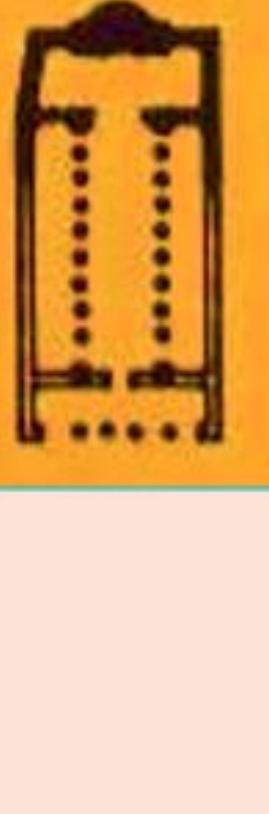
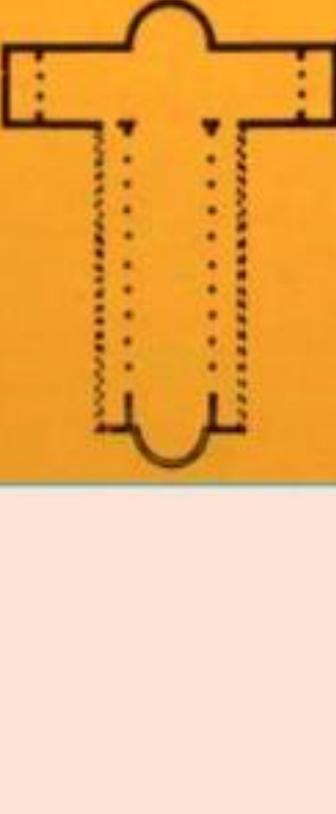
“641” CE) from Carthage, which was not conquered by Umayyads until “695” CE. In reality, the reigns of Justinian and Heraclius overlap (in the time around the 190s ff. of Imperial Antiquity, i.e. 890s ff. in stratigraphy). It was Heraclius (possibly a Semite/Arab/Carthaginian) who was in charge of military activities in North Africa and the Levant and who, therefore, may also have supervised the construction of NEA for Justinian.

Justinian’s stronghold of Ravenna, Italy’s capital, may have followed Jerusalem’s NEA in 549 CE (textbook date) with the next triple apse basilica: Sant’ Apollinare in Classe. With Byzantium, Jerusalem and Ravenna the trinitarian triple apsis had spread its trademark optimally. Those who wanted to show their loyalty to trinitarian Christianity in a visible way, had to build triple apse churches. Still in Ravenna, they experimented with the new form. The two outer apses were rectangular structures with mini apses. At the latest, in Justiniana Prima the shape is fully formed.

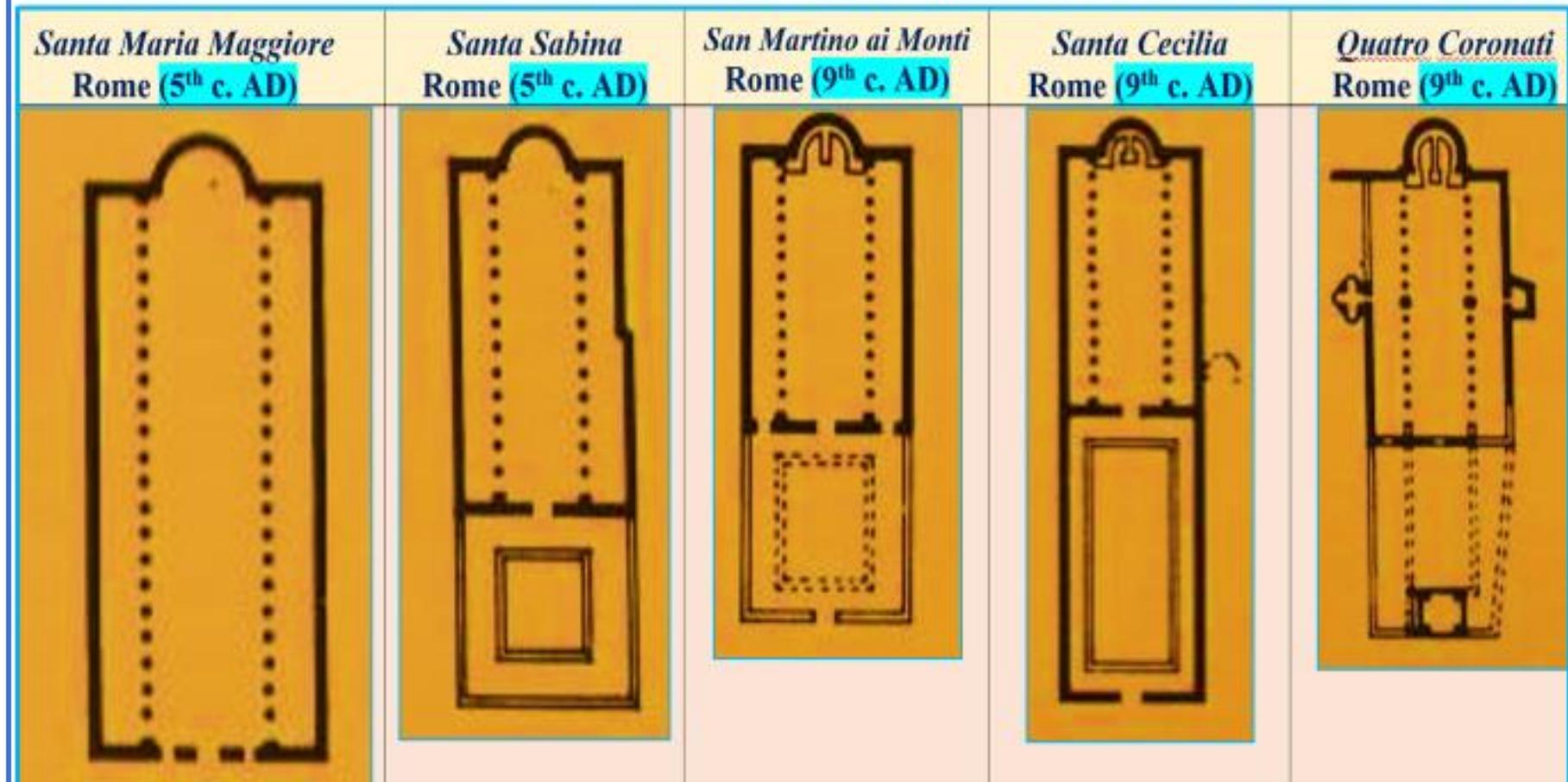


The triple apse basilica allows us to complete the canon of Christian basilica types begun by Richard Krautheimer (1988). He had recognized that Christian basilicas of the 4<sup>th</sup> century resembled pagan basilicas of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, but also Christian basilicas of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Christian basilicas of the 5<sup>th</sup> century resembled pagan ones of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and Christian ones of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. But he had not understood that these similarities over 700 years were due to stratigraphic simultaneity: 1<sup>st</sup>=4<sup>th</sup>=8<sup>th</sup>, and 2<sup>nd</sup>=5<sup>th</sup>=9<sup>th</sup> century (Heinsohn 2018b). He had thus analyzed basilicas from only two centuries.

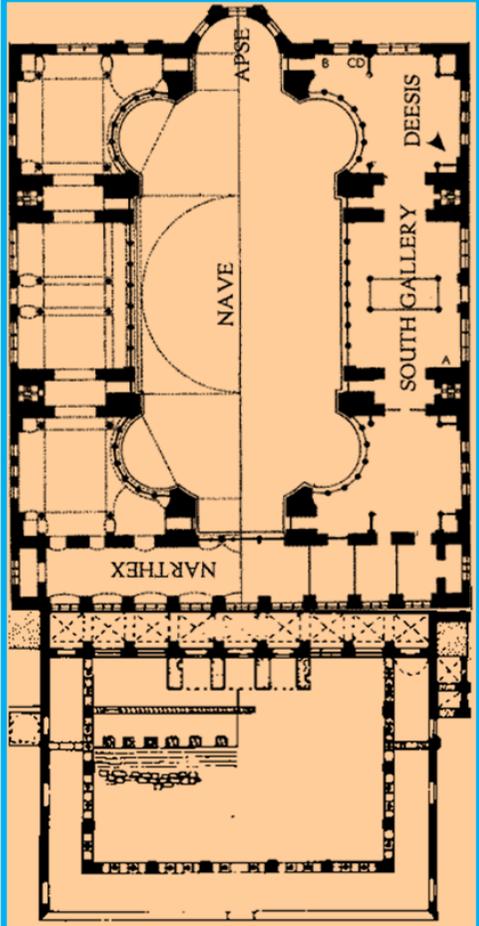
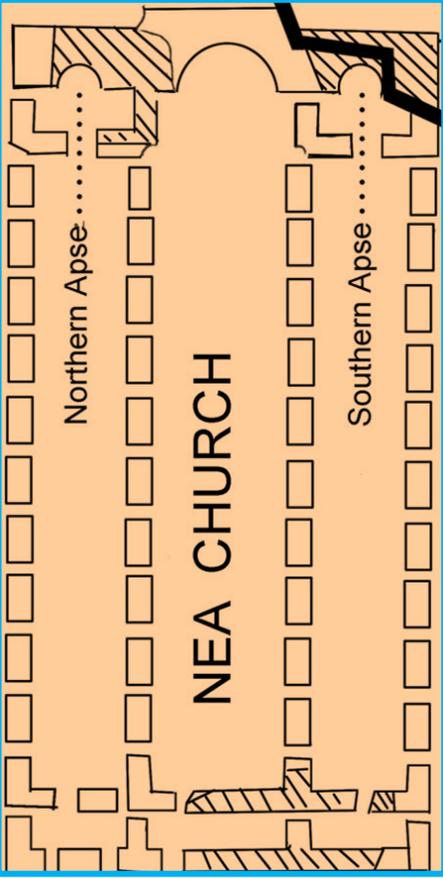
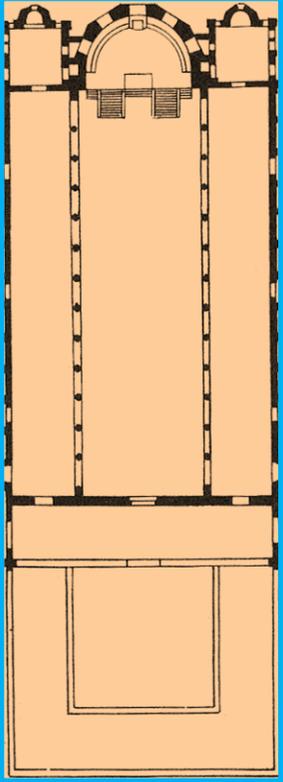
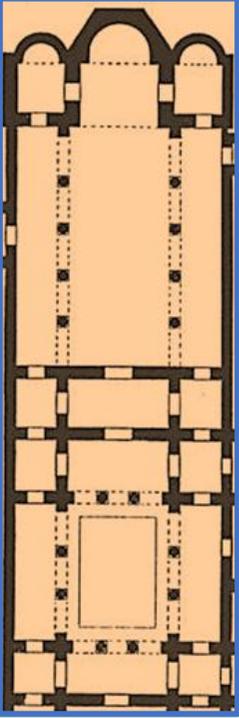
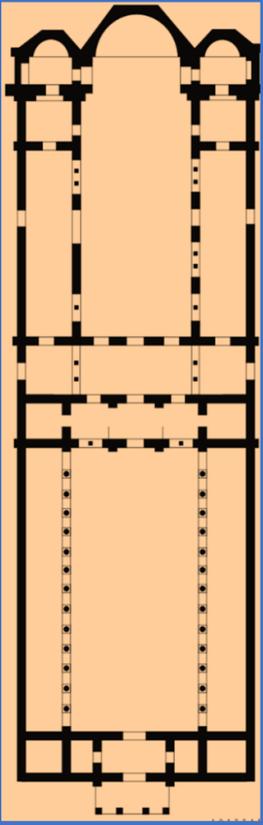
Krautheimer published in 1942 that Rome's **second basilica-renaissance** of Imperial Antiquity during the **8th century of the Early Middle Ages** repeats ground-plans of the 4th century (from the **first basilica-renaissance in Late Antiquity**) instead of the chronologically closer 5th century (Krautheimer 1988, illu. 54: a, h, i, f; illu. 62). He did not mention, however, that nowhere are early medieval 8th century basilicas found super-imposed on the remains of the 4th basilicas. Though supposedly 400 years apart, they share the same stratigraphic level, i.e. they are contemporaries during the early medieval time-span.

| <i>Old St. Peter</i><br>Rome (4 <sup>th</sup> c. AD)                               | <i>San Paolo fuori le mura</i><br>Rome (4 <sup>th</sup> c. AD)                     | <i>Santa Prassede</i><br>Rome (4 <sup>th</sup> c. AD)                                | <i>S. Stefano degli Abessini</i><br>Rome (8 <sup>th</sup> c. AD)                     | <i>Abteikirche</i><br>Fulda/Germany (8 <sup>th</sup> c. AD)                          |
|--|--|--|--|--|
|  |  |  |  |  |

Krautheimer also discovered that Rome's **second basilica-renaissance** of Imperial Antiquity during the **9th century of the Early Middle Ages** repeats ground-plans of the 5th century but never of the 4th century (from the **first basilica-renaissance in Late Antiquity**) {Krautheimer 1988, illu. 54: l, m, p, r, s}. He did not mention, however, that nowhere are early medieval 9th century basilicas found super-imposed on the remains of 5th basilicas. Though supposedly 400 years apart, they share the same stratigraphic level, i.e. **they, too, are contemporaries during the early medieval time-span.**



We can now add – starting from Pliska – that Christian basilicas of the 9th/10th century could also have been dated to the 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century but stratigraphically were all built in the 9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century. Their triple apses were a radical trinitarian response to the catastrophic impact of the time around 200 (=500 CE), which stratigraphically belonged to ca. 900 CE.

| <p>532-537 CE<br/>Byzantium: Hagia Sophia<br/><b>Half dome</b> triple apse</p>     | <p>543 CE<br/>Jerusalem: NEA Church<br/><b>Basilica</b> triple apse</p>             | <p>549 CE<br/>Ravenna: Sant' Apollinare in Classe</p>                                | <p>Mid 6<sup>th</sup> c. CE<br/>Justiniana Prima<br/>Acropolis Basilica</p>          | <p>9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> century<br/>Pliska<br/>Great basilica</p>          |
|--|---|--|--|--|
|  |  |  |  |  |

The basilicas were damaged or destroyed in the ultimate cataclysm of the 930s CE. That is uncontroversial, however, for Pliska only because that site had always been by stratigraphically counting top down, i.e. from the 11<sup>th</sup> back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

#### IV SUMMARY

Justinian (527-565 CE) was not insane when he claimed jurists of the Severan emperors (193-235 CE), who supposedly had been dead for more than 300 years, to be the most current legal commentators available at his time. And yet Justinian seemed possessed by the Severans. More than 300 years after them he repaired once again the Limes in Tripolitania and England, fought in Persia against "Parthians" (instead of the required Sassanids) who, like under the Severans, were led by Khosrow. To match the Severan Narses he sent a Narses into battle, too. He returned to 2<sup>nd</sup> century Latin of the Severan period. His bewildering behaviour did not stop there. Just as the Severans came to power after violent fires with plague and rebellion in Rome, so Justinian became powerful after violent fires, plague and rebellion in Byzantium.

But Justinian also repeated events from the time of his predecessor Anastasius (491-518 CE). He even repeated the Gothic wars over Italy, Sicily and Dalmatia from the 470s to 490s nearly 1:1 in the 530s to 550s CE. His Gothic opponents appeared hardly less confused than the emperor. Their leader Totila issued coins for the deceased Anastasius, who in turn had promoted a Goth named Thela to Caesar, of whom mysteriously no coins exist at all.

Even more unusual than the supposed imitation appears Justinian's anticipation of the events of his successors up to Heraclius (610-641). Several times rulers, popes, generals and vanquishers of Goths carried the same names as at the time of Justinian. Irrespective of his ability to repeat and anticipate, Justinian nevertheless seems decidedly forgetful. His Greek subjects did not receive a translation of his laws until about 900 CE in the late Early Middle Ages. Between the commentators of his *Digestae* around 200 CE and a sufficient access to the laws for Greek citizens passed about 700 years. Yet, these subjects weren't burdened with version in 2<sup>nd</sup> c. Koine Greek. The laws (Novellae) enacted directly for them from 535 CE onwards also have to be read in 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> century Greek.

Since such a confused ruler is unlikely, historians may ask whether the problems lie with themselves rather than with the emperor. Still, it wouldn't be fair to portray modern scholars as incompetent. It is their chronological mindset that makes Justinian look like a spooky lunatic. Archaeologists are usually highly educated and quite precise people. Just think of the Polish excavators of Alexandria, who expected Late Antiquity ceramics until 641 CE, but were surprised to find that the finds already break off at about 520 CE. In doing so, they realized that around 120 years within Late Antiquity had left no urban structures behind.

The shortcomings of our textbooks cause not only surprises and puzzles but also dogmatically defended errors. The belief, e.g., that Totila had issued coins in Justinian's name, although he – like his successor Teia – had issued coins in Anastasius' name, is also born

out of the belief that textbook chronology takes precedence over facts. Because Justinian is said to have died almost half a century after Anastasius and Totila is chronologically linked to the former, Totila coins in the name of Justinian have been searched for tirelessly. The idea that Anastasius and Justinian overlap in time remains unimaginable. On the other hand, a 700-year evolutionary standstill in Hebrew, Greek and Latin is readily believed.

The 700 years from the Severan jurists (Imperial Antiquity) via Justinian quoting them (Late Antiquity) up to his laws in Greek (Early Middle Ages albeit in 2<sup>nd</sup> c. Greek) are due to simultaneity being turned into a continuum. All three periods immediately preceded the High Middle Ages of the 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> c. CE. This stratigraphic approach has a double advantage. It corresponds to the situation in the ground and enriches historiography immeasurably. After all, it merely deletes time, not history. By reuniting sources that have been artificially split and wildly scattered over up to 700 years, ancient narratives can be reconstructed, and history can finally be written. The following overview shows the structure of some elements of this history in the final decades of Roman civilization.

| EVENTS AND PERSONALITIES   | TENTATIVE STRATIGRAPHY<br>BASED DATES    |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Primitive new beginnings unless settlements had been wiped out for good.</li> <li>-Early Romanesque churches from 950 CE with thick walls, small windows and no sculptures.</li> <li>-Wave of monasteries ensure the existence of survivors in mutually helpful collectives.</li> </ul>  | 10 <sup>th</sup> /11 <sup>th</sup> c. CE |
| <b>ULTIMATE CATAclysm: Massive destructions, dark earth, <i>fango</i>, <i>dunkler Moder</i>: 3<sup>rd</sup> C. CRISIS==6<sup>th</sup> C. CRISIS==10<sup>th</sup> C. COLLAPSE [END OF MIGRATION PERIOD].</b>  | 930s CE                                  |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Reconstruction, smaller cities, massive use of <i>spoliae</i> from abandoned quarters</li> <li>-Triple apse trinitarian Catholicism; Umayyad Islam; Carolingian Christianity etc.</li> <li>-Indigenous populations take control within the Imperium because chains of command are disrupted (Franks and Charlemagne; Abassid Arabs and ar-Rashid; barracks emperors with Trebonianus; Carthaginian Severans; Thracians like Justinian; Anglo-Saxons with Alfred the Great etc.).</li> <li>-Late Antiquity, Early Middle Ages and Imperial Antiquity use unaltered Hebrew, Greek and Latin.</li> <li>-Parthian Khosrow of Severans is Khosrow of Justinian <i>and</i> Heraclius.</li> <li>-New law collections after the fires (Severan jurists and Justinian's Tribonianus; Theoderic etc.)</li> </ul> | 880s/890s to 930s                        |
| <b>CATASTROPHE: Antonine Fires in Rome. Fires in Byzantium. Severe urban damage.</b>   | 880s/890s CE                             |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Single apse churches.</li> <li>-Crisis of Marcus Aurelius (West), Marcian (East) both with similar columns.</li> <li>-Attacks of Barbarians (Quadi-Goths + Iazyges-Huns, Goths + Huns, Varingians + Hungarians etc.)</li> <li>-Plague [BEGINNING OF MIGRATION PERIOD]</li> </ul>   | 860s to 880s/890s CE                     |

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